

CASE STUDY

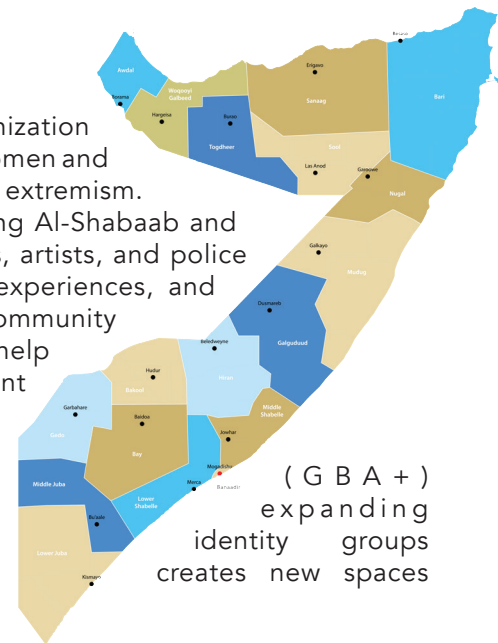
AGENTS OF CHANGE: TRANSFORMING GENDER ROLES AND EXTREMISM IN SOMALIA

A Case Study on the Role of Gender and Identity in Shaping Positive Alternatives to Extremisms¹

SUMMARY

Witness Somalia is a human rights organization that engages and promotes the roles of women and youth in preventing/countering violent extremism. They have broken the secrecy surrounding Al-Shabaab and enabled women, youth, religious leaders, artists, and police officers to come together, share their experiences, and develop messages, campaigns, and community systems that prevent recruitment and help people heal from the impact of violent extremism.

Taking a Gender-based Analysis Plus approach,² this case study focuses on how socially accepted gender roles for all challenges violent extremist rhetoric and for engaging in prevention work.



In the 1990s, Somalia endured state collapse and war, caused by post-colonial governance and international economic policies. Somalia's traditional, clan-based culture suffered severe blows. The resulting corruption and chaos allowed several Islamist extremist groups to gain a foothold, providing alternative governance systems and applying strict Shariah law. The resulting marginalization, lack of opportunity, and exposure to violence for youth and women helped push them to join extremist groups. Since women and youth experience some of the most severe impacts of violent extremism, there is a growing recognition of their critical roles in its prevention.

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2. Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) is an analytical process that provides a rigorous method for the assessment of systemic inequalities, as well as to assess how diverse groups of women, men, and gender diverse people may experience policies, programs and initiatives. More info on the GBA+ approach is accessible [here](#).

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Expanding the socially accepted roles for all groups -- women, men, and those with marginalized identities -- challenges the rigid, narrowly defined gender roles maintained by violent extremist groups** and creates new spaces and actors to engage in countering and preventing violent extremism. Gender-responsive approaches to counterterrorism (CT) and countering violent extremism (CVE) should engage women, men, and those from marginalized identity groups comprehensively and with consideration for evolving gender roles.
- Violent extremist groups leverage traditional gender roles centering around familial relationships and economic functions to help recruit people and run their campaigns.** While engaging traditional gender roles can be effective for CT and CVE, this approach is risky as it can reinforce the same social norms that violent extremist groups play on, thus constraining prevention efforts. Considering the multiple dimensions of individuals' identities can provide new openings for engagement. For example, a woman may be a mother and a wife but also a journalist or entrepreneur.
- Gendered gaps in security responses, from failure to address gender-based violence to the lack of access to women in communities, undermine the relationship between the police and the public.** As the police represent the state, relationships with them are critical, both for CT and CVE efforts to succeed, and as indicators of and avenues to build trust in government and respect for the rule of law.
- Gender is intertwined with other marginalized identities.** Young women, for example, are particularly vulnerable to exclusion, recruitment, and victimization by violent extremist groups due to "double marginalization". Along with gender and age, being internally displaced or from a minority clan can reinforce this dynamic.
- People can also draw strength from their identities.** Claiming civic space by organizing groups and networks of people with different identities and affected by violent extremism in different ways is an effective strategy for prevention. With adequate protection measures, the solidarity within such groups encourages individuals to reclaim their agency, often by speaking out against violent extremism and becoming agents for change and peace. Interaction among these groups helps create a safe space to address conflicts and build social cohesion.
- Artistic expression, especially public art, is a powerful mechanism for healing and change.** Art reflecting the voices of women, children, and men impacted by violent extremism and conflict can reveal the cost of violence to the society, challenge extremist narratives, and expand gender roles to reclaim civic space for women, youth and those with marginalized identities.

