



CAWALE KORONTO FOR USAID

# EXPANDING ACCESS TO JUSTICE (EAJ) PERFORMANCE EVALUATION FINAL REPORT

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## ACRONYMS

|       |                                                    |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------|
| ADAM  | Academy for Development and Advocacy of Minorities |
| ADR   | Action for Development and Research                |
| CULC  | City University Law Clinic                         |
| EAJ   | Expanding Access to Justice Program                |
| EQ    | Evaluation question                                |
| JP    | Justice promoter                                   |
| KII   | Key informant interview                            |
| LAO   | Legal aid organization                             |
| MULC  | Mogadishu University Law Clinic                    |
| SODEN | Somali Disability Empowerment Network              |
| SWDC  | Somali Women Development Center                    |
| SWLA  | Somaliland Women Lawyers Association               |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

The Expanding Access to Justice (EAJ) program was designed to improve access to justice for Somali citizens and help them navigate the country's complex, overlapping justice pathways to seek resolution of conflict or recompense for crimes. A core component of EAJ programming was the Justice Promoter (JP) activity, in which trained community paralegals assist aggrieved parties in understanding and navigating the justice system. EAJ trained and provided support to the JPs, whose purpose was to impart knowledge to clients regarding their legal rights, empower clients to seek justice, and guide them through the legal process, regardless of which justice system or venue they opted to work within.

The objective of this evaluation was to learn more about the effectiveness of EAJ's JP approach in supporting aggrieved parties' ability to obtain justice. In particular, the evaluation sought to assess client satisfaction with their experience—satisfaction with the JP, with the outcome of their case, and with the legal process they undertook—and to understand how different combinations of factors contribute to these outcomes. In addition, the evaluation provides insight and generates evidence to shape future justice programming.

### METHODS

The evaluation employed a mixed-methods and iterative, staggered design to ensure the most thorough examination of the research questions possible. The analysis included a survey of 276 clients and 35 JPs—who handled a collective 105 cases—in addition to in-depth interviews with 58 key informants. The mixed-methods approach allows for representation of a broad swath of the clients EAJ engaged with and deeper interrogation of the evaluation questions through interviews with key informants.

### FINDINGS

Overall, client satisfaction with the JPs was extremely high. We examined satisfaction with the JP, the case's outcome, and the legal process separately and found satisfaction to be high for all three dimensions. For instance, we found that 90.9 percent of respondents were very satisfied with their JP and 80.4 percent were very satisfied with the outcome of their case. In our primary analysis, we employed indices that combine multiple measures of satisfaction, but scores for the individual indices were also high across all three dimensions (satisfaction with the JP, with the case's outcome, and with the legal process).

In addition, we found that most clients felt—after working with the JP—that they had significantly greater confidence and knowledge of the justice system broadly (78.6 percent greater confidence, 77.9 percent greater knowledge) and the specific pathway they used (78.3 percent greater confidence, 81.2 percent greater knowledge). The overall strong satisfaction of clients appears to stem from the effective guidance, support, and mediation provided by JPs. In interviews, clients often praised the assistance they received, highlighting the JPs' competence in handling their cases and the dedication they had to the case.

Across the outcome types, we found that women were generally more satisfied than men, which may be a result of the types of cases women brought. Alternatively, it could be due to socialization that deters women from speaking negatively about their experience. We also found that there is a trend toward greater satisfaction among poorer and less educated clients, as well as lower satisfaction in Somaliland

compared to the regions of south-central Somalia. We have hypothesized that this may be related to higher expectations and information among better educated and wealthier clients, as well as those in Somaliland. Finally, we note a trend toward lower satisfaction among the most marginalized clients, as defined by clan affiliation and migration status. This is a pattern noted elsewhere and one that EAJ explicitly set out to address, but which, according to our data, appears to remain.

We note some specific factors that contributed to higher satisfaction among clients. Receipt of psychosocial support was one of the most important predictors of client satisfaction, as was the clients' perception that the JP was caring and willing and able to answer questions. This speaks, in part, to the importance of interpersonal communication skills and empathy among paralegals—a point that was raised in qualitative interviews as well; while legal knowledge and ability to navigate different justice pathways is important, client satisfaction stems, in part, from having a paralegal who listens effectively, acts as an advocate, and otherwise acts in a supportive manner. Furthermore, the clients' sense of empowerment, successful dispute resolution, and improved access to legal information contribute to client satisfaction and a sense of fairness.

An important driver of low satisfaction was the state of the case at the time the client first contacted a JP. If a client had already encountered barriers to their case—for example, received an adverse judgment from a court or *xeer* hearing, or were in negotiations with the other party that had stalled—they tended to be less satisfied with the JP, the eventual outcome of their case, and the legal process. It makes sense that clients who encountered barriers to their case early on might be unsatisfied with the end result; however, the fact that clients also seem to penalize JPs in these circumstances suggests that it is often difficult for clients to disentangle their feelings about the case outcome from their feelings about the JP and the quality of their work.

Interviews with clients also included important criticisms of both the justice system and JP performance. Challenges related to perceived unfair treatment, disparities in access, and the influence of power dynamics can diminish overall satisfaction and raise important questions about equity within the justice system. Addressing these challenges and continuously working to improve access, transparency, and fairness are essential steps toward enhancing client satisfaction and building trust in the legal process.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

EAJ was highly successful in helping clients to be satisfied with their experience in the justice system and improving their confidence and knowledge, suggesting that this innovative type of access to justice programming is worth continuing. The ability of JPs to navigate different justice pathways, whether through clan elders, religious leaders, or referrals to the formal court system, helped clients secure their legal rights and achieve favorable outcomes that would have otherwise been unavailable to them.

Our recommendations highlight ways to improve EAJ's JP model, based on the evaluation findings. While JPs cannot be expected to overcome all the challenges of the Somali justice system, some changes in their training and support may improve their service delivery, capitalizing on the successes noted above. These recommendations highlight ways to maximize JPs' time and improve their efficiency; expand or add services for clients to build on EAJ's successes in improving satisfaction, knowledge, and confidence; and change programming to improve JP activities and access to justice programming more broadly. JPs were sometimes unable to meet the high demand for services and their attentiveness and time were very important to client satisfaction. Paying JPs for their efforts, improving and expanding JP training, and developing reference materials for JPs are identified as areas that could make JPs more effective in their work. The findings also suggest a number of areas where expanding or continuing EAJ

activities contribute to clients feeling satisfied with their experience in the justice system, including provision of psychosocial support and improving access to legal knowledge. Less-formal approaches to dispute resolution (including mediation by a JP) is a particularly effective venue for case resolution because of its relative speed, which our analyses suggest is very important to client satisfaction.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR JP SUPPORT AND TRAINING

- **Compensate Justice Promoters:** Provide reasonable compensation for JPs to help develop a cadre of paralegal professionals with the skills and commitment to serve as resources for their communities.
- **Enhance Training Programs:** Invest in comprehensive training programs for JPs to ensure they have a deep understanding of legal processes, mediation skills, and the needs of marginalized communities. Additional training should include cultural sensitivity training.
- **Diversify Communication Channels:** Improve communication channels between JPs and clients, including regular updates on case progress and ensuring the availability of JPs when needed.
- **Empowerment and Client Participation:** JP training and protocols should promote active client participation in decision-making processes to empower them in shaping the outcomes of their cases.
- **Justice Pathway User Materials:** Develop educational materials for JPs and legal aid organizations that provide client-accessible overviews of justice pathways and options for common types of legal disputes.
- **Streamline Referrals:** Streamline the referral process between JPs and formal courts, ensuring that clients transition smoothly when needed.
- **Community Outreach:** Expand community outreach efforts to increase awareness of the JP program, its services, and how to access them.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CLIENT SERVICES AND EDUCATION

- **Psychosocial Support:** Ensure that JP counseling and assistance includes access to psychosocial support for clients, as it significantly contributes to their satisfaction and well-being throughout the legal process.
- **Access to Legal Information:** Expand efforts to educate clients about their legal rights and justice pathways, ensuring that they are well-informed to make empowered decisions. This should include not only through the JP themselves, but also streetlaw programs, civic education, and legal aid clinics.
- **Address Financial Barriers:** Explore options to further mitigate financial barriers for clients, possibly by expanding financial assistance for those in need or advocating for reduced court fees.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACCESS TO JUSTICE PROGRAMMING

- **Case Management:** Implement effective case management systems to track the progress of each case and provide regular updates to clients to alleviate frustration caused by delays and uncertainty.
- **Mediation and Alternative Dispute Resolution:** Strengthen the use of mediation and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms (including mediation or arbitration implemented directly via the

legal aid organization and JP), as they often lead to faster and more satisfactory outcomes for clients.

- Client Feedback Mechanism: Create a feedback mechanism where clients can express concerns or complaints, allowing for continuous program improvement.
- Women's Empowerment: Support streetlaw, civic education, and legal aid programs that empower women to navigate the legal system independently and increase their awareness of legal rights.
- Monitoring and Evaluation: Establish a robust monitoring and evaluation system to track the program's impact on client satisfaction and case outcomes.
- Resource Allocation: Allocate resources strategically based on client needs and program effectiveness in different regions.
- Legal Aid Education: Increase collaboration with legal aid organizations to provide comprehensive legal education and support to clients.

## INTRODUCTION

### CONTEXT

An absence of justice in Somalia is a major contributor to ongoing instability and conflict; citizens struggle to obtain just resolution for their disputes, contributing to and reinforcing grievances that undermine stability and peace. A lack of functional institutions, weak governance, discriminatory practices, and lack of information about rights contribute to weak rule of law and difficulty in seeking justice. This is particularly true for women, youth, internally displaced people, members of minority clans or kin groups, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups. The EAJ program sought to improve access to justice for Somali citizens through a Justice Promoter program, in which community members were trained as paralegals with the purpose of helping aggrieved parties understand and navigate the justice system.

Somalia's justice system encompasses multiple, complex pathways for citizens seeking resolution of conflict or recompense for victims. The two most commonly used systems are the state-backed, "formal" legal system of courts and the customary *xeer* system, organized around kinship groups and overseen by traditional elders. Shari'ah courts and Islamic imams also play a role in the justice system—Somalia's formal legal codes are based on shari'ah, and shari'ah courts exist in many areas. Imams also play a less formal role as mediators and adjudicators of disputes, much like traditional elders. Each system has benefits and disadvantages to those using them, depending on the nature of the offense, location, position of the perpetrator and victim, and preference of the complainant.

The *xeer* system is the most widespread of the three, reaching the most remote rural areas of Somalia, though it is also commonly used in urban settings. The *xeer* system is organized around lineage groups (clans) and typically revolves around negotiations between the two parties (e.g., perpetrator and victim) or their families, resulting in the payment of *diya*, or compensation, from the accused to the victim. *Diya* may be paid by the perpetrator to the victim, by the perpetrator's clan to the victim's clan, or some combination of these two.<sup>1</sup> The *xeer* system is familiar and is often preferred by justice seekers for its relative speed and ease of use. Cases are heard and adjudicated by one or more elders—depending on the issue at hand and how closely related the two parties are—and one's elders also act as advocates on one's behalf during hearings. As a long-standing form of customary justice, and as a form of common law that is based on precedent, *xeer* has been developed over generations and has deep roots, though its applicability in Somalia's increasingly urban settings is less straightforward.

*Xeer* is often criticized for its failure to meet international justice standards, especially the incorporation of collective guilt or collective punishment (collective *diya* payments in response to the actions of a single individual) and its marginalization of women. Women are unable to participate fully in *xeer* hearings, including limitations on their ability to speak or give evidence on their own behalf.<sup>2</sup> In addition, because it involves adjudication and bilateral negotiation between clans of varying sizes and relative power, *xeer* can reify existing power imbalances and be unfair to marginalized groups and to individuals with comparatively low status within the clan. Federally guaranteed rights for women and youth may not be known or acknowledged in the customary system; however, there are significant familial and social pressures for women, in particular, to use *xeer*. Marginalized communities sometimes face similar

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<sup>1</sup> While we refer to clan, payments typically take place between smaller constituent units. The most common level for payments is often referred to as "the clan that pays the *diya*" or one's *diya*-paying group, which can include anywhere from 50 to over 1,000 adult men.

<sup>2</sup> Peterson, Brenton D., and Manar Zaki. 2023. "An Empirical Examination of Xeer Practices in Somalia."

pressures when attempting to resolve disputes with more powerful groups, as *xeer* tends to favor the latter, and insisting on using the formal courts instead of *xeer* can be interpreted as an act of hostility or aggression on the part of a marginalized group.

The state-backed justice system is a complicated patchwork, not least because the system differs between Somaliland and south-central Somalia. In both areas, the legal system is required to be in compliance with shari’ah; these systems also draw on colonial legacies from British common law and Italian civil law. Somaliland has had a formal legal system in place for longer than southern Somalia because of its relative stability. However, in both regions, the formal legal system suffers from widespread corruption and frequent political indifference. The public perception of the formal legal system is that it is unreliable and corrupt, though there is a deep preference for its use in principle. The formal legal system has received the most support from international donors in the past as part of support for establishing stable rule of law.<sup>3</sup> However, the formal system continues to suffer from a number of challenges, including a lack of qualified legal professionals; courts based in regional capitals that may be unreachable for rural populations; limited knowledge of Somali laws among both judges and the public; and status-related threats to judicial independence.<sup>4</sup>

Like the *xeer* system, shari’ah has been used in Somalia since before colonization. As noted, it is the basis of much of the governance structure of both Somalia and Somaliland, and laws passed by the respective legislatures of either entity must be in compliance with shari’ah. At the same time, extra-state shari’ah courts occupy an unclear position in the legal landscape. During the tumultuous period after the collapse of the authoritarian regime in 1991, Islamic organizations often filled the void left by the lack of a stable central government, including the provision of justice through courts that were based on shari’ah principles. Today, al-Shabaab maintains an extra-state court system in many areas, which is based on the group’s interpretation of shari’ah but which is legally prohibited.<sup>5</sup> Leaving aside al-Shabaab’s courts, shari’ah courts are mostly comprised of imams who adjudicate cases locally. Perhaps more common is mediation provided by imams, especially on family matters and areas of the law where shari’ah is particularly well-defined. Again, outside al-Shabaab’s own courts, shari’ah courts lack methods for enforcing compliance and therefore differ in an important way from *xeer* or the state-backed court system. Although international donors have sometimes been hesitant to support shari’ah courts because of possible violations of international legal standards, it is difficult to disentangle these legal systems in Somalia.<sup>6</sup>

These three judicial systems co-exist and interact in complex ways. Clan elders often draw on their knowledge of shari’ah law in making decisions under *xeer* and influence how shari’ah law is applied; both systems influence how statutory law is applied, which is required to conform with shari’ah.<sup>7</sup> Individuals may also work through multiple judicial systems. If an individual feels that they did not receive a fair decision in the formal system, they may pursue justice through a shari’ah court. A case could begin in the formal system, but because of family or clan pressure, shift to the *xeer* system. Even

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<sup>3</sup> See for example UNDP’s Joint Justice Programme, among others: <https://erc.undp.org/evaluation/documents/download/19989>

<sup>4</sup> Le Sage, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Le Sage, Andre. 2005. “Stateless Justice in Somalia: Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives.” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. Available at: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/20303/Somalia\\_stateless\\_justice.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/20303/Somalia_stateless_justice.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Thorne, Kristina. 2005. “Rule of Law through Imperfect Bodies? The informal justice systems of Burundi and Somalia.” ETH Zurich. Available at: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/26973/SummaryConclusionsRecommendations.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Expanding Access to Justice Program. 2020. Shari’ah in Somalia. Nairobi, Kenya: Pact and the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative.

these examples understate the extent of overlap: in Somaliland, a criminal case may be resolved through *xeer* but the agreement must be notarized and filed with the relevant district or regional court to document that the case has been resolved.<sup>8</sup> These connections are recognized formally in Somaliland's criminal justice system.

Despite the plethora of justice pathways available, evidence shows that Somali citizens still struggle to have their grievances justly resolved, as they often face discriminatory practices, are not well-informed of their rights, have few functional institutions that can meet their justice needs, and face difficulty in navigating these complex pathways. These issues overlap with stabilization and security challenges. A general absence of justice is often cited as one of the root causes of instability and inter-communal conflict in Somalia and a key driver in the perpetuation of violent extremism. The violent extremist group Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (hereafter "al-Shabaab") has tried to fill this justice vacuum and expand its influence through the provision of "justice" in areas it controls, as well as areas under titular control of the Federal Government of Somalia.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Somalis in both areas routinely report that individuals they know seek out al-Shabaab courts in lieu of customary justice or statutory court systems.<sup>10</sup> Preventing and countering violent extremism is the United States' most important strategic interest in Somalia, and improving access to justice figures prominently in that task.

After being largely neglected in rule of law programming, the importance of customary legal systems, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, began to grow in the late 1990s. Despite increased research into and interest in interventions that focused on a sector-wide approach—including the integration of customary justice as a constituent part of the broader legal environment—over the past 20 years, this has not, in most cases, resulted in increased integration of customary justice systems into rule of law programming. However, it is undeniable that in many contexts, customary justice continues to be a crucial part of the justice system. This evidence suggests that novel approaches are required to integrate customary justice systems while ensuring respect for human rights.<sup>11</sup>

## EAJ PROGRAM OVERVIEW

The EAJ program is a \$25 million, five-year program, launched in 2018, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by Pact and the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative under the Task Order #72064923F00001 EAJ Evaluation Human Rights Support Mechanism, a global program focused on the expansion and protection of human rights. The program aims to improve access to justice and mechanisms to address grievances in Somalia and Somaliland.

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<sup>8</sup> In some cases, the Somaliland state maintains the right of prosecution (i.e., criminal liability) regardless of any settlements made through *xeer*, but in other cases, criminal liability is expunged as a result of these settlements. The difference depends on the severity of the crime, though even in capital cases the severity of the punishment is often affected by the existence of a settlement via *xeer*.

<sup>9</sup> Hansen, Stig Jarle. 2013. "Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group." Oxford University Press; Muibu, Daisy. 2019. "Justice and Terror: Al-Shabaab's Informal Justice Mechanism." Africa Center for Strategy and Policy. Available online at: <https://acstrap.org/justice-and-terror-al-shabaabs-informal-justice-mechanism>.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example: Caato, Bashir Mohamed. 14 September 2022. "In Somalia, al-Shabab's Courts Win More Converts." Al Jazeera. Available online at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/9/14/in-somalia-citizens-eal-shabaabs-justice-system-to-the-state>.

<sup>11</sup> Harper, Erica. 2021. "The enduring utility of customary justice in fragile and post-conflict states: why development actors need to stop searching for magic bullets and solve the political economy and human rights challenges associated with justice programming." The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 53:3. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/07329113.2021.2004845?needAccess=true&role=button>

EAJ is designed to address the challenges Somalis face in navigating the justice system, including a lack of legal knowledge and empowerment and difficulty navigating Somalia’s multiple and overlapping legal pathways. EAJ consists of three complementary core elements: community-based justice, model courts, and justice committees. Underpinning these three core elements is the provision of justice assistance, which empowers individuals to address their grievances, and the development of justice solutions, which involves strengthening institutions and inclusive committees for resolving those grievances. EAJ’s baseline needs assessment identified multiple impediments to accessing justice, among them a lack of legal knowledge among both users and practitioners, prohibitive costs of accessing justice for some users, discriminatory practices that make justice difficult to attain for women, youth, internally displaced people, and other marginalized and rural communities, and the complex interaction of justice pathways.<sup>12</sup>

To address some of these issues, EAJ partners with Somali Legal Aid organizations to support JPs, which is a community-based paralegal model contextualized to Somalia. JPs are trained community members who become partners to aggrieved parties in identifying their preferred pathway through the justice system. It is a volunteer-based system, although JPs do receive modest funds to defray the costs of training and transportation. JPs work with clients to understand their grievance, their position in the community, and the potential costs and benefits of each justice pathway. As a result, JPs are able to both support clients’ immediate justice needs and improve their knowledge and understanding of justice services available to them. JPs are selected in cooperation with communities, reflecting the clan, social, and gender diversity of the communities they serve, and have good social standing and knowledge of local dynamics. Where necessary, JPs are able to work with legal aid organizations (LAOs) to help their clients access legal services.

EAJ developed the EAJ model in cooperation with LAOs and the Somaliland Ministry of Justice and began piloting the JP (or community-based paralegal) model in 2019 in Somaliland.<sup>13</sup> After its initial work with LAOs in Somaliland, EAJ intended to take lessons learned and best practices from the Somaliland pilot to expand JP activities in Somalia. COVID-19 caused delays in the expanded activities in 2020 and EAJ was able to expand JP activities to the southern regions of Somalia—primarily Bay and Banadir, as well as Bakool and Lower Shabelle—in 2021.<sup>14</sup> One of the most significant innovations of EAJ’s JP model is to support aggrieved parties through Somalia’s unique pluralistic legal system, including both the formal legal system and informal *xeer* and shari’ah courts.

The EAJ theory of change stipulates that near-term and long-term improvements in access to quality and equitable justice services require change within three domains: at the community level, within justice institutions, and for the aggrieved parties who represent the end users of the justice system. The focus of this evaluation is the community-based justice awareness and assistance element of the program, which the evaluation team (ET) refers to as the JP intervention. This approach seeks to establish JPs as the first port of call for justice seekers and as dedicated resources for vulnerable individuals within their communities. JPs support individuals in identifying their optimal pathway through the pluralistic justice environment, between *xeer* and shari’ah forums, state courts, and peace committees that bridge these institutions. By exploring their clients’ interests and evaluating likely benefits and costs of varied justice assistance venues, as well as possible outcomes of different strategies, JPs not only address immediate

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<sup>12</sup> EAJ. 2020. Access to Justice Assessment Tool

<sup>13</sup> EAJ. 2019. Annual Report

<sup>14</sup> EAJ. 2021. Annual Report

justice needs, but enhance understanding of justice services and thereby lastingly empower individual justice seekers.

EAJ's JP approach has incorporated a variety of methods and activities:

- Providing JPs technical training on specific contextual and substantive needs based on shari'ah jurisprudence, including women's rights, disability rights, and the treatment of minorities, as well as issues around marriage, inheritance, and child maintenance.
- Mentoring and training JPs in technical legal skills (such as case management), interviewing skills, and professional responsibility and ethics.
- Developing technical resources for training JPs, such as location-specific pocketbooks and a JP training curriculum.
- Incorporating skills and practices such as do no harm principles, conflict sensitivity, and referral methods.
- Including women and members of marginalized groups in the JP cohorts.
- Providing training and information to help legal aid organizations better serve and target underserved or special needs communities.
- Monitoring service provision by JPs and performing case reviews to ensure the quality of legal services.
- Improving public understanding of the varied justice pathways and navigating them among justice actors, such as through weekly information sessions and door-to-door outreach activities.

Supporting legal aid organization partners to provide walk-in support, court-based help desks, hotlines, radio clinics, and outreach through community-based volunteer JPs.

## METHODOLOGY

### OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSE

The objective of the evaluation is to learn more about the effectiveness of EAJ's JPs approach in supporting aggrieved parties' ability to identify the most optimal justice solution and understand how different combinations of factors contribute to aggrieved parties' improved navigation of available justice pathways. In addition, the evaluation provides insight and generates evidence to shape future justice programming. The evaluation is limited to EAJ JP activities in Somaliland, Banadir, and South West State.

The evaluation will be guided by the following evaluation questions (EQs):

- EQ1: Is the JP approach effective at helping aggrieved parties seek solutions to their justice needs?
- EQ2: How has the outcome "aggrieved parties better navigating the justice pathways available to them" been (or not been) achieved? What are the drivers/factors that contribute to "success"?

EQ1 addresses whether the overall efficacy of EAJ's approach to justice programming has been successful in helping individuals to seek and achieve resolutions for their justice needs, based on EAJ's theory of change. It is not possible to know the resolution of a specific case without the support of EAJ (a counterfactual); therefore, the analysis will rely on the perceptions of both the beneficiary and the JP.

