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## 2. LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADP</td>
<td>Academy for Peace and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>Country Program Development</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>GEWE</td>
<td>Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment</td>
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<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
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<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<td>JPLG</td>
<td>Joint Program on Local Governance</td>
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<td>KULMIYE</td>
<td>Peace Unity and Development Party</td>
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<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Ministry Of Labor and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>MPs</td>
<td>Members of Parliament</td>
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<td>MYS&amp;C</td>
<td>Ministry Of Youth Sports and Culture</td>
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<td>NEC</td>
<td>National Election Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>None Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Development Program</td>
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<td>NGAP</td>
<td>National Gender Action Plan)</td>
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<td>NGP</td>
<td>National Gender Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>NYP</td>
<td>National Youth Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLNHRC</td>
<td>Somaliland National Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCID</td>
<td>Justice and Welfare Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDUB</td>
<td>United Democratic Nation</td>
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<td>UN women</td>
<td>United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women</td>
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<td>WADANI</td>
<td>National Party</td>
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3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to assess and document women’s participation in elections in Somaliland, focusing on the recent 2012 municipal elections. Specific objectives of the study include; among others, to determine what barriers or challenges female aspirants and candidates faced and assess what factors contributed to the increase in women’s representation. The scope of the study covers the examination of the historical trends of women’s participation in Somaliland politics and the present situation; the National legal and policy frameworks regulating multiparty democracy in Somaliland; and the status of progress made by various government bodies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and other relevant stakeholders in advocating for and passing the 25% quota for women’s representation in Parliament.

The approach to the study was participatory in nature and involved all the appropriate key stakeholders and actors¹. Combinations of secondary and primary sources were used for data collection. The secondary source of information was mainly concerned with the review and analysis of existing literature on Somaliland women’s political participation in general and particularly in 2012 municipal elections. References for secondary information included, among others, the Somaliland constitution and electoral laws, political parties’ by-laws and platforms, National Development Plan and Somaliland National Gender policy. Reports by various local, UN and international organizations on the subject were examined as well. The review also investigated the history of Somaliland women’s political participation and the current challenges and opportunities.

Primary sources consisted of a set of questionnaires, semi-structured interviewees, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews and personal stories/case studies. Sample populations of 400 people in four major cities were randomly selected for study. The primary tool was a general public questionnaire which was intended to address the research question related to the perceptions of the general public regarding women’s political participation. FGDs were used to obtain opinions from quite a large sample of people and the Key Informant Interviews targeted selected group of individuals who the study considered as specialists on the topic of women’s political participation in Somaliland. In interpreting and analyzing results, the research used both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Main Findings

The analyses of historical trends indicate that, since the start of Somaliland democratization process, Somaliland women have been kept out of decision making circles. Women in Somaliland had only two seats in each of the first ever elected national District Councils. In 2002 women won 2 out of 375 District Council seats nationwide. In 2005 House of Representatives elections, they succeeded in 2 out of 82 parliamentary seats. Although women form the majority of electorates, they are disproportionately represented in comparison to men within the different legislative bodies. Nonetheless,

¹ Somaliland Government, National Political Parties, Local Women Organizations, Women Activists, Academics, Traditional/Religious Leaders, UN Agencies, International development organizations
compared to past elections, women have made slight progress in the 2012 municipal elections with their representation increasing from 2 seats in 2002 municipal election to 10 seats in the current nationwide district councils which are 375 seats. The educational background and political orientation of women candidates; strong campaign financing and the improving public perceptions about women’s political participation together with the personal efforts of the successful candidates were among the factors that made possible for those women to win seats.

The constitution, electoral laws and code of conducts constitute the primary legal and policy framework regulating national elections. The analysis of such documents demonstrated that the electoral laws are in line with international human rights instruments and do not entail provisions that exclude women or any other group from political participation. The Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland (The Constitution) emphasizes the equality of all citizens and guarantees rights and obligations to all citizens and prohibits the precedence and discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, clan affiliation, gender, birth and residence. The Code of Conduct for Political Parties 2005/National Electoral Commission (Hargeisa 2005) urges that every political party to take all the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates for each region. However, neither the constitution nor the electoral laws adequately address the historical discrimination of women from the public life as they do not encompass provisions that particularly encourage women to political participation.

The analysis of political parties’ by-laws and their platforms indicate that there are no obvious formal policies or internal party systems that deny women to equally participate in political party structures, operations and processes. To the contrary, the political programs of Somaliland national parties officially state a preferential treatment to women in their party structures. Yet when you look at party structures, it is clear that women ratio in party hierarchy is very low. Women are either underrepresented or not represented at all in the Executive Committees, Central Committees and Congress of all parties. As will be explained in section 6.5 of this research, the same is true to parties’ top leadership and other key positions.

Despite signing up the electoral code of conduct which urges every political party to take all the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women in their respective lists of candidates, women ratio in the list of candidates by all political organizations and associations in 2012 municipal election was 7.6%. In other words, women aspirants constituted only 172 out of the 2260 candidates who participated in those elections. One

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2 Article 2 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Article 2 of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights

3 See Article 8: Equality of Citizens, Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland

4 Section one/General principles: compliance with the law (subsection 2) every political party will take all the necessary steps to promote inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates for each region
of the reasons for such low female proportion on the lists of candidates was the levels of female aspirants who wanted to take part in elections which was small. But the actual basis for underrepresentation had lot to do with the clan and traditional systems which favor representation in elections by men rather than women. Additionally, political parties’ preferred male candidates on their list over women. Political parties and associations did not want to risk their chances of winning as women candidates were unlikely to attract much support from their constituencies or clans.

A sample population of 400 individuals from the general public equally distributed between genders participated in the research. The study finds that 62% of Somaliland general public has positive perceptions about women’s political participation. Even though the positive attitude was more common among female respondents, a significant number of male respondents expressed positive perceptions about the concept. The constitutional rights of women’s to political participation, the perceived dedication of women to development and the perceived likelihood of women politicians not corrupting or abusing public powers were among the reasons used to justify the positive attitude on women’s political participation.

In contrast, 38% of respondents opposed to the idea of women’s political participation. The perceptions of this group were largely influenced by a combination of two factors; tradition and religion. According to this group, women’s participation in politics can have negative implications on the public as women leave their traditional place in society and thereby neglect their domestic duties/reproduction role.

One might assume that the issue of having positive or negative attitude towards women’s political participation is gender driven whereby women strongly support and men oppose to the concept. As established by the results of the study, that is not entirely the case. An interesting revelation was the fact that 39% of those who had negative attitude towards women’s political participation were women themselves. The female members of the society opposed to women political participation share the traditional concerns of their male counterparts in explaining why they reject the idea.

The average level of public awareness on the proposed quota for women in national elected institutions is very low with only 36% among target populations having knowledge about it. Most people believe that traditional and religious leaders have negative influence in women political participation and discouraged women in 2012 municipal elections.

To promote the political participation of women, youth and marginalized groups, the government of Somaliland has instigated or supported three different initiatives which are; the National Gender Policy (NGP), National Youth Policy (NYP) and the Affirmative Action (Quota System) for Women and Marginalized Groups. The NYP and NGP have been approved and adopted as policies for the government. The implementation of the NYP already has its local impact as it allowed many youth aspirants (male and female) to participate in the last municipal elections. The NGP is yet to be effectively implemented while the proposed quota has not been converted into law after the House of Representatives rejected to consider the proposed quota. Although CSOs, the UN and the development organizations have managed, through intensive
advocacy campaigns, to draw the attention of Somaliland policy and decision makers towards the need for women quota in elected institutions, the desired results have not been achieved so far and advocacy efforts still continue.

The key challenges hampering Somaliland women from political participation have legislative, traditional and religious dimensions. The traditional and religious leaders’ rhetoric is found to be the single main threat to the prospects of gender-balanced political representation. The clan structure is male dominated and does not give Somali women the space to engage freely in decision making. Women are traditionally perceived to have solely domestic and reproductive roles in society while the representation of clans in elections and in public institutions is treated as a male role. There is a traditional Somali saying which goes like this “Gabadhi Dhaxdin Mooyee Dhalasho Ma Leh”. This means, women do not belong to a particular clan (including the original clan) other than that of husband and/or future husband for that matter.

The above saying denotes that loyalty of women is questioned by their own clans. This being a traditional view widely held in society, the right of women to seek support and votes from her constituency or clan are undermined and their right to run and win in elections is compromised. If you combine this traditional view with the central role of clan elders and traditional leaders in selecting candidates; a clear picture emerges of the local chances of female aspirants to freely take part in elections. In addition, some religious leaders chose to raise the issue of women in their public speeches in an effort to discourage them from participating in the 2012 elections. These constraints combined with women’s low level of education and political awareness as well as the economic barriers and the absence of concrete national plan to implement affirmative action for women has constrained women from active political participation. The same factors are also attributed to the failure of the majority of women in their bid to win seats in the last municipal elections.

Despite all above challenges, the study identified a number of key opportunities which, if properly utilized, can advance women’s participation in elections in the medium term and the overall improvement of women’s representation in politics and public decision-making in the long-term. The proposed quota system, the tangible progress women made in the past district council elections, the increased women’s representation in public institutions (cabinet), and the prevailing positive public perceptions constitute or present a historic opportunity to women activists and organizations to double their efforts and make strong case to promote equitable representation and political participation of Somaliland women.

**Main Conclusions and Recommendations**

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5 for example; the number of students graduated from Amoud University during 2005 – 2009 were (Male 721, female 199); Number of students graduated from Hargeisa University during 2005 – 2009 (Male 854, female 195); Number of students graduated from Admas University during 2009 (male 147, female 76) (source: Somaliland in figures, edition 7 by Ministry of National Planning)
The study concludes that there are real constraints - with multiple dimensions to it - that hold back women from meaningful political participation. The fact that Somaliland laws (constitution and electoral laws) do not include provisions that specifically address the imbalance on women’s political participation constitutes the legislative aspect of existing constraints. The gender sensitiveness of the political parties’ bylaws and political platforms and the preferential treatments stated therein are not reflected in the actual set up and conduct of those parties. In spite of the tremendous advocacy efforts by local women activists, the proposed women quota supported by the government and other stakeholders has not been approved. Significant percentages of the general public (38%) oppose women’s political participation. These constraints along with the rhetoric of most traditional and religious leaders which preach against women’s involvement in national elections continue to be the major factors hindering women from taking part in national decision making process.

As a result, the study presents number of recommendations to the government of Somaliland, House of Representatives, House of Elders, UN agencies and CSOs on how to increase the participation of women in elections and more generally in national politics. The study calls for practical actions and strategies to be adopted in order to strengthen the democratization process. Following are the proposed main suggestions:

1. The Government of Somaliland:
   - Back up the reiteration of the president’s support for affirmative with practical measures; revising the composition and gender balance of the National Electoral Commission (NEC);
   - Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) to put the implementation of gender policy at the top of its agenda for the current and coming years; and
   - Increase the number of women appointed to cabinet and other key public positions.

2. The Parliament and Guurti (House of Elders):
   - Recognize the traditional factors that hinder women from political participation and thus consider legal options to address or overcome this problem.
   - Review of the constitution and electoral laws whereby affirmative action provisions encouraging women to political participation are incorporated.

3. National political parties:
   - Implement the provisions their own bylaws and platforms so that women are adequately represented in party structures.
   - Play active role in advocating and supporting the adoption and implementation of the proposed quota for women and marginalized groups.

4. Local women organizations:
   - In collaboration with the relevant UN and International organizations, intensify the advocacy efforts towards the implementation of women
quota. Women organizations and activists should consider the quota system as the most viable corridor to equitable representation in the short term and organize their work and efforts accordingly.

4. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

4.1. Background to the study

The Republic of Somaliland reclaimed its independence from the rest of Somalia on May 1991. The reassertion of Somaliland sovereignty followed a bloody civil war in the mid eighties and early nineties of the last century. Constitutionally, the Republic of Somaliland is a democratic country with a multi-party system. The current national political parties of Somaliland are KULMIYE, UCID and WADANI with KULMIYE being the ruling party since 2012 presidential elections. The administrative structure of the state consists of three branches: the judiciary, legislative (the House of Elders and the House of Representatives), and the executive (the President and his chosen Council of Ministers). Currently, there are three women in the cabinet. There are also other women holding key positions in the government like the Director of Somaliland National Human Rights Commission and the head of humanitarian affairs of the office of the president.