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Somalia, despite its long history of conflict, need not have become a seedbed of violent extremism. As a traditional clan-based society, since gaining independence in 1960 Somalis have struggled to establish a shared national identity and inclusive governance encompassing people within and across national borders. The military coup and dictatorship of Mohamed Siad Barre (1969-1991) ushered in a socialist and increasingly authoritarian regime that inhibited clan culture.³ Political Islam developed in Somalia in the 1970s in reaction to growing corruption and poverty under the Barre regime. Young men migrated to the Gulf states where they encountered Islamic ideas.⁴

In the 1980s Islamic study groups and Muslim Brotherhood cells appeared throughout Somalia.⁵ One contributing



With the increase in women-headed households in Somalia due to ongoing conflict, and the limited economic opportunities for women, some become suuqley or "market women."

3. "Somalia". Encyclopedia Britannica. ([access here](#)).

4. Menkhaus. K. (2002). "Political Islam in Somalia." Middle East Policy Council. ([access here](#)).

5. Ibid.

factor may have been the structural adjustment programs initiated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in the 1980s.⁶ These programs eradicated public spending on essential services, precipitating state collapse and creating a vacuum for other political movements to take root.⁷ Civil war broke out in Somalia after Barre's overthrow in 1991, with clans vying for power and territorial control. Local Islamic clerics strove to administer justice through Shariah courts that reflected communities' attempt to secure rule of law more than Islamic ideology.⁸ However, the Salafist group al-Itihaad al-Islami infiltrated some of the courts.⁹

Historically, the majority of Somalis have adhered to a Shafi'i version of Islam, governed by apolitical Sufi orders.¹⁰ With a pastoral lifestyle and coexistence of Islam with traditional clan practices, the political scientist Ken Menkhaus describes the Somali interpretation of Islam as "a veil lightly worn".¹¹ Al-Itihaad made several attempts to take over territory, which established a measure of security while introducing strict Shariah punishments, restrictions and violations against women.¹² In addition to exerting influence through the courts, they also spread Islamic education and established ties with Somali businesses in order to prepare Somalia for their version of Islamic rule.¹³ The Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which formed as a loose association of these courts in 2000, later took control of Mogadishu and southern Somalia from June 2006 until their defeat in December 2006.¹⁴

Al-Shabaab, the predominantly young military wing of the ICU, broke off after 2006 to affiliate itself with global jihadist movements such as Al Qaeda. It included Somalis who had fought in Afghanistan and upheld a strict interpretation of Shariah law.¹⁶ Similar to the ICU, Al-Shabaab provided social services and access to justice to local communities who had been abandoned by government institutions. Through Islamic family law, it also facilitated some protection for women, granting inheritance and addressing incidents of gender-based violence.¹⁷ At the same time, it imposed severe restrictions on women in the public space. Women were forbidden to leave their homes without a male guardian, forced to attend Islamic lectures, and made to wear the niqab.¹⁸

Weak government institutions, rampant corruption, unemployment and poverty have all been cited as drivers of extremism in Somalia.¹⁹ Al-Shabaab has focused its recruitment on youth, who experience

75% unemployment and cite limited access to education, employment, perceptions of corruption and police harassment as motivating factors to join the movement.²⁰

Women, including young women, experience lower levels of literacy and are removed from school in order to help with domestic care and marry early.²¹ In addition, they experience high levels of violence, exacerbated by widespread impunity.²² Despite an electoral quota of 30% for women, the numbers of female politicians do not reflect this standard. Women have long been marginalized in political life and the public sphere through the rigid gender norms of clan-based traditions and the formulation of political power division along clan lines.²³ But the years of war have thrown women into the public space as family breadwinners and as those who hold communities together. As the conflict worsens, 70% of Somali households are headed by women. They have strong economic incentives along with other reasons to affiliate with Al-Shabaab.²⁴

Markets and Marriage: The Diversity of Gender Roles in Violent Extremism

Women have a long history of actively participating in terrorist activity, as perpetrators of violence, supporters of a movement, wives, and bystanders in territory controlled by extremist groups.²⁵ Women in Al-Shabaab fulfill several roles that are not clearly delineated to define their level of agency and allegiance to the group. In fact, many women provide support from their own homes as opposed to relocating with men.²⁶ On the other hand, women are often well positioned to mitigate the dangers of violent extremism because they often detect the early warning signs. As they witness and experience the impact of extremism in their communities, they understand the need for a holistic, whole-of-society approach to prevent and counter violent extremism. The Somali National Strategy and Action Plan for CVE also acknowledges the role of civil society organizations, religious leaders, youth, and women as stakeholders in prevention efforts.²⁷ Their work can involve research on the drivers of extremism, developing counter-narratives, working with survivors of terrorist attacks, and facilitating the rehabilitation and reintegration of returnees from violent extremist groups.