The measures of this will include the beneficiary's satisfaction both with the outcome of their case and with the support that they received. The level of satisfaction is subjective based on the respondents' perceptions and the ET will use a variety of indicators of satisfaction, including the result they obtained and the gap between the result they obtained and the result that they wanted. It will also be useful to collect information on the beneficiaries' knowledge of their options for pursuing resolution for their justice needs and their sense of whether they would be able to obtain a fair resolution in future disputes. Additional outcomes will be developed with input from the evaluation workshop.

EQ2 seeks to explore the mechanisms by which EAJ achieved (or did not achieve) success in helping aggrieved parties seek solutions to their justice needs. The analysis will use cases as the unit of analysis, allowing for the examination of characteristics of the case that may have contributed to or hindered the resolution of that case. This will include characteristics of the aggrieved party (such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status) and characteristics of the case itself, such as type and the method selected for resolution. In addition, the analysis will capture characteristics of JPs that may have contributed to EAJ's success (such as the background and knowledge of the JP) and will include some contextual elements, including comparing success factors in Somaliland to cases in Banadir and South West State.

## EVALUATION DESIGN

The evaluation employed a mixed-methods and iterative, staggered design to ensure the most thorough examination of the research questions possible. The approach included quantitative analysis (primarily linear regression) of a large-n dataset capturing details of clients, their cases, their satisfaction with the program and its intervention, and a range of factors that we hypothesized would influence their satisfaction. This large-n dataset also captured data directly from JPs themselves, as they participated in a quantitative survey and provided details on the same cases.

The quantitative data collection was supplemented by 56 key informant interviews, conducted with clients, JPs, EAJ staff members, and other relevant justice actors, such as district court staff and clan elders.

## QUANTITATIVE SAMPLING

For the large-n dataset of individual cases, the evaluation team worked with USAID and EAJ to request case files and contact information for beneficiaries and JPs from EAJ partner organizations. There were significant challenges in first obtaining complete case files with current contact information. For incomplete files, the evaluation team contacted the LAOs directly, seeking their assistance to generate more complete information. After multiple attempts to complete case file information, the evaluation team eliminated case files without contact information for the beneficiary and without a specific named JP assigned to the case. Of 2,374 total case files, 1,086 had sufficient information for inclusion in the sampling frame.

The originally proposed evaluation methodology included a stratified sampling strategy to ensure a representative sample by region and broadly by case type. The difficulties with this approach were discussed at length in the inception report, which noted the need for a flexible approach to sampling.<sup>15</sup> These challenges were compounded by a lower-than-expected response rate from clients, resulting in a need to shift the sampling strategy to a "take-all" approach. Made midway through fieldwork, this decision meant that we no longer attempted to adhere to the stratification procedure intended at the outset of data collection, and instead sought to contact every client for whom we had the necessary

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<sup>15</sup> EAJ evaluation inception report.

information. The approach resulted in the maximum possible sample size of cases, but also produced disproportionality in the composition of cases, including in the distribution of cases across geographic zones. The final sample included 276 complete quantitative surveys with clients. Additional detail on the original sampling procedure, the challenges faced, and revisions to the procedure are provided in the methodological annex. Further detail on the composition of the sample is provided in the next section, where we highlight the demographic characteristics of EAJ clients.

## QUALITATIVE SAMPLING

Qualitative data collection took place near the end of the fieldwork period, working from an explicitly and deliberately iterative design. Using early topline findings from the quantitative data collection, we developed interview questionnaires that sought to fill in specific gaps in our understanding of JPs and client needs, and which addressed questions raised by the quantitative analysis. The qualitative sample consisted of 56 KIIs, as outlined in the table below.

Exhibit 1: Qualitative interviews completed

| RESPONDENT TYPE                                                | NUMBER OF KIIS COMPLETED |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Clients                                                        | 25                       |
| Justice Promoters                                              | 15                       |
| EAJ Technical Staff                                            | 2                        |
| EAJ Partners (EAJ Grant Monitors, LAO Staff, etc.)             | 6                        |
| Other Justice Actors (e.g., clan elders, district court staff) | 8                        |
| Total                                                          | 56                       |

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

### LEGAL AID CLIENTS

The total client sample is 276 individuals. The average age among clients is 33.5 years (minimum 15, maximum 99). Additional characteristics of the sample are listed in Exhibit 1 below. Significantly more women than men responded to the survey; family cases, such as spousal and child support, are the majority of cases and are more likely to be brought by women, therefore, there are more women than men clients. This may also reflect women's greater availability during the day when enumerators called.

A majority of clients (58.3 percent) never attended primary school, reflecting low average rates of education in Somalia (somewhat higher in Somaliland). Of those who did not attend primary school, 38 individuals received religious education. A large minority of the sample had some or completed primary school (28.6 percent). Nearly all of the sample was married (47.9 percent) or divorced (44.4 percent). Among married men and women in the sample, most were in a monogamous marriage (62.4 percent).

Exhibit 2: Demographic characteristics of clients in quantitative sample

| CHARACTERISTIC | SHARE OF CLIENT SAMPLE (N = 276) |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
|----------------|----------------------------------|

|                                                                   |             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Men                                                               | 55 (19.9%)  |
| Women                                                             | 221 (80.1%) |
| <b>Education</b>                                                  |             |
| Never attended primary school                                     | 161 (58.3%) |
| Some or completed primary school                                  | 79 (28.6%)  |
| Some or completed secondary school                                | 24 (8.7%)   |
| Some or completed university, technical, or post-secondary school | 12 (4.3%)   |
| <b>Marital Status</b>                                             |             |
| Single                                                            | 7 (2.5%)    |
| Married                                                           | 132 (47.8%) |
| Divorced                                                          | 124 (44.9%) |
| Widow/Widower                                                     | 13 (4.7%)   |
| <b>Geographic Zone</b>                                            |             |
| Somaliland                                                        | 72 (26.1%)  |
| Banadir                                                           | 182 (46.4%) |
| Bay                                                               | 54 (19.6%)  |
| Other Southern Regions                                            | 22 (8.0%)   |
| <b>Clan Status</b>                                                |             |
| Dominant/majority clan                                            | 95 (34.4%)  |
| Secondary                                                         | 75 (27.2%)  |
| Tertiary                                                          | 76 (27.5%)  |
| Marginalized groups                                               | 30 (10.9%)  |

EAJ was particularly designed to address the justice needs of marginalized populations, and as such, we made particular effort to ensure adequate representation of marginalized respondents in the survey sample. As the table above shows, the number of clients from non-dominant clans—defined locally, depending on local power dynamics and political representation—was significant. In addition, the sample captured a large number of clients whose households are economically marginalized; for instance, nearly 70 percent of respondents (n = 186, 67.4 percent) were not able to pay *zakat* during the

previous Ramadan, which is one indicator of poverty, as payment of *zakat* is a duty for all Muslims who are able to do so. Another indicator of relative deprivation is the frequency or infrequency of consumption of meat; in this sample, over half the clients interviewed did not consume whole (n = 148, 53.6 percent) or chopped meat (n = 151, 54.7 percent) in the past week. These are important indicators of income in Somalia, suggesting that a majority of the sample was experiencing some financial hardship.

Land ownership and land titling are also indicators of household wealth. When asked if the respondent or their family own land in the area, 33.0 percent of respondents (n = 91) responded in the affirmative. Among the 91 respondents who stated that they or their family do own land, 60.4 percent (n = 55) reportedly possess a title for all the land, 13.2 percent (n = 12) possess a title for some, but not all the land, and 26.4 percent (n = 24) do not have a title for the land that they own.<sup>16</sup>

After working with the JP, clients in the sample reported that they feel much more confident in the justice system (n = 217, 78.6 percent felt significantly more confident) and the pathway that they used (n = 216, 78.3 percent). Most clients also felt that they learned a great deal about the justice system (n = 215, 77.9 percent) and the pathway they used (n = 224, 81.2 percent).

## PARALEGALS OR JUSTICE PROMOTERS

Alongside the 276 clients surveyed regarding their cases, we also sought to interview JPs about the same cases. In total, we aimed to collect data on all 276 cases from both clients and the JP involved. As noted, the number of cases for which data was successfully collected from JPs as well was limited to just 105, which included quantitative surveys with 35 distinct JPs. This small sample nonetheless provides interesting insight into the backgrounds and characteristics of the community paralegals trained and supported by EAJ.

First, JPs are a mixed group in terms of both gender and age, though they tend to be relatively young. Of those sampled (n = 35), 45.7 percent are female, which is in line with broader data on JP demographics provided by EAJ, which indicated that around 40 percent of JPs were women. The average age of the JPs is 33 years, but 60 percent of JPs in our sample are 30 years old or younger. The youngest JPs tend to be women—with one JP reportedly just 20 years of age—and only a few JPs are above 50 years of age (11.4 percent of our sample).

It is important to note that our sample of JPs is not representative. It dramatically overrepresents JPs from the Somali Women Development Center (SWDC) and Somaliland Women Lawyers Association (SWLA) and underrepresents those from the Academy for Development and Advocacy of Minorities (ADAM) and, to some extent, the Somali Disability Empowerment Network (SODEN). On the other hand, the composition of the sample is driven not by the number of JPs each LAO employed—where, for example, ADAM employed the most JPs, according to one data source provided by EAJ—but by the number of cases handled and by the number of cases with documentation necessary for our study, as noted in the previous section. As a result, our sample of JPs tends toward those who were most active,

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<sup>16</sup> Note that the survey did not capture additional detail regarding documentation of land ownership. For those who self-report holding a title to some or all of their land, our team did not review the documentation; for those who self-report a lack of a title, it is not clear from our data whether they are in the process of obtaining documentation or have other evidence of land tenure rights that are common in Somalia, such as witness testimony supporting their claims.

from organizations whose cases tended to be better documented within EAJ’s case database, and whose clients were most amenable to being interviewed.

Despite the young average age of the JPs interviewed, a majority of male JPs have taken roles within *xeer* that are typically associated with traditional or clan elders.<sup>17</sup> For instance, when asked whether they had ever been asked to serve as an elder to resolve a case within *xeer beegti*,<sup>18</sup> 63.2 percent of male JPs indicated that they had. Even more male JPs had been asked to act as an advocate for a member of their family in a formal *xeer* hearing and to mediate disputes within their family. These JPs tended to be older than average, but this group also included JPs as young as 25 years of age.

Also interesting is the dearth of Maay-speaking JPs in general, at least within our sample. Just 11.4 percent of the JPs surveyed speak af-Maay at home; unsurprisingly, these JPs were all from Bay and Bakool. The only JP who spoke any af-Maay among the 19 JPs in Banadir indicated that they had a basic understanding and could communicate only about simple concepts. This is notable because a significant minority (32.0 percent) of clients in Banadir speak af-Maay or a different minority language—for example, af-Tunni, af-Jidde, or Benadiri Somali—at home. The lack of Maay-speaking JPs in Banadir may represent an important barrier to serving the Rahanweyn communities that make up many of the internally displaced people now living in Banadir.

As Exhibit 2 below shows, the modal JP has graduated university but has not completed any post-graduate education. The table illustrates the educational diversity of JPs, with some—generally older—JPs having left school before completing primary school. Younger JPs are much more likely to have completed primary and secondary school, though many are sufficiently young that they have not completed their educational attainment yet, and may continue on to complete graduate education.

Exhibit 3: Educational attainment of JPs, by age

| EDUCATIONAL LEVEL                    | YOUNGER JPS<br>(UNDER 35 YEARS) | OLDER JPS<br>(35+ YEARS) | ALL JPS |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Never attended school                | 0.0%                            | 25.0%                    | 8.6%    |
| Attended or completed primary school | 8.7%                            | 33.3%                    | 17.1%   |
| Completed secondary school           | 8.7%                            | 8.3%                     | 8.6%    |
| Some university                      | 21.7%                           | 8.3%                     | 17.1%   |
| Completed university                 | 43.5%                           | 16.7%                    | 34.3%   |

<sup>17</sup> We describe them in this way because the definition of “clan elder” is complex. High- and mid-ranking elders have specific titles (e.g., *Suldaan*, *Ugaas*, or other titles for high-ranking elders and *nabadoon* or *aqil* for mid-ranking elders) but the definition of an elder is positional or relative. An elder uncle is often considered an elder within his family but lacks any formal title; others may lack title but resolve disputes using *xeer* with the same regularity.

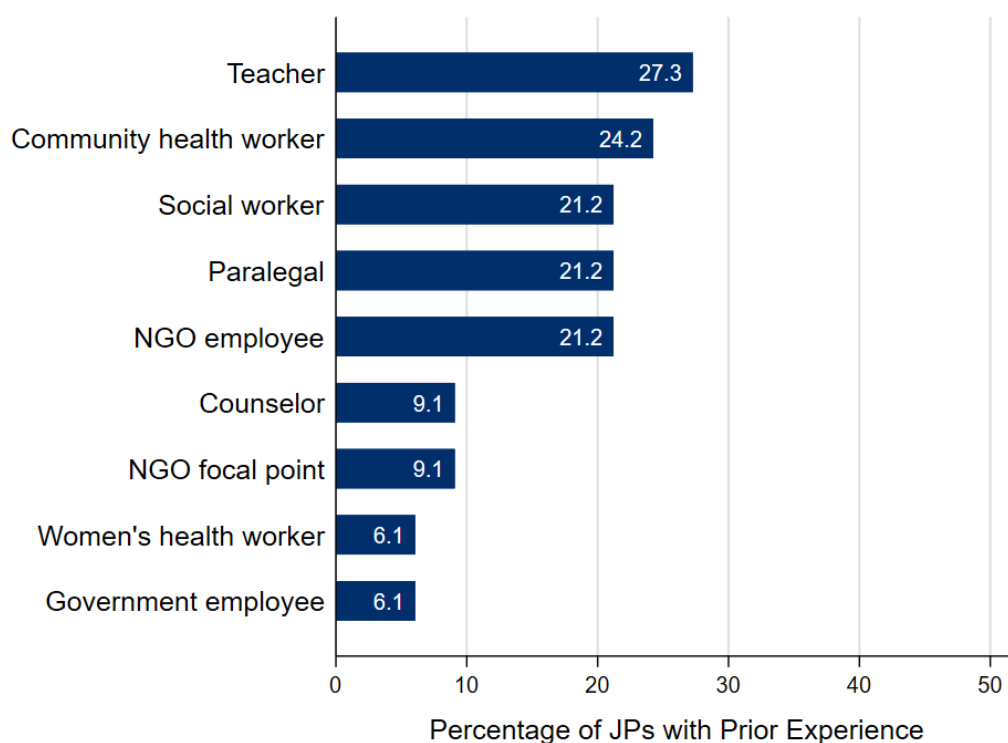
<sup>18</sup> *Xeer beegti* is one term for a formal meeting of several elders where disputes are resolved. It is generally the largest and most formal of such meetings, as compared to *gar* meetings. This terminology is not universal, however, and our purpose was not to distinguish between different types of hearings; rather, our goal was to understand whether the JP had ever participated in *xeer* in a relatively formal manner.

|                                       |       |      |       |
|---------------------------------------|-------|------|-------|
| Attended or completed graduate school | 17.4% | 8.3% | 14.3% |
|---------------------------------------|-------|------|-------|

JPs who have completed university education have diverse backgrounds, but several (6 out of 23) studied some form of law. Other university concentrations among those who have attended or are attending university include business administration, health or public health, and economics.<sup>19</sup> Several JPs have also completed or are currently enrolled in post-graduate studies in law, such as a JD or LLM degree course; a few have completed lengthy non-university training in shari’ah law; however, in almost all cases, these are the same JPs who already studied law at the bachelor’s level. In other words, the legal expertise and educational experience of JPs is generally bi-modal: 31.4 percent of JPs have completed (or are enrolled in) a BA or graduate program in law or have completed a six-month or longer course in shari’ah. At the other end of the distribution, for 25.7 percent of JPs, their highest educational qualification is primary school completion or lower.

As our discussion of educational background attests, JPs come from diverse backgrounds. This is also true of their professional experience. Exhibit 3, below, reports the share of JPs who previously worked in a variety of occupations that we considered relevant for their work as a JP. For instance, employment in a women’s health or counselling center may make a JP uniquely well-suited to assisting the program’s majority female clients; past experience as focal point for an NGO program may mean a JP has deep connections or relationships in a particular community.

Exhibit 4: Share of JPs with previous experience in relevant occupations



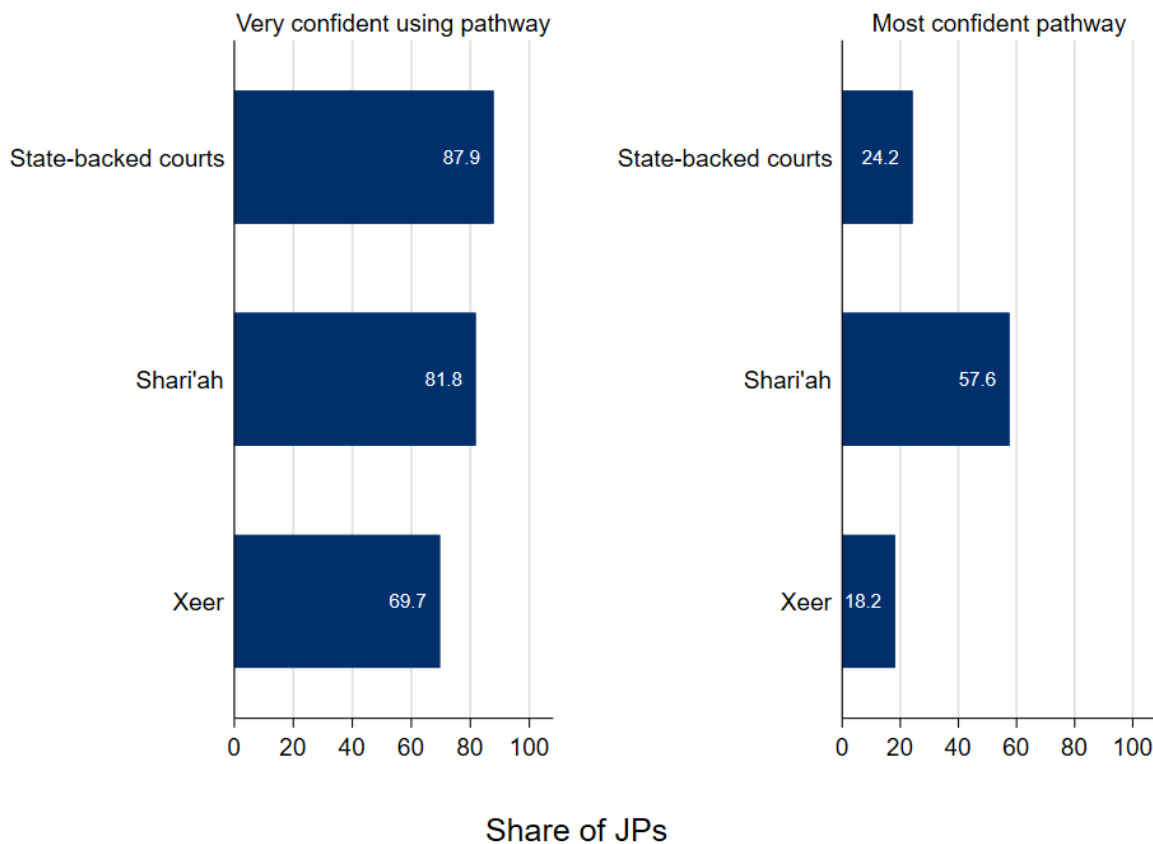
<sup>19</sup> JPs’ university and post-graduate education has taken place almost exclusively in Somalia or Somaliland.

Interestingly, prior to EAJ, 21.2 percent of JPs had already worked as a paralegal or legal aid worker, typically for about one year, though this varied. This is not entirely surprising, since several of EAJ’s legal aid partner organizations provided legal aid in some form prior to EAJ; there are also other legal aid clinics in both Somalia and Somaliland, such as the University of Hargeisa or through private law firms, though these are generally small-scale. A number of other JPs had previously worked in community- or client-facing positions, such as social work, child advocacy, and counsellor. These experiences are notable because, even if the JPs in question have less legal background, they may be more empathetic, easier to engage, or otherwise provide advantages and comfort to their clients.

Relevant educational and professional experience is especially important to understanding JPs and their relative success because training through EAJ was not expansive or intensive, according to the JPs we spoke with. Among the JPs surveyed, most (78.3 percent) reported that onboarding into the EAJ program took place over one week or less, with some indicating that the training took place in a single day. While the latter respondents are likely underestimating the length of training, it appears clear that EAJ and its partner organizations did not and could not provide a comprehensive grounding in handling cases across all the different justice pathways, especially when one considers that JPs also required training on procedures for working as a paralegal, documenting cases, safeguarding, and so forth. With a relatively constrained training period and a huge range of material to cover, understanding the past experience and knowledge of JPs will help us make sense of how they work with clients and which clients they work with most effectively.

This discussion of JP backgrounds and training within EAJ brings us naturally to a discussion of the JPs’ relative strengths and weaknesses as paralegals. We asked the JPs to assess their own knowledge regarding the three main justice pathways (*xeer*, the state-backed court system, and shari’ah law administered by an imam); the results for the 35 JPs surveyed are provided in Exhibit 4. In the left panel, we report the share of JPs who feel “very confident” navigating each of the three pathways. It is clear that JPs feel generally confident regardless of the pathway; 44 percent of JPs reported feeling very confident using all three. However, the left panel also hints at a gap in knowledge between *xeer* and the other systems, with JPs expressing less confidence in their ability to navigate the latter.

Exhibit 5: JP confidence in navigating three main justice pathways



The right panel of the exhibit approaches this question in a different way, asking JPs which system they feel most comfortable navigating. In this case, JPs are forced to consider their *relative* levels of confidence, and the results show they are most confident managing the shari’ah process and least confident managing the process of *xeer*. Older JPs are somewhat more likely to be comfortable navigating *xeer* processes, while female JPs tend to be more comfortable navigating the statutory system—not surprising, given that women are not allowed to participate actively in most *xeer* hearings. JP confidence in using shari’ah and comparative lack of confidence in using *xeer* is especially noteworthy because a majority of JPs report that *xeer* constituted most of their cases, while shari’ah was used in the fewest.<sup>20</sup>

While JPs tend to feel confident in their knowledge of Shariah and, in practice, handled most of their cases through *xeer* and, to a lesser extent, the state-backed court system, they tend to be advocates for the latter. That is, when presented with hypothetical cases and asked which pathway they would suggest for their client, a majority would suggest district courts for *any* type of case we assessed. The figure below shows the share of JPs who would suggest using district courts for five different case types.