Through decades of conflict, Somali women have contributed immensely to maintaining daily life and keeping local communities functioning. However, they continue to face a great number of challenges in their daily lives and in accessing justice and other basic rights. Women’s participation in the political sphere is limited. The Parliament recently removed discussion on 25% quota for women from its agenda. However, the President, in his 2013 annual speech, has reaffirmed his commitment towards the quota and urged the parliament to have it approved by any means. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, along with NAGAAD, the national women’s umbrella association in Somaliland, have held several dialogue sessions with various groups to discuss women’s right to political participation and have reaffirmed their commitment to continuing to advocate for adoption of the quota.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) is the lead agency mandated to advance gender issues in Somaliland. Somaliland adopted a National Gender Policy in 2011 with the support of UNDP. The National Gender Policy is guided by the principles of the national Constitution, the Reconstruction Development Framework and international conventions and treaties. The overall objective of the National Gender Policy is to facilitate mainstreaming of the needs and concerns of women and men, girls and boys in all areas for sustainable and equitable development and poverty eradication. The policy defines the following priority areas: (i) poverty reduction and economic empowerment; (ii) education and training; (iii) health and reproductive health; (iv) political participation and decision making; and (v) gender based violence.

6 These are; the Minister of Education, the Minister of Environment and Rural Development, Vice minister of the Ministry of Health
Somaliland held municipal elections on November 28, 2012, which was the first poll for local councils since 2002. The election panel listed nearly 2,400 candidates for 353 council seats. Out of 172 women candidates, 10 were elected as local councilors (an increase from the two women who were in the previous local councils). In March 2013, the only woman in the Guurti (Senate) resigned; as the only woman out of 82 members, she was unable to carry out her job effectively due to the lack of support she received from the other members.

As part of civic education campaigns, MOLSA organized a panel discussion intended to review the performance of women candidates, challenges encountered and strategies for enhancing women’s participation in elected bodies. The Panel noted that the women candidates demonstrated better performance during election campaigns as a result of capacity building assistance. It was also noted that some traditional leaders dissuaded voters from giving assistance to or voting for female candidates, that some political parties were suspected of rigging votes for male candidates and that while many male candidates garnered financial support from their tribal constituency, most women had to rely on their own resources.

This study is therefore being commissioned in order to assess and document women’s participation in elections in Somaliland, focusing on the recent municipal elections while drawing lessons from historical trends and broader societal issues surrounding women’s participation to influence future interventions.

The duration of the assignment was 60 days and covered four regions in Somaliland which are Maroodijeex (Hagriesa), Sahil (Berbera), Togdheer (Buroa) and Awdal (Borama).

4.2. Purpose and objectives
The purpose of this consultancy is to conduct a study of women’s participation in the 2012 Somaliland municipal elections. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To assess what factors in the recent municipal elections contributed to the increase in women’s representation, and to determine on the other hand, what barriers or challenges female aspirants and candidates faced; whilst making an analysis of the historical trends.
- To provide recommendations to political parties, the electoral commission, government ministries (e.g. MOLSA), UN agencies and civil society organizations on how to increase the participation of women in elections specifically and politics more generally; and
- To help local women’s organizations reorient and enhance the effectiveness of advocacy strategies employed for increasing women’s participation in politics and decision making.

4.3. Scope of the study
The study will cover Somaliland and will examine to following key issues:
The historical trends of women’s participation in politics in Somaliland and the present situation; including challenges, opportunities and lessons learned;

- National legal and policy frameworks regulating multiparty democracy in Somaliland with particular focus on women’s political participation;
- Impact of advocacy being carried out by civil society organizations on advancement of women’s political participation; including the status of progress made by various government bodies, CSOs and other relevant stakeholders in advocating for the 25% quota for women’s representation in Parliament;
- Analysis of political party by-laws from a gender perspective;
- The role of the Electoral Commission in promoting women’s participation;
- Perception of Somaliland society about women’s participation in politics; and
- Social institutions which influence women’s roles in leadership/politics and how they can be engaged.
- Profiling selected women candidates; both successful and not successful candidates in the immediate past as well as previous elections to use their personal stories to examine the political experience for women in Somaliland and lessons that can be gained from these.

4.4. Eventual limitations of the post-election study

In conducting the study, the Lead Consultant faced several challenges in the process of data gathering. While information gathering from FGDs, Key Informants and other stakeholders were relatively easy, some constraints were encountered with gathering the data related to the national political parties. In addition to the by-laws and political platforms of the three political parties, the study sought to collect information from the offices of the parties. Following are the two main constraints encountered:

- The information related to accessing or acquiring the constitutions and political platforms of the parties proved to be difficult. This was mainly related to the poor documentation of the parties where such key documents were not available for easy access. Only WADANI party shared these documents with the consultant and without delays. For UCID and KULMIYE, the consultant had to finally turn to the official websites of the two parties.

- In discussing the structure and composition of the parties, the study experienced challenges in obtaining the actual members of the various organs of the party especially the central committees. The absence of the actual information forced the consultant to completely rely on the provisions set out within the party by-laws and/or political platforms to determine the gender sensitiveness and percentages of women in party structures.
5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Combinations of secondary and primary sources were used for data collection. The secondary source of information was mainly concerned with the review and analysis of existing literature on Somaliland women’s political participation in general and particularly in 2012 municipal elections. References for secondary information included, among others, the Constitution, and electoral laws, political parties’ by-laws, National Development Plan and Somaliland National Gender policy. Reports by local, UN and international organizations on the subject were examined as well. The literature review investigated the history of Somaliland women’s political participation and the current challenges and opportunities. The review also incorporated an analysis of existing political parties’ bylaws and platforms as well as the national legal and policy frameworks regulating Somaliland elections.

The second method consisted of a set of questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. The following tools were developed in order to gather information from general public and other key stakeholders:

1. Questionnaire for general public
2. Questionnaire for Civil Society Organizations
3. Guiding questions for Focus Group Discussions
4. Guiding questions for key informant interviews

The general public questionnaire was intended to address the research question related to the perceptions of Somaliland general public regarding women’s political participation. The tool contained 16 inquiries designed to identify the underlying beliefs and attitudes among common citizens towards involvement of women in the leadership and decision making process of Somaliland. Discovering the factors that influence the general publics’ attitude towards the issue was among the key questions addressed. The tool for CSOs was planned to spot the efforts/role of CSOs in promoting women’s participation in politics along with the progress made by stakeholders in advocating for the proposed quota. NAGAAD Umbrella, NAFIS and Academy for Peace and Development were among the main local organizations targeted.
To obtain opinions from quite a large sample of people, the study organized several Focus Group Discussions in Hargeisa, Borama and Buroa. The FGDs were mainly targeted towards female political activists, policy makers, academics, and staff of MOLSA. Successful and unsuccessful women candidates in the past (2012) local elections participated in the FGDs. Other stakeholders from UN, international and local organizations engaged in the advancement of women’s political participation in Somaliland were also involved in the focus groups. Interviews and semi-structured interviews were an important method for collecting data as well and source of information for the post election study. The methods particularly proved instrumental to bringing up or generating information not covered in the main study tools.

The Key Informant Interviews was another method used and targeted selected group of individuals who the study considered to be specialists in the topic of women’s political participation in Somaliland. Politicians, traditional and religious leaders, members of the electoral commission, MOLSA gender unit employees and political parties were among the participants of the key informant interviews. Members of the parliament, academics, elders, and religious leaders were also involved into the key informant interviews. Both focus group discussions and the key informant interviews were guided by predetermined questions prepared in advance to facilitate the discussion. The key informant method was selected as it can be quite objective and offer useful insights.
Figure 2 Berbera enumerators being trained on study tools

Sample populations of 400 people in four major cities were randomly selected for studying. To make sure the incorporation of all views and perceptions, the study selected equal number of men and women in each city. It targeted selected people from all walks of life and occupation. Main target groups included; school teachers and students, business people, civil servants, housewives and traditional leaders. The sample population, gender distribution and targeted cities were as follows:

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<td>Togdheer</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Awdal</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Sahil</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general approach to the study was participatory in nature as it involved all appropriate key stakeholders and actors. In interpreting and analyzing results, the research used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Findings are demonstrated in the form of tabulations, percentages and graphical presentations.
6. ANALYSIS OF KEY STUDY FINDINGS

6.1. LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS

6.1.1. Overview

This section is a study of the legislative structure for democratic electoral processes, focusing on both the fairness and the efficiency of the regulation and the administration of the available resources for the elections. The starting point is that the determination of who will hold political power is reached by means of free and fair elections. Elections can be free and fair in various political and social settings, such as:

⇒ under different forms of political systems (e.g., parliamentary or presidential models)
⇒ with various forms of government (e.g., monarchist or republican)
⇒ With unified or decentralized territorial structures of state

Over and above all these classifications, it has to be determined which legal conditions and which organizational structures will guarantee a free and fair electoral system with economic efficiency.

The Legislative Framework for elections in any given country should cover specific issues regarding the laws and regulations that are an essential element for free and fair electoral processes, for effective electoral administration and for results to be accepted as fully legitimate. The rules that regulate the organization and holding of elections are part of one overall legislative system. The first thing to bear in mind when analyzing the legislative structure of electoral processes is that the rules which govern the organization and holding of elections which make up one overall system consisting of the following levels:

⇒ constitutional rules
⇒ electoral laws
⇒ complementary regulations (though not necessarily statutory) which could originate from the general state administration or the specific organs that make up the electoral administration
⇒ explicit or implicit codes of conduct accepted by the contenders that exist somewhere between the legal and the agreed upon social rules and occasionally promoted by the electoral administration or even by international organizations giving electoral assistance

The case of Somaliland:

Keeping in mind the international standards outlined above, this study looks at the legal and policy frameworks regulating elections in Somaliland. The Constitution, electoral laws and codes of conduct are the laws/policies that are currently in place and regulate

Somaliland elections. The study focuses on the gender sensitiveness of these laws. Special emphasis will be made whether or not there are articles or provisions within the national laws or policies that directly or indirectly impede women from active participation in Somaliland politics at local and national levels. In the following sections of the chapter, the Somaliland constitution, Somaliland electoral laws and code of conduct will be examined and scrutinized.

6.1.2. The Constitutional

The constitutions of consolidated democratic states include fewer provisions referring to the electoral regulations than those who entered into democratic processes more recently. One can therefore refer to a kind of scale, reaching its minimum degree in constitutions that limit themselves to the inclusion of the characteristics of voting, affirm them to be universal, free, equal and secret and leave the development of the rest of the aspects to law. Its maximum degree exists in constitutions that establish the elements of the electoral system, the main procedural rules and other aspects such as the processing of the electoral roll and the formation of bodies of electoral control and/or administration⁹.

Pursuant to Sub Article 9(1) of the Somaliland constitution, the political system of the Republic of Somaliland is based on peace, co-operation, democracy and plurality of political parties. Sub Article 9(2) denotes that the number of political parties in the Republic of Somaliland shall not exceed three (3) while Sub Article 9(3) states that a special law shall determine the procedures for the formation of a political party, but it is unlawful for any political party to be based on regionalism or clanism.

There are many Articles within the constitution that relate to the electoral process. Article 8 (1) defines the equality of citizens and guarantees that “All citizens of Somaliland shall enjoy equal rights and obligations before the law, and shall not be accorded precedence on grounds of color, clan, birth, language, gender, property, status, opinion etc”. Sub Article 2 of the same Article indicates the fundamental right of equality among citizens and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, clan affiliation, birth and residence. Sub Article 3 states ‘Save for the political rights reserved for citizens, foreigners lawfully resident in Somaliland shall enjoy rights and obligations before the law equal to those enjoyed by citizens’. In this respect, the constitution is in line with international human rights instruments like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

The right to run for an election is assured under Article 22 which states that “Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural affairs in accordance with the laws and the Constitution”. The only requirement from citizens, according to sub article 2 of this article, is to fulfill the requirements of Somaliland election law. The main election laws are Law No: 20/2001 relating to Presidential and local council elections and Law No 20-2/2005 relating to the election of the members of the House of Representatives.

The right to freedom of movement and association is enshrined under Article 23 which states “Every person who is a citizen or lawfully resident in the country shall be free to move to or settle at any place of his choice, or leave or return to the country at will”. The article also preserves the right of all citizens to form, in accordance with the law, political, educational, cultural, social, and occupational or employees’ associations. According to Article 36, the rights, freedoms and duties laid down in the Constitution are to be enjoyed equally by men and women save for matters which are specifically ordained in Islamic Sharia.