6. Ramadane, Z. O. (2014). "Somalia: State Failure, Poverty and Terrorism". Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses. Vol. 6, No. 7, pp. 13-16. International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research. ([access here](#)).
7. Ibid.
8. Menkhaus, K. (2002). "Political Islam in Somalia." Middle East Policy Council.
9. Ibid and Elliot, A. and Holzer G. (2009). The invention of 'terrorism' in Somalia: paradigms and policy in US foreign relations. South African Journal of International Affairs. 16:2, 215-244. ([access here](#)).
10. Elliot & Holzer (2009). The invention of 'terrorism' in Somalia: paradigms and policy in US foreign relations.
11. Menkhaus, K. (2002). "Political Islam in Somalia." Middle East Policy Council.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Mapping Militant Organizations. "Islamic Courts Union". Stanford University. Last modified February 2019. ([access here](#)).
15. Youth as Agents of Peace, Somalia. (2018). World Bank. ([access here](#)).
16. Elliot, A. and Holzer G. (2009). The invention of 'terrorism' in Somalia: paradigms and policy in US foreign relations.
17. Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency. (2019) International Crisis Group. ([access here](#)).

18. Ibid.
19. Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in Somalia: A Mapping Report. (2020). Life and Peace Institute. ([access here](#)).
20. Youth as Agents of Peace, Somalia. (2018). World Bank. ([access here](#)).
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid and Supporting Civil Society and Women's Rights Organisations in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Contexts Somalia Report. (2020). Saferworld and Gender Action for Peace and Security UK. ([access here](#)).
23. Now and the Future: Gender Equality, Peace and Security in a COVID-19 World. (2020). Saferworld. ([access here](#)).
24. Stern, O.M. (2019). The Invisible Women of Al-Shabaab. Adam Smith International. ([access here](#)).
25. Fink, N. et al. (2016). A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Counter Terrorism and Violent Extremism. Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security. ([access here](#)).
26. Stern, O.M. (2019). The Invisible Women of Al-Shabaab. Adam Smith International. ([access here](#)).
27. Federal Government of Somalia. (2016). National Strategy and Action Plan for Countering Violent Extremism. ([access here](#)).

Women's extensive social networks facilitate their ability to fundraise and proselytize, for instance by talking with other women in local communities and organizing lectures to share Al-Shabaab's values and ideology.

Women play a role in recruitment, proselytization, fundraising, providing food, medical care, policing, weapons storing and transport, and intelligence. Their ability to recruit other women supports Al-Shabaab's gendered narrative of arranging brides for young male recruits. Since marrying girls into Al-Shabaab often offers a financial incentive for families, women reinforce economic support for families as well as an ideological cause. Women's extensive social networks facilitate their ability to fundraise and proselytize, for instance by talking with other women in local communities and organizing lectures to share Al-Shabaab's values and ideology.²⁸

In its capacity as an alternate state, Al-Shabaab has extorted money from the Somali business community to support the movement. With the increase in women-headed households in Somalia due to ongoing conflict, and the limited economic opportunities for women, some become *suuqley* or "market women." However, Al-Shabaab has co-opted their role as breadwinners to take their profits and compel them to transport goods for the movement. In some cases women may agree to cooperate to retain a share of their profits, while others are coerced. Al-Shabaab has demonstrated increased tolerance for the *suuqley*, and women participating in the economy and public space, as circumstances have led to the need for more financial support.²⁹

In addition, because the *suuqley* move freely through local communities, they are well positioned to engage government and armed actors and gather intelligence that they share with Al-Shabaab. One government interviewee posited that as much as 85% of Al-Shabaab's intelligence was gathered by women.³⁰ Recognizing this role, Al-Shabaab has a practice of "wife inheritance", remarrying widows in order to keep the intelligence within the group.³¹ As a result of gender norms, most men and community leaders would not suspect a woman gathering information and speaking with other community members. Their traditional gender roles also facilitate the logistics of Al-Shabaab. For instance, women may use their homes to hide members of Al-Shabaab and convene them for strategic planning.³² In addition, Islamic dress can facilitate the transport of weapons and movement through security checkpoints



Witness Somalia selects women to form small groups called "Circles of Peace" where they can discuss their role in preventing extremism and promoting peace and security

without raising concerns. With a lack of female security guards, women are rarely searched.