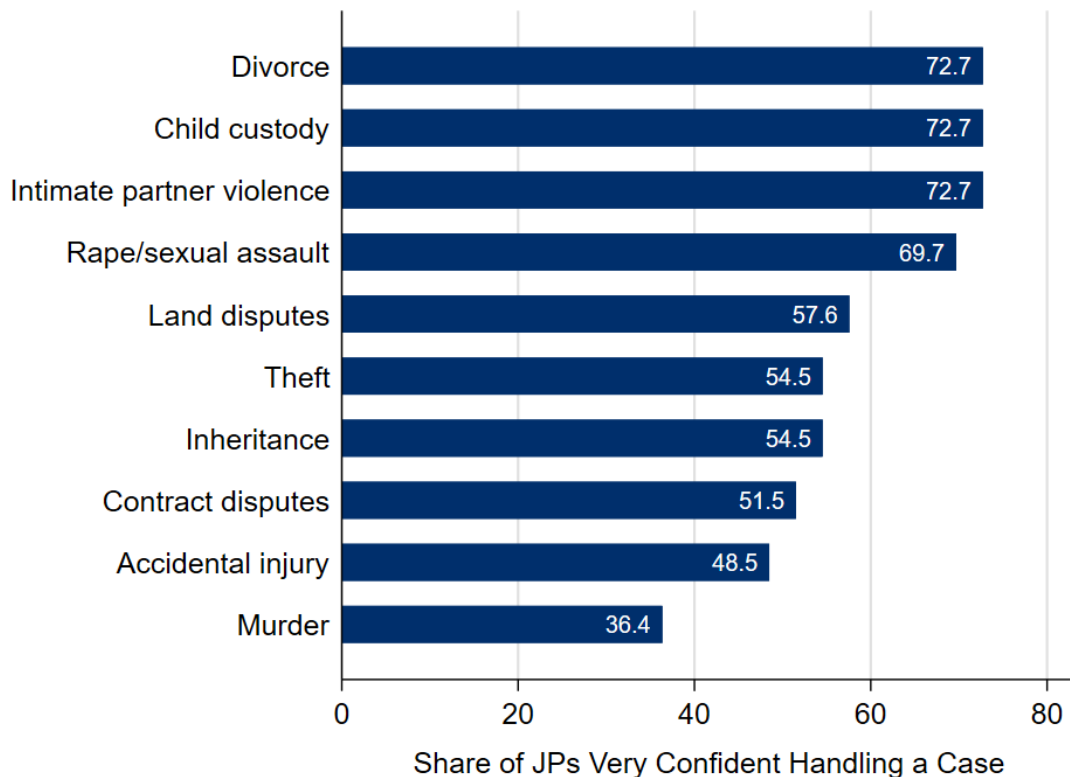
<sup>20</sup> In total, 51.4 percent of JPs said *xeer* was used most commonly in their cases for EAJ; just 11.4 percent of JPs spent a majority of their time working on cases resolved through shari’ah. This does not mean the majority of all cases handled by EAJ were adjudicated through *xeer*; rather, this means that a majority of our sample of JPs felt *xeer* was the most commonly-used pathway in *their* cases. However, because JPs worked on dramatically different numbers of cases, this does not reflect the overall distribution of case pathways. According to clients interviewed, the statutory system was the most common pathway employed by a wide margin. However, data from clients and JPs agree on the relative infrequency with which they used shari’ah as administered through an imam; just 2.5 percent of cases were heard in Islamic courts or by an imam.

The scenario in which JPs were least supportive of using state-backed courts was one in which a divorced woman was seeking child support from her ex-husband; even in this instance, 42.9 percent of JPs would prefer the courts. For other cases—such as sexual assault or land disputes—the support gap widens, with a large majority of JPs favoring the state-backed courts.

Finally, to accompany our understanding of JP preferences for different justice pathways and their confidence in their own ability to navigate these pathways, we also asked them to rate their confidence handling specific types of cases. This is useful because, regardless of the pathway chosen, there is significant variation in the complexity, documentary requirements, and even potential for communal tension across different types of cases. For example, land disputes are often difficult to resolve because they require detailed documentation and because the parties may have competing documentation, or documentation may contradict the statements of credible witnesses.

Exhibit 5 reports the share of JPs who feel very confident handling each of ten different types of cases. One theme that emerges from this figure is that JPs generally feel confident handling cases that can be classified as “family law”: divorce and child custody cases, in particular, and—depending on one’s definition—intimate partner violence as well. JPs are much less confident handling civil disputes, including contractual claims, land disputes, accidental injury, and inheritance cases. Criminal cases present a mixed finding, but are also met with less confidence by JPs; murder cases represented the type of case JPs were least confident handling, but this may reflect the fact that it is a capital crime and the outcome is particularly consequential. In any case, the main conclusion to be drawn from this figure is that JPs are most confident in the context of family law and broadly less confident when confronted with civil cases of all kinds.

Exhibit 6: JP confidence handling different case types



### SAMPLE COMPARISON

As noted in our methodological and limitations discussions previously, our initial goal was to collect data from both clients and JPs for every case in our sample. We fell short of our target sample for surveys with clients (or, equivalently, our target sample for the number of cases studied), interviewing clients about 276 distinct cases. Importantly, we also fell short of this reduced target for data collection from JPs; while aiming to interview them about each of the 276 cases studied, we were only able to interview JPs about 105 cases. With regard to the gap between the sample of cases from clients and the sample of cases from JPs, the driving factors were:

- A significant number of cases, even in our client sample, for which the JP involved was unknown
- Low contact rates for JPs, some of whom could not be located or were unwilling to participate in our interviews in a timely manner

When analyzing client satisfaction, we face a dilemma. On one hand, data collected from JPs are valuable, because they provide insight into how JPs worked, the extent to which they are embedded in their communities, their confidence on different case types, and their professional/educational backgrounds. We expect some of these factors to be predictive of client satisfaction, either with the JP or with the case's outcome. On the other hand, incorporating data from JPs into our regression models reduces our sample size dramatically, from 276 to 105 cases.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> This occurs because a regression model relating client satisfaction to a battery of explanatory variables (such as justice venue, case type, client characteristics, and JP actions) requires data on all variables included in the model. When we add variables or

The smaller sample size has important consequences for statistical power. Consider a simplified case in which we believe there is a relationship between a case characteristic (e.g., use of *xeer*) and client satisfaction; in this hypothetical, we assume *xeer* results in satisfaction rates that are 10 percentage points higher, on average, than other cases that use other pathways. When analyzed over a sample of 276 cases, statistical power is 68.7 percent, which means there is a .687 probability of detecting a true 10-point difference in satisfaction caused by the use of *xeer*. However, in the smaller sample of 105 cases, this power drops to just 13.4 percent. This is equivalent to a much larger “false negative” rate. As a result, if we find no relationship between the use of *xeer* and client satisfaction, we are less confident that there is no such relationship in truth; and if we find a relationship in our analysis, we are less confident it reflects a true effect than we would be using the larger sample.

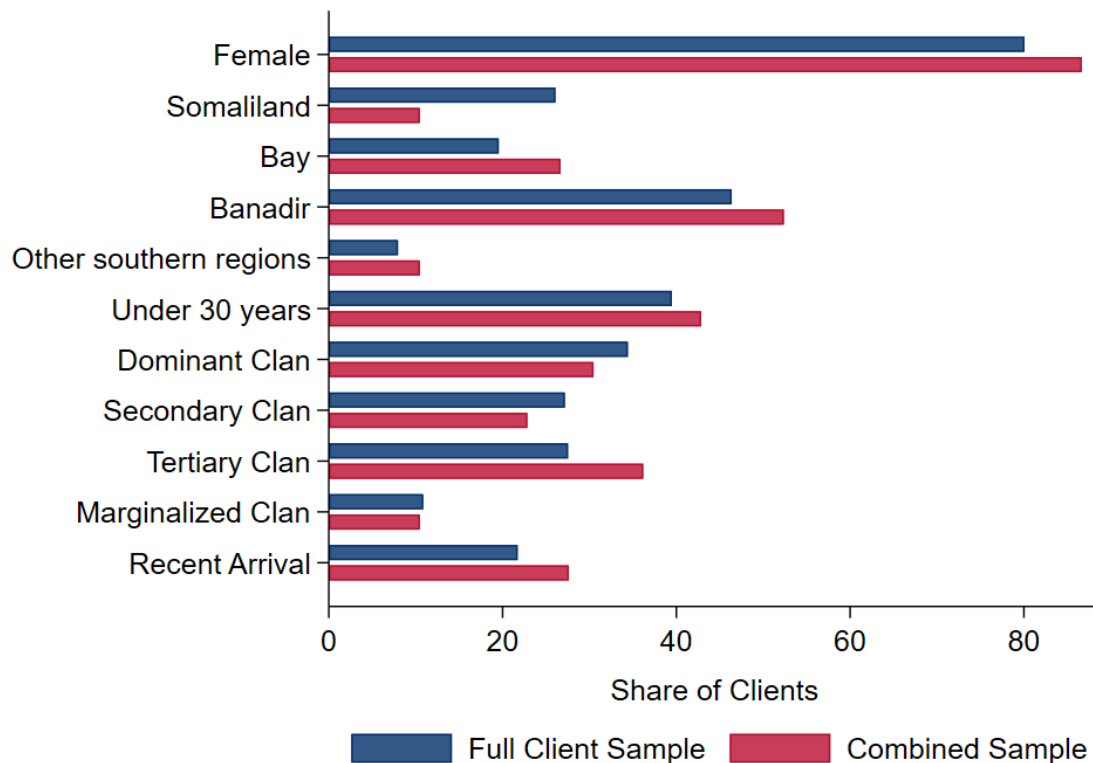
More importantly, the sample that includes data from both clients and JPs (hereafter, the “combined sample”) is different in important ways from the client-only sample. The combined sample’s smaller size also results in differences in its composition, such as the share of women or representation of different regions.

In Exhibit 6, we report demographic and case characteristics for clients, comparing the combined sample (n = 105) to the full, client-only sample (n = 276). As shown, women make up a larger share of the smaller, combined sample, while Somaliland makes up a smaller share. Women are 80.1 percent of all clients in the full, client-only sample, while they make up 86.7 percent of the clients in the combined sample. Somaliland, meanwhile, goes from 26.1 percent of the full sample to just 10.5 percent of the combined sample.

Table 7: Demographics of client sample (n = 276) versus combined sample (n = 105)

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characteristics derived from surveys with JPs, then, our sample size for analysis of all variables in the model drops to just 105 cases.



Clients in the combined sample appear to be somewhat more marginalized, in at least some respects. First, they are slightly more likely to be recent arrivals in their district, and significantly less likely to be a member of either the majority or secondary clan(s) in their district; they are much more likely to be members of what we label “tertiary” clans who are usually ethnic Somalis, but from a different clan family than the dominant clan.<sup>22</sup> The combined sample also has a higher share of clients who have never attended school, though they do not appear to be poorer, on average.<sup>23</sup>

Our goal is to draw the most reliable conclusions, despite the shortcomings of the two different samples. Our solution is slightly cumbersome, but jointly meets two goals:

- To analyze the relationship between many different explanatory factors, including how JP characteristics, attitudes, and actions affect client satisfaction.
- To analyze those relationships in as rigorous a way as possible, where we consider rigor on a case-by-case basis.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, in Burco, we classify all non-Isaaq in this way, unless they belong to a specifically marginalized clan or occupational group, such as Gabooye; in Baidoa, we classify all non-Mirifle in this way, unless they belong to a specifically marginalized group such as the Somali Bantu.

<sup>23</sup> It is important to emphasize, however, that our measures of income/wealth genuinely distinguish broad categories only; they are relatively insensitive to small to moderate differences in income. Therefore, despite the fact that there is no difference between the two samples in terms of our income index, it is fair to conclude that clients in the combined sample are more marginalized—as a result of their lesser education, more recent arrival, and affiliation with locally smaller clans—than the average client in the larger, client-only full sample.

What this means is that our analysis is designed to generate the most reliable conclusions possible, given the specifics of the question. When analyzing the relationship between client characteristics, case characteristics, and any other explanatory factors derived exclusively from surveys with clients, on one hand, and client satisfaction, on the other hand, we employ the larger, client-only sample. This provides the largest sample possible to analyze, for example, the relationship between the venue selected and the time taken to reach a resolution, and client satisfaction with the JP or case outcome.

In contrast, when we *need* to use data derived from surveys with the JPs, we turn to the combined sample (n = 105). For instance, when analyzing the relationship between a JP's educational background or their specific knowledge in handling theft case and the client's satisfaction with their work, we cannot avoid using data from the JP survey. As such, we are forced to use the smaller, combined sample.

The critical point, which makes this process slightly cumbersome, is that we must perform these analyses separately. To take advantage of the larger available sample in the first case, we must exclude JP-level characteristics from the analysis. This results in regression models that report on client- and case-specific characteristics and their relationship to client satisfaction. Later, we estimate separate regression models that include JP characteristics, using the smaller sample.<sup>24</sup> In summary, we estimate four main models – each focused on a different type of factor that might predict satisfaction – for each type of client satisfaction:

- **Outcome: Client satisfaction with the JP**
  - Predictors: Client characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: Case characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP and legal aid organization actions (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP characteristics (combined sample, n = 105)
- **Outcome: Client satisfaction with the case outcome**
  - Predictors: Client characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: Case characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP and legal aid organization actions (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP characteristics (combined sample, n = 105)
- **Outcome: Client satisfaction with the legal process**
  - Predictors: Client characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: Case characteristics (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP and legal aid organization actions (full client sample, n = 276)
  - Predictors: JP characteristics (combined sample, n = 105)

This approach—separation of analysis into different models—results in slightly lengthier discussion and may prove confusing at times, but we employ this strategy purposefully because it is the most rigorous

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<sup>24</sup> One further note is worth mentioning. When we turn to the smaller combined sample to analyze the effect of JP characteristics or actions, we include control variables derived from the client survey. However, these are included strictly as control variables, and we do not interpret the results or draw conclusions from them. In other words, we do not draw conclusions regarding the relationship between, for example, a client's clan affiliation and their satisfaction *using the combined sample*. We draw conclusions about that relationship from the larger, client-only sample. Once we turn to the combined sample, we may include clan affiliation as a control variable, but we do not draw conclusions about it, because we have already analyzed the relationship using the larger, full sample; any differences in the relationship across the two samples is likely due to the smaller sample size, and should be discarded.

approach, despite the drawbacks. In particular, it ensures we maximize the available sample size for analysis of each set of predictors.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 1

As discussed in the Methodology section, we surveyed a total of 276 JP clients by phone after contacting 1086 clients. We used multiple measures of “satisfaction” to capture the varied dimensions of an individual’s experience with the justice system. We asked clients to separately consider their satisfaction with the work of the JP, the outcome of their case, and their experience with the process, to the extent that those experiences are possible to disentangle. Overall satisfaction with the JPs, case outcomes, and the process is very high, though it is worth noting that satisfaction with one’s JP is higher than satisfaction with case outcomes or procedural fairness.

Because of challenges locating respondents and with non-response, the sampling strategy was broad to collect as many responses as possible. As a result, the analytical results cannot be considered representative of either the populations of Somalia and Somaliland nor the total pool of JP clients, but are representative of the clients with whom we were able to speak. The small sample size also limits some of the analysis we are able to conduct, which will be discussed further in EQ 2. In this section, we disaggregate levels of satisfaction by various characteristics of the client or case for comparison. When sample sizes are very small, we do not want to infer meaning for an entire group if the subgroup analysis reflects the views of very few people. In the analyses below, we detail measures where we have combined groups where necessary.

It is important to note that our measures of satisfaction may be influenced by selection bias, insofar as those respondents who were particularly satisfied with their experience may have been more likely to consent to participate in the survey. Those individuals who were most dissatisfied with either the outcome of their case, the JP, or the process may have refused to participate at higher rates – a consideration which we cannot test empirically. To the extent that this is true, our estimates of client satisfaction may be overestimated.

### SATISFACTION WITH THE JUSTICE PROMOTER

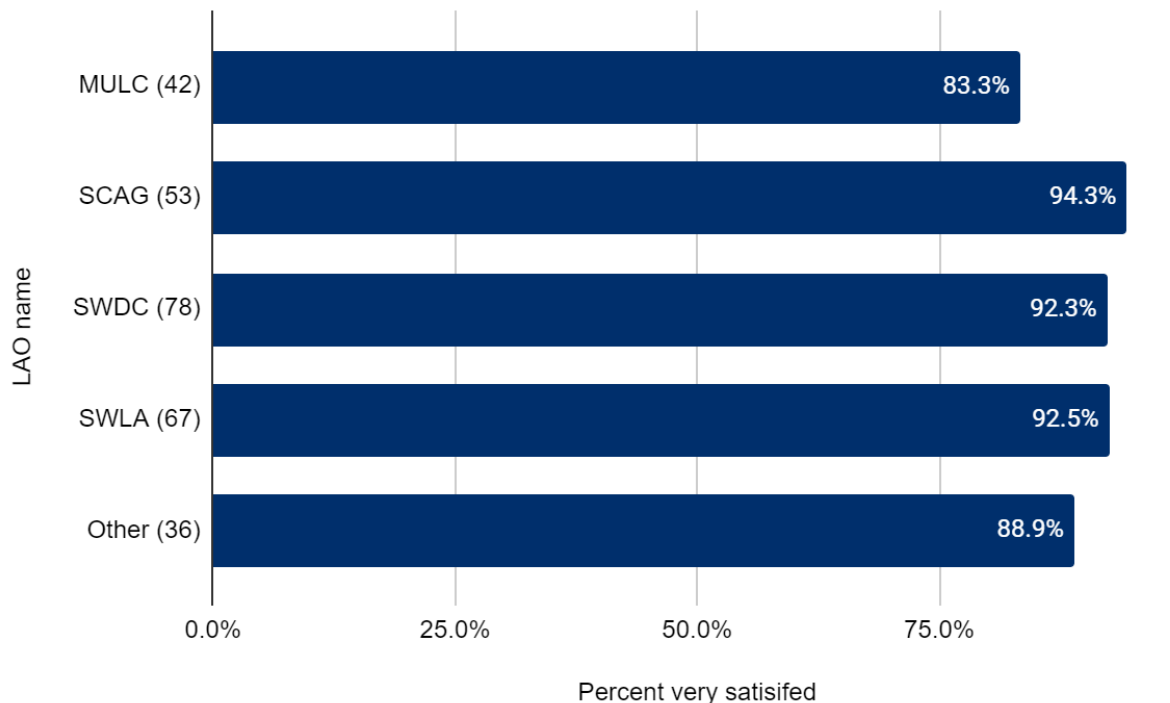
The survey measured client satisfaction with the JP through multiple measures. All measures showed comparably high approval levels of satisfaction. When asked about their **overall satisfaction** with the work of the JP on a three-point scale from very satisfied to not at all satisfied, 90.9 percent (n = 251) of client respondents reported being very satisfied. The remaining 25 respondents (9.1 percent) reported being either somewhat or not at all satisfied.<sup>25</sup> To test the robustness of this finding, we looked specifically at clients who did not receive a resolution to their case, on the assumption that satisfaction with the outcome would be related to getting a resolution. While satisfaction was lower in this group (14.9 percent somewhat or not satisfied at all, n=15), it was still very high among those who did not get a resolution (85.2 percent, n=86).

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<sup>25</sup> In addition to potential selection bias, previous research in Somalia suggests that survey respondents often report very high levels of satisfaction with a variety of donor-supported programming and services that that programming deals with, even in cases where those services are not functioning well. This is particularly true with broader questions, as compared to questions on very specific aspects of programming. This may reflect multiple factors, including: overall low expectations, respondents want the programming to continue, respondents do not want to cause conflict or “trouble,” lack of attention from the respondent.

The figure below depicts satisfaction with the JPs across LAOs. As noted in the sample demographics, there were very few cases in the sample from ADAM (5), Action for Development and Research (8), City University Law Clinic (3), and SODEN (20); therefore, in the chart, these four organizations have been combined into an “Other” category. The satisfaction level for Mogadishu University Law Clinic (83.3 percent) and the Other category (88.9 percent) are somewhat lower than the other organizations; however, this difference is not statistically significant and we cannot say with confidence that this finding is not a product of chance.

Exhibit 8: Client satisfaction with their JP, by legal aid organization



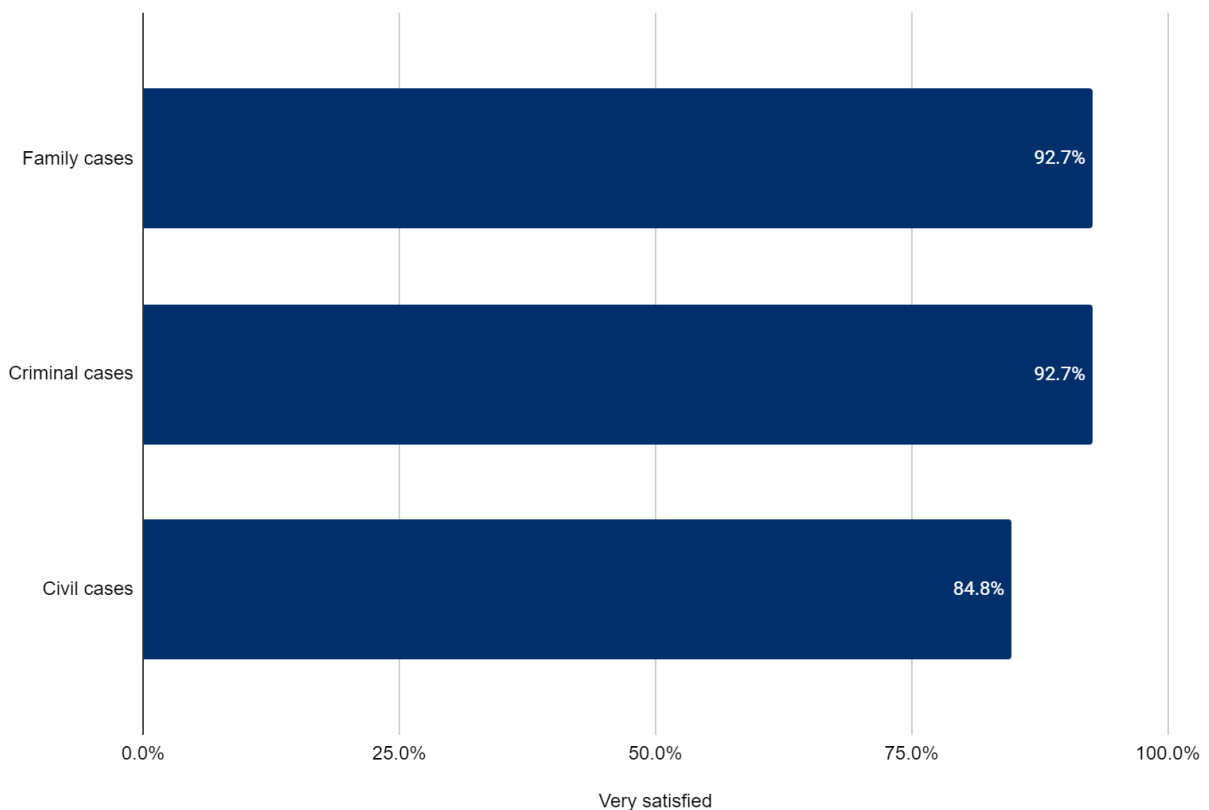
Women reported higher satisfaction than men: 93.2 percent of women (n = 206) were very satisfied, while 81.8 percent of men (n = 45) were very satisfied. Women were not more likely to report receiving a resolution to their case, and, in fact, men were more likely to report being happy with the JP because they helped get a satisfactory resolution.<sup>26</sup> Women did feel more comfortable with the JP; 83.6 percent of men (n = 46) and 94.1 percent of women (n = 208) reported being very comfortable. However, this finding could also be related to social differences between men and women in Somalia. In previous research, women also reported greater satisfaction with government services and were less likely to believe that their group is being treated unfairly, compared to men.<sup>27</sup> While it is not possible to establish why this is the case in the data for this study, this may be related to lower information among women, which leads to less negative views; alternatively, women’s socialization may make them less likely to express negative views.

<sup>26</sup> Men and women were equally likely to say that the JP helped to understand the options, helped to make a decision that the client was happy with, made the client feel more confident with the justice system, and improved the client’s knowledge of the justice system.

<sup>27</sup> USAID. (2021). “Transition Initiatives for Stabilization Plus (TIS+): Indicator Tracking Endline - Benadir, Bay, and Lower Shabelle.”

Exhibit 8 shows the percentage of respondents reporting being very satisfied by case type. Family cases include divorce, child custody/support/alimony, dowry, and inheritance. Criminal cases include violent crimes, such as murder, assault, kidnapping, domestic violence, and child abuse, as well as non-violent crimes related to, for example, the use or sale of alcohol and drugs. Civil cases are mainly financial and administrative cases such as land disputes, breach of contract, debt, traffic accidents, defamation, and discrimination. Percentages of the total case type are shown in the chart: family cases represent a much larger share of cases than the other categories. Across the case types, there is very little difference in satisfaction levels. Satisfaction was somewhat lower for those involved in civil cases; however, the difference is not statistically significant, and may simply be a function of sampling variance.