Regarding the eligibility of candidacy for the House of Representatives, Article 41 states the following conditions: Any person who is standing for election to the House of Representatives must fulfill the following conditions:

1. He must be a Muslim and must behave in accordance with the Islamic religion.
2. He must be a citizen who is not younger than 35 (thirty five) years.
3. He must be physically and mentally able to fulfill his duties.
4. He must be educated to, at least, secondary school level or equivalent.
5. He must not have been subject of a final sentence for a criminal offence by a court within the preceding five years.
6. He must be a responsible person with appropriate character and behaviour.
7. No employee of the state shall be eligible for candidacy unless he has tendered his resignation from office prior to a period determined by law. Such resignation shall be accepted.

The condition set out in the first clause of above Article also applies to membership of the House of Elders (see Article 59) and to appointments as Ministers/Deputy Ministers (sees Article 94(5). Clause 82(2) relating to the Presidential (Vice-Presidential) office also raises a similar condition.

The Constitution guarantees equal political rights for men and women and does not include provisions that are likely to disenfranchise or otherwise disadvantage women. In other words, there are no discriminatory provisions that target or deprive women from constitutional rights of political participation. The articles on the equality of citizens, the right to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural affairs and the eligibility of candidacy for the various elected bodies and public offices, do not marginalize women from political participation. What it does not cover, however, are provisions to encourage women’s political participation. Given the long historical discrimination against women and their underrepresentation of both in elected and government institutions, such provisions could have positive impact and influence the gender balance within decision making circles. In addition, the gendered language in the above Article (Article 41) does not demonstrate or reveal impartiality towards sexes.

6.1.3. Electoral laws:

The primary regulatory instrument for an election is the electoral law. Any electoral law requires extensive agreement by the existing political forces, de facto or de jure. Without
this, it would become the target of political discussion, when it should be an accepted, undisputed instrument for alternating or remaining in power. An electoral law that is the center of controversy is not likely to be stable. Precisely because only laws based on an extensive agreement are maintained, it is extremely difficult to modify it in-depth for sociological, political and legal reasons\textsuperscript{10}.

In drafting the Electoral law, the Somaliland government understandably looks at previous Somali republic laws, and particularly the pre 1969 laws. The draft election bill first drafted by Somaliland Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2001 was largely based on the 1964 Law and proposed to cover all parliamentary (both Houses) and municipal elections. Although it did not cover them in as much detail, presidential elections and referendums were also to be conducted in line with the provisions of the Bill. The Somaliland electoral laws reflect the provisions of the Somaliland constitution and are clear about the role of the courts, especially the Supreme Court in the elections and also allow for the use of codes of conduct and informally, alternative dispute resolution arrangements agreed between the Electoral Commission and the political parties\textsuperscript{11}.

The desire to have electoral system that makes possible the identification of the three constitutionally accepted parties, the difficulties of reaching agreements on the allocation of parliamentary seats between the electoral regions and the lack of official demarcation of the regions since the days of Somaliland Protectorate, all led to the adoption of separate electoral laws for local district councils and presidential elections on the other hand, and parliamentary elections on the other.

The current Somaliland electoral laws are the following:

1. the presidential and local elections law (law no. 20/2001)
2. the house of representatives election law (law no. 20-2/2005)
3. the voter registration law 2007, a amended in 2008 (law no. 37/2007)

For the purpose of this study, we will examine the presidential and local elections law and the House of Representatives election law.

\textit{The presidential and local elections:}

Article 33 of the presidential and local elections law (law no. 20/2001) lays down the conditions relating to candidates for local councils as follows:

1. He must be a patrial citizen of Somaliland.
2. He must be actually resident in the district where he is standing for election.
3. He must be a Muslim and must be known to behave in accordance with Islamic religion.
4. He must not be less than 25 yearsof age during the year the election is taking place.

5. He must be suitable for this office on the basis of his standing within the community.
6. He must not have been the subject of a final sentence for a criminal offence proven in a court within the preceding ten years.
7. He must be educated to secondary school level if standing for elections in districts graded Category A or B, or, at a minimum, to intermediate school level or equivalent if he is standing for election in districts graded Category C or D.
8. He must be a local district tax-payer or must have participated in a voluntary capacity in activities which are of public interest in the district.

Article 35 of the presidential and local elections law (law no. 20/2001) sets out the conditions for candidacy to the offices of the President/Vice-President as follows:

1. The conditions for candidacy to the offices of the President and Vice-President shall be those set out in Article 82 of the Constitution.
2. Candidates standing for election to the offices of President and Vice-President must be members of and be nominated for election by an association/party which has been registered or approved.

The House of Representatives election:

The general principles of the House of Representatives election law (law no. 20-2/2005) define the scope of the law; total membership and election of the House of Representatives, terms of office and the conditions relating to voters. This part of the law also sets out the terms of office for the House of Representatives, conditions related to voters, the rights of the voter and the right to stand for election. However, Article 15 of the law states the conditions relating to candidates as follows:

As set out in Article 41 of the Constitution, anyone standing for the House of Representatives’ election must fulfill the following conditions:

1. He must be a patrial citizen of Somaliland or a neutralized citizen in accordance with law
2. He must be a Muslim and must behave in accordance with the Islamic religion
3. He must not be less than 35 years of age during the year when the election is being held
4. He must be physically and mentally able to fulfill his duties
5. He must be educated to at least a secondary school level or equivalent
6. He must be a responsible person with appropriate character and behavior
7. He must not have been a subject of a final sentence for a criminal offense by a court within the preceding five years
8. He must confirm in a note signed by him his candidacy for election and that he will comply with the electoral laws and the code of conduct
9. He must pay the necessary candidate’s deposit

In general, the Somaliland electoral laws outline conditions for citizens running for presidential, local councils and House of Representatives elections. Requirements related to age, religion, patrial citizenship and age are common to every person running for any
of the offices stated under electoral laws. There are no obvious clauses or conditions that hinder women from participating in any of the elections covered under these laws.

However, the language used in these laws is not gender sensitive enough to demonstrate impartiality and equality of sexes. In setting out the conditions for potential candidates, the term “He” is used in these laws to state what criteria is required from potential candidates to run for presidential, local or House of Representatives. This gender insensitive language adopted in such laws can create exclusion. A fact which does not quite correspond to the essence of Article 8 of the constitution which guarantees the equality of citizens and Sub Article 8(1) assures that citizens shall not be accorded precedence on grounds of color, clan, birth, language, gender, property, status, opinion etc.

6.1.4. Electoral code of conduct
The regulatory circle closes with the so-called codes of conduct. In a broad sense it can be said that no electoral system works without the existence of an implicit code of conduct among the political parties. This includes, for example, acceptance of the results, the unquestioned admission of the rules of the game and even some unwritten rules that regulate the electoral campaign, such as the exclusion of certain matters or forms. In a more restricted and technically more correct sense, codes of conduct must be interpreted as a set of publicly-endorsed rules of behaviour among the political contenders in a particular electoral process. These rules often fill gaps in the regulations as a whole. They are usually strictly provisional, limited to one sole electoral process12.

Nevertheless, it is not true that they are exclusively produced in countries emerging from non-democratic forms of government, because there are some significant examples of implicit codes in consolidated democracies. This happens, for example, when certain subjects that are considered to be common heritage are excluded from the scope of party discussions, and a formal declaration is made in this regard. Although the problem stemming from their legal nature and compelling force will be referred to further on, it can be affirmed that they are more like real rules, insofar as their adversaries formalise them and subject them to a certain arbitration, under the auspices of an international organisation or, above all, an electoral organisation empowered to settle any disputes regarding their application13.

In the case of Somaliland, The Electoral laws are further underpinned by codes which are agreed upon by the Electoral Commission and the three parties. Some of the provisions of the code go beyond the limits of code-making by filling gaps in the law, but others are aimed at encouraging good conduct. The appointment of eminent independent persons to act as voluntary watchdog at elections is increasingly a significant feature in Somaliland

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elections. The election board of monitors established for the 2005 elections was given a much wider brief than the 2002 Integrity Committee, and appears to be still functioning\textsuperscript{14}.

The following three codes complement the Somaliland electoral laws:

a) Code Of Conduct for the Election Commission and political organizations, 5 December 2002:
b) Code Of Conduct for political organizations, 5 December 2002:

Under the \textbf{first} code of conduct (Code of Conduct for the Election Commission and political organizations, 5 December 2002), the Election Commission and political organizations agree to give utmost priority to:

1. The existence and independence of Somaliland over the success of political organizations or personal interest;
2. The maintenance of peace since peace is as foundational to democracy as it is to life;
3. All disputes arising among political organizations through dialogue; and
4. The Commission and organizations are partners whose shared responsibility is to ensure that fair, free and peaceful elections take place in Somaliland.

The \textbf{second} (Code of Conduct for political organizations, 5 December 2002) was intended to create a common understanding among the three political parties contesting the elections in which they agreed to give utmost priority to the following four principles:

1. The existence and independence of Somaliland over the success of political organizations or personal interest;
2. The maintenance of peace since peace is as foundational to democracy as it is to life;
3. Solve all disputes arising among political organizations through dialogue; and
4. Advance free and fair elections.

Under this code of conduct, the political organizations also agree to a set of norms that will guide their conduct prior to, during and after elections. Abstention from statements and actions that can undermine peaceful, free and fair elections, respect the members and supporters of other political parties, and avoiding disinformation and dishonest activities that undermine the existence and functioning of other political organizations are among the behaviors agreed upon and promoted by the political parties. The Election Commission, in consultation with the political parties, formed an Integrity Watch Committee and defined their purpose and functions.

The objective of the \textbf{third} code (Code Of Conduct for political parties 2005/National Electoral Commission, Hargeisa 2005) is to promote conditions that are conducive to free and fair elections including; tolerance of democratic political activity, free political campaigning and open public debate; and respect for human rights. Set of guidelines

related to the compliance with the code, compliance with law, campaign management and election process were among the general principles of the code of conduct.

The study finds that none of the above code of conducts has in any way, directly or indirectly, constitute any provisions, articles or guidelines that has the potential to undermine women’s political participation. The terms laid down under these codes are moral and general rules basically developed to serve common good by means of free and fair elections. In fact, some of the articles within the codes persuade political organizations to encourage women to participate in elections. For instance, under the general principles of the Code of Conduct for political parties 2005, the following clause is stated under the compliance with the law “every political party will take all the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates for each region”.

6.2. HISTORICAL TRENDS OF WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The role of women in Somali society has always been constructive and indispensable. Yet, there always existed a disparity in the distribution of physical and intellectual tasks between the genders. Somali women’s role has been to provide all the labor necessary to ensure the daily survival of the family. In addition women were always responsible for preparing the family’s meals, breeding, caring for and educating children. Intellectual and social activities were usually the domain of the men. This disparity was also reflected in educational matters. Young girls were more likely to be engaged in physical labor and domestic chores, whereas young boys had greater opportunities to develop their intellectual skills. Women’s social activities were further hampered by their daily obligations, which would absorb most of their time. In this chapter, the study will examine the historical trends of Somaliland women’s political participation since Somaliland reclaimed its independence in 1991 and will highlight their representation in national elected bodies at the various (5) elections conducted in the history of Somaliland:

Political chronology:
January 1991: after the collapse of the Somali state, women and children suffered tremendously. They went to refugee camps in Ethiopia and most of those who had an opportunity to be educated went to Europe and North America. In 1991, when Somaliland was declared and regained its sovereignty, refugees especially women returnees were forced to become breadwinners for their families as petty traders because their men were either unemployed or dead or traumatized by war and therefore unable to work.

15 (Yasmeen Mohamoud, 2011), Somali Women: Agents of Change - The untapped pedigree of Somali women’s political participation p2
http://wardheernews.com/Articles_2011/Nov/Somali%20Women_agents_change_yasmeen.pdf
16 (NAGAAD 2007), Women’s political participation in Somaliland: An evaluation of the 2005 parliamentary elections, P12
1993: Clan elders came together for a number of peace conferences in the early-1990s, the most prominent of which was the Elders Conference at Borama in 1993. This led to the creation of the 82-member Guurti, which formalized the mediation system as a parliamentary body. In Borama, the Guurti also elected Somaliland’s president and vice president\(^\text{17}\).

1991 – 1998: Somaliland witnessed the establishment and growth of civil society organizations including women’s organizations. For the first time, women were organizing themselves.

May 1997: in the new reconciliation conference in Hargeisa, the incumbent president was re-elected for a second four year term by the 150 members of parliament. That was the first time that women were allowed in the conference, but only as observers.