Some women also embrace their role as wives and mothers by providing marital counseling within the group, preparing their husbands psychologically for suicide missions, and getting pregnant prior to such missions so their husbands leave another soldier behind.³³ Women's kinship ties work both ways, however. They can use the same skill set to engage husbands and sons to disengage from violent extremist groups or prevent them from joining in the first place. Somalia's National Strategy and Action Plan for CVE explains that "mothers, sisters and daughters are often the bread winners of Somalia and are uniquely positioned in homes and communities to understand changes in the behaviors of children and in their respective locales, and to provide powerful countervailing incentives."³⁴ Some literature indicates that mothers in particular play a critical role in their sons' disengagement from violent extremist groups.³⁵ While many women, including peacebuilders, draw upon their kinship relations, it is also critical to recognize the multitude of roles that women embrace as agents of change. The local organization Witness Somalia exemplifies this approach of expanding civil society roles to prevent and counter violent extremism.

28. Invisible Women: The Gendered Dimensions of Return, Rehabilitation and Reintegration from Violent Extremism (2019), International Civil Society Action Network and United Nations Development Program. ([access here](#))

29. Ibid.

30. Federal Government of Somalia. (2016). National Strategy and Action Plan for Countering Violent Extremism.

31. Ibid and Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency. (2019) International Crisis Group.

32. Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency. (2019). International Crisis Group.

33. Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency. (2019) International Crisis Group.

34. Federal Government of Somalia. (2016). National Strategy and Action Plan for Countering Violent Extremism.

35. Schlaffer, E. and Kroppnigg, U. "A New Security Architecture: Mothers Included!" cited in Fink, N. et al. (2016). A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Counter Terrorism and Violent Extremism.

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Witness Somalia: Breaking the Silence and Reclaiming Civic Space for Social Change

Established in 2015, Witness Somalia is a human rights organization working to promote peaceful alternatives to rebuild a society free from violence. They document and report human rights violations, demand accountability, and protect the rights of vulnerable groups. They envision a society free from violence that promotes peace, equality, and social justice across all communities. They work closely with civil society to amplify its role in raising awareness, public messaging, counter-narratives, promoting safety and security, preventing recruitment, and healing from the impact of violent extremism.

Recognizing the complex identities of gender, age, ethnicity/clan, religion, and economic status among others, Witness Somalia draws upon this diversity to enable people to assume leadership to resolve conflicts, solve problems, and transform their communities. Spurred by Al-Shabaab's devastating impact, Witness Somalia seized opportunities to work with students, religious leaders, police officers, journalist, artists, elders, and other community activists to prevent violent extremism.

Gender, Kinship, and Healing

In a society where the entire political landscape is dominated by men, including elders, politicians, and religious leaders, Witness Somalia expands roles for women in peacebuilding, civic life, and the prevention of violent extremism. Given the secrecy surrounding Al-Shabaab and the severe impact of violent extremism, Witness Somalia initiated their community work with women through a series of roundtable discussions to provide a safe space where participants could share their experiences. They introduced concepts of violent extremism and later selected women to form small groups called "Circles of Peace" where they could discuss their role in preventing extremism and promoting peace and security.

Witness Somalia recognized that with increased awareness of violent extremism, the women would use their relationships with families, neighbors, and each other to connect and promote alternatives. Over the last three years, they have trained more than 200 women from diverse ethnic and economic backgrounds who work in

small groups to discuss safety and security concerns in their communities. In their community engagement, they pay particular attention to including women from minority clans and internally displaced persons (IDPs), to understand how they have been affected and emphasize everyone's role in countering extremism.