Exhibit 9: Client satisfaction with their JP, as a function of case type



The survey included questions addressing whether or not the client felt there was anything the JP assigned to their case should have done that they did not do. Consistent with the other measures, 247 respondents (89.5 percent) said no, while 29 (10.5 percent) said yes. Relatedly, we asked clients if there was ever a time that they felt the JP **could have done a better job** or a different JP would have been better suited to their case. Ninety percent (n = 249) said no, 4 percent (n = 11) felt there were one or two occasions where the JP could have done better, and 5.8 percent (n = 16) said they felt that way frequently.

We asked clients how likely they would be, if they had another case in the future, to **contact a JP again** on a four-point scale, from very likely to very unlikely. Similar to overall satisfaction, 85.8 percent of respondents reported being very likely to use a JP again (n = 224) and 8.1 percent (n = 21) would be somewhat likely. Two respondents were somewhat unlikely to use a JP again (0.8 percent) and 13 were

very unlikely to use a JP again (5.0 percent). Overall satisfaction and likelihood of using a JP again is highly correlated, suggesting that those who were highly unsatisfied with JPs are less likely to use a JP in the future.

A large majority of client respondents (n = 249, 90.2 percent) would be very likely to **recommend using a JP** to a friend or family member in need of legal assistance (only six respondents, or 2.2 percent, said that they would be somewhat or very unlikely to recommend consulting a JP). There is a small difference between the number of respondents who reported being highly satisfied with the JP and slightly fewer who would use the JP again. This discrepancy is not explained in the data. It is possible that clients felt they gained sufficient knowledge and confidence from the JP to be able to navigate a case in the future or simply did not foresee ever needing to use the justice system again.

We also asked respondents about a variety of specific aspects of their experience with the JPs. Respondents reported being very comfortable with the JP (92.0 percent, n = 254). Respondents also reported being much more confident in the JP's knowledge and the quality of advice they provided after working with them compared to before (88.8 percent much more confident, n = 245). However, slightly more respondents reported having difficulty reaching the JP; 67 respondents reported having a somewhat or very difficult time reaching the JP (24.3 percent). The fact that there is variation in these specific factors, compared to overall satisfaction, suggests that respondents were able to consider these factors separately and report accurately on their experience.

In particular, clients seemed to appreciate the JPs' ability to explain the process and the time they spent with the client. When asked about specific functions that the JP played, clients felt that they did a good job explaining words and concepts. A large majority felt that the JP explained things very well (88.8 percent, n = 245) and the remainder felt the JP explained things only somewhat or not well at all (11.2 percent, n = 31). A majority also felt that JPs always had time to explain and never rushed the client (82.6 percent, n = 228). These factors are further considered as predictors of satisfaction in EQ 2.

The qualitative data support these findings in almost all respects. Aggregating across many KIIs with clients, the vast majority expressed satisfaction with the JP, even when given the opportunity to explain in greater detail or provide nuance regarding the JP's work. For instance, when asked whether they would contact a Justice Promoter again in the future, if they had another dispute, only 2 out of 25 clients interviewed said they would not use a JP again.<sup>28</sup> Recognizing that program beneficiaries are often hesitant to be critical of individuals or organizations who helped them, we specifically primed respondents by asking them to be forthright, indicating that their responses would be kept confidential, and that their feedback would be used to improve future programming; even after framing questions about their experiences in this way, clients reported broadly positive experiences.<sup>29</sup>

A theme that emerged in the qualitative interviews was that clients often focused on the positive interpersonal styles and communication of their JP. In fact, in only one instance did a client provide negative feedback on the level of communication with their JP. "I was not able to find the justice promoter when I needed them, as she was nice for the first time but after I explained my case, she did not respond and she ignored me when I tried to call her most of the time....The justice promoter did not

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<sup>28</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 123.

<sup>29</sup> KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 122; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108.

listen to me as she did not take my legal problem seriously at all.”<sup>30</sup> Otherwise, however, clients seemed extremely satisfied with both the availability of their justice promoter and the empathy and consideration demonstrated in communications and conversation. This is one of several themes that will be explored more systematically in the EQ2 analysis later in this report.

### **SATISFACTION WITH CASE OUTCOME/RESOLUTION**

We asked respondents how **satisfied with the outcome** of their case they were independent of what they thought of the JP’s actions and how fair they found the process. When asked whether they were very, somewhat, or not at all satisfied with the resolution of their case, a large majority were very satisfied (n = 204, 82.9 percent) and far fewer were either somewhat satisfied (n = 11, 4.5 percent) or not at all satisfied (n = 31, 12.6 percent). This is not surprising, given that many clients received a favorable resolution. In a separate survey, JPs reported that of 93 cases where there was a resolution, 88.2 percent of those cases were favorable to the client and only 3.2 percent were disadvantageous to the client (the remainder were mixed). The question of whether the nature of the resolution affects the level of satisfaction will be further analyzed in EQ 2. The results of the qualitative analysis were largely consistent with the above findings. When asked how they felt about the resolution of their case, the majority of client key informants responded with statements strongly indicating a high level of satisfaction.<sup>31</sup> For example, one client stated, “The resolution of my case was so good and justice was served.”<sup>32</sup> However, a significant minority of clients did express strong dissatisfaction with the resolution of their cases during key informant interviews (KII)s.<sup>33</sup> Not surprisingly, these clients were typically those that did not receive favorable outcomes. For example, one client stated, “I do not feel happy about the resolution made to my case since I have not been given any justice.”<sup>34</sup>

Exhibit 9 disaggregates satisfaction levels by zone. The satisfaction with case outcomes was significantly lower in Somaliland than in implementation areas in south-central Somalia (areas within south-central Somalia—particularly Bay and Banadir—report comparable levels to each other). This is particularly interesting considering that satisfaction levels with JPs is not significantly different across zones within Somalia. We do not have data that specifically address why the satisfaction level in Somaliland would be lower. It is likely that the relatively better functioning government institutions in Somaliland and the relative security create higher expectations among residents of Somaliland. Previous research has shown that people in Somaliland are more likely to report crimes to the police, more likely to report a police officer who asks for a bribe, and more likely to believe the police officer who asked for a bribe would be punished than people in Somalia, suggesting some level of faith in the formal systems.<sup>35</sup> In this case, greater faith in an ability to obtain justice may result in greater disappointment when the justice system does not live up to expectations.

Exhibit 10: Client satisfaction with their case outcome, by geographic zone

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<sup>30</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103.

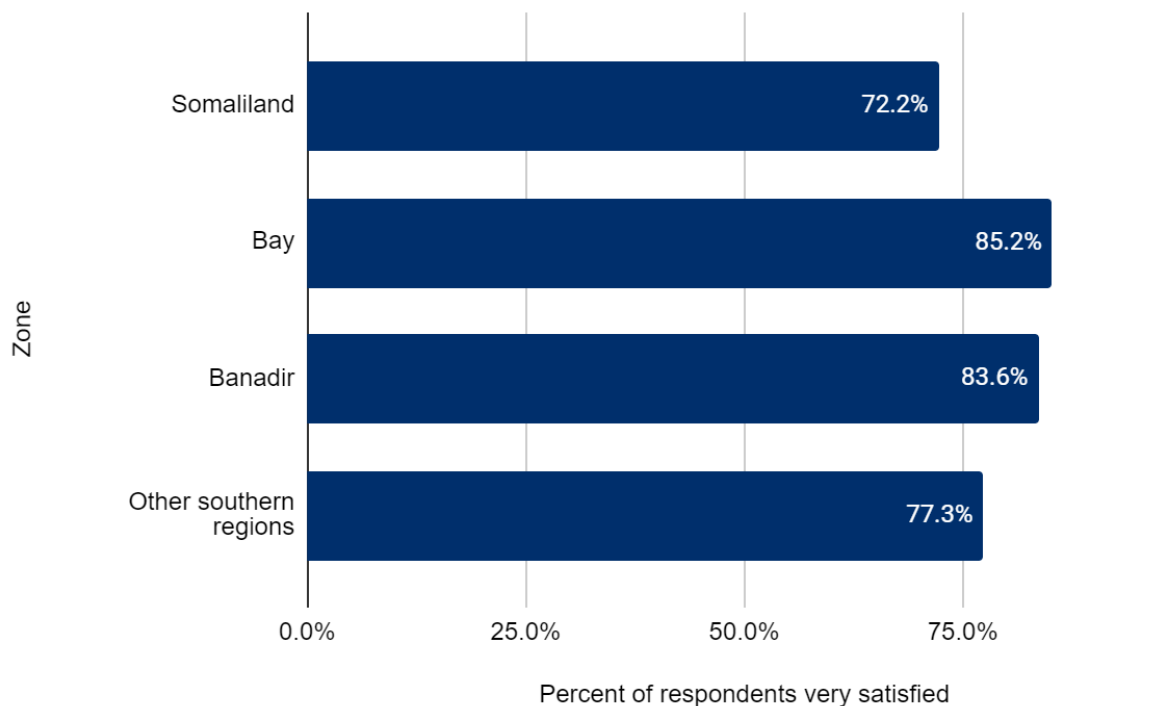
<sup>31</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 104; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>32</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>33</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 106; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113.

<sup>34</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103.

<sup>35</sup> Peterson, Brenton D., and Manar Zaki. 2021. “A Research Report to Inform Area-Based Problem-Driven Security and Justice Programming in Somalia.”



We asked respondents to compare the **fairness of the resolution** that they received to the resolution they had wanted, rating it very fair, somewhat fair, or not at all fair. Although slightly lower than the satisfaction with the outcome, most respondents felt that the resolution was very fair. Seventy-seven percent of respondents (n = 187) felt that their resolution was very fair. The remaining respondents felt that their resolution was either somewhat fair (n = 23, 9.5 percent) or not at all fair (n = 33, 13.6 percent).

The results of the qualitative data, while generally consistent with the quantitative findings, were not as strongly positive. When asked if there was ever a time in their case where they felt they were treated unfairly, a narrow majority of interviewees indicated they were treated fairly.<sup>36</sup> Again, clients that were generally content with the resolution of their case also felt they were treated fairly. For example, one client expressed, “ My case was resolved fairly and I received justice.”<sup>37</sup> However, a significant minority expressed reservations about the fairness of the resolution and their treatment.<sup>38</sup> One client expressed, “Yes, it is true that many people feel the police, or elder, or judge on their case treat them unfairly, as happened to me on my case....As I told you, this case of mine is a good example as I was treated unfairly, since I have been given no justice at all and have been ignored, and my case left idly.”<sup>39</sup> Perceptions of fairness also manifested in satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the legal process generally, explored more fully below.

<sup>36</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, MaroodiJeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117.

<sup>37</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105.

<sup>38</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113.

<sup>39</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102.

We also asked respondents whether, if they could start over, they would **pursue their case again** (including reporting the case to the police, taking a dispute to the elders, working with a JP, etc.). This result was more evenly split; 154 respondents (55.8 percent) would pursue the case again, while 122 (44.2 percent) would not. This is significantly lower than the share of respondents reporting high levels of satisfaction with the JPs and satisfaction with the outcome of their case. The reason for this is not clear in the data. Even with the help of a JP, pursuing justice is time and energy-consuming, as it is even in countries with highly functioning legal and justice systems. It is possible that even with the support of JPs, those who would not pursue the case again would not because it was simply too difficult.

## SATISFACTION WITH PROCESS

In addition to client satisfaction with the JP, the survey also measured satisfaction with procedural aspects of the case. This included how fairly the clients were treated by the police, whether they considered the trial fair, and their overall confidence in the particular pathway that they used. When asked if the process of the case was fair overall, 78 percent (n = 214) of clients reported finding the process to be very fair, while the remainder found it somewhat to not at all fair (22.5 percent, n = 62).

We also asked clients in which venue their case was heard. Statutory courts were the most common venue used by respondents (50.7 percent, n = 140), followed at some distance by mediation by elders or family (15.6 percent, n = 43) and *xeer* (14.5 percent, n = 40). While the popularity of district courts is surprising, it is consistent with respondents' justice pathway preference before working with a JP; 120 (43.5 percent) of respondents stated that before working with a JP, they preferred to use the formal court system. It does not appear that JPs were likely to steer clients more toward the courts if they were uninterested in using them. What is more likely is that people who were interested in using the formal court system were more likely to approach a JP than those who preferred to use one of the informal systems. The most significant change is in the percentage of respondents who initially preferred mediation by elders or family (28.6 percent, n = 79) and actually used another pathway (15.6 percent, n = 43). Very few respondents reported using multiple pathways, as discussed below, suggesting that clients may have decided not to use mediation by elders or family in favor of the formal courts as a result of their work with the JP.

Exhibit 11: Justice pathways used, compared to the stated pathway preferences of clients

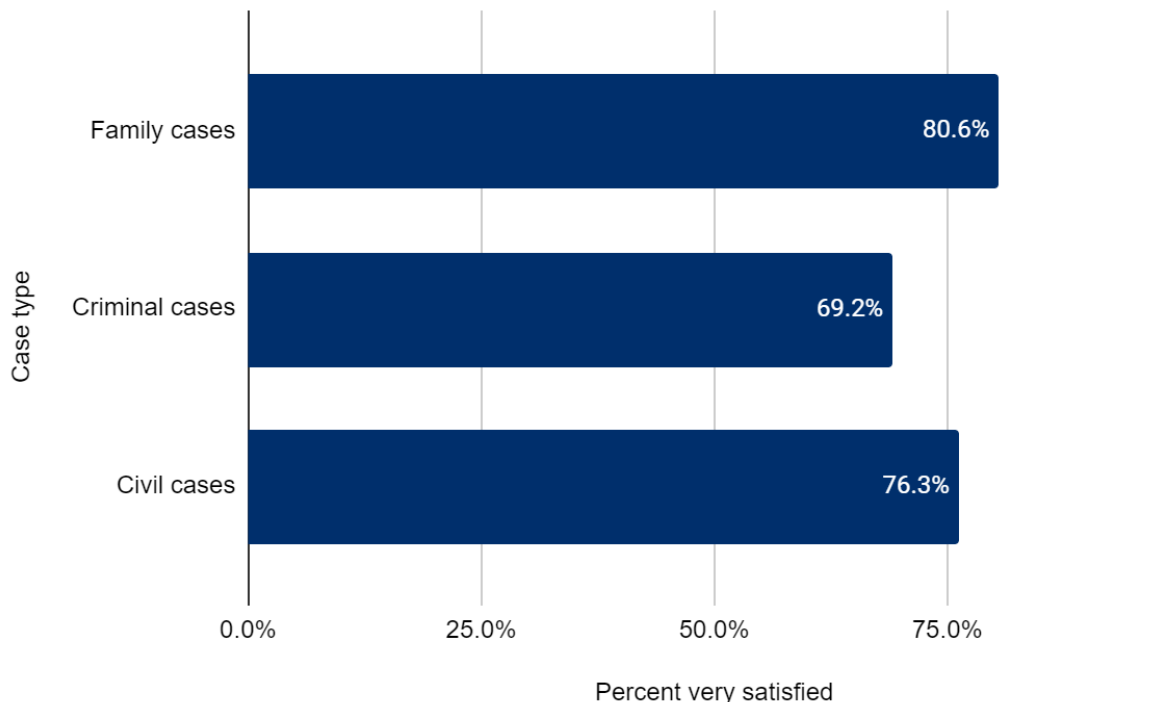
| JUSTICE PATHWAY               | CLIENTS USING PATHWAY | CLIENT'S PREFERENCE BEFORE WORKING WITH THE JP |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Xeer                          | 14.5% (40)            | 13.8% (38)                                     |
| Statutory court               | 50.7% (140)           | 43.5% (120)                                    |
| Islamic court                 | 2.5% (7)              | 6.2% (17)                                      |
| Al-Shabaab court              | 0.7% (2)              | 0.4% (1)                                       |
| Mediation by elders or family | 15.6% (43)            | 28.6% (79)                                     |
| Mediation by imam             | 0.4% (1)              | 2.5% (7)                                       |

|       |            |           |
|-------|------------|-----------|
| Other | 18.8% (52) | 5.1% (14) |
|-------|------------|-----------|

Nine respondents reported using multiple justice pathways. This was most frequently combining the formal court system with another pathway (two cases with *xeer*, six with mediation by elders or family members). Given previous research regarding the frequent use of multiple pathways, it is surprising that in this sample so few respondents reported using multiple pathways. It is possible that respondents either did not remember or failed to report using multiple pathways or that because they worked with a JP, they were more likely to remain in one system.

Although most clients used formal courts, the satisfaction with formal courts was lower than that reported for *xeer* and mediation by elders or family. Eighty percent (n = 29) of clients who use *xeer* found the process to be fair, compared to 73 percent (n = 99) of court (district or regional) and 69 percent of those who used mediation by elders. Because satisfaction with case outcomes is approximately equivalent between justice pathways and the use of different pathways is approximately evenly distributed between case types, the relatively lower satisfaction with the process in district courts is likely a result of clients' experience with the district court. While they are satisfied with the outcome, something about the process was difficult enough to lower their satisfaction with the process. Exhibit 11 depicts respondents' belief in the fairness of the process by case type. Family-related cases had the highest levels of perceived fairness in the process, while criminal cases had the lowest perceived fairness. Among clients with family-related cases (including inheritance, child abuse, child custody, child maintenance, alimony, divorce, etc.), 92 percent (n = 169) considered the process to be very fair. Only 64 percent (n = 16) of clients thought the justice process was very or somewhat fair in cases related to violent crimes (murder, assault, rape).

Exhibit 12: Perceived fairness of the legal process, as a function of case type



We found similar results when we asked clients, “Compared to how you felt before your case, how much confidence do you have in the justice mechanism you used?” on a five-point scale with one being “I feel significantly more confident” to five being “I feel significantly less confident now.” Eighty-three percent (n = 231) of respondents felt significantly or somewhat more confident in their pathway, while only 10 percent (n = 27) of respondents felt significantly or somewhat less confident in their chosen pathway. Like satisfaction, confidence was highest among clients who used *xeer* (80 percent, n = 29), followed by the formal court (79 percent, n = 107) and mediation by elders (73 percent, n = 39).

Qualitative interviews gave clients space to describe in more detail the process their case followed and how they felt they were treated. In many cases, clients indicated that they felt the process was unfair – accusing justice actors (clan elders, judges, police, and so forth) of taking bribes, favoring the rich and powerful, engaging in nepotism or favoritism, and otherwise perverting justice.<sup>40</sup> As one interviewee described it, “I can surely tell you that there is no fairness. The police, elders, or courts only take money and bribes.”<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, the qualitative data on this point can be confusing, because many clients described frustrations with the process *prior* to the involvement of a JP. Indeed, experiences of discrimination or other barriers to receiving justice are often part of the reason that clients sought the assistance of a JP in the first place, so perceived unfairness may reflect these pre-JP experiences rather than anything the JP could have influenced. This is consistent with some of our findings in EQ2, below, where we discuss the fact that clients who encountered significant barriers in their case before contacting a JP often come away less satisfied with the legal process overall, presumably due – in part – to the fact that they “hit a wall” without a JP’s active assistance.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 2

### CLIENT-SPECIFIC FACTORS

Our first set of analyses focus on factors related to the characteristics of the client, seeking to understand how client-specific characteristics shape clients’ satisfaction. As described above, we consider three forms of satisfaction – satisfaction with the JP’s work, with the outcome of the case, and with the process of interacting with the justice system; in this section, we analyze the role that client-specific characteristics, such as demographics, household income, and so forth, have on client satisfaction.

To understand the relationship between demographic factors and client satisfaction, we estimate a series of linear regression models, where the outcome is a given client satisfaction index (e.g., satisfaction with their JP), scored on a 0-100 scale. The predictors are client characteristics; where relevant, we incorporate control variables that we would expect to shape client satisfaction. More broadly, a regression-based approach is advantageous because it allows us to isolate the relationship between a single factor and client satisfaction, while accounting for the role that other factors play.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Lower Shabelle, Int. 124; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 123.

<sup>41</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>42</sup> To illustrate, when we discuss the fact that women are generally more satisfied than men with their experience of the justice system, we recognize that this may be due to the types of cases women tend to bring to court. Using regression, we are able to control for case type and assess the *independent* effect of gender on satisfaction, after accounting for the impact of case type. This is a key point when we analyze factors related to the JP’s actions on a case, for instance, because we must also account for differences between regions, case types, the client’s own characteristics and the nature of their case.

In each case, we report regression results in graphical form, with a full table of detailed regression results provided in Annex 1. The graphical presentation is intended to allow readers to quickly understand the direction and magnitude of any correlation between a given predictor or factor and the outcome (satisfaction). Interpreting the graphs is relatively straightforward:

- Blue dots (regression coefficients) to the right of the red line indicate that this factor *increases* satisfaction, and indicate the magnitude of that effect.
- Blue lines (confidence intervals) that do not cross the red vertical line at “0” are statistically significant; in short, we are confident that the result has not occurred simply by random chance.

Because our graphs describe regression coefficients, they exclude the reference categories or omitted categories for some variables, as is common in regression models. For instance, where we report the impact of gender, we are reporting the impact of being female, with “male” as a reference category. Similarly, when we describe geographic variation, Somaliland is the reference category. It is included in the regression model, but our results for the other geographic zones – Bay, Banadir, and other southern regions – are reported *relative* to Somaliland, the reference group. Thus, in Exhibit 13 on the following page, we can see that client satisfaction is higher in each of Bay, Banadir, and other southern regions *compared to Somaliland* because all three have positive impacts (coefficients to the right of the line at 0) *relative* to the excluded category, Somaliland. While Somaliland is included in each of the regression models, it does not appear in the graphical presentation because the other geographic categories are measured relative to it.<sup>43</sup>

At times, we describe and discuss results that are not statistically significant, generally when the results are substantively large (i.e. the effect size estimated is meaningful – as in the difference between male and female clients’ satisfaction) and of either practical or theoretical interest. We also report on null results and results that run counter to our expectations/hypotheses, because these are also often interesting.

## SATISFACTION WITH THE JP

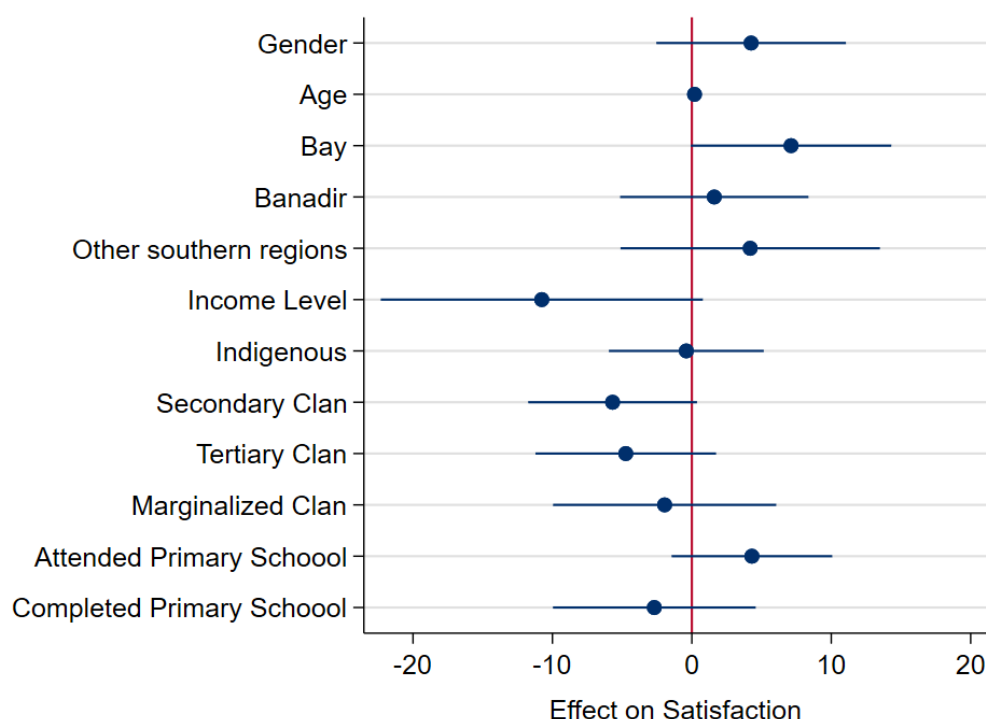
We first analyze the relationship between client demographic characteristics and client satisfaction with their JP. We conducted a linear regression of the scale measure of JP satisfaction with characteristics of the client that we predicted to be important factors in predicting that satisfaction. These characteristics include: gender, age, zone (Somaliland, Bay, Banadir, and other southern regions), an index of income measures, indigeneity, clan status, and education measures (whether the client attended or completed primary school).