2001: The constitution referendum of 31st May 2001 in which 97% of the electorates expressed their desire for an independent and sovereign statehood, a multiple party democratic system was adopted by Somaliland. And six political organizations were legally registered.

Dec. 2002: in the local council elections, only two women were elected out of 400 councilors

April 2003: in the first national presidential elections for 35 years, Dahir Rayale was elected as the president. There was only one woman candidate who stood as an independent candidate. But the electoral commission refused to accept her candidacy citing the constitution which allowed only three political parties to present presidential candidates. There was some dispute about the results of the presidential elections because the ruling party gained only 82 votes more than the opposition party, Kulmiye. This dispute was finally resolved by the Supreme Court in favor of the ruling party.

Sept.2005: the parliamentary (house of representative) elections on 29\(^{th}\) September 2005, during which 82 members of the nation’s lower chamber of parliament were peacefully and successfully elected. The three political parties were in competition for 82 seats of the House of Representatives, each party was trying to gain the majority in the parliament. The competition was clan based. The result was 33 seats for UDUB, 28 seats for Kulmiye and 21 seats for UCID. Out of the 82 candidates who won their seats in the

\(^{17}\)IRIN Africa Debating reform of Somaliland’s House of Elders
parliament that emerged, only 2 or 2.43% were of the total were women.

The current status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elections</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Number of men</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Ratio of men to women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House of Elders (Guurti) 1993</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary 2005</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>80:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local council 2012</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>365:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government cabinet</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46:4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women are believed to constitute 60% of total population in Somaliland. Yet, the above historical trends of Somaliland women’s political participation show how women are disadvantaged and marginalized from public life. Somaliland women were not represented in the first ever House of Elders which was set up in 1993. The House of Elders (Guurti) was composed of 82 male elders and elected the President and Vice President of the Republic at Borama conference. The House of Elders is now a constitutional organ with a primary duty of passing legislations related to religion, traditions (culture) and security.

As shown in the above table, women are also underrepresented in other elected institutions. Women in Somaliland had only two seats in each of the first ever elected National District Councils and House of Representatives. In the first municipal elections in 2001, women percentage was 0.0053%. The following parliamentary elections in 2005, female representation was no better as they constituted only 0.024% of total representatives. In the second national municipal elections in 2012, there has been a slight but remarkable progress as far as women participation is concerned. Women seats increased from 2 in 2001 to 10 in 2012.

6.3. GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION

The Somaliland National Development Plan (NDP) is the main document which sets out the national policy agenda and defines the priorities of the government and its commitment to achieve rapid economic development and growth. The strategic social, political and economic needs and priorities of women are adequately addressed in the NDP. The document recognizes the underrepresentation of women and marginalized groups in national elected bodies. It also states the gender imbalance of public institutions and defines specific strategies to deal with the problem. Since its election in 2010, the government of Somaliland launched three relevant initiatives as part of its agenda to
promote the participation of women, youth and marginalized groups in decision making process.

In this section, the study looks at those initiatives which are the National Youth Policy (NYP), National Gender Policy (NGP) and the Affirmative Action (Quota System or Policy) for Women and Marginalized Groups in the national elected bodies. We will focus on the status of these initiatives and what impact, if any, they have made up until now on the actual representation of women in national decision making circles.

**National Gender Policy**

The Ministry of Family Affairs and Social Development (currently the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs) carried out the process of developing the National Gender Policy in 2007, which was endorsed by the Council of Ministers in May 2008. NAGAAD, which is the women’s rights umbrella organization in Somaliland, played an active role in advocacy for the development of the National Gender Policy and commends the Government’s initiatives, especially the Council of Ministers, for approving the National Gender Policy Framework. The development of the National Gender Policy is seen as a means to combat gender discrimination and promote equality, equity, representation in the political arena, economic empowerment, and provide access to social services such as health and education, promote good governance, engender transparency and accountability and enhance the capacity building of women.

The National Gender Policy (NGP) was developed with technical and financial assistance from UNDP and emphasizes gender as a development concept. The overall objective of the NGP is to facilitate the mainstreaming of the needs and concerns of women and men, girls and boys in all areas for sustainable and equitable development and poverty eradication. It is intended to address decades of discrimination and inequality by coordinating and facilitating the active participation of government departments and sectors as well as that of development partners and stakeholders especially women implementing programs from a gender perspective. It recommends specifically the elimination of gender inequalities and women’s access to equitable development in its National Gender Action Plan (NGAP). The aim of the gender policy is to provide a platform for the collective participation and contribution of the women and men in Somaliland in order to achieve socio-economic development and social security.

MOLSA currently collaborates with a range of UN and International Organizations (mainly UNDP, UN Women and UNFPA) in order to implement the Gender Policy. UNDP works closely with the Ministry within the framework of the Country Program Document (CPD). As part of implementing the gender policy, MOLSA has been active to encourage women aspirants in the past (2012) municipal elections. The Ministry implemented a few projects regarding the gender thematic area dealing with the women’s political participation and decision making before 2012 municipal elections.

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18 (NAGAAD 2010), Women’s Human Rights In Somaliland by Maria Beata Tungaraza, P45
19 Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (2012), Simplified National Gender Policy P7
The Joint Program on Local Governance (JPLG) program which was supported by UNDP provided numerous trainings to women candidates prior to elections. According to Abdi Abdilahi, the head of Social/Gender Department of the MOLSA, the Ministry helped women aspirants on media campaigning and the production of elections materials. The Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment (GEWE) is another effort or scheme by MOLSA intended to contribute to the gender equality and women’s empowerment as well as supporting women’s social and economic empowerment.

One of the Gender Policy projects currently being implemented by MOLSA is the “Strengthening the Capacity of Gender Machinery and Enhancing the Implementation of National Gender Plan”. The project, which is supported by UNDP, assists the Ministry in developing appropriate mechanisms and institutional capacity to effectively implement the policy. As part of this project, the Ministry established a Gender Cluster which convenes a quarterly meeting to coordinate the gender activities being undertaken the various government institutions. The project also conducted functional review and institutional capacity assessments on regional offices of MOLSA to identify the organizational weaknesses and weaknesses of such offices in implementing the gender policy action/work plan. Certain components of this project also support women political participation.

**Affirmative Action for women**

Affirmative action is a policy in which an individual's color, race, sex, religion or national origin are taken into account by a business or the government in order to increase the opportunities provided to an underrepresented part of society. Affirmative action is designed to increase the number of people from certain groups within businesses, institutions and other areas of society in which they have historically had low representation. It is often considered a means of countering historical discrimination against a particular group. One of the affirmative action measures/mechanisms in encouraging women’s political participation is the Quota. There are two types of quotas: a voluntary party-based quota; and a mandatory quota.

Voluntary quotas are usually introduced by political parties under their own initiative either provided for in the party’s policy documents and practices or because of the ‘goodwill’ of the party leadership. A number of ruling and opposition parties in the region (Southern Africa) have provisions for such quotas for women, youth and other disadvantaged groups. Successful examples in the SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) region are the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in Mozambique. Quotas have ensured that the minimum target of 30 percent female representation in parliament has been met in those countries.

There are two types of mandatory quotas: the legislated quota and the constitutional quota.

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21 Interviewed on December 20, 2013 at his MOLSA office, Hargeisa


The former is introduced through legislation that reserves a certain number of seats for women in political bodies and requires that all political parties have a certain number of women on their electoral ballot. An example of this can be found in Namibia at the local government level, where a combination of a legislated quota, a voluntary party quota and a proportional representation (PR) system is in operation. Constitutional quotas, meanwhile, are provided for in the constitution, which is the highest law of the land and cannot be overridden by any statute. This quota is mandatory and binding on all parties and the government of the day. An example of this is provided by Tanzania, where 20 percent of MPs and 33 percent of representatives at the local level must be women24.

As part of Somaliland government’s effort to redress women’s poor representation and promote women’s political participation, ‘the president of Somaliland announced (on September 7 2011) the formation of a National Consultative Committee to advise him on how women can be mainstreamed within the decision-making legislative bodies of the country. The President nominated nine persons from the two chambers of the Parliament and Cabinet and authorized them to conduct nationwide consultations with all sectors of the Somaliland society, collate their opinion and recommendations, and prepare an advisory position for taking forward a women’s quota system in the national decision-making institutions’25. The process and nationwide consultations undertaken by the National Consultative Committee ended up in recommendations submitted to the president on the findings of their assignment.

To support the affirmative action declaration by the President, CSOs led by NAGAAD drafted a quota bill which was submitted to the parliament for review26. The objective of the quota was the allocation of specified number of seats (quota) for women and minority groups within the elected bodies; and strengthening the political participation of these groups in decision making process. the bill was intended to empower the women and minorities by enabling them to actively participate in the political elections and have representatives in the different councils of Somaliland including the Local councils and the parliament27. The campaigners lobbied for a quota of 25% for women and minority groups. After much consultation, and promising noises, a much lower quota of 15 percent was proposed.

The overwhelmingly male House of Representatives, including many from the governing party, voted against the proposed bill28. Abdi Abdilahi29, the head of Social/Gender Department of the MOLSA, stresses that “the government is committed to adopt and

25 SORADI (November 2011), Reflections and Lessons of Somaliland’s two decades of sustained peace, state building and democratization P94
26 Yasmin Saed Liban, NAGAAD Gender Project Officer, interviewed on January at NAGAAD office
29 Interviewed on December 20 at his MOLSA office
implement the affirmative action for women and marginalized groups. The first quota bill was not accepted by legislative bodies but that is not the end for the quota and the government will try again. MOLSA is currently taking part activities for the second quota and has its vice minister representing the Ministry in the Council of ministers’ Task Force assigned to advocate for the bill”. Another important factor was the timing of the quota bill. The fact that the bill was proposed just before the 2012 elections could have diverted the attention of everyone away from the issue.

In his 2013 annual address to the joint Houses of Parliament and Elders, the President of the Republic of Somaliland reiterated his support to affirmative action and urged the members of parliament and Guurti to support the proposed quota bill.

**National Youth Policy**

In an effort to mainstream Youth into national development agenda, the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture (MOYS&C) in collaboration with youth organizations like Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO), drafted the National Youth Policy (NYP) and submitted to the cabinet for approval. The youth policy was adopted in October 2011. The policy was intended to remove impediments hindering youth from participating in the local council’s elections. The president proposed an amendment to be made to Presidential and Local Councils Elections Law (Law No: 20/2001) so that young people can be eligible for running in national municipal elections. The amendment bill was finally approved by the legislative body and the original age limit for the eligibility of candidacy which was 35 years was reduced to 25 years.

This amendment of election law (Law No: 20/2001) was a positive step towards youth political participation. It provided an opportunity for number of young aspirants (men and women) to participate in the past 2012 municipal elections. In fact, many of current councilors in Somaliland districts are youth (male). The benefits inherited from this initiative for women’s participation can also be observed from the fact that many of the 172 female aspirants who decided to take part in the past (2012) municipal elections were young women with political ambitions. This was not feasible before the adoption of National Youth Policy. As the following chart illustrates, 47 of the members of the current councilors are between 25 and 30 years. In addition, most of the 10 female councilors that won seats in the past municipal elections are young women.
Going by the above initiatives, the conclusion may be drawn that in general, the government of Somaliland is trying to address the inequality and discrimination against women in politics and decision-making; and - at least publicly- promotes women’s political participation. Both the National Development Plan and the political program of the governing party (KULMIYE) recognize the prevailing gender inequality and discrimination against women in Somaliland. The proposed affirmative action (quota) law, the adopted national gender policy and the national youth policy all point to the willingness of government to move towards elimination of inequalities and gender prejudices that hinder women from active participation in the social, economic and political development of Somaliland. Women are currently represented in the cabinet better than any time in the past with four out of 27 ministers\textsuperscript{31}.

The following quote from Somaliland president’s annual speech to the joint Houses of Parliament and Elders can reflect the official position of the government. “I genuinely believe women and youth should actively participate in the national development and decision making process. My willingness was demonstrated by the different bills I submitted to you such as the amendment I proposed to be made to law #20 to remove the impediments hindering youth from participating in the local councils. I have also submitted to you the quota bill for women and marginalized groups in elections bodies which you did not approve. I hereby once again request from you to reconsider your

\textsuperscript{30}SAVERWORLD (2012), Somalilanders Speak, lessons from the November 2012 local elections P14

\textsuperscript{31}http://somalilandpress.com/somaliland-new-president-names-his-cabinet-17353
position on the proposed quota before the upcoming parliamentary elections so that women and marginalized groups can be represented in national elected bodies.\textsuperscript{32}

Nevertheless, the impact of such initiatives on the actual ground in terms of enhancing women representation in national elected institutions and in government decision making structures continues to be minimal. The national youth policy has already yielded some results in the sense that more young people of both sexes participated in the past municipal elections. In effect, more young people are now represented in the elected local/district councils than in the past. But the status of implementation of the adopted gender policy is at an early stage and does not correspond to the required urgency and need of Somaliland women regarding equitable political representation and decision making. Furthermore, the affirmative action efforts have not yet produced the desired results as it has not yet been approved or converted into law by the parliament.