The women leaders have drawn upon traditional Abaay Abaay gatherings where women in local villages gather to address social issues and challenges such as marriage and domestic violence. They decided to use this platform to discuss the recruitment of children and sensitize women to the early warning signs of violent extremism. This has provided a space to engage women in reintegration. As one woman explains,

"...these families are stigmatized and hated by the community even though they are victims themselves. There are stories behind their silence, most of their children were recruited forcibly by the terrorists or they were misused and misguided. Therefore, we need to bring those families to our side so that we can start bringing their boys back as well."³⁶

They remain in contact via WhatsApp during the COVID pandemic. In addition, the national government invited some of the women trained as part of Circles of Peace to participate in the P/CVE consultation meetings and two of them joined the national reconciliation forums led by the Ministry of Internal Security.

Gender, Security and Prevention

Civil society builds a bridge between the state and local communities and often strengthens security through community policing programs.³⁷ Witness Somalia engaged local police officers through monthly meetings and developed community policing structures to enhance safety and security, training 60 police officers and 120 community members (including 95 women). They established contact and built trust, which is critical to preventing extremism, and supported cooperation between the local police officers and community. Through regular meetings, they share information, report critical incidents, and organize community events. Men and women tend to have different information about community members and events. For instance, because women usually do not work outside the home, they have closer connections with each other and more information about their communities, including knowledge about sensitive topics such as sexual and gender-based violence. The number of female police officers has also increased, fostering greater and closer relationships with women in local communities. As one participant reflected,

"I just thought the whole conflict in Somalia was like any other clan conflict we experienced. Now I realize there is a bigger crisis than ever facing this country and this

36. Correspondence with Witness Somalia.

37. Preventing Violent Extremism, Protecting Rights, and Community Policing. (2017). International Civil Society Action Network. ([access here](#)).

generation. Women should be at the center of every decision-making level in all peacebuilding processes. That is why having gendered community policing is vital to ensure that all are involved.³⁸

As a result of women reporting incidents to the female police officers, the police were able to prevent 26 security incidents including some related to violent extremism.³⁹

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Youth also play a critical role in promoting security and preventing violent extremism. Before the formation of community policing structures, local police officers and youth from the same community did not communicate with each other. Now they have trusting relationships. Witness Somalia has worked with youth, who are often targeted by Al-Shabaab, on how to challenge religious militancy and violent extremism. Their training addressed how to document and report terrorist incidents as well as how to develop advocacy skills and campaigns to influence local actors. This experience broke the silence about violent extremism. Some youth organized their own small inner circle meetings in different locations to discuss critical issues such as preventing recruitment by Al-Shabaab, deradicalization and other alternative paths for youth in Somalia. They implemented some peace campaigns on social media and in person.

With increased understanding of violent extremism and solidarity and support against potential reprisals, they also mobilize themselves to respond to their communities in the aftermath of terrorist attacks. For instance, youth might donate blood or food. They respond to serve the needs of their communities and experience a sense of purpose and agency through activities that promote peace instead of violence. In a larger society that does not offer many educational, economic, or leadership opportunities for youth, Witness Somalia's work suggests that youth not only have an opportunity but a responsibility to prevent extremism and transform their societies. This is particularly so for young women who face exclusion from decision-making spaces and suffer from gender-based violence such as FGM and early marriage.⁴⁰

Witness Somalia also recently reached out to university students to discuss peace and security including the role of women and youth in peacebuilding. Because

universities are more open spaces, these topics provide an opening to engage this population and build trust before addressing more sensitive issues like violent extremism. Witness Somalia's experience in discussing gender equality, human rights, and violent extremism enables them to assess the degree of safety community members need and how to approach challenging their thinking around more sensitive issues. Through building this trust, Witness Somalia opens up the space to discuss gender and other aspects of one's identity, and how experiences of personal security connect with political security.

Public Messaging, Counternarratives, and Religious Interpretation

Witness Somalia has broken a barrier by providing increased awareness about violent extremism, giving people permission to speak about it, and engaging women and other groups in its prevention. In order to reach the greater public, they launched a radio program to discuss gender equality, women's rights, and their role in peacebuilding. In time they were able to discuss violent extremism and the role of youth. For instance, a female journalist interviewed a female university student and male lawyer/human rights defender in one program highlighting how youth groups were excluded from the national strategy to counter violent extremism.

Just as the government integrated women into consultations, Witness Somalia's programming lays the groundwork for more inclusive processes in national policymaking. They also integrated public messaging to broadcast through other programs and reach local communities. Examples include "work with female police officers," "know who's coming to your village," and "know your children and the symptoms of early radicalization." These messages reach women and are gender-responsive because they recognize the knowledge women hold about their local communities, as well as the role of women in addressing security concerns, such as violent extremism.