The figure below reports the results of our regression model assessing these relationships. The blue dots indicate the relationship between a given factor (e.g., gender, age) and client satisfaction with their JP. The horizontal blue lines that surround each dot represent the 95 percent confidence interval around our estimate of the relationship. For instance, women score 4.3 points higher on this satisfaction index than men, after controlling for the other factors in the model. The results suggest that the “true” relationship between gender and satisfaction is -2.5 and 11.1 points – this is the 95 percent confidence interval.

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<sup>43</sup> In arithmetic terms, Somaliland’s coefficient is fixed to the zero line, while we calculate the difference between each of the remaining three regions versus Somaliland and report those results. Thus, to assess the relationship between residence in Somaliland and, e.g., client satisfaction, one must review the coefficients for each of the three non-excluded regions (Bay, Banadir, “other southern regions”) in tandem.

Exhibit 13: Relationship between client characteristics and client satisfaction with their JP



While none of the characteristics included in the model rise to the level of statistical significance, they suggest the direction of influence on the outcome.<sup>44</sup> For example, although gender was not significantly associated with JP satisfaction, after controlling for other characteristics, the direction of the coefficient supports the hypothesis that women are more satisfied than men based on the descriptive results presented in EQ1. The effect size is quite large: controlling for other factors, on average women report four points greater satisfaction on the 100-point scale.

Gender and income also interact in such a way that the gender differential in income helps to explain a portion of the gender gap in satisfaction. First, we measure income using a set of proxy variables, aggregated into an index, including: whether the client was able to pay zakat, how frequently they are able to eat either whole or chopped meat, and whether they own their land. As with the other scales we constructed, these variables are highly correlated, suggesting that they reflect multiple measures of the same construct, in this case the household's wealth.

In our data, men are more likely to be unsatisfied than women and those with higher incomes are also more likely to be unsatisfied. Given that women have lower incomes – based on our index – this fact helps explain a portion of the relationship between gender and client satisfaction. The income index is marginally significant and the magnitude is very large. More broadly, there is a general trend toward wealthier clients being less likely to be satisfied with the JP. As discussed elsewhere, while the data cannot fully explain this, it may be the result of higher expectations, more information, and greater willingness to express dissatisfaction.

<sup>44</sup> In addition, it is worth noting that many of the results approach statistical significance or are significant when employing the slightly relaxed standard of  $p < 0.10$ .

These results are also consistent with another important finding – that clients from Somaliland express lower levels of satisfaction, even after controlling for other predictors of satisfaction.<sup>45</sup> This result was present in the descriptive results in EQ1 as well; our hypothesis is that Somalilanders may hold higher expectations of their government or justice institutions, and that this contributes to lower satisfaction compared to other geographic zones. As shown above, the area with the greatest satisfaction is Bay. However, more educated clients actually express higher satisfaction, although not rising to statistical significance.

In addition to geography, gender, and income, we also consider non-income markers of marginalization, which focus on measures of local socio-political power. Indigeneity comes from the clients' response to where his or her father was from; we define a respondent as indigenous if their father was from this village, neighborhood, or district. All others are non-indigenous (father from a different region, state, or country). The position of indigenous people can be ambiguous, however – in many cases, indigeneity is associated with a locally numerous and powerful clan, while in other cases indigenous groups are marginalized. For this reason, we also tested an alternative measure of indigeneity and migration status, that identified individuals who have arrived in the district within the past five years. We do not report these results in the figure in this section, but note that they do not alter our conclusions in this section.

Because social, economic, and political marginalization is so important to understanding access to justice outcomes in Somalia, we also defined a locale-specific classification of marginalization, based on a client's clan affiliation. For each location, we identified the clan (or subclan) that holds the majority of political and economic power in the district. We then defined secondary clans who may share lineage with the dominant clan or who otherwise enjoy reasonably good relations with the dominant clan. Tertiary clans are those that have no ties and can be considered minorities in the area, but who are nonetheless from one of the major clan families (Darood, Dir, Hawiye, Isaaq, Rahanweyn). Finally, marginalized or minority groups are typically those who fall outside the major Somali clan families (e.g., Bravanese) or who are not ethnically Somali (e.g., Somali Bantu). It is important to emphasize that these classifications are driven entirely by the local context.<sup>46</sup> We incorporate clan status into each of the models to capture the effect of marginalization on client satisfaction.

When we investigate the impact of indigeneity, as shown in the figure above, the results are not statistically significant, nor are they suggestive of a meaningful relationship. Clan status, meanwhile, is not statistically significant but is suggestive. Note that the impact of clan status is measured relative to the “dominant clan”; in other words, the coefficient reported for “secondary clan” represents the difference in client satisfaction between secondary and dominant clan members, holding all else equal. While not statistically significant, there is a pattern of non-dominant clan members reporting less satisfaction, as compared to dominant clan members. The magnitude of the effect is greatest for secondary clan members, compared to primary clan members, but persists for tertiary and more marginalized groups.

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<sup>45</sup> Note that Somaliland constitutes the omitted reference category in this regression model. That is, each of the geographic zones listed in the figure have their impact measured *relative* to Somaliland. Therefore, the fact that Bay, Banadir, and “other southern regions” all have positive effects on client satisfaction implies that Somaliland clients are the least satisfied on average, holding all other factors constant.

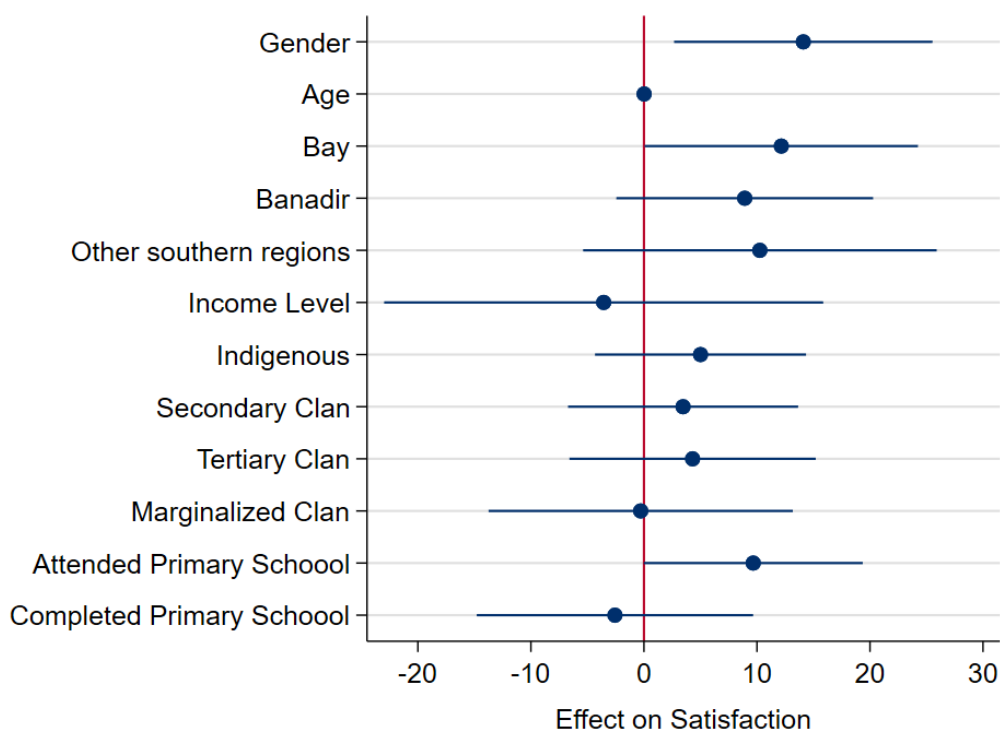
<sup>46</sup> Classification into clan status categories is based on a variety of empirical data, including the level of representation each clan has in local political offices, such as the district council, and in other important positions, such as high-ranking security officials. In some areas, multiple subclans are considered “locally dominant” – by this we simply mean that the two groups both enjoy significant political power and neither is at a specific advantage in terms of representation and socio-economic influence.

## SATISFACTION WITH THE OUTCOME

Turning to a second dimension of client satisfaction, we now consider their satisfaction with the outcome of their case. We conducted similar linear regressions to those reported above, with the same factors predicting client satisfaction with the case outcome, as opposed to client satisfaction with their JP.

Many of the results of this analysis are consistent with those reported regarding client satisfaction with their JP. Like the regression of JP satisfaction, the  $R^2$  is quite low, which suggests that the collection of client characteristics does a poor job of explaining levels of satisfaction. Unlike JP satisfaction, women are significantly more likely to report being satisfied with the outcome of their case and the effect size is quite large. On the 100-point scale we constructed of satisfaction, women are approximately 14 points more satisfied than are men, after controlling for other characteristics.

Exhibit 14: Relationship between client characteristics and client satisfaction with their case outcome

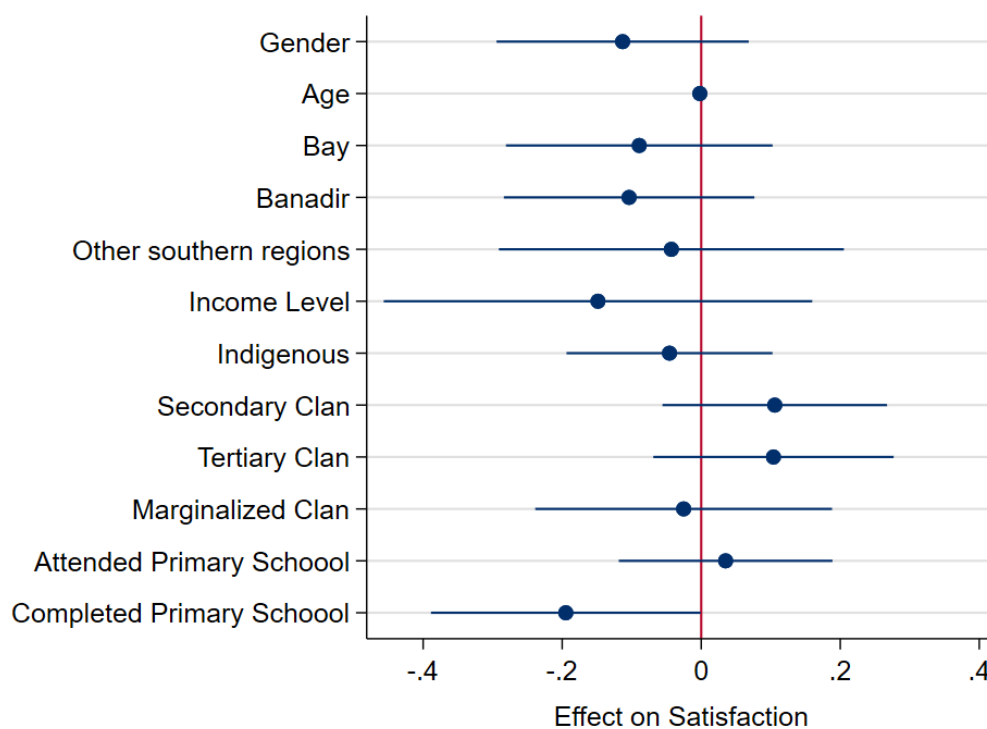


As with JP satisfaction, those in Bay are more satisfied than those in Somaliland (the reference zone), although here it does rise to the level of statistical significance. The effect size is also quite large for Bay residents; those in Bay on average report 12 points higher on the outcome satisfaction scale than those

in Somaliland. The other regions trend toward higher satisfaction than Somaliland, but are not statistically significant.

The income index also shows a trend toward less satisfaction at higher income levels, but is not significant. More educated clients report greater satisfaction with their case outcome. Those who have some primary school report over nine points higher satisfaction on the 100-point scale than those without any formal education, which is a large magnitude. For those who finished primary school and above, the association is not significant, but also trend toward greater satisfaction. Clan membership does not show the same pattern as JP satisfaction. While those in secondary and tertiary clans trend toward greater satisfaction, as compared to those in the primary clans, marginalized groups trend toward slightly lower satisfaction rates. Like JP satisfaction, indigenous clients trend toward greater satisfaction.

Exhibit 15: Relationship between client characteristics and willingness to seek resolution again



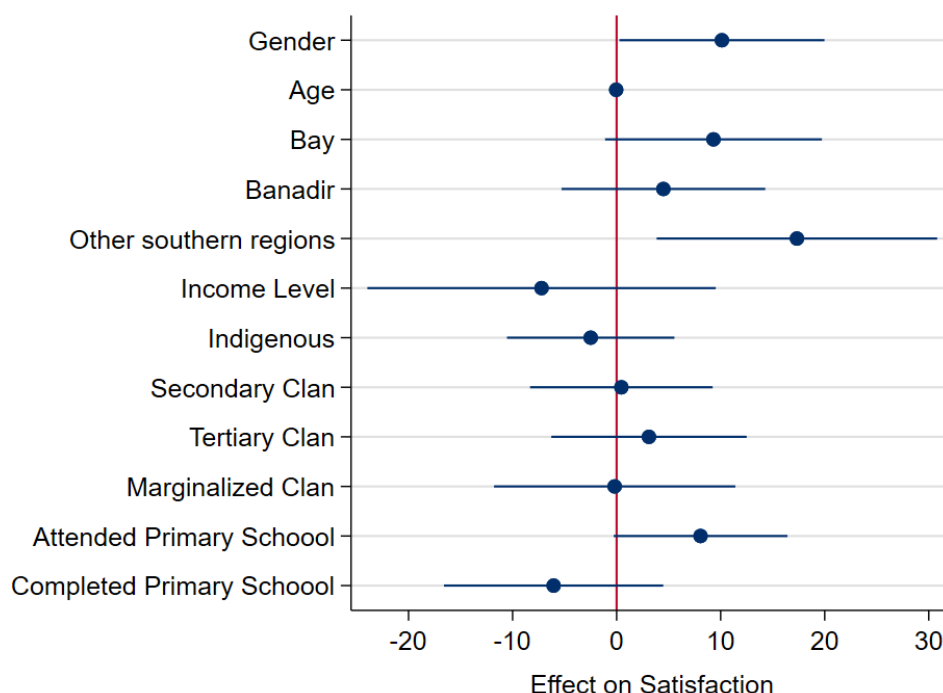
As noted above, the results for the likelihood of seeking a resolution again, if given the opportunity, shows quite different trends than the previous measures of satisfaction. For example, while not statistically significant, women are less likely to seek a resolution again than are men. None of the results for zones are significant, but all trend toward lower likelihood of seeking a resolution again, as compared to Somaliland. It is interesting that while satisfaction is higher in south and central Somalia, as compared to Somaliland, the likelihood of seeking a resolution again is, in fact, lower. We can only hypothesize an explanation for this, as discussed earlier, Somalilanders may have higher expectations of their justice institutions. As a result, while there is greater potential for disappointment when the process is difficult or unsatisfying, they remain more likely to go through the process again. This could also be a product of the cases being further in the past - perhaps clients remember the challenges of the justice system enough to feel some dissatisfaction, but have had enough time not to be dissuaded from trying it again.

Other characteristics are in line with the other measures of satisfaction. The most marginalized clans are least likely to express a willingness to pursue their case again. This is in line with overall lower satisfaction with all outcomes. In addition, more educated individuals are less likely to be willing to pursue a case again, in line with lower rates of satisfaction.

### SATISFACTION WITH THE PROCESS

The third dimension of client satisfaction concerns the legal process and the client's views of whether it was fair and satisfactory. Consistent with the measures of outcome and JP satisfaction, women are more satisfied with the process than are men. The magnitude of this is also large - on the 100-point scale, women on average report 10 points greater satisfaction with the process than are men. As with the other satisfaction measures, zone does not rise to statistical significance, but trends toward higher satisfaction outside of Somaliland. Similar to outcome satisfaction, those who attended primary, but did not finish trend on average to higher satisfaction, but those who finished trend toward lower satisfaction. This aligns with the income index measure, which trends toward higher satisfaction at lower income levels.

Exhibit 16: Relationship between client characteristics and client satisfaction with the legal process



The measures of marginalization also show similar trends to the other outcome measures. While not statistically significant, there is a general trend toward lower satisfaction among the most marginalized, but higher for secondary and tertiary clans. Indigenous clients trend toward lower satisfaction, compared to non-indigenous clients. Across the measures of satisfaction, there is little of statistical significance and among secondary and tertiary clans, the outcome varied somewhat. While the most marginalized clans are less satisfied than secondary and tertiary clans with the justice system, they are only very slightly less satisfied than the dominant clan. While it is not surprising that marginalized clan members are less satisfied than more dominant clan members, and is an issue EAJ was designed to

address, it is surprising that dominant clan members are less satisfied than secondary and tertiary clan members. This may be a result of expectations among dominant clan members who feel they are entitled to a certain level of treatment in their district.

### **CASE-SPECIFIC FACTORS**

In order to examine case-specific factors that may contribute to satisfaction, we ran linear regressions with the factors we hypothesized would be most important to these outcomes. We retained key client-specific factors in the models so as to be able to control for these factors in the case factor models. This allows us to compare two hypothetical cases with the same client, but different case characteristics and see how the outcome would be predicted to change between them. The  $R^2$ , or portion of the variation in the outcome explained by our model, is higher with the additional case-specific factors than it was for the client-specific factors alone. Overall, the case-specific factors appeared to explain more of the variation than the client-specific factors did.

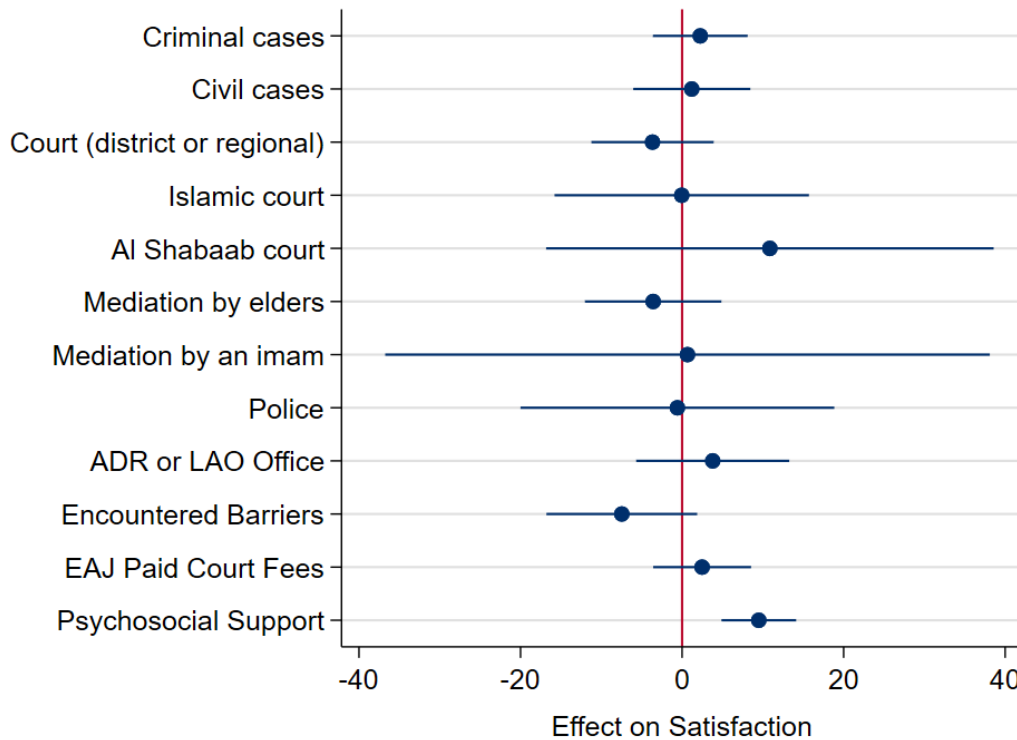
The first set of case-specific factors we examined were the type of case; from previous research we know that some more complex case types may be associated with lower levels of satisfaction, as compared to more easily resolved case types. We also compared different venues for resolution to better understand if some pathways were better for clients than others. Finally, we looked at whether the client encountered barriers with their case that caused them to contact a JP, whether EAJ paid any fees on behalf of the client, and whether the client received psychosocial support. The barriers clients encountered that caused them to consult a JP included being dissatisfied with the resolution of the case and feeling that the case was stalled and wanted help to make progress.

The most notable pattern for case-specific factors is that the receipt of psychosocial support appears to increase satisfaction across satisfaction types. In some cases, with very large magnitude of effects. The other factors are somewhat mixed, there are few clear or consistent patterns in case type or venue.

### **SATISFACTION WITH THE JP**

The first regression model uses the case-specific factors to predict the client's satisfaction with the JP. There is considerable variation across case types. None rise to the level of statistical significance, but some case types had less satisfied clients than others. For example, those with child custody cases show a trend toward lower satisfaction, while those with domestic and child abuse show higher rates of satisfaction. This may suggest that JPs were more effective in the latter cases in supporting the client or that clients felt that the process would have been harder or the outcome worse without the help of the JP.

Exhibit 17: Relationship between case-specific factors and client satisfaction with their JP



There are also interesting trends, although no statistical significance across resolution venues. There was relatively high satisfaction with ADR and LAO Office resolution and relatively low satisfaction with district courts. Upon further investigation, we included the time to resolution in examining the outcome and found that this almost entirely explained the positive effect for ADR and LAO Office resolution. We therefore hypothesize that a major benefit from clients' point of view of the ADR and LAO Offices as venues for resolution is that disputes can be resolved quickly.