6.4. PROGRESS MADE BY STAKEHOLDERS IN ADVOCACY FOR THE QUOTA

Political representation is a fundamental human right vested in all human beings and it is stipulated in international human rights instruments that: ‘All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.’ In Somaliland, women are underrepresented in national policy and decision making circles and there is huge gender imbalance in public institutions. Local and international stakeholders for the adoption of women quota have long been engaged in supporting the realization of the fulfillment of this right for Somaliland women. This section of the study examines the progress made so far by local women organizations, international/UN agencies and women activists in advocating for the quota. Particular focus will be made on what advocacy efforts are working and what efforts are not working as explained by CSO key informants.

Progress in Advocacy for the quota

Women Human Rights in general and women’s right to political participation in particular has been a priority for a wide-ranging of stakeholders in Somaliland over the past two decades. Being one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particular focus was placed on gender equality and women’s empowerment. With technical and financial assistance from UN, international development organizations and international donor community, local women organizations and women activists have struggled for the promotion of the rights of women to participate in political and public life. NAGAAD has been leading local advocacy efforts through the initiation of actions designed to influence public policies and transform the current political culture which excludes women from public life and is dominated by men.


\textsuperscript{33}The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
Organizations like NAGAAD have invested a great deal of resources in advocating for a national policy dialogue on affirmative action for women. Stakeholders engaged in promoting women’s political rights continuously made efforts towards women empowerment initiatives through advocacy and capacity strengthening for both women activists and women NGOs.

The concerted efforts by stakeholders may be said to have yielded some results as their arguments have made it to the agenda of decision and policy makers at the highest level. On September 7, 2011, the President of Somaliland released a presidential decree announcing the formation of a National Consultative Committee to advise him on how women can be mainstreamed within the decision-making and legislative bodies of the country. In his decree the President nominated nine persons from the two chambers of the Parliament and Cabinet and authorized them to conduct nationwide consultations with all sectors of the Somaliland society, collate their opinion and recommendations, and prepare an advisory paper for taking forward a women’s quota system in the national decision-making institutions. This was a historic and milestone achievement for the advocacy campaigns undertaken by the various stakeholders including women activists and organizations.

The Consultative Committee established under the president’s decree conducted consultative meetings and focus group discussions around the country. The primary objective of such meetings and discussions was to help the Committee understand the opinions and thoughts of the different target groups on the issue of women’s political participation. The groups consulted included women, youth, religious and traditional leaders, politicians, academics, and other influential people whose perceptions about the issue mattered. Political parties and institutions like the Somaliland National Electoral Commission were also consulted in the process. Finally, the Consultative Committee submitted the final results of their mission to the president.

The advocacy initiatives for women in the realization of quota system in the legislative houses, local councils and in the executive bodies attracted national debate with mixed reactions. In collaboration with supportive members of the parliament, NAGAAD drafted a quota bill which was intended to be submitted to the parliament for review. The objectives of the quota included the allocation of specified number of seats (15%) for women and minority groups within the elected bodies and strengthen the political participation of these groups in decision making process. Unfortunately, the proposed bill did not make it to the parliament as the majority of MPs voted against it to appear as an agenda for discussion. 43 of 82 MPs attended the session in September 2012, in which the quota was debated; eight voted in favor of the quota, while 31 voted against, and four abstained.

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34 SORADI (2011): Reflections and Lessons of Somaliland’s Two Decades of Sustained Peace, State building and Democratization
This Bill was also rejected by the House of Elders (Guurti) citing constitutional factors. Explaining on what ground the House of elders opposed to the Quota Bill, Mr. Saed Mohamed Osman who is a member of the House of Elders said the following: “Somaliland constitution promotes equality of citizens and does not discriminate one group against another. Every citizen has the right to vote or run for elections. Therefore, women and minority groups can exercise these rights in order to participate in national elections and decision making”.

Even with the legal setback, it is clear that women human right activists and organizations in Somaliland have undertaken intensive political activities to openly seek or secure the adoption of quota for women and marginalized groups. The fact that the president issued a decree to this effect was by itself a historic and milestone achievement for the advocacy campaigns undertaken by the various stakeholders including women activists and organizations. In addition, the continued reference and re-iteration of this commitment by the president in subsequent years remains a viable opportunity for mobilization and advocacy.

Current efforts
Despite the setback, women organizations and other relevant stakeholders have not let up their struggle to accomplish the ultimate goal which has been the adoption and implementation of a quota system for women. NAGAAD is currently implementing a project on “promoting equitable representation of women in decision making process”.

It is an advocacy project designed to influence politicians, policy makers and law makers towards playing a positive and constructive role in the promotion of women’s political participation and pressuring them to back up the affirmative action and proposed quota in elected bodies for women and minority groups. One of the strategies of the project is to recruit women professional lawyers to conduct research on the best possible strategy for women quota using legal sources and legal framework.

Various task forces have been formed by NAGAAD as part of advocacy and influencing strategy. Among them is a task force composed of CSOs, supportive MPs, women activists, women lawyers and traditional leaders. Initiated by NAGAAD Umbrella, the purpose of setting up the task force is to have them develop a clear action plan with the aim of putting pressure on the president and his family. The CSOs represented in the task force include National Organization for Women (NOW), Academy for Peace and Development (ADP), Action Aid, Somaliland Women Lawyers Association (SWLA), Somaliland Lawyers Association (SOLLA), Somaliland National Human Rights Commission (SLNHR), and others. Members of the task force are also expected to lobby the speakers of the House of Representatives, supporters of women cause among MPs, women in the executive branch of the government and the leaders of national political parties with the objective of assessing the current status and speeding up the process of adopting and implementing the proposed affirmative action/quota.

Being the public institution mandated to advance gender issues, MOLSA also oversees implementation of the National Gender Policy. With support from UNDP and other

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36 Interviewed in February 2014 at MOLSA conference hall
37 Yasmin Saed Liban, NAGAAD Gender Project Officer, interviewed on January at NAGAAD office
international organizations, the Ministry is currently implementing the policy. According to Abdi Abdilahi\textsuperscript{38}, the head of social/gender department of the Ministry, the government is committed to encouraging women in public life. Other ministries like the Ministry of Justice have a women department that mainly deals with the legal rights and women access to issues. There is also Inter-ministerial coordination mechanisms led by MOLSA and set up to enhance effectiveness in gender mainstreaming in government policies and programmes, as well as mapping of gender-related CSOs in the regions.

Another task force composed of the female members of the cabinet is also formed by NAGAAD to help push the boundaries and change the prevailing perceptions to the quota within the cabinet. There are four women in current Somaliland cabinet. Vice ministers of the Ministry of Health and MOLSA, the Minister of Environment and the Minister of Education are particularly assigned to lobby and advocate for the quota within the government. The members of the task force are to represent women’s interests, ensure the council of ministers and other public institutions fully support the affirmative action and build support for immediate action among policy and decision makers.

According to the local women activists and organizations\textsuperscript{39}, efforts are relentless and stakeholders are determined to win the recognition of women’s fundamental rights to equitable representation and political participation. Activists are convinced that the best way to go at this stage is to secure the adoption of a quota system. Most of the key informants that participated in the study agree that If women are represented in elected bodies through the quota, there is a good chance that the wider public will appreciate their contribution to the overall economic, social and political development of the nation. The concerted lobbying and advocacy activities are being supported technically and financially by International and UN agencies engaged in promoting women’s political participation.

\textbf{What efforts are working and what efforts are not working?}

Overall, the various stakeholders of the subject (women political participation) have made tangible progress in number of fronts. Although it is not yet formally adopted, the initiation of quota system has attracted lot of attention and debate across the policy and decision making circles which by itself is a new development to Somaliland political system. The issue of affirmative action and the right of women to equal representation has made its way to the office of the President, to the House of Representatives and House of Elders and down to the common citizen on the streets. Efforts towards bringing traditional and religious leaders on board have to some extent worked among these institutions. Local women organizations like NAGAAD have managed to incorporate members of these groups into their quota task forces. Because of advocacy strategies by stakeholders, there are lot of MPs, Politicians, and academics that now recognize and support the quota system.

\textsuperscript{38} Interviewed on December 20 2013 at his MOLSA office

\textsuperscript{39} For instance, Organizations like MOLSA, NAGAAD, ADP, WORDA and women activists like Fatuma Shaacib (WADANI), Amina Milgo (WADANI), Halimo Osman (UCID), Anab Ileye (KULMIYE) and others interviewed during the course of the study
On the other hand, the recognition of men about concept of women’s political participation has not so far improved as much as it should. According to Yasmin Saed Liban⁴⁰, the Gender Project officer of NAGAAD, the reception of male members of the society with regards to affirmative action has not fully been transformed by the outreach and advocacy activities we undertake as CSOs. The fact that the quota is not yet adopted also indicates that advocacy has not yet produced the desired outcome. In other words, despite all the positive results produced in the past years in relation to advocating for quota, there is still a room for improvement.

Regardless of advocacy progress made so far, there are some facts learned through the findings of this study which point to certain deficiencies in the coverage of the advocacy and awareness raising campaigns by stakeholders. While the general public positive perception on women’s political participation was found to be well above average (62%), it was apparent from study findings that the majority of people was not adequately informed about the proposed quota for women and marginalized groups in elected bodies. In fact, over 60% of all respondents were found to be unaware of the proposed quota. This fact was reflected in the response of the general public to a question related to their knowledge/awareness about the quota.

Another area in which advocacy and awareness efforts have not yielded the best results is the transformation of the thinking and awareness of the common female citizens about their rights to political participation. Significant female percentage (39%) was learned to be against the concept of women’s political participation. The motivations or arguments of women with this negative attitude were similar to those cited by groups within the society who fiercely oppose to women in public life for traditional and religious reasons. This demonstrates that Somaliland women are not adequately informed of their constitutional rights and the importance of participating in decision making process.

6.5. ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTY BY-LAWS

The current Somaliland national political parties are KULMIYE, UCID (Justice and Welfare Party) and WADANI (WADANI National Party). These parties are officially recognized as the three national political parties established under article 9 of Somaliland constitution with WADANI being the only party new to Somaliland political scene as the other two existed as national parties prior to 2012 municipal elections. The parties are registered with the Committee for the Registration of Political Associations and Approval of the Parties and all have their headquarters in Hargeisa, the capital city of the Republic of Somaliland. The by-laws of KULMIYE, UCID and KULMIYE political parties satisfy the basic elements⁴¹ of political organizations as instituted under the Regulation of

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⁴⁰ Yasmin Saed Liban, NAGAAD Gender Project Officer, interviewed on January at NAGAAD office

⁴¹ Article 3(2) any association seeking registration as a political party shall submit an application in the prescribed form to the committee and shall enclose the following particulars and documents:

a. the date when and the place where the association held its first founders’ meeting
b. the list of the names of the founders of the association (the executive committee) and the methods of the election of the officers
c. the structure of the association, showing the full name of the association, its written abbreviation, symbol and acronym
Political Associations and Parties law as amended (law no. 14/2000). The constitution of each party states the official name of the party; logo or emblem, as well as the flag and headquarters of that party.

This section of the post-election study looks at the bylaws and political platforms of the three national political organizations, examines them from gender perspective and identifies if there are provisions within party structures, operations and processes that impede women’s equal participation in political parties. The organization and structure of the three Somaliland political parties (KUMIYE, UCID AND WADANI) are found to be almost identical in the sense that they all have the following organizational structure:

1. Congress/General assembly
2. Central committee
3. Executive committee
4. Regional committees, and
5. District, village, neighborhoods and foreign branches committees

The function of each of the above organs is defined in each party’s bylaws. For instance, the Congress is the highest organ in each of the three parties. The congress is mandated to select the party leader and deputy party leaders, as well as the general secretary of the party and his/her deputy. It has the powers to amend and/or approve the bylaws and selects members of the party Central Committee. The Central Committee, on the other hand, has the authority to select, among themselves, the members of the Executive Committee apart from the party leader and his deputies and the general secretary of the party and his/her deputy. The powers of the Executive Committee, regional committees and other party organs are also stated in each party’s bylaws.