Clan identity remains an integral part of Somali society, with the majority of leaders focusing on the political and social interests of their clans. Al-Shabaab has exacerbated some inter-clan conflict as select clans ally with Al-Shabaab to retaliate for minority grievances.⁴¹ Al-Shabaab replicates majority/minority dynamics through their own hierarchical relationships. Witness Somalia trained some majority and minority clan elders to recognize the problem of violent extremism and prevent youth recruitment by talking with parents and youth. They also discussed promoting social cohesion among the various clans to mitigate against the rise and presence of violent extremism. Due to traditional gender roles, clan elders are men and only a few could accept women's participation in preventing violent extremism. Witness Somalia has started to broker conversations about gender equality with clan elders.

38. Correspondence with Witness Somalia.

39. Correspondence with Witness Somalia.

40. Now and the Future: Gender Equality, Peace and Security in a COVID-19 World. (2020). Saferworld.

41. Hansen, S.J. et al. (2019). Countering violent extremism in Somalia and Kenya: Actors and approaches. Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research. ([access here](#)).



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Witness Somalia understands religious leaders' crucial role as interpreters of Islamic texts and traditions. One influential religious leader participated in the radio program to discuss the rise of Wahhabi ideology in Somalia from the 1970s and 80s, which fueled the establishment of radical extremist groups. This program raised awareness about the psychosocial impact of violent extremism and introduced civil society voices with alternative perspectives, such as the ways in which Islam promotes the values of peace and tolerance.

Traditionally women have limited opportunities to study religion, and this has benefitted Al-Shabaab's gendered narratives and recruitment of women. While a few madrassahs are led by women, the majority of religious leaders are men. Witness Somalia organized a workshop for 15 religious leaders who formed a small, trusted group to discuss their concerns. These leaders have convened closed discussion groups in their congregations to broach the subject of violent extremism and discuss its negative impact on Muslims and the image of Islam. Three of the religious leaders who live in relatively safe areas have preached on countering violent extremism in their Friday sermons.

Witness Somalia has used a gender-responsive approach to expand the role of women in Somali society and thereby the range of human experience, including values of tolerance, peace, and equality. For instance, one female Islamic scholar who met with women at one of the roundtable discussions stated: "It is clear that we need to reclaim our spaces in our religion and use it to educate the proper teachings, we must teach our communities the peace, tolerance, and the pluralism in the Islamic view. In short, we should be preaching opposite of what Al-Shabaab is preaching."

Public Expressions of Mourning and Resistance

Despite the taboos surrounding art in the larger culture, Witness Somalia recognizes art as a form of expression and understands the role of artists in raising public

awareness around complex issues and seeking creative solutions. They identified a small group of men and women artists and trained them in advocacy, freedom of expression, and the intersection of the arts and peacebuilding. Through discussions, the artists created pieces addressing violent extremism.

One artist painted a memorial tribute to the terrorist attack of October 14th, 2017, and most of the art reflected the human face of terrorism and the devastation of loss. Another drawing depicted a group of women holding a big poster with slogans like "Terrorism has no place in our religion." Such art not only expresses the vision or message of the artist but also holds a mirror up to society, reflecting the voices of women, children, and men impacted by violent extremism and conflict.

While there have been some public art exhibitions since 2019, this initiative marked the first time that men and women used their art to counter violent extremism. They held small exhibitions and shared the artwork on social media. Some of the art remains on public display in hotels and at local NGOs. The artists all gained regional and international exposure and recognition, including among the Somali diaspora in London. Two women artists participated in an artist exchange that promotes peacebuilding.

With limited opportunities in the larger society and Al-Shabaab's lure of power and privilege, Witness Somalia has capitalized on the arts, as well as music, drama, and sports, to engage youth in alternative forms of expression and self-development. Through such programs, Witness Somalia has reached 32 youth groups and NGOs, and 218 youth (including 135 women). The Minister of Youth also supports alternative recreational programs to mitigate against potential recruitment by Al-Shabaab. The arts not only give voice and recognition to marginalized groups but reflect a shared language across differences, which strengthens human connection. Through such public, artistic expressions, Witness Somalia reveals how people can coalesce into a movement to mourn, resist violent extremism, and transform their society.