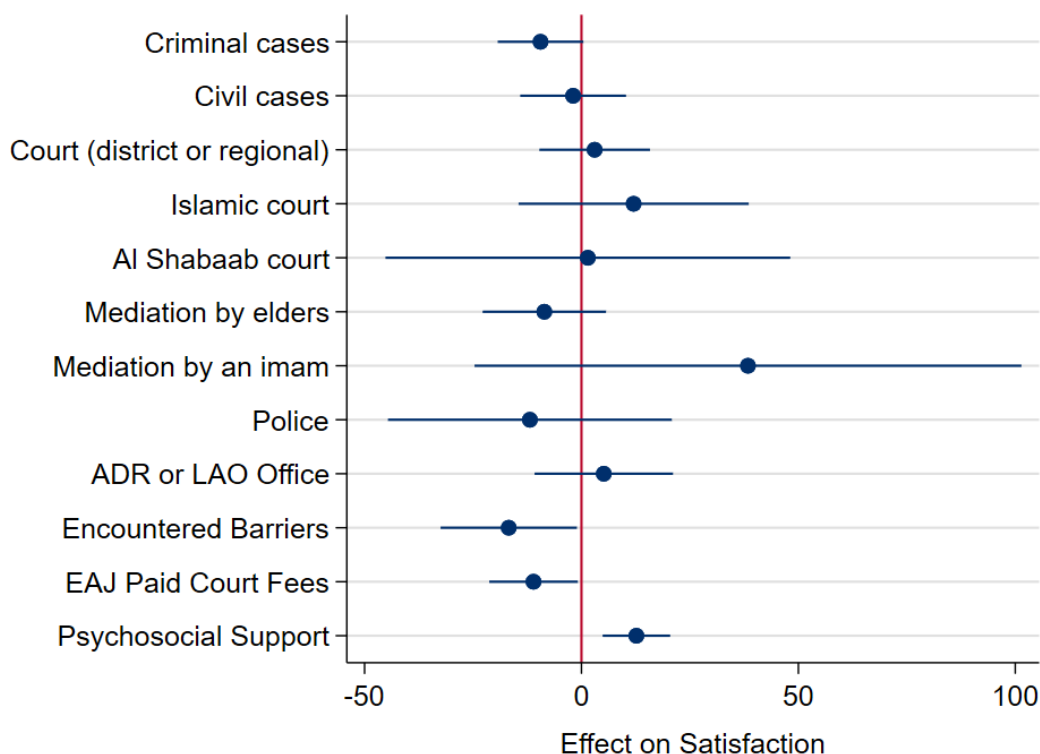
While not statistically significant, it is surprising that there is a trend toward lower satisfaction among clients who engaged a JP after encountering barriers. While we might have expected that those who encountered barriers would have been happier with the help of the JP, it is possible that they engaged a JP with the expectation that the JP could solve all problems with the justice system that may not be possible. The strongest finding in this model is that clients who received psychosocial support were significantly more satisfied with the JP than those who did not. The magnitude of this finding is very large—on average, those who received psychosocial support had eight points higher satisfaction (on a 100-point scale), as compared to those who did not. The model controls for case type, therefore this finding holds across cases that one would expect psychosocial support would be beneficial (such as violent crimes) and those that one might not (administrative cases).

### SATISFACTION WITH THE OUTCOME

Turning to our investigation of case-specific factors effect on satisfaction with the outcome, we see fairly similar patterns to satisfaction with JPs. First, we note that after controlling for the case-specific factors, women show a very significant increase in satisfaction. This suggests that if we found a man and a woman in the sample with very similar cases in the key dimensions, the woman would be over 15 points higher satisfaction on the 100-point scale than the man. This is a very large effect. Similarly, after

controlling for case-specific factors, we see the same pattern in residence zone as we noted earlier—clients in Somaliland report lower satisfaction levels than in the south and central zones. In this model, the effect is very large for Bay, where residents report nearly 15 points higher satisfaction and the other southern regions, where clients report 17 points higher satisfaction, after controlling for other factors.

Exhibit 18: Relationship between case-specific factors and client satisfaction with their case outcome



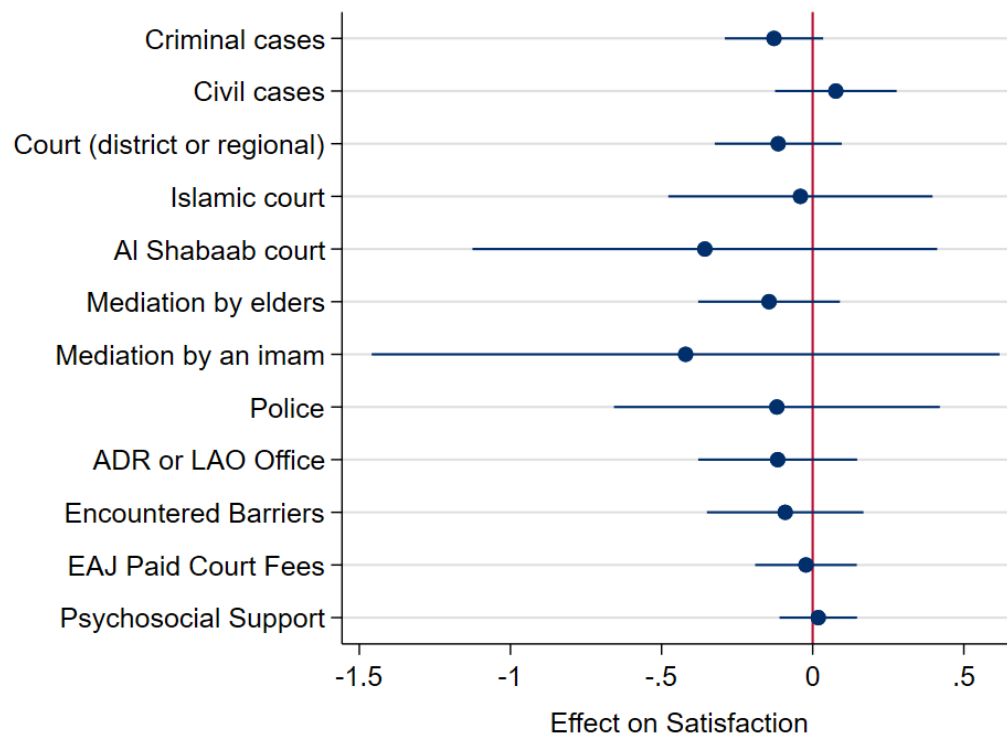
There are mixed trends in the case type analysis. Most notably, satisfaction is significantly lower among clients with cases involving violent crimes. Between two clients who are otherwise very similar, the client who was a victim of violent crime reports 17 points lower satisfaction on the 100-point scale, as compared to a client with another type of case. Family cases, such as child custody, trend toward greater satisfaction, while financial cases, such as inheritance and land disputes, trend toward lower satisfaction.

Surprisingly, none of the venues are significantly associated with the satisfaction outcome. While the magnitude of the coefficients for Islamic court and mediation by an imam are large and positive, it should be noted that the sample sizes for those venues, as well as for police (which is large and negative) are extremely small. One client used mediation by an imam, four used the police, and seven used Islamic courts. What is more, in this regression, the reference category to which all other venues are compared, is xeer. This means that a small magnitude coefficient means that the satisfaction level is very similar to that for xeer.

Clients who engaged a JP because they encountered barriers with their cases report significantly lower satisfaction with the case outcome than those who did not report encountering barriers. The magnitude of this effect is very large, with two comparable clients and cases, the client who did encounter barriers

is predicted to report approximately 19 points lower satisfaction on the 100-point scale, as compared to the client who did not encounter barriers. It is possible that the help of the JP was not enough to overcome the initial barrier and make the client feel that they received a satisfactory outcome. Similarly, among those for whom EAJ paid court fees, satisfaction was also significantly lower. For two similar clients and cases, among those that EAJ did pay court fees, satisfaction was 14 points lower on the 100-point scale than among those for whom EAJ did not pay court fees. Finally, the effect for psychosocial support was very large, as it was for JP satisfaction. For two similar cases and clients, the client who did receive psychosocial support is predicted to report 13 points higher satisfaction.

Exhibit 19: Relationship between case-specific factors and client willingness to pursue case again



As noted earlier, our analysis suggests that whether clients would pursue the case again, if given the chance, is a different concept than their satisfaction with the outcome. Therefore, we have considered this separately from satisfaction with the outcome. None of the case types or venues show a significant association with perception of fairness. The trends in the direction of the coefficients are largely consistent with satisfaction with outcome. One notable exception is that while those with violent crime cases are less satisfied with the process and outcome than others, they trend toward feeling that the resolution was fair. This may suggest that something about the process with those types of cases was difficult, but people did feel it worked fairly. Unlike satisfaction with outcome and process, clients were actually less likely to feel that the ADR or LAO office was fair.

Those for whom EAJ paid fees were significantly more likely to find the resolution fair, while those who received psychosocial support were less likely to find the resolution fair.

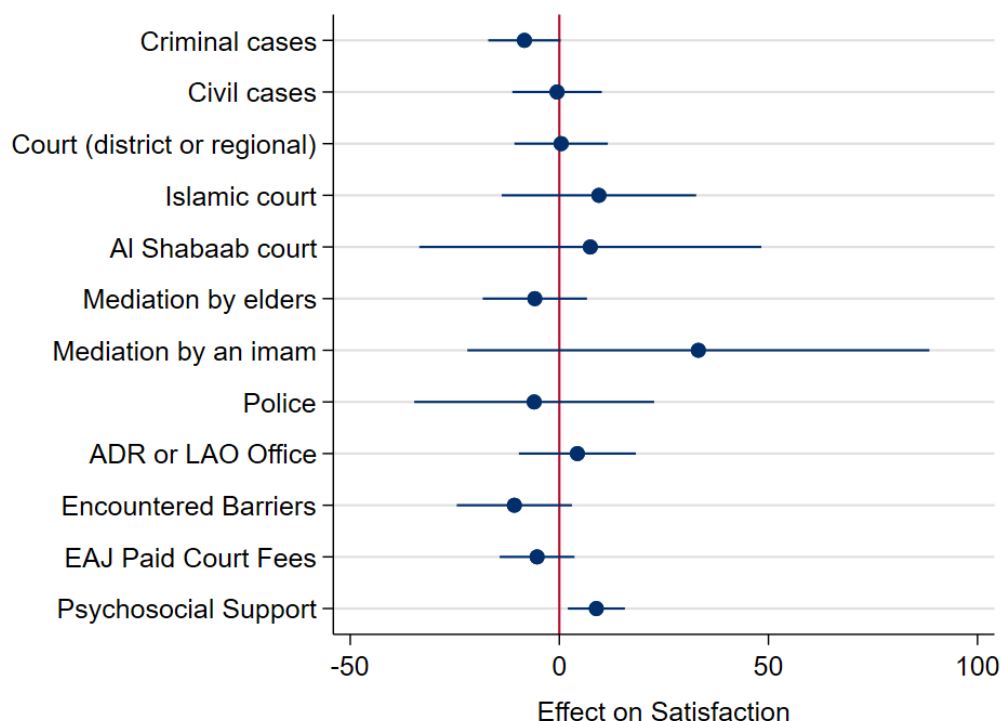
When the total time from start to resolution of the case is added to the above model, it is significantly associated with the client's likelihood of pursuing the case again. Clients with longer cases are less likely to do that than they would pursue the case again, if given the opportunity. What is more, when the case time is controlled for, other factors become significantly associated with pursuing a resolution again. For example, criminal cases are significantly less likely to pursue a resolution again, as compared to family cases. When controlling for time, all resolution venues are less likely to pursue a resolution again, as compared to the xeer court. Psychosocial support is no longer significantly associated.

### SATISFACTION WITH PROCESS

There are mixed trends with the case type analysis. As with satisfaction with the outcome, clients involved in violent crime cases reported significantly lower satisfaction than did clients with other types of cases. The magnitude of the effect is very large, in comparable clients and cases, those with cases involving violent crimes reported being over 16 points less satisfied with the process than other case types. The only case types that appeared to have higher satisfaction rates with the process were other civil cases and other cases, potentially simpler cases, although these differences were not significant. None of the venue types had significant results and had mixed effects on process satisfaction. There are trends toward greater satisfaction for clients who used mediation by an imam, Al Shabaab court, Islamic court, and ADR or LAO office. In contrast, there are trends toward lower satisfaction among clients who used the police or mediation by elders.

Unlike previous satisfaction with the outcome, encountering barriers was not significantly associated with process satisfaction. It does show a similar trend among lower satisfaction among those who encountered barriers. As with process and JP satisfaction, those who received psychosocial support reported significantly greater satisfaction than those who did not receive psychosocial support by approximately 7.7 points.

Exhibit 20: Relationship between case-specific factors and client satisfaction with the legal process



### JP-SPECIFIC FACTORS

The final set of predictors that we considered were those related to the JP and the JP's relationship with the client. Predictors related to the JP and their background included their previous legal training, their professional experience in prior roles, and so forth. As noted in the demographics section, JPs had a variety of professional backgrounds and we hypothesized that, for instance, JPs who serve as clan elders may have more success helping clients with cases in the *xeer* system, while JPs with academic legal training may be more effective in handling cases through state-backed courts.

JP-client relations are also potentially important factors. Our analysis of JP-client interactions includes a measure of how attentive the client felt that the JP was, capturing how prepared they were and how well they remembered details of the case. We also created a measure of the client's appraisal of how much the JP cared about the case and the client, including how comfortable the client was and how heard they felt. We included a measure of how difficult the client reported it was to reach the JP, how well they felt the JP explained terms and concepts, and whether an LAO lawyer was also consulted as part of their case. Finally, we also examined JP reports of how often they met with clients.

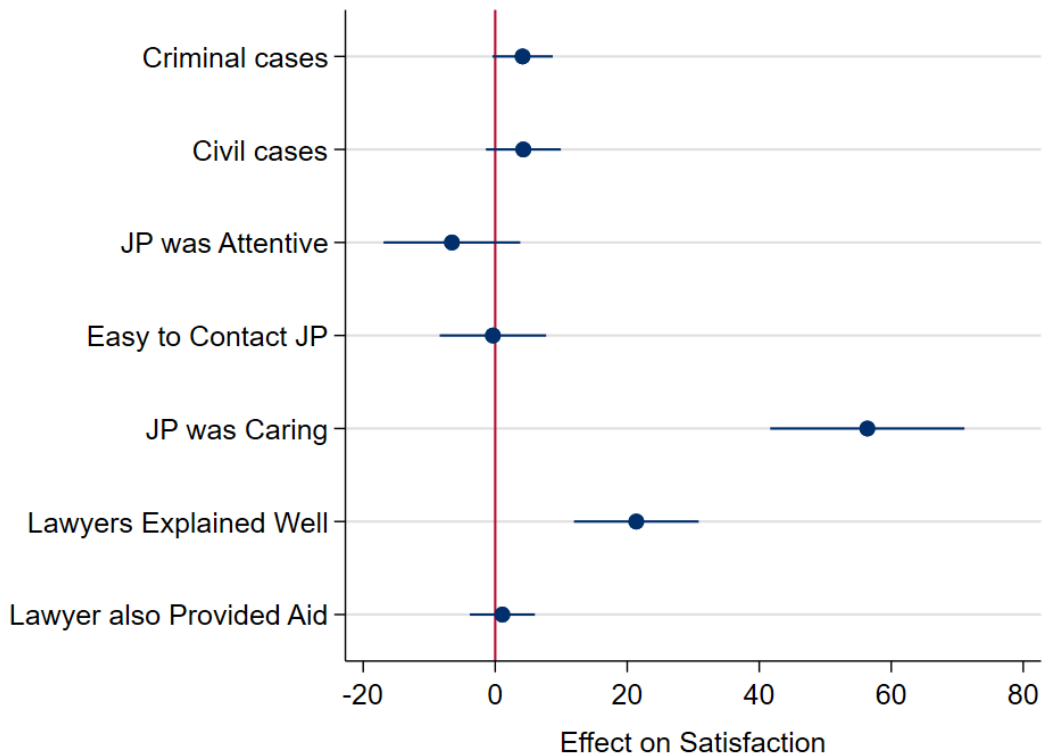
### JP SATISFACTION

The regressions predicting JP satisfaction include the same basic demographic control variables as earlier models to ensure we are considering comparable clients. We start by considering factors specific to the JP, such as their previous legal experience and training, in predicting client satisfaction. For example, we hypothesized that a JP who had previous legal experience and training may be more adept at navigating the justice system, resulting in greater satisfaction for the client. However, most of the factors we analyzed did not impact client satisfaction in line with our theoretical expectations. This includes JP gender, age, and measures of JP experience and education. As noted previously, JPs handled multiple cases, therefore the sample size for these analyses – in terms of the number of JPs analyzed – is

significantly smaller than when we analyze case-specific factors. Therefore, while our analysis suggests JP backgrounds and experience are not critical predictors of client satisfaction, we are cautious about disregarding these characteristics entirely, as a larger sample size may produce different conclusions.

Turning to the relationship between JPs and their clients, we find that the only aspects of the JP-client relationship that had meaningful impacts on satisfaction with the JP were the measure of caring, including how comfortable the client felt, and how well the client felt the JP explained ideas and concepts. Those clients who had higher scores on the care index, meaning that they expressed more comfort and confidence in the JP, were more likely to express satisfaction with the JP overall.

Exhibit 21: Relationship between JP actions and characteristics and client satisfaction with their JP

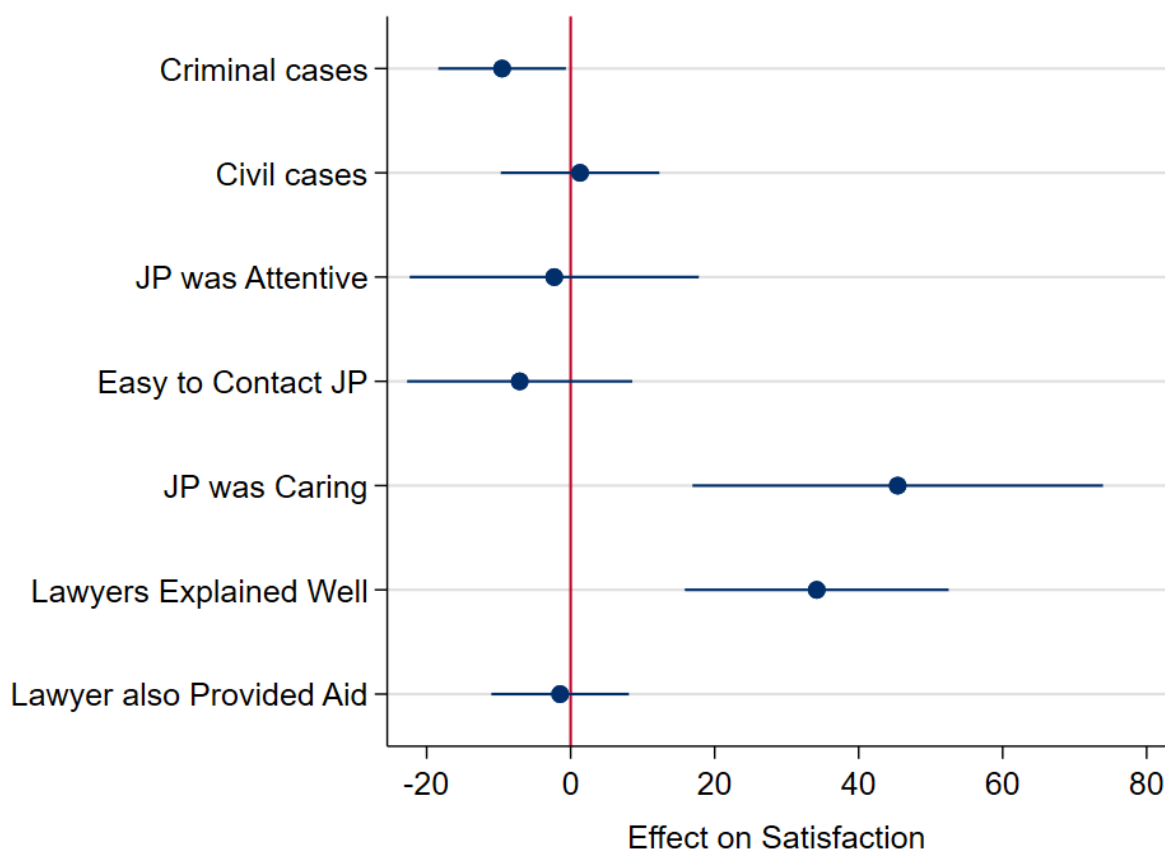


One significant factor was the clients’ pre-existing relationship with the JP. We captured information regarding a previous relationship by asking whether the client knew the JP, the context in which they knew them (e.g., whether they were a family member, a friend, a friend-of-a-friend, and so forth), and how often they had seen the JP working in their neighborhood prior to their case. Clients who had a previous relationship with the JP report higher satisfaction with the JP after the case than those who did not. This effect size is large – those who knew the JP previous to their case reported 17 points greater satisfaction than those who did not know the JP previously. It is possible that a previous relationship allows the JP and client to work more effectively together, leading to a better outcome for the client. This association is not conditioned on the outcome itself (that is to say, it does not change if we add the resolution as a control variable). This suggests that this finding has more to do with how the client feels about the resolution, rather than the resolution itself.

## OUTCOME SATISFACTION

Similar to the results for satisfaction with the JP, clients who felt that their JP was more caring and better at explaining difficult concepts were more likely to report higher satisfaction with the case. The effect sizes for these indices are quite large. Considered on a 100-point scale, a one point increase in the caring index is associated with a 0.5 point increase in the satisfaction scale and a one point increase in the explanation scale is associated with a 0.3 point increase in the satisfaction scale. This underscores how critical these two aspects of the JP are in improving the clients' experience with the justice system. They suggest that clients want to feel that they understand the proceedings and are comfortable with their advocate.

Exhibit 22: Relationship between JP actions and characteristics and client satisfaction with their case outcome



As elsewhere in the analyses, we examined the clients' willingness to pursue a resolution again separately from satisfaction with the outcome. We do not report these results in graphical form; In this case, none of the aspects of the JP that we examined were significantly associated with the likelihood of pursuing a resolution again. This result is somewhat surprising, as we would have predicted that a good experience with the JP would increase the clients' desire to pursue their case again, if given the opportunity.

While it does not materially change many of the above results, the addition of case time to the model presented is significantly associated with pursuing a resolution again, if given the chance. Those with longer cases are significantly less likely to say that they would pursue the case again. What is more, after

controlling for time, criminal cases are significantly less likely to pursue a resolution again, as compared to family cases.

As noted in the JP satisfaction section, we also looked at a variety of JP-specific characteristics that we hypothesized would be associated with client satisfaction. Similar to the client's satisfaction with the JP, very few characteristics of the JP him or herself predicted higher levels of client satisfaction with either the outcome or the process (i.e. outcome satisfaction or process satisfaction). This is perhaps unsurprising, as clients may be differentiating their experience with the justice system from their experience with the JP. Interestingly, the method by which the client contacted a JP is significantly associated with satisfaction with the case outcome. As compared to clients who called the legal aid hotline, all other forms of contact were associated with significantly lower satisfaction. The effect size of this is quite large - clients who contacted the JP through a means other than the hotline reported over 28 points lower satisfaction with the case outcome. This includes those who were contacted by a JP and those who went to a legal aid clinic in-person.<sup>47</sup> We examined a number of factors related to this finding, such as the location of the client to see whether there was a difference between rural and urban localities, but did not find a compelling reason for this finding.<sup>48</sup>

## PROCESS SATISFACTION

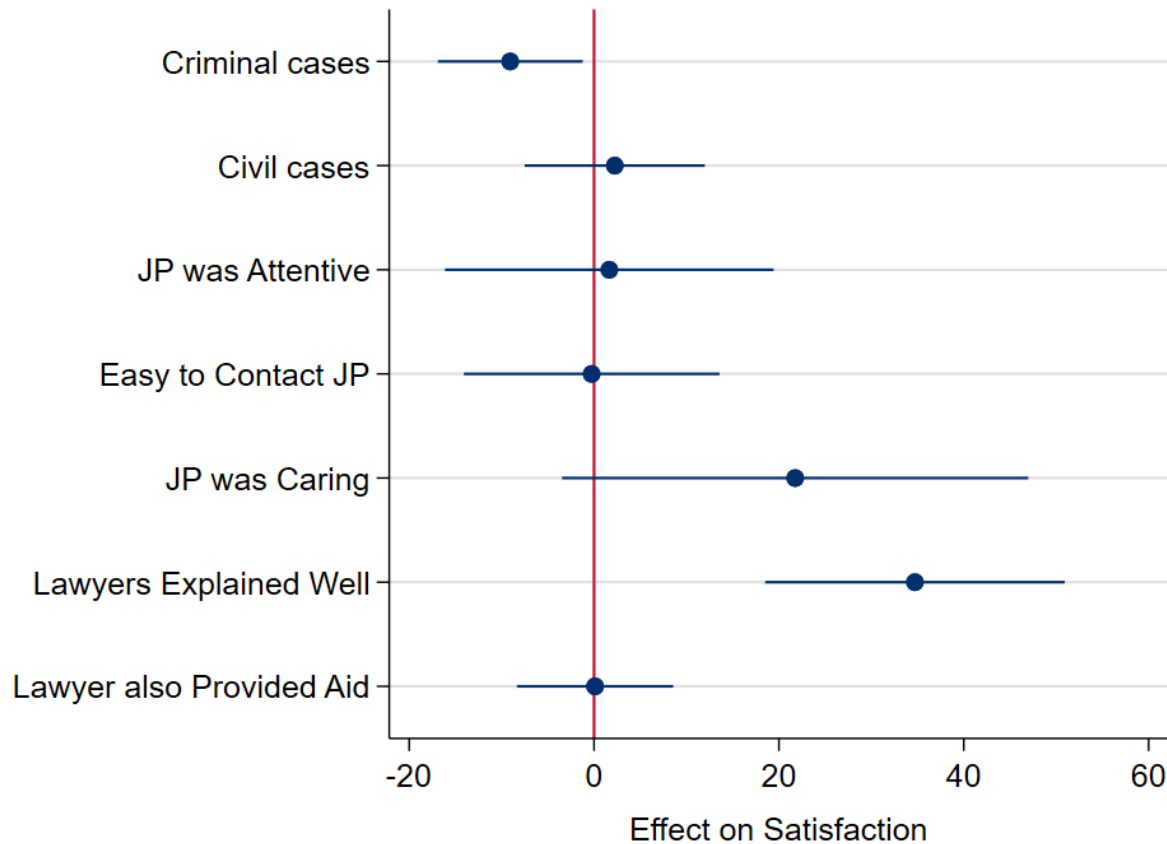
Turning to satisfaction with the process by which their case was resolved, we examine the impact of JP actions and attributes on this dimension of satisfaction. In many ways, we would expect JP attributes – such as how attentive or organized they were – to have the least impact on this dimension of satisfaction, because we specifically asked respondents to consider the procedural aspects of their case, such as their interaction with the courts, police, or elders. While attentiveness and accessibility should influence how clients view their JP and, to a lesser extent, the outcome of their case, these factors should have little or no influence on how clients view, for example, the fairness of the court system or their interactions with the police.