Women and Party leadership

The leadership of each political party is determined within the congress which convenes once in every five years. The party leader and deputies are selected by the members of the congress. The number of deputies is different under each party. For instance, UCID has three (3) deputies according to party bylaws; WADANI has five (5) while KULMIYE has two (2) deputy party leaders in its top structure. Party leaders are elected with simple majority by the members of parties’ congress. The eligibility of candidacy for leadership of the party is stated in the bylaws or constitutions of political parties and includes age limits and predetermined educational level which candidates have to meet to contest in the party leadership elections.

Basically, the qualification for contesting party leadership (eligibility of candidacy) does not comprise requirements or selection criteria that can be considered as disadvantaging women aspirants. For example, Article 21 of UCID political party constitution and

d. proof of full payment of the non-refundable deposit of Sl.Sh. 5,000,000 (five million)

Article 4(11) the three associations which in the local elections gain 20 percent of all votes cast in every region shall be recognized as a national political party, and shall be issued with a certification of recognition as a national party
Article 15 of WADANI constitution state almost the same conditions and uses the same gender sensitive language. The parties set the criteria for party leadership eligibility as follows: Any person running for party leadership must fill the following requirements:

1. must be a Somaliland citizen
2. must have been a member of the party for two years and satisfy the membership criteria
3. must not be younger than a 30 years of age
4. must have an educational level of university degree
5. must not have been criminally convicted by a court of law

One of the guiding principles of WADANI political party is to give special consideration to women, youth and marginalized groups. The bylaws of the other two political parties (UCID and KULMIYE) do not formally state any preferential treatment to women; neither do they cover any provisions that hamper women aspirants. Yet, the highest ranking positions of each party such as the party leaders, the deputies party leaders, and the secretaries all go to men. Only WADANI currently has a female member in top structures of the party. A woman named Milgo Mohamed Elmi is one of the five deputy leaders of the party.

In explaining why women are effectively out of leadership positions, female members of the political parties have illustrated more than one reason for the question. According to Anab Omar Ileye⁴², the head of KULMIYE women’s wing, the attitude of men about women and their long standing domination of political scene is one of the rationales. The clan system upon which the local political and governance arrangement is built works against women as well. According to Halimo Osman Raage⁴³, the head of UCID women’s wing, other secondary reasons include absence of many educated women in political parties, lack of strong political ambition and poor self-confidence on the part of women politicians.

At operational level of political parties, Anab Ileye and Halimo Osman Raage, women have proven themselves be core to the all three political parties. Female supporters and politicians are particularly active in campaigning, organization of political rallies, fundraising and voting. It is worth revealing that female political party supporters and party members are crucial to the visibility of political parties during national elections. They sacrifice lot to make sure that their parties win and thereby invest plenty of energy, time and money to accomplish that goal. In addition to organizing political rallies and reaching out to fellow women in their constituencies, female members of political parties also give their votes to their respective parties. They do all these while at the same time attending to their private responsibilities like, for example, raising their children.

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⁴² interviewed on December 25 at her office in Kulmiye headquarters
⁴³ interviewed on December 28 at her business center in Hargeisa
Role of women in other party structures:

The ratio of women’s representation in each political party is different. WADANI commits 30% representation for women members in its leadership positions and across the other organs in party structures. UCID and KULMIYE platforms and/or bylaws do not state specific allocation or percentages for women in their party structures. Instead, both parties obligate themselves to the promotion of women’s political participation. On the other hand, none of the interviewed party members\(^4\) has managed to provide official and accurate figures regarding the exact percentage of women’s representation in their respective parties. This was important for the study because having a political statement on women’s political representation is not as important as having women actually represented in party structures.

At national level, all the three parties have a women’s wing in their structures and such wings are formally declared within the bylaws of KULMIYE and WADANI parties. Even though the constitution of UCID does not mention women’s wing, it exists and practically operates just like the others. In fact, the only important position in party structures that women have in Somaliland political parties is the women’s wing which is always headed by a female member in each party. Having a women’s wing is primarily a strategy by political parties to attract women voters. The functions of women’s arm within political parties include organizing political rallies and campaigns and drawing as much support from women and youth as possible. The women’s wing plays an important role in promoting and publicizing the political agenda of their respective parties.

Women on political parties’ candidate list in the last district council elections of 2012:

Overall, 2260 (Two Thousand Two Hundred And Sixty) candidates were officially registered to stand or compete in 2012 local municipal elections nationwide. These candidates were running for 335 seats in all districts of the country and were nominated or represented in all the seven political parties and associations that participated in those elections. Out of the total candidates, women constituted only 172 (7.6%) while 2088 (92.4%) were male aspirants. The following table\(^5\) shows the gender distribution of candidates by political party/association:

\(^4\) For instance, Fatuma Shaacib (WADANI), Amina Milgo (WADANI), Halimo Osman (UCID), Anab Ileye (KULMIYE) and others interviewed during the course of the study

\(^5\) The data presented in the table shows all the political parties and associations that participated in 2012 Municipal Elections. However, KULMIYE, WADANI and UCID are eventually recognized as the constitutional three national political parties as they obtained the highest number of votes in the election
Table 3: Gender distribution of Candidates by Political party/association (source NEC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Party/Association</th>
<th>Male #</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Female #</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Total #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Umadda</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ucid</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kulmiye</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>94.6%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dalsan</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>92.7%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rays</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Waddani</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Xaqsoor</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2088</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>2260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the above data illustrates, the level of women’s participation in the past municipal elections nationwide was minimal. The numbers of women aspirants were much lower than their male counterparts across the 7 political parties and associations as they constituted less than 8% of all candidates. Yet, only 10 women ultimately won seats while 162 either lost or withdrew their candidacy prior to election date. At the end of 2012 municipal elections, KULMIYE, WADANI and UCID were recognized as the three national political parties because they received the highest number of votes/seats.

Votes Received By Political Parties/Associations (Source NEC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLITICAL PARTIES/ASSOCIATIONS</th>
<th>TOTAL VALID VOTES CAST</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF VOTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KULMIYE</td>
<td>244,795</td>
<td>30.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WADANI</td>
<td>163,789</td>
<td>20.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCID</td>
<td>105,105</td>
<td>12.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMAD</td>
<td>94,689</td>
<td>11.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAYS</td>
<td>83,596</td>
<td>10.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XAQSOOR</td>
<td>74,204</td>
<td>9.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DALSAN</td>
<td>44,680</td>
<td>5.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>810,858</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the three national political parties had submitted a list of 335 candidates to take part in the past 2012 municipal elections. All together, the three political parties had 1005 candidates among them contesting in the past elections. Out of the total contenders, only 68 were female candidates and the rest were male candidates. UCID had nominated the relatively largest female candidates on its list (28) while WADANI and KULMIYE parties had on their list 22 and 18 women candidates respectively. The following table shows the distribution of women candidates among the three parties as well as the percentages of women contenders within each political party:
The Code of Conduct for political parties (2005) encourages every political party to take all the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates for each region. Other than this nonbinding statement, there are no formal and written party rules addressing the nomination of female candidates which can be one of the reasons for the low female candidacy. Other factors have also been attributed to the little numbers of female aspirants. Among them were the clan systems of the society which favor to be represented by men rather than women and the low levels of women interested in elections. The political parties’ preference of male candidates on their list over women had its effects too. According to Fatuma Shaa’ib, a member of WADANI, the political parties did not want to risk their chances of winning as women candidates were unlikely to acquire or attract much support from their constituencies or clans.

In the run up to elections, not all political parties and associations did have strategy or economic resources to support female candidates. According to current women local councilors, political associations like UMADDA and XAQSOOR gave support to women candidates in the last (2012) municipal elections. The cost of registration, fuel and travel expenses were among the expenses covered by those two associations. For other parties, contribution to female candidates was negligible and was limited to information only. Every aspirant was ultimately responsible to promote and finance his/her candidacy like organizing mass media or broadcasting their political plans and reaching out to their target voters.

Certain Civil Society Organizations including Nagaad gave technical and informational support to women aspirants, for instance, trainings related to effective campaigning. The

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<td>93.4%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>93.2%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>1005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 Interviewed on December 22 at her office in Hargeisa
47 Qamar Mohamed Salah (Erigavo councilor), Kawsar Aw Ali (Salahlay councilor), Muna Qorane Curaage (Odweyne councilor), gave this information during FGGs held at MOLSA on December 5 2013
experience of women candidates were different in certain aspects from those encountered by men. Unlike women, men counted on the unconditional morale and material support from their constituencies or clans. Pressures from clans with relentless efforts and tactics to persuade women aspirants to abandon their candidacy over to male candidates and lack of sufficient campaign financing were some of them.

**Party platforms:**
The political platforms of the three national parties encompass the issue of women and address matters that are of particular interest to Somaliland women. Each party presents its official policy and plans towards a wide-ranging issues designed to be communicated to the general public regarding what each party is offering in the event of being voted into offices. The political programs of WADANI and UCID, who are the current opposition parties, tackle, among other things, the concerns of women. WADANI singles out women, youth and marginalized groups in its political manifesto and guarantees these groups to be fairly represented in the leadership and committees of the party. It allocates a representation of 30% for women, 20% for youth and 10% for marginalized groups across its organs. UCID does not offer figures in the party proposal but states in its political program to what it refers as its’ close attachment’ to the same groups.

According to its platform, the governing party (KULMIYE) is committed to fully involve women into the social, political and economic development of the nation and is determined to ensure that women have equitable representation in government and in other decision making bodies. In addition to health, education and economic services assurances to women population, the platform lays down in detail the list of actions it strives executing in order to promote women’s political participation. On the equitable representation of women in government, the party pledges to the allocation of reasonable share in central government (cabinet), House of Representatives and in local governments. The party program pledges to enable women, through elections and appointments, to become, for instance, mayors and to take on leadership positions in government agencies.

Nonetheless, the party platform of KULMIYE has not fully materialized when it comes to the execution of commitments and assurances made to promote the political participation of Somaliland women. In the party manifesto, KULMIYE vows to give women a reasonable share in central government (cabinet), House of Representatives and in local governments. So far, there have been four women nominated to a cabinet position which by itself is better than the representation women had in the previous government’s cabinet, which was only one minister. Kulmiye also made few other female appointments into the government hierarchy including the head of National Human Rights Commission.

Nonetheless, when you look at the political program of the governing party, women expectations are not yet fulfilled. The opposition political parties (UCID and WADANI)

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48 Vice ministers of the Ministry of Health, Vice ministers of MOLSA, the Minister of Environment and the Minister of Education
believe women in government cabinet positions are very small and insignificant. Yet, the same is true of the representation of women in their own structures.

6.6. ROLE OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Mandate
The Electoral Commission is the highest committee responsible for the organization of and the decision-making in respect of the elections. It is an independent body established under 2001 election law and has its central office in Hargeisa. Article 14 of the Somaliland Presidential and Local District Councils Elections Law (law no. 20/20011) sets out the powers of the commission as follows:

1. set the date of the elections, and inform the President so that he can issue a Decree;
2. set the number and the location of the polling stations of the districts and the regions;
3. appoint, dismiss, or discipline the staff of the central office and those of the electoral districts and the electoral regions;
4. plan the budget for administering the electoral activities;
5. declare the provisional results of the elections of the President and the Vice-President pending their confirmation by the Supreme Court;
6. inspect the polling stations and any other places connected with their duties either randomly or in a planned fashion;
7. adjudicate on the disagreements relating to the elections, which have been forwarded to them by their electoral offices;
8. conduct research into how the country can have polling stations where candidates can compete for votes;
9. Register voters before the date of the election.

The primary responsibility of Somaliland Electoral Commission is to fulfill its duties as outlined above. Under its current mandate, the Somaliland Electoral Commission does not have much to offer in terms of promoting women’s political participation. According to Abdifatah Ibrahim Sheik, a sitting member of the Electoral Commission, Somaliland women have had a history of playing key roles in many social and economic aspects of the society. He went on to say “But when it comes to political participation, Somaliland women confront exclusion and marginalization. There are many factors that contribute to women underrepresentation in the national elected organs and government institution. Nevertheless, the traditional Somali culture in which women’s roles is considered as confined to her home, children and husband forms the basis of excluding them from political process”.

Regarding the role of the Electoral Commission in promoting women’s political participation, the institution encourages national political parties to take the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates. The Commission has stated such encouragements within the code of conducts signed

49 Interviewed on December 16, 2013 at imperial hotel, Hargeisa
with the national political parties in the past (2012) elections. One of the biggest election operations undertaken by the Commission is staffing and training activities. According to Abdifatah Ibrahim Sheik, the Commission ensures women are fairly represented in the list of candidates submitted by political parties prior to elections. In fact, the commission considers female members as an asset and devoted employees in their performance related to voter services, voting station management and vote counting.

**Gender and Composition of NEC**

The Electoral Commission consists of seven members, a chairman and six members who are appointed by the president of the Republic of Somaliland. The members of the Commission are selected or nominated by the House of Elders (2), the opposition political parties (2) and the president (3) before they are finally appointed by the president of the republic. Once the president officially appoints the members, the House of Representatives approve them.

However, there are issues related to the gender sensitivity of the institution/commission which seems to be male dominated. Since its establishment in 2001, the members of the commission have been appointed three times. Only once has a female member ever been appointed to a position in the commission throughout its history. Shukri Haji Ismail Bandare was the only women who ever held a leadership position in the institution and served as a Commissioner. She was nominated not by the then government but by one of the opposition parties and served the period between 2001 and 2005.

Shukri is currently the Minister of Environment and Rural Development. During an interview with the study team, Shukri said50: “As the only female member, I did not have problems regarding working with other members of the commission and was always respected among the male members of the commission. I was the first person to come to office in the morning and the last person to leave and played a key role in the overall administration of 2002 municipal election and 2005 parliament election. In the cases where conflict arises within the male members of the commission, I was regarded as the right person to resolve it which I always did. NEC often assigned me to settle elected-related conflicts and, on many occasions, was sent to regions for that purpose”.

Shukri continued to say: “During the time I served as a commissioner, I worked hard to represent women interest within the institution and convinced male colleagues to make gender considerations into the recruitment and work of the commission. I managed to assign women to lower-level election administration bodies. I appointed female commissioners in Buroa, Borama and Odweyne and helped them discharge their duties in a professional manner. In addition, I safeguarded the votes of women candidates and made sure that such votes are counted properly and are not stolen by others. During the period I served as a commissioner, NEC appointed me twice to the electoral administration of Maroodijeex region, which is the most populated region in Somaliland”.

50 Interviewed on February 16, 2014 at her office in the Ministry of Environment, Hargeisa
In the past (2012) municipal elections, however, women were not part of the national electoral commission, neither did they hold leadership positions or represented in the lower-level election administration bodies.

6.7. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

In studying the public attitude towards women involvement and participation of politics, the study team visited four big towns in the country. A questionnaire of 16 questions was used to test how these common citizens and/or communities perceive women’s political participation. Predetermined questions like the factors that influence public perceptions, the perceived role that traditional and religious leader played on the promotion or stifling of women’s participation in the past elections and other related inquiries. Teachers, students, business people, civil servants, clerks, and traditional leaders were among the respondents whose views on the issue will be discussed in the following sections of the study.

General public perceptions

Generally, public attitude towards women’s political participation among the general public was found to be positive. In total, 400 people in four major towns were interviewed and asked about their perceptions related to women’s participation in national politics. Findings indicate that 62% of the respondents had positive perceptions about women participating in politics while 38% opposed to the idea of women taking part in elections and in decision making process. The following table summarizes the public attitude related to women’s political participation:

Table 1: General Public Attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUBLIC ATTITUDE</th>
<th>BERBERA</th>
<th>BURUA</th>
<th>HARGEISA</th>
<th>BORAMA</th>
<th>TOTAL POSITIVE/NEGATIVE</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive attitude</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative attitude</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As depicted above, the perceptions among the public on women political participation in all targeted cities is above average and can be considered as generally positive. Citizens in Hargeisa and Berbera demonstrated positive views about women political participation and were found to have the same level of positive (60%) and negative (40%) attitudes towards women’s political participation. Borama has the highest level of endorsement for women (70%) and the lowest rate of disapproval to the concept (30%). The positive attitude is slightly lower (58%) in Buroa compared to Hargeisa and Berbera. Buroa was found to have the highest negative attitude (42%) about women’s participation in politics compared to the other towns and cities covered by the study.
By looking at the figures, one may think or assume that the question of having positive or negative attitude towards women’s involvement in politics is gender driven and has something to do with the sex of the respondent. For example, men rejecting/opposing to women political participation while women naturally incline to support the idea. That is not entirely the case according to the findings of the study. An interesting revelation was the fact that 39% of those who had negative attitude towards women’s political participation were women themselves. As established by the results of the post election study, public perceptions regarding women’s political participation is not always determined by gender or sex of the person.

Gender distribution among positive attitudes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>TOTAL POSITIVE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>%FEMALE</th>
<th>% MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahil/Berbera</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togdheer/Buroa</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/Jeex/Hargeisa</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awdal/Borama</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gender classifications in the above table demonstrate that not all men are against women participation in politics. It also shows that not all women support the idea of women taking part in politics and in elections for that matter. Men in Awdal (Borama) were found to have the highest positive attitude as they constituted 41% of the total supporters of women’s political participation. In Buroa and Hargeisa, support among men for women’s involvement in politics was 40% each. In Sahil, 60% of all respondents had positive views on women’s involvement in local politics. Out of this figure, 20% were male who supported the idea. Overall, men respondents constituted 39% of positive perception holders.

To further elaborate the hypothesis, not all female respondents to the question of public attitude towards political participation have supported the concept. In Berbera, about 33% of women interviewees did not endorse women’s involvement in politics. In Buroa and Hargeisa, 40% of the total women respondents displayed negative attitude and opposed to women’s political participation. Likewise, 41% of women covered by the study in Borama were not affirmative about the women in politics and demonstrated negative attitude towards the concept. The reasons cited by the women who were against the concept of women in politics were identical to those expressed by their male counterparts who were also opposed to women’s political participation.

**Main arguments: Positive Vs Negative**

In response to why they think women’s political participation is a positive thing, respondents in support of women’s involvement in political process had shared many reasons to back up their views. For some, the issue is related to the rights of women and, therefore, they should take part in elections and decision making. For others, women are more honest and more talented than their male counterparts when it comes to serving the
community. Examples given included women are less likely to corrupt or steal from the public. Unlike men, women are more dedicated to their responsibilities and do not take advantage of or abuse their authority. They are more likely to focus on development if they are elected, for example, to local councils or to the House of Representatives. The same positive feeling was expressed if women are nominated to a political office.

On the other hand, opponents to the idea have presented different reasons to justify their disagreements with women’s participation in politics. The main arguments for this group were found to be mainly influenced by a combination of two factors; tradition and religion. Almost all respondents have used the two terms at the same time to express their feeling. In defending their views, some of the respondents have emphasized what they described as the “domestic role” of women and insisted that they are better off if they stayed at their homes with their families or raised their children instead. For this group, women participation in politics can have negative implications on the society as women leave their traditional place in society and thereby neglect their domestic duties/reproduction role.

Even though most respondents stated religion as one of the two factors influencing their negative perception, none of them has presented any specific Islamic teaching (Quran or Hadith) to this effect. They just insisted that women’s participation in politics is un-Islamic and therefore not good. In addition, there has been a common perception among respondents that women are not meant to or cannot handle a huge responsibility. For many of the interviewees with negative perceptions, Somali women’s role in society has been to provide all the labor necessary to ensure the daily survival of the family. In addition women were always responsible for preparing the family’s meals, caring for and educating children.

In answering to whether respondents would support if a female family member of theirs, close relative or a friend decides to run for an election/public office, the respondents presented the views summarized in the following chart:

As illustrated in the above chart, 57.5% of all respondents have confirmed that they would support if a female family member, close relative or a friend decides to run for an election/public office. The bulk of this group is the people who have expressed their
acceptance to women’s participation in politics from the beginning. Yet, it seems that some of the people who expressed the positive opinion earlier (62% of total population) have decided not to support the decision of women who want to run in election. One good reason could be that even though one has a positive attitude towards women taking part in politics, they still are not prepared to see a family or close relative doing so. Explaining why they would support such a decision, most of the interviewees have given the same reasons as cited under the arguments of positive attitude group.

On the other hand, 42.5% of interviewees opposed/rejected to support a female family member or a close relative of she decides to run in an election. This percentage is higher than the number with negative attitude discussed earlier (38% of the total population). The reasoning for this is the same as those referred to under the arguments of negative attitude group.

Overwhelming majority of targeted respondents has voted between 1 and 5 times over the past local, parliamentary and presidential elections. Yet when asked if they have voted a female candidate in any of the elections they voted; only 33.5% responded “yes”. The remaining numbers of 65.5% have admitted that they never voted for a female candidate. The respondents who never voted for women included those who principally oppose to the idea of women involving in the politics. However, there are a significant number of people who said they liked women to participate in elections and yet did not vote for a woman. Reasons stated by the latter group included that they did not know any female candidate at the time or did not agree with the political party or policies of such female candidate.

In responding to what they think are the key challenges to women’s participation in politics and decision-making in Somaliland, the general public presented a long list of challenges and restrictions that they belief are the holding back women. Following are the main ones stated:

1. Cultural and social barriers mainly driven by a belief that women are weak leaders
2. Clan system: the existing clan system, as practiced by Somalis, does not consider woman as a permanent member of the tribe. For that reason, communities and clan elders make sure that only male candidates represent their them in elections
3. Lack of confidence: women do not believe in themselves when it comes to elections. Women voters do not fully trust the abilities of women candidates and therefore do not vote for them. During elections, they mostly vote for a male candidate from their clan.
4. Lack of education: the majority of women are illiterate and do not understand the importance of participating in elections and in decision making process.
5. Male decision makers do not like to share the platform with women
6. It is the religion that prohibits women from participating in politics and in elections
7. The economic status of women does not allow them to run for elections as they cannot finance their election campaigns
8. The government does not encourage women, for example, through appointments to key public positions like ministries
Awareness on election sensitization campaigns on women’s political participation:
In answering whether they have ever attended/read/listened to or watched sensitization campaigns on women’s political participation prior to elections, just over half of respondents (53%) have said they neither attended, read or listened to such sensitization programs prior to elections. 47% of all interviewees had either attended workshops or read news papers or watched local TVs on sensitization campaigns. Summary results regarding how much the general public was sensitized before elections from all regions are shown in the following pie chart:

![Pie Chart](image)

As illustrated below, Hargeisa was the single most sensitized city among the targeted regions with 65% of its respondents admitting they have been sensitized prior to elections. It is worth mentioning that the coverage of local press, National TV and National Radio were concentrated in and around Hargeisa which is the capital city of the country. This fact could be one of the reasons why the level of awareness is relatively high among Hargeisa residents compared to the other targeted cities. The level of sensitization in Awdal/Borama was above average as 52% of all interviewees have said they attended to election sensitization programs.

![Bar Chart](image)
On the other hand, Berbera and Buroa public were found to have scored the least percentages when it comes to awareness campaigns before the last elections. In fact, the wider public in Buroa city was the lowest in terms of awareness among the four targeted regions with only 28% of the interviewed population saying they have ever attended/read/listened to or watched sensitization campaigns on women’s political participation prior to elections. National television, radio, and CSOs awareness workshops were among the main mediums listed by the respondents who were sensitized prior to elections.

**Public Awareness on Proposed Quota:**

![Level of public awareness on proposed Quota](image)

The level of public awareness on the proposed quota for women in elected bodies/parliament and district councils are low among the target population. Overall, 64% of all respondents have disclosed they are not aware of the proposed quota for women in elected bodies/parliament and district councils. 77% of the respondents in Buroa and 67% of those in Borama revealed that they never heard of the planned quota for women in elected bodies. Likewise, 56% among the targeted Hargeisa population and 57% of Berbera respondents said they are not aware of the quota in question.

The total numbers of people aware of the proposed quota among all respondents in all four regions were 143 (36%). Populations in Hargeisa and Berbera were found to be relatively more conscious (43% and 44% respectively) about the proposed quota for women compared to other cities. About 33% of the public in Borama have said they are aware of the quota while only 23% of the interviewees in Buroa discovered their knowledge about the issue.