Exhibit 23: Relationship between JP actions and characteristics and client satisfaction with the legal procedure of their case

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<sup>47</sup> All LAOs appear to offer a phone number through which clients can at least initiate contact. The majority of cases in which a client used the hotline, though, were handled by the Mogadishu University Law Clinic and the Somali Women's Development Center, respectively. These two LAOs account for over half of all hotline-based clients. This is a function, in part, of their generally greater representation within our sample of cases; however, Mogadishu University Law Clinic also had the highest frequency of their clients using the legal hotline as their initial contact method.

<sup>48</sup> The majority of clients initiating contact via telephone live in Banadir. Recognizing the variation between "inner" and "outer" districts within Banadir, we also analyzed whether hotline clients tended to be from outer districts, where travel to an LAO office might be more time-consuming or difficult. Certainly, most LAO clients in Banadir, in general, came from outer districts, such as Kahda and Karan, because these tend to be where more marginalized, recently displaced individuals live. However, there was no evidence that clients from outer districts were more likely to use the hotline – hotline clients were spread relatively proportionately across districts within Banadir.



In practice, however, we found that the same factors, caring and ability to explain concepts, were also significantly associated with satisfaction with the process. Those who found their JP more caring and better able to explain concepts were more satisfied with the justice process. The magnitude of these effects are somewhat smaller than for outcome satisfaction.

The background and characteristics of a JP are generally not predictive of clients' procedural satisfaction following their case. This mirrors the findings related to client satisfaction with their case outcomes, where few JP-specific attributes contributed to satisfaction, beyond those that defined the JP-client relationship. For instance, as was true of outcome satisfaction, clients who contacted the JP through the legal aid hotline express greater procedural satisfaction than those who contacted the JP through other means. Those who used other means, including being contacted by the JP and those who went to a legal aid center, were 17 points less satisfied than those who called the legal aid hotline. However, a JP's legal training, professional background, and other characteristics are, more broadly, uncorrelated with procedural satisfaction.

## QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this section, we discuss the qualitative data generated through interviews with JPs, clients, EAJ staff, and other justice actors who have engaged with the JPs through their work. Our goal in this section is to provide additional insight into the factors that might drive client satisfaction organized, again, across the three dimensions of client satisfaction discussed above.

## SATISFACTION WITH CASE OUTCOMES

KIIs largely support the findings from the quantitative data and reveal that the majority of clients who sought assistance from Justice Promoters expressed satisfaction with the Justice Promoters and the resolution of their cases. Justice Promoters dealt with a wide range of cases, including domestic violence, land disputes, family matters, and cases involving marginalized populations like women, youth, and people with disabilities. As noted in EQ1, most clients reported favorable outcomes, irrespective of case type.<sup>49</sup>

Several factors contributed to clients' satisfaction with the resolution of their cases. Firstly, the Justice Promoters' role in facilitating mediation and communication between parties in dispute, particularly through elders and community leaders, proved effective in reaching resolutions that were mutually agreeable. For example, one client described how the Justice Promoter guided her divorce case out of the district court and before the clan elders. With the help of the elders, the parties reached a divorce agreement that included shared custody of the children. "I don't think it was favored to either one of us as they resolved it better and well. The decision they made was to equally resolve the case."<sup>50</sup>

As demonstrated in legal aid programs around the world, mediation can play a pivotal role in improving access to justice by providing a cost-effective and efficient way to resolve disputes, reduce the burden on the court system, and empower individuals to have a say in the resolution of their legal issues. Elder-led mediation processes tend to be more accessible, faster, and cost-efficient - all factors of crucial concern in access to justice. However, despite these advantages, elder-led processes were not uniformly satisfactory. Some clients expressed dissatisfaction with their case outcomes due to perceived bias or lack of concern by elders. For example, in another divorce case, the client expressed her disappointment in the elders. "The elders didn't solve my case....But now I will go to the court to get justice."<sup>51</sup> Similarly, in a domestic violence case, another client stated, "Previously, when the family members and the elders were involved in the case they didn't do anything. I always got beaten by the man."<sup>52</sup> As such, Justice Promoters who can determine whether to engage clan elders or instead turn to the formal court system are more likely to achieve satisfactory outcomes for their clients.

Secondly, the ability of Justice Promoters to navigate different justice pathways, whether through clan elders, religious leaders, or referrals to the formal court system, helped clients secure their legal rights and achieve favorable outcomes that would have otherwise been unavailable to them.<sup>53</sup> KIIs reveal that Justice Promoters aimed not only to resolve cases but also to empower clients by providing them with legal knowledge and assisting them in accessing their rights. Clients, especially those from marginalized groups, benefited from this empowerment. They gained a better understanding of legal processes and their rights, which could lead to improved access to justice in the long term. When asked whether they learned anything from their Justice Promoter, clients responded with strongly positive answers, such as, "Yes, to seek justice from the court and everything has a solution"<sup>54</sup> and "I learned from her a lot, like

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<sup>49</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 104; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>50</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>51</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 106.

<sup>52</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108.

<sup>53</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>54</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105.

supporting people and defending rights...now I have a good understanding about legal and human rights issues.”<sup>55</sup>

As noted in the quantitative data, psychosocial support contributed towards higher satisfaction with justice promoters and case outcomes, and KIIs underscored the importance and impact of Justice Promoters that were able to provide not just competent legal advice but also strong emotional support.<sup>56</sup> Clients who received emotional support from justice promoters and legal aid organizations reported reduced stress and anxiety related to their legal issues. One client stated, “There is a big difference before and after I met with the justice promoter as before I was feeling sorrow with no justice and many other things, but after I met with the justice promoter I was provided support and felt great.”<sup>57</sup> Clients valued justice promoters who took the time to understand their concerns and feelings, resulting in strengthened client-advocate relationships. For example, another client mentioned, “Before, my situation was out of control, and I couldn't do anything about it. Now, I have received support from the Justice Promoter and I am grateful to them for the excellent work.”<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, emotional support motivated clients to engage more actively with the legal process, attend meetings, and follow through on recommendations, ultimately increasing their satisfaction with the legal proceedings. Lastly, emotional support proved instrumental in easing the emotional toll of legal issues, particularly in cases involving family disputes or personal trauma. Clients who received this support reported feeling more at ease and satisfied with the overall handling of their legal problems. “The first meeting took more than an hour and he listened to me very well and asked me questions about my issue. We discussed what caused the problem and I told him everything, then he told me it will be okay.... Before I was feeling sad as I didn't have a person to share with, then when I shared with him I became encouraged and strong.”<sup>59</sup>

While KIIs predominantly portray strong client satisfaction overall, a minority of clients were dissatisfied with the legal aid they received. For example, some clients felt they had received poor advice, leading to unfavorable outcomes, or wished they had pursued different justice pathways.<sup>60</sup> These instances underscore the importance of ensuring clients receive clear, accurate, and comprehensive advice.

Overall, clients generally expressed strong satisfaction with the resolution of their cases when assisted by Justice Promoters. The success of their work can be attributed to effective mediation processes, emotional support, and a willingness to explore various justice pathways. Elders played a significant role in dispute resolution, although with both positive and negative results.

#### CLIENT SATISFACTION WITH LEGAL PROCESS AND PERCEPTIONS OF FAIRNESS

Client satisfaction with the legal process and perceptions of fairness are interrelated aspects of the justice system. Analyzing these facets based on the interviews with Justice Promoter clients reveals a complex picture marked by both positive and negative feedback. In many instances, client perceptions of the legal system and whether they were treated fairly were driven by their impressions of the Justice

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<sup>55</sup> KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112.

<sup>56</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 104; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>57</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>58</sup> KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111.

<sup>59</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108.

<sup>60</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117.

Promoters, so many of the relevant factors overlap with those identified in the general satisfaction with their outcomes.

#### *Positive Aspects:*

**Resolution of Disputes:** As noted previously, a prominent factor contributing to client satisfaction is the successful resolution of legal disputes. Many clients express contentment with the outcomes of their cases, often achieved through mediation and negotiation facilitated by justice promoters either through clan elders or the formal justice system. This resolution bolsters their perception of fairness, as they feel their grievances were addressed effectively and without the need for prolonged, costly court proceedings. Not surprisingly, clients seek justice to address specific grievances, and when they see their issues resolved it enhances their overall satisfaction with the legal process. For example, one client in a mediated divorce settlement reflected, “It would not have been possible to resolve my case without the justice promoter. Because my case was resolved, I have been returned to my house and to my kids whom I have missed very much.”<sup>61</sup>

**Empowerment:** Clients frequently mention feeling empowered within the legal process.<sup>62</sup> This empowerment stems not only from the resolution of their case but also the guidance and support provided by Justice Promoters, who enable clients to actively participate in decision-making and problem-solving. Clients appreciate having a voice in shaping the outcomes of their cases, which enhances their sense of agency, their impression of the legal system, and their perception of fairness. It should be noted, however, that a lack of control or agency can, understandably, also leave clients extremely dissatisfied. One frustrated client explained, “I had no control since the lady from the Justice Promoter ignored my phone calls and the court also ignored my case, though they saw the injured wounds on the face of my daughter, and I lost the support the justice promoters promised me....I called the team from the Justice Promoter as they told me they would come and join me at the court, but they didn't come and switched off their phones from me. At the time of the ruling my daughter, who was beaten up terribly, was brought to the court and a corrupted judge called [redacted] made the ruling [in favor] for my aunt...and I ended up losing my case.”<sup>63</sup>

**Access to Legal Information:** Clients valued the legal advice and information offered by justice promoters. The legal system can be mystifying even to those with the means to access it. For marginalized populations, the lack of information as to one's rights and how to enforce them can be an overwhelming obstacle. KIIs revealed that Justice Promoters helped to provide valuable information on the basic rights of clients and the functions of the legal system, including for those whose cases were ultimately unsuccessful.<sup>64</sup> This access to knowledge equips them with a better understanding of their rights and options, instilling confidence in the legal process. Clients perceive fairness when they are well-informed and can make informed choices. Clients consistently made comments that reflect a more positive impression of the legal system based on what they learned, e.g., “I learned something from the

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<sup>61</sup> KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>62</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

<sup>63</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103.

<sup>64</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 104; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 106; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117; KII with Client, Xudur, Int. 118.

justice promoter - one of the things is how to report your case and look for justice”,<sup>65</sup> “I learned the courts and others are always ready to help and work for the people”,<sup>66</sup> and, “I learned how courts work for justice.”<sup>67</sup>

### *Challenges and Concerns:*

Client perceptions of the legal process and fairness were not uniformly positive, even amongst those who were ultimately successful in resolving their disputes. Clients cited a range of concerns that reflect a lack of faith in the legal system.<sup>68</sup> For example, delays and lack of progress in reaching a satisfactory resolution contributed to feelings of frustration and impatience, such as one client who observed, “Since the case took long too long seeking a resolution we were tired of it and it has been ignored. No resolution has been made as my daughter got healthier and I just quit from it [the case].”<sup>69</sup> In some instances, frustration was directed at the Justice Promoter for not being accessible or failing to provide adequate support.<sup>70</sup> Others complained about the choice of forum leading to unsatisfactory or delayed outcomes.<sup>71</sup> This lack of progress led to doubts about the effectiveness of both the justice promoters and the legal process.

A notable concern expressed by some clients was the financial burden associated with their legal cases, such as from lack of child support or from the court cases themselves.<sup>72</sup> One client commented, “The biggest obstacle that I was facing was lack of resources to support my case, as I don’t even have enough money to feed my four children.”<sup>73</sup> However, there were just as many, if not more clients, who commented favorably on the low cost of the justice pathways identified by the Justice Promoters.<sup>74</sup> While the ability of Justice Promoters to direct clients towards justice pathways that mitigated or eliminated financial barriers was encouraging, the impression remains amongst some clients that the legal system is skewed towards those with financial resources. Another client described her frustration accordingly, “Yes I think there are issues that would prevent me from pursuing my case again, like I have no resources to fund my case to be reopened at the court. I am a widow whose father has died, and...the court only works for people with money and the justice promoters are not with me.” This financial strain negatively affected their overall satisfaction with the process, as they feel that accessing justice is beyond their means.

Similarly, another factor contributing to clients' mixed views was the perception of unfair treatment. Some clients believed that they were not treated fairly during their legal proceedings, or that the system is simply stacked against them. Even though successful in her case and satisfied with her Justice Promoter, one client commented, “I can surely tell you that there is no fairness, that the police, elders,

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<sup>65</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102.

<sup>66</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109.

<sup>67</sup> KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114.

<sup>68</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 108; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 110.

<sup>69</sup> KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 110.

<sup>70</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103.

<sup>71</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 106; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117.

<sup>72</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 102; KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 103; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 110; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113.

<sup>73</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>74</sup> KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 105; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 107; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 109; KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 111; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 112; KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 114; KII with Client, Banadir, Int. 117.

or courts only take money and bribes as they need.”<sup>75</sup> Others felt that they did not receive proper opportunities to present their side of the story and that their voices were not adequately heard. This perception eroded their belief in the fairness of the legal process. Additionally, a few clients expressed uncertainty about the status of their cases or lack of enforcement measures. One client complained that she was still waiting to receive a final decision from the court,<sup>76</sup> while another noted that even though she won child support from her husband, he still fails to provide any support.<sup>77</sup>

In conclusion, client satisfaction with the legal process and perceptions of fairness are mixed. Positive aspects, such as successful dispute resolution, empowerment, and access to legal information, enhance client satisfaction and contribute to a sense of fairness. However, challenges related to perceived unfair treatment, disparities in access, and the influence of power dynamics can diminish overall satisfaction and raise important questions about equity within the justice system. Addressing these challenges and continuously working to improve access, transparency, and fairness are essential steps toward enhancing client satisfaction and building trust in the legal process.

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<sup>75</sup> KII with Client, Baidoa, Int. 101.

<sup>76</sup> KII with Client, Togdheer, Int. 113.

<sup>77</sup> KII with Client, Maroodi Jeex, Int. 110.

## CONCLUSIONS

### EVALUATION QUESTION 1

EQ1 examines the intricate relationship between case-specific factors and client satisfaction within the justice system as a lens for evaluating the effectiveness of the JP approach at helping aggrieved parties seek solutions to their justice needs. Several key conclusions emerge from this analysis. But overall, satisfaction with JPs, case outcomes, and the legal process is very high.

*Resolution Venues:* Clients exhibit high satisfaction levels with Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) and Legal Aid Office (LAO) resolutions, highlighting the efficacy of these mechanisms. However, district courts show lower satisfaction, potentially attributed to extended resolution times. The speed of case resolution emerges as a critical factor in determining client satisfaction, underlining the importance of swift and efficient legal processes.

*Impact of Barriers:* Contrary to expectations, clients engaging a JP after attempting to resolve their case without a JP, and encountering barriers to doing so, report lower satisfaction with case outcomes. This challenges the assumption that JPs universally enhance satisfaction for those encountering difficulties. Notably, psychosocial support significantly enhances JP satisfaction, emphasizing the crucial role of emotional support in client experiences.

*Case-Specific Factors on Satisfaction with Outcome:* Gender disparities influence satisfaction, with women demonstrating a significant increase in contentment. Residence zones also play a role, as clients in Somaliland report lower satisfaction. Case type, especially violent crimes, correlates with lower satisfaction, while family cases trend toward greater satisfaction. Surprisingly, no significant association is found between satisfaction and different justice venues.

*Willingness to Pursue Case Again:* Clients' likelihood of pursuing a case again is influenced by factors such as case duration, type (criminal cases are less likely to be pursued), and venue choice. This highlights the multifaceted considerations that shape clients' decisions to pursue legal remedies.

*Satisfaction with Legal Process:* Satisfaction with the process is influenced by case type, with violent crime cases associated with lower satisfaction. Encountering barriers is not significantly associated with process satisfaction, but there is a trend towards lower satisfaction among those facing barriers. Psychosocial support significantly enhances process satisfaction.

*JP-Specific Factors:* JP satisfaction is positively influenced by the caring attitude of the JP and their ability to explain concepts. Similar factors impact satisfaction with case outcomes and the legal process, emphasizing the pivotal role JPs play in shaping positive client experiences.

*Qualitative Insights:* Successful dispute resolution, empowerment through active participation, and access to legal information contribute to positive client experiences. However, challenges like delays, perceived unfair treatment, and financial burdens negatively impact satisfaction.

In conclusion, the analysis underscores the complexity of factors influencing client satisfaction and the effectiveness of the JP approach, providing a robust foundation for future interventions to improve the overall effectiveness and fairness of the justice system.

## EVALUATION QUESTION 2

The evaluation of the JP program's implementation reveals a well-structured initiative designed to address diverse legal issues within communities. Clear delineation of JP roles, combined with strategic engagement with multiple justice pathways, reflects thoughtful program design. The integration of psychosocial support further enhances the program's holistic approach to client needs. However, challenges related to delays, perceived accessibility issues, and variations in client satisfaction suggest areas for targeted improvements in implementation strategies.

*Client-Specific Factors:* The exploration of demographic variables demonstrates intriguing relationships with satisfaction. While statistical significance is not uniformly attained, trends illuminate potential influencers. Notably, women tend to express higher satisfaction with JPs and case outcomes. Income disparities contribute to the gender gap, with higher incomes showing a paradoxical association with lower satisfaction. Geographically, Somalilanders report lower satisfaction, suggesting elevated expectations in regions with historical governance structures.

The interplay between income and gender introduces a layer of complexity. The paradoxical association of higher incomes with lower satisfaction levels hints at multifaceted influences on client contentment. The gender gap in satisfaction, partially explained by income differentials, underscores the need for gender-sensitive interventions. Policies addressing income inequality and fostering gender equity could contribute significantly to enhancing overall client satisfaction.

*Case-Specific Factors:* Insights into case-specific factors deepen our understanding. Psychosocial support emerges as a potent contributor to satisfaction across all dimensions, underscoring the holistic nature of client well-being. Additionally, the type of case and venue dynamics wield varied influences on satisfaction. Surprisingly, barriers in the legal process do not necessarily increase dissatisfaction, challenging presumptions about the role of hurdles in shaping perceptions.

*JP-Specific Factors:* The role of JP actions and attributes emerges as a pivotal determinant of satisfaction. Clients who perceive JPs as caring and effective communicators consistently report higher satisfaction across dimensions. This underscores the significance of interpersonal aspects in shaping client experiences within the justice system.

*Client Satisfaction:* Quantitative and qualitative analyses converge to underscore high levels of client satisfaction with the JP program. Clients express contentment with the resolution of their cases, emphasizing the program's effectiveness in navigating diverse legal issues. Empowerment, achieved through legal knowledge dissemination and psychosocial support, contributes significantly to positive client experiences. The satisfaction extends beyond case outcomes to perceptions of fairness and empowerment within the legal process.

*Intersection of Implementation and Satisfaction:* The intersection of program implementation and client satisfaction is evident in the positive correlation between effective JP-client relationships and overall satisfaction. Clients value the caring approach and ability of JPs to explain complex legal concepts, emphasizing the critical role of interpersonal dynamics in shaping client experiences. Challenges in accessing JPs and perceived unfair treatment contribute to variations in satisfaction levels, emphasizing the need for refined implementation strategies and enhanced communication channels.

*Geographic and Case-Specific Variations:* Geographic and case-specific variations emerge as notable factors influencing client satisfaction. While regional differences impact satisfaction levels, the role of psychosocial support consistently surfaces as a significant determinant. Analysis of case-specific factors, including the type of case and resolution venue, highlights nuanced patterns, offering insights into areas where the program can tailor approaches to enhance overall satisfaction.

Evaluation Question 2 provides a comprehensive overview of the Justice Promoter program's implementation and its impact on client satisfaction. The positive correlations between effective program implementation and high client satisfaction underscore the program's success in addressing diverse legal needs. Despite challenges, the analysis reveals actionable insights for refining implementation strategies and tailoring approaches to meet the unique needs of clients in different contexts. Overall, the JP program demonstrates commendable success in translating its objectives into positive client experiences within a challenging legal landscape.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Compensate Justice Promoters:** Provide reasonable compensation for JPs to help develop a cadre of paralegal professionals with the skills and commitment to serve as resources for their communities. Currently, JPs receive a small travel stipend to facilitate their work; however, compensation could ensure that JPs are more active, better able to reach community members and raise awareness of the JP program, and are more dedicated to the provision of legal aid.
- **Enhance Training Programs:** Invest in comprehensive training programs for JPs to ensure they have a deep understanding of legal processes, mediation skills, and the needs of marginalized communities.
- **Psychosocial Support:** Ensure that JP counseling and assistance includes access to psychosocial support for clients, as it significantly contributes to their satisfaction and well-being throughout the legal process. Psychosocial support is highly valued, as demonstrated by its impact on client satisfaction of all kinds. It should also be coupled with training of JPs on methods for effective communication with their clients, which was also highly valued. The combination can be used to provide clients with the socio-emotional support they need during the legal process.
- **Access to Legal Information:** Expand efforts to educate clients about their legal rights and justice pathways, ensuring that they are well-informed to make empowered decisions. This should include not only through the JPs themselves, but also streetlaw programs, civic education, and legal aid clinics.
- **Diversify Communication Channels:** Improve communication channels between JPs and clients, including regular updates on case progress and ensuring the availability of JPs when needed. One of the major complaints clients had regarding some JPs was that they could not reach them or that they no longer knew how and whether their case was progressing at all. This frustration and uncertainty was an important driver of dissatisfaction among the relatively few clients who were dissatisfied with their experience.

- **Case Management:** Combined with Recommendation 5, implement effective case management systems to track the progress of each case and provide regular updates to clients to alleviate frustration caused by delays and uncertainty.
- **Mediation and Alternative Dispute Resolution:** Strengthen the use of mediation and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, as they often lead to faster and more satisfactory outcomes for clients.
- **Empowerment and Client Participation:** JP training and protocols should promote active client participation in decision-making processes to empower them in shaping the outcomes of their cases.
- **Address Financial Barriers:** Explore options to further mitigate financial barriers for clients, possibly by expanding financial assistance for those in need or advocating for reduced court fees.
- **Client Feedback Mechanism:** Create a feedback mechanism where clients can express concerns or complaints, allowing for continuous program improvement.
- **Women Empowerment:** Support streetlaw, civic education, and legal aid programs that empower women to navigate the legal system independently and increase their awareness of legal rights.
- **Legal Aid Education:** Increase collaboration with legal aid organizations to provide comprehensive legal education and support to clients.
- **Streamline Referrals:** Streamline the referral process between JPs and formal courts, ensuring that clients transition smoothly when needed.
- **Justice Pathway User Materials:** Develop educational materials for JPs and legal aid organizations that provide client-accessible overviews of justice pathways and options for common types of legal disputes.
- **Community Outreach:** Expand community outreach efforts to increase awareness of the JP program, its services, and how to access them. Some JPs indicated that community members they approached did not know about the JP program, and this increased suspicion and made it difficult for them to gain the trust of clients they were trying to assist. Awareness-raising should be a broad programmatic responsibility; greater awareness will allow JPs to work more efficiently.
- **Resource Allocation:** Allocate resources strategically based on client needs and program effectiveness in different regions.

## **ANNEX 1 - REGRESSION TABLES**

In this annex, we provide the full tables for the regression models described and analyzed in the main body of the report, under EQ2. Each regression model in the main body of the report was presented in graphical form; in this annex, we provide tabular results, to enable readers to see the precise regression coefficients and standard errors for each variable in the models.

## CLIENT-SPECIFIC PREDICTORS OF CLIENT SATISFACTION

Exhibit 24: Regression models of client-specific factors on each outcome (satisfaction) measure

|                                        | JP Satisfaction |                | Outcome Satisfaction |                | Process Satisfaction |                | Pursue Resolution Again |                |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Client-specific characteristic         | Coefficient     | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient             | Standard Error |
| Gender                                 | 4.25            | 3.45           | 14.10**              | 5.81           | 10.12**              | 5.01           | -0.11                   | 0.09           |
| Age                                    | 0.19*           | 0.11           | 0.02                 | 0.19           | -0.04                | 0.16           | -0.00                   | 0.00           |
| Income index                           | -10.76*         | 5.87           | -3.56                | 9.87           | -7.21                | 8.50           | -0.15                   | -0.15          |
| Indigeneity                            | -0.40           | 2.82           | 5.01                 | 4.74           | -2.49                | 4.09           | -0.05                   | -0.05          |
| <i>Zone</i>                            |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Bay                                    | 7.12*           | 3.65           | 12.16**              | 6.14           | 9.31*                | 5.29           | -0.09                   | 0.10           |
| Banadir                                | 1.61            | 3.43           | 8.92                 | 5.77           | 4.50                 | 4.97           | -0.10                   | 0.09           |
| Other southern regions                 | 4.19            | 4.72           | 10.26                | 7.94           | 17.33**              | 6.85           | -0.05                   | 0.13           |
| <i>Clan status</i>                     |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Secondary                              | -5.68*          | 3.08           | 3.46                 | 5.17           | 0.46                 | 4.46           | -0.11                   | 0.08           |
| Tertiary                               | -4.74           | 3.29           | 4.31                 | 5.53           | 3.12                 | 4.77           | -0.10                   | 0.09           |
| Marginalized groups, occup. minorities | -1.95           | 4.07           | -0.29                | 6.84           | -0.19                | 5.89           | -0.03                   | 0.11           |
| <i>Education</i>                       |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Attended primary                       | 4.31            | 2.93           | 9.67*                | 4.92           | 8.07*                | 4.24           | 0.04                    | 0.08           |
| Completed primary                      | 1.62            | 3.35           | 7.10                 | 5.62           | 2.01                 | 4.85           | -0.16*                  | 0.09           |

|          |          |      |          |       |          |      |         |      |
|----------|----------|------|----------|-------|----------|------|---------|------|
| Constant | 81.43*** | 6.43 | 56.32*** | 10.81 | 70.83*** | 9.31 | 0.80*** | 0.17 |
|----------|----------|------|----------|-------|----------|------|---------|------|

\*\*\*p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05, \*p<0.10

## CASE-SPECIFIC PREDICTORS OF CLIENT SATISFACTION

Table 25: Regression models of case-specific factors on each outcome (satisfaction) measure

| Case-specific characteristic           | JP Satisfaction |                | Outcome Satisfaction |                | Process Satisfaction |                | Pursue Resolution Again |                |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
|                                        | Coefficient     | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient             | Standard Error |
| Gender                                 | 5.74            | 3.64           | 14.99**              | 6.14           | 12.02*               | 5.38           | -9.96                   | 10.12          |
| Age                                    | 0.20*           | 0.11           | 0.07                 | 0.19           | 0.00                 | 0.17           | -0.17                   | 0.32           |
| Income index                           | -8.07           | 5.76           | 1.25                 | 9.73           | -3.91                | 8.53           | -12.65                  | 16.03          |
| <i>Zone</i>                            |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Bay                                    | 5.35            | 3.73           | 16.46**              | 6.28           | 10.67                | 5.51           | -8.54                   | 10.35          |
| Banadir                                | -0.23           | 3.62           | 8.89                 | 6.12           | 5.30                 | 5.35           | -9.71                   | 10.06          |
| Other southern regions                 | 3.41            | 4.95           | 15.99*               | 8.34           | 19.92**              | 7.31           | -1.59                   | 13.74          |
| <i>Clan status</i>                     |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Secondary                              | -5.39*          | 3.03           | 4.84                 | 5.11           | 2.11                 | 4.48           | 11.05                   | 8.42           |
| Tertiary                               | -5.22           | 3.28           | 2.77                 | 5.53           | 2.32                 | 4.85           | 9.23                    | 9.11           |
| Marginalized groups, occup. minorities | -1.44           | 4.08           | 0.88                 | 6.89           | 0.03                 | 6.03           | 0.25                    | 11.33          |
| <i>Education</i>                       |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Attended primary                       | 3.46            | 2.88           | 7.06                 | 4.86           | 6.34                 | 4.26           | 4.43                    | 8.00           |
| Completed primary                      | 0.74            | 3.27           | 5.79                 | 5.51           | -5.99                | 5.37           | -16.53*                 | 9.07           |

| <i>Case type</i>             |          |       |          |       |          |       |        |       |
|------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|--------|-------|
| Criminal cases               | 2.27     | 2.97  | -9.46*   | 5.01  | -8.33*   | 4.39  | -12.78 | 8.25  |
| Civil cases                  | 1.37     | 3.66  | -2.32    | 6.17  | -0.19    | 5.41  | 8.14   | 10.17 |
| <i>Venue</i>                 |          |       |          |       |          |       |        |       |
| Court (district or regional) | -3.58    | 3.84  | 2.87     | 6.47  | 0.58     | 5.67  | -11.20 | 10.65 |
| Islamic court                | -0.16    | 7.98  | 12.31    | 13.46 | 9.22     | 11.79 | -4.40  | 22.16 |
| Al Shabaab court             | 11.58    | 13.99 | -0.18    | 23.58 | 8.89     | 20.67 | -33.66 | 38.84 |
| Mediation by elders          | -3.74    | 4.27  | -8.19    | 7.20  | -6.19    | 6.32  | -14.89 | 11.86 |
| Mediation by an imam         | 1.16     | 18.96 | 37.24    | 31.95 | 34.27    | 28.01 | -40.64 | 52.62 |
| Police                       | -0.57    | 9.85  | -11.91   | 16.60 | -6.00    | 14.55 | -11.82 | 27.34 |
| ADR or LAO office            | 3.77     | 4.80  | 5.19     | 8.10  | 4.27     | 7.10  | -11.63 | 13.33 |
| Other                        | -5.74    | 4.99  | -1.95    | 8.41  | 3.84     | 7.37  | -21.41 | 13.85 |
| Encountered barriers         | -7.53    | 4.73  | -16.59** | 7.97  | -10.91   | 6.99  | -9.31  | 13.13 |
| EAJ paid fees                | 2.60     | 3.07  | 011.32** | 5.17  | -5.08    | -5.08 | -1.89  | 8.51  |
| Psychosocial support         | 9.30***  | 2.32  | 13.13*** | 3.91  | 8.43**   | 3.43  | 1.28   | 6.44  |
| Constant                     | 78.39*** | 7.20  | 53.08*** | 12.13 | 65.67*** | 10.63 | 88.78  | 19.98 |

\*\*\*p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05, \*p<0.10

## JP-SPECIFIC PREDICTORS OF CLIENT SATISFACTION

Table 26: Regression models of JP-specific factors on each outcome (satisfaction) measure

|                                              | JP Satisfaction |                | Outcome Satisfaction |                | Process Satisfaction |                | Pursue Resolution Again |                |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Case-specific characteristic                 | Coefficient     | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient          | Standard Error | Coefficient             | Standard Error |
| Gender                                       | 2.20            | 2.82           | 10.14*               | 5.48           | 7.81                 | 4.84           | -0.07                   | 0.10           |
| Age                                          | 0.16*           | 0.09           | 0.05                 | 0.17           | 09.91                | 0.15           | -0.00                   | 0.00           |
| Income index                                 | -9.94*          | 4.52           | 0.92                 | 8.77           | -4.81                | 7.76           | -0.12                   | 0.16           |
| <i>Zone</i>                                  |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Bay                                          | 3.87            | 2.90           | 11.34**              | 5.62           | 8.06                 | 4.97           | -0.12                   | 0.10           |
| Banadir                                      | 0.67            | 2.77           | 8.79                 | 5.37           | 5.98                 | 4.75           | -0.12                   | 0.10           |
| Other southern regions                       | 1.35            | 3.81           | 14.49*               | 7.39           | 19.92**              | 6.53           | -0.03                   | 0.13           |
| <i>Clan status</i>                           |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Secondary                                    | -4.46*          | 2.39           | 5.14                 | 4.64           | 2.72                 | 4.10           | 0.11                    | 0.08           |
| Tertiary                                     | -2.61           | 2.60           | 6.12                 | 5.04           | 4.71                 | 4.46           | 0.09                    | 0.09           |
| Marginalized groups, occupational minorities | -0.25           | 3.19           | 3.07                 | 6.18           | 2.06                 | 5.46           | -0.02                   | 0.11           |
| <i>Education</i>                             |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |
| Attended primary                             | 3.46            | 2.28           | 8.02*                | 4.42           | 7.36*                | 3.91           | 0.05                    | 0.08           |
| Completed primary                            | 1.41            | 2.61           | 6.71                 | 5.07           | 1.56                 | 4.48           | -0.15                   | 0.09           |
| <i>Case type</i>                             |                 |                |                      |                |                      |                |                         |                |

|                          |         |      |         |       |         |       |       |      |
|--------------------------|---------|------|---------|-------|---------|-------|-------|------|
| Criminal cases           | 4.15    | 2.32 | -9.52** | 4.50  | -9.07** | 3.98  | -0.12 | 0.08 |
| Civil cases              | 4.26    | 2.61 | 1.31    | 5.59  | 2.24    | 4.95  | 0.10  | 0.10 |
| JP was attentive         | -0.07   | 0.05 | -0.02   | 0.10  | 0.02    | 0.09  | -0.00 | 0.00 |
| JP was caring (index)    | 0.56*** | 0.08 | 0.45**  | 0.14  | 0.22*   | 0.13  | 0.00  | 0.00 |
| Easy to contact JP       | -0.00   | 0.04 | -0.07   | 0.08  | -0.00   | 0.07  | 0.00  | 0.00 |
| Lawyers explained well   | 0.21*** | 0.05 | 0.34*** | 0.09  | 0.35*** | 0.08  | 0.00  | 0.00 |
| Lawyer also provided aid | 1.08    | 2.50 | -1.46   | 4.85  | 0.11    | 4.29  | 0.08  | 0.09 |
| Constant                 | 16.58** | 7.60 | -10.08  | 14.74 | 17.83   | 13.04 | 0.77  | 0.26 |

\*\*\*p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05, \*p<0.10

## ANNEX 2 – MEASUREMENT OF CLIENT SATISFACTION

As described in the main body of the report, we consider three main conceptual definitions of “client satisfaction.” The first is satisfaction with the JPs themselves, including their actions and manner of working; the second is satisfaction with the case outcome or resolution; and the third is satisfaction with the process by which the case was resolved, not limited to the actions of the JPs themselves.

We draw these distinctions between types of satisfaction for the simple reason that only a portion of a client’s experience can be attributed directly to a JP. An extremely effective, conscientious, and communicative JP will inevitably handle cases in which the client is unsatisfied with the final resolution, either as a result of unfairness in the legal system or because their case is insufficiently strong (for instance, if they are actually “in the wrong”). Conversely, a client may feel they received a fair hearing and may be very pleased with the overall outcome of their case, but disappointed in the JP’s actions or the extent to which they received assistance.

Our goal was to consider these aspects of satisfaction separately, in part because we believe USAID and other donors/programs operating in Somalia will be interested in understanding each of these aspects independently of one another. From an analytical standpoint, it is helpful to distinguish the different types of satisfaction when hypothesizing and studying the factors that drive satisfaction. For instance, we would expect a JP’s communication style to affect client satisfaction with the JP him or herself, but to have little or no impact on their satisfaction with the outcome of the case. In part, our goal is to avoid placing blame on JPs for negative case outcomes or unfair procedural practices that are outside their ability to affect.

In the sections below, we provide details of each of the three measures we constructed. In each case, we constructed an index that aggregates multiple individual survey questions into a single index capturing the broader concept of, for example, satisfaction with the JP or satisfaction with the legal process.

### SATISFACTION WITH THE JUSTICE PROMOTER

Satisfaction with the JP is the most straightforward of the outcomes we measure. The difficulties in measuring satisfaction with the JP arise from the need to differentiate between satisfaction with the JP and satisfaction with the experience of the case and its resolution more broadly. We attempted to do this by asking questions very directly about the JP, framing questions by specifically naming the JP or using the term “Justice Promoter.”

Clients we surveyed were asked six questions related to satisfaction with the JP. The questions and response options available to respondents are presented below.<sup>78</sup>

- How satisfied were you with the work of the JP?
  - Very satisfied

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<sup>78</sup> Note that for two of the six questions listed here, we employed randomization in the response ordering. This is a method to guard against “response order effects,” in which respondents are more likely to select the first response option provided. To reduce the impact of this known form of response bias—and to allow us to formally test for the presence of response order effects—we randomize whether a respondent receives the responses in their original order or a reversed order, and test the relationship between response order and response distribution. This approach has no impact on the construction of our index; however, we note its use to assuage any concerns about response order effects that may have occurred.

- Somewhat satisfied
  - Not satisfied at all
- Is there anything you feel the Justice Promoter did not do that he/she should have done in your case?
  - Yes
  - No
- If you had another case in the future, how likely are you to contact a JP again?
  - Very likely
  - Somewhat likely
  - Somewhat unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- If your friend or family member had a case, how likely would you be to recommend using a JP to them?
  - Very likely
  - Somewhat likely
  - Somewhat unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- Please think about all the time you worked with \${jp\_name}. Was there ever a time you felt they could have done a better job or that a different Justice Promoter might have been better for your case?
  - No
  - Yes, once or twice
  - Yes, often
- Overall, how confident are you in the JP's knowledge and the quality of advice they gave you?
  - I feel significantly more confident now than I did before my case
  - I feel somewhat more confident now than I did before my case
  - My confidence is the same as it was before my case
  - I feel somewhat less confident now than I did before my case
  - I feel significantly less confident now than I did before my case

The questions above approach satisfaction from multiple angles, including asking about generalized satisfaction and asking whether respondents would recommend use of a JP to a family member.

We constructed an index from these measures using three steps:

1. Dichotomized each variable. In this step, we simply converted the questions, with their varied response options, into a binary variable. This decision reflects the fact that most respondents expressed high degrees of satisfaction with the JP; we view and define any deviation from a strongly satisfied response as an indication of significant reservations about the JP's performance. We view the difference between "very satisfied," on one hand, and "somewhat satisfied" or "not satisfied at all," on the other hand, the key distinction, rather than drawing more fine-grained distinctions between those who are only somewhat satisfied and those who

express no satisfaction at all.<sup>79</sup> In each case, a positive response (implying greater satisfaction) was coded as 1, with a negative response coded as 0.

2. Aggregated variables. In this step, we employed a simple linear combination, adding up the six variables to form a score ranging from 0 to 6. While we considered more complex procedures, such as principal components analysis, the benefits of such procedures were minimal in the context of our data.
3. Re-scaled the index to a 0–100 scale. In this step, we adjusted the final index with a linear transformation, resulting in a 0–100 scale with no change in the underlying distribution.

The resulting index ranged from 0–100, but took on just seven discrete values. The mean of this index is 89.4, with a standard deviation of 18.7 points. Exhibit 7 documents the share of respondents scoring “1” on each of the six components of the index.

Exhibit 7. Components of client satisfaction with the JP and their frequency

| INDEX COMPONENT                                                                                                                                                                                        | DEFINITION OF A POSITIVE RESPONSE                                 | SHARE OF RESPONDENTS WITH A POSITIVE RESPONSE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| How satisfied were you with the work of the JP?                                                                                                                                                        | Very satisfied                                                    | 90.9%                                         |
| Is there anything you feel the Justice Promoter did not do that he/she should have done in your case?                                                                                                  | No                                                                | 89.5%                                         |
| If you had another case in the future, how likely are you to contact a JP again?                                                                                                                       | Very likely                                                       | 86.6%                                         |
| If your friend or family member had a case, how likely would you be to recommend using a JP to them?                                                                                                   | Very likely                                                       | 90.2%                                         |
| Please think about all the time you worked with {jp_name}. Was there ever a time you felt they could have done a better job or that a different Justice Promoter might have been better for your case? | No                                                                | 90.2%                                         |
| Overall, how confident are you in the JP's knowledge and the quality of advice they gave you?                                                                                                          | I feel significantly more confident now than I did before my case | 88.8%                                         |

The mean inter-item correlation between these six components was 0.242, and the Cronbach's alpha score—a common measure of the reliability of composite indices such as this—was 0.66. This latter result falls below conventional thresholds for a reliable scale; however, Cronbach's alpha is heavily influenced by the number of components in an index, and our indices are constructed from relatively few input questions. Therefore, we focus on the relatively high correlation between each item and the

<sup>79</sup> This is an approach we use frequently in the context of survey questions with relatively high concentration of positive responses. For instance, when we analyze attitudes toward girls' education or support for a district government, it is common to have a heavily skewed distribution of responses, with the overwhelming majority being very positive. In these circumstances, the most consequential differentiation between respondents is typically between those who express strongly positive views and *all others*.

substantive similarity between questions to justify our approach. In addition, factor analysis suggests that the six components predominantly capture a single outcome (loading occurring on a single factor), justifying an index that combines these six measures.

### **SATISFACTION WITH THE CASE OUTCOME**

The second index we constructed aimed to measure the client's satisfaction with the outcome or resolution of their case. We measured this outcome using two survey questions, reproduced with their response options below:

- Please think only about the outcome of the case, not the process or the actions of \${jp\_name}.  
How satisfied with the outcome of the case are you?
  - Very satisfied
  - Somewhat satisfied
  - Not satisfied at all
- Compared to the resolution you had wanted, do you feel the resolution that you received was fair?
  - Yes, very fair
  - Yes, somewhat fair
  - No, not at all fair

A notable feature of the first question is that we specifically framed the question to exclude the actions of the JP and the process through which their case was handled. This was intended to prompt respondents to set aside any perceived difficulty they had with the process (e.g., delays, difficulty dealing with paperwork) and consider only the outcome, such as the court decision or the agreement negotiated through *xeer*.

Unlike in the previous scale, in which we dichotomized each measure, for this index, we employed the 3-point scales as inputs. The reason for this difference is that both components of the index listed above are measured on 3-point scales and do not introduce unequal weighting to the calculation. In contrast, our measure of satisfaction with the JP employed measures with binary outcomes and measures with 3- and 5-point scales; as a result, it was necessary to re-scale measures before aggregating them. In this case, we simply reverse the scale of our outcomes, so that higher scores on the 3-point scale represent positive assessments of the case outcome. After aggregating these scores, we re-scaled them to a 0–100 scale using a simple linear transformation.

It is worth noting that clients are less satisfied with the outcomes of their cases than they are with the JP who provided assistance. For instance, 80.4 percent of respondents say they are happy with the outcome of their case, compared to 90.9 percent of respondents who say they were satisfied with the work of their JP. This fact is reflected in a lower composite score for satisfaction with the outcome of their case.

Finally, we note that the two constituent questions that comprise our index of “outcome satisfaction” are strongly correlated, with a correlation coefficient of 0.52.

### **SATISFACTION WITH THE PROCESS**

The last metric of satisfaction we employed focuses on satisfaction with the legal process itself. Our intention with this measure was to differentiate between satisfaction with the outcome and a client's

feeling that they were treated fairly, that the system “worked” (even if it did not provide the outcome they preferred), and so forth.

We employed two distinct measures for this purpose, described below:

- Compared to how you felt before your case, how much confidence do you have in [venue where case was heard]?
  - I feel significantly more confident now than I did before my case
  - I feel somewhat more confident now than I did before my case
  - My confidence is the same as it was before my case
  - I feel somewhat less confident now than I did before my case
  - I feel significantly less confident now than I did before my case
- Do you feel that the process for your case was fair overall?
  - Yes, very fair
  - Yes, somewhat fair
  - No, not at all fair

Our approach to the first measure takes into account the raw distribution of responses, which appeared to fall into three main categories: the two extremes (“significantly more confident” and “significantly less confident”) and a smattering of responses across the three middle categories. We therefore re-coded to a 1–3 scale, with a score of 3 representing the most confidence, a score of 2 representing the middle categories, and a score of 1 representing the least confidence. For the second component of the index, we simply reversed the scaling, which produced a 1–3 scale with higher scores representing a greater sense of procedural fairness.

We aggregated these two scores by adding them together and using a linear transformation to re-scale them to a 0–100 scale. The mean score on this scale was 83.7 points. The two measures were relatively strongly correlated, at 0.39, with a Cronbach’s alpha score of 0.56.

## RELATIONSHIP ACROSS MEASURES

As noted at the start of this annex, our goal was to distinguish between realms of satisfaction, recognizing that clients could and would have different feelings regarding the performance of the JP, the outcome of their case, and the performance of the justice system writ large. In the end, the vast majority of clients expressed satisfaction in all three respects. Indeed, the mean scores for the three satisfaction indices are 89.4, 81.7, and 83.7 points, respectively, out of 100.

Unsurprisingly, the three measures are highly correlated with one another, though perhaps less than we would expect. The matrix below reports the correlation coefficients for each pair of the three measures. Satisfaction with the process and with the outcome are the most closely correlated; satisfaction with the JP is less correlated with these two measures than they are to one another. This pattern is somewhat reassuring: we would expect satisfaction with the process and the outcome to be more closely correlated, while satisfaction with the JP could be decoupled in the minds of respondents from these broader outcomes. The fact that this is reflected in the data demonstrates that the three measures are, indeed, capturing somewhat different constructs.

Exhibit 8. Correlation matrix across three dimensions of client satisfaction

| INDEX COMPONENT           | SATISFACTION WITH JP | SATISFACTION WITH OUTCOME | SATISFACTION WITH PROCESS |
|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Satisfaction with JP      | 1.00                 |                           |                           |
| Satisfaction with Outcome | 0.42                 | 1.00                      |                           |
| Satisfaction with Process | 0.38                 | 0.65                      | 1.00                      |

### **ANNEX 3 – DATA COLLECTION TOOLS**

Data collection tools are annexed separately due to their size.

This annex reproduces the data collection tools used in the evaluation, beginning with the two quantitative surveys (with clients and JPs, respectively), followed by the qualitative interview guides.