In responding to a further question relating to their view on the proposed quota for women, 70% of those who are aware of the quota expressed their support for the proposal. They described it as a positive step which, if approved, can encourage women to participate in elections and in politics. According to the findings, the people in this group consist of the respondents who expressed positive attitude towards women’s participation in politics from the beginning. On the other hand, 30% of the same group (who are aware of the proposed quota for women) have displayed negative attitude towards the quota. The latter group is composed of the interviewees who did not principally agree to the concept of women in decision making.
Role of traditional and religious leaders from public perspective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BERBERA</th>
<th>BUROA</th>
<th>BORAM</th>
<th>HARGEISA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>% STIFLING/PROMOTING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promoting</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stifling</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No effect</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The role that the traditional and religious leaders have played in promoting or stifling women’s political participation in Somaliland elections such as district council elections in 2012 has attracted different answers. Only 31% of those interviewed thought that traditional and/or religious leaders had encouraged women’s participation in the past 2012 municipal elections. According to this camp, some traditional leaders have publicly supported and allowed female members to stand in the past elections. Since religious leaders did not officially and openly campaign against women candidacy in the past elections, it can be construed that religious leaders did not have problem with women running in elections.

The majority (57%) of all respondents, however, believed that both traditional and religious leaders had negative impact on women’s chances in running or winning the 2012 local elections. Main arguments for this viewpoint were that both groups (traditional and religious leaders) had their own objections against female candidacy but for different reasons. Elders and traditional leaders prefer men to stand for elections on behalf of the clan and they cannot rely on women mainly for reasons related to preference of male candidates and uncertainties related to the clan allegiance of female in the future. For religious leaders, according to the respondents, their objection about the prohibition of Islam to rule or govern. About 12% of all interviewees held the view that neither the traditional nor religious leaders had any role in promoting or discouraging women to participate in 2012 elections.

As we have been discussing from the beginning of this section (public perceptions), the general public have different attitudes towards women taking part in politics. While the majority of respondents were favoring or at least did not oppose to women’s political participation, a significant portion of target populations have also expressed or displayed negative attitude to the concept.
7. CHALLENGES AND EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN CANDIDATES

Key challenges to women
The question of key challenges to women’s political participation and particularly in the past (2012) elections as illustrated by the general public has been discussed in the previous sections of the report. In this chapter, the study looks at the fundamental constraints to women as portrayed by the field experts, academics, women activists and women political aspirants. It presents the expert views from traditional and religious leaders as well as other key informants that participated in the post-election study. In summary, traditional Somali culture and certain perceptions from religious leaders are underscored as the two main factors hindering women from political participation. But other constraints such as the economic status, lack of education and absence of effective and concrete strategic plan by Somaliland government on women empowerment came up as challenges to women in 2012 municipal elections.

Tradition
Tradition as a major obstacle to women’s participation in politics and decision making has been an issue the general public has consistently cited. Key informants were no different and held the same belief in their explanation of the key challenges women face when it comes to political participation. From traditional point of view, Somali women’s role in society has always been confined to the domestic and reproduction roles. Women are widely perceived to be responsible for caring and educating children along with preparing the family’s meals and managing domestic affairs of the home.

Amina Mohamoud Warsame (Amina Milgo) is a leading women activist and a writer. Currently she is the Executive Director of NAFIS network against FGM in Somaliland. Explaining the (traditional) constraints women face in political participation, she said:

“every society has its own perceptions about the role of women in social structure. When it comes to leadership and representation, the society considers that as a male role which has nothing to do with women. There is a traditional Somali saying which goes like this “Gabadhi Dhaxdin Mooyee Dhalasho Ma Leh”. This means, women do not belong to a particular clan (including the original clan or their father’s) other than that of husband or future husband for that matter. This saying, which is common among Somalis, implies that women are not permanent members of their own clans. Rather, they are or will be an integral part of the tribe which she is or will be married to. This view widely held in society undermines the right of women to seek support and votes from her constituency and thereby hampers their right to run for elections.

Being one of the seven women candidates who ran for Somaliland’s first parliamentary elections in 2005, Amina has firsthand experience on the kind of (unfavorable) environment up against a female candidate in Somaliland elections. This fact is clear from her article “Swimming Against the Current: A Women’s Experience in running for

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51 Interviewed on December 24, 2013 at NAFIS office, Hargeisa
the First Somaliland Parliament Elections in 2005”. In her article, Amina articulates the main challenges of her candidates as follows:**

“The initial challenge that I faced was the slim chance that I had in winning a seat. First, there were three candidates (two men and I) from the same sub-clan, running for different parties. This diminished the chances of any of us securing a seat and as a woman candidate I had the least chance”.

“Second, my husband and I were born into two different clans. As I was running in the region of my “clan of birth”, they viewed me as an outsider who had no right to run in what the clan saw as “their territory”. And third, since “my clan of birth” overwhelmingly supported the ruling party of UDUB, they agreed to endorse the candidate of their choice who was running for UDUB and give him the resources that he needed”.

“Third, as a woman with no clan support, my resources to run the campaign were limited. Whatever resources I did manage to raise could not cover all the travelling and other campaign costs”. Furthermore, unlike the male candidates, I needed to travel outside the “traditional clan territory” in the hope that I might get some votes from other women. This meant that while a man could focus his resources and energy in the limited areas where his clan is concentrated, I needed to cover all the major towns and villages of the whole of Sahil region as I was not sure where my votes would come from. This involved many costs that could not be secured from any source other than a limited number of institutions”.

The most damaging problem that I faced concerned the rumours. These came to my attention only one day before the election date. It was unclear how widespread the rumours were or whether this was calculated propaganda to divert voters away from me, but many women supporters came to me to clarify what they had heard. Word of mouth and oral messages can spread like wild fire among the Somali people, being an oral society. The essence of the messages in the rumours was: “Unlike the men candidates, the woman candidate needs only a small number of votes to secure a seat”. “Do not waste the votes on her, as she will come out anyway”. It was too late for me to counter that propaganda and I did not know what to do.

The clan structure is male dominated and does not give Somali women the space to participate in decision-making or run freely in elections. Abdirizak Mohamed Asker is a traditional leader in Hargeisa and this is what he had to say about women’s participation in the past elections. “Traditional leaders and clan elders have a central role in their communities and are expected to make important decisions in the best interest of their constituencies/clans. When it comes to elections, women cannot be a good choice for representing the clan. We prefer male candidates over women who belong to the same

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53 Interviewed on January 11, 2014 at Dalhiis Hotel, Hargeisa**
There is more than one reason to this verdict. According to Abdirizak, a woman participating in elections or politics in general goes against a long standing tradition which gives a specific—mainly domestic—role to women.

This view was shared by other elders and traditional leaders as well. According to another traditional leader, there are other reasons taken into consideration for not allowing women to take part in elections on behalf of the clans. For instance, there is a doubt that clansmen have about the ability of women to genuinely represent the interest of the clan. Another traditional leader who participated in the study said; “The women aspirant may be a single. Suppose we give our votes and she is elected. What if she gets married to another clan? Will she still represent the interest of her original clan? The clan is likely to lose their seat and vote to that clan which can even be a rival clan.”

Given the traditional concerns expressed above, the society, especially men, try to manipulate the marital status of women aspirants with the aim of disqualifying them from representing the clan. According to Hawa Roobleh, a women activist in Borama, “the moment a woman declares her candidacy, people start to ask questions like whether she is married or not. If she is married, to which clan she is married becomes a point of discussion”. As one can imagine, one of three scenarios usually arise from this inquiry: the female aspirant may be single or not married, she may be married but to a different clan, or she is married to the same (her original) clan which she seeks to vote for her. What is interesting is the fact that none of these situations or scenarios favors women aspirants when it comes to elections as the case was in the 2012 municipal elections.

Figure 5FGD in Borama with women candidates, activists in the 2012 municipal elections

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54 Mohamed Hersi, Hassan Badmah, Abdirahman Osman interviewed during a FGD at Dalhiis Hotel in January, 2014
55 Interviewed on December 3, 2014 at MOLSA regional office in Borama during a FGD
If the female aspirant is not married, it is used against her and her candidacy within the clan. Suddenly, speculations are promoted among the people that if the clan elects her, she will probably be married to someone who does not belong to the same clan and that there will be a risk of losing votes or the position she was elected for to another clan. If the female candidate is married to another clan, arguments are even easier to sell because she will simply be asked to seek support or votes from that clan. However, if the female aspirant belongs to the clan and is married to the clan at the same time, then people opposed to female candidacy use other tactics like seducing her to withdraw her candidacy for the male candidates or pressuring her family members to stop her from running in elections.

The following personal stories reflect the experience of women aspirants in the past municipal elections and the marital status arguments used against them after declaring their candidacy.

Case study 1: marital status: unmarried

My name is Amina Eidle H. Dahir. Borama is my constituency/hometown and I am unmarried. I was a candidate for Borama 2012 municipal elections. When you are a candidate, you have to, at some point, seek support and approval from the elders and traditional leaders of the clan so that they endorse you. I organized a meeting with them and lot of people attended the meeting. I introduced myself as an aspirant who wants to represent them in the then upcoming municipal elections. Before me, There were few other male candidates from my clan who declared their candidacy as well.

Clan elders were polite in responding to my request. But they were not enthusiastic about it either. The issue of other candidates before me, who by the way were very close relatives of mine including my cousin, were soon raised. Some of the participants or elders did not hide their opposition to my decision and asked why I should run for elections instead of staying at home. One of the elders who knew I am single made the following joke “if you want our vote, then you have to select one of the young men here to marry you so that our vote does not go to other clans. For me, it was not a joke. It was a reality and common sentiment among clansmen. I went ahead with my plans for running in elections. I did not get enough votes and lost elections.

The story of the above aspirant denotes how far society goes to make sure that women do not participate in politics. Even though she was a member of the clan, she was being treated as a stranger or someone who is not as permanent within the tribe as her brother or father. The same experience has been encountered by many female candidates from the past local and House of Representatives elections.
Case study 2: marital status: married to a different clan

My name is Hinda Jamac Hersi. I ran for Buroa municipal elections in the past local elections (2012). Buroa is my town but I am married to a different clan which is does not inhabit Buroa or Togdheer. Therefore, I had to seek support from my clan which was very challenging to me given how people feel about women married to other clans when it comes to their votes. I was the first person to meet with clan elders and declare candidacy. In fact, they fully supported my decision. Unlike many women aspirants, I was better off economically and could finance my campaign with very little external assistance.

Personally, I think that traditional leaders of my clan were sincere about supporting my candidacy and many people also voted for me. But there were other challenges that ultimately led to my failure in winning a seat. Among them was number of political parties who were competing in the elections. The fact that many other male candidates from my clan were running in the past elections played a role as well.

In the case of Hinda (above), the economic status which enabled her to finance her campaign along with the fact that her husband’s clan was not treated as a rival clan by her original clan may have strengthened her position as a candidate. Nevertheless, even she admits how much her situation (being married to another clan) can affect the candidacy of women aspirants. A good example of this is the case of Nim’o Hussein Qawdhan, the current deputy minister of the Ministry of Health. She ran for 2005 parliamentary elections and was married to a different clan than her original one. However, both her original clan and the clan she was married to declined to support her candidacy. The same was true for some of the women aspirants who participated in the past municipal elections.

Women candidates married to the same clan as theirs also had their share of challenges in winning the support and vote of their clans. One of the women aspirants whose original clan and the clan she was married to were the same depicted the organized tactics used to discredit her candidacy. Because of tremendous pressure from close male relatives and traditional elders, her husband demonstrated his rejection and unhappiness with her political aspirations from the beginning. What was unexpected to her was that her own sons who were eligible for voting did not support her as she anticipated. They were literally against her and voted for a male candidate of the same clan.
The tradition-related constraints that women encounter in their attempts to participate in politics/elections are not restricted to running and winning in elections. Fatimo Jama Ileye is the first as well as the last female ever to become a member of Somaliland House of Elders (Guurti). According to her son, Mr. Saed Mohamed Osman56 (a current member of the Guurti after replacing his mother following her resignation) she served in the House of Elders (Guurti) from 2009 to 2013. Elaborating why Fatimo resigned from Guurti, Mr. Saed said; “first of all, unlike the cabinet or House of Representatives, the House of Elders is a traditional institution. The term ‘elder’ is ‘odey’ in Somali and does not include women. That is why many members of the Guurti advised her to be replaced by male family members. In addition, my mother was not comfortable with being the only member of the Guurti and finally decided to resign”.

Religious leaders’ rhetoric

“The interpretations and the application of women's rights under Islam are profoundly affected by social and economic factors. Social practices, customary laws, poverty, war and illiteracy often subvert the status of women. Thus, women's rights in practice in Somaliland and Somali society are generally affected by the prevailing political and socio-economic conditions. The place of women in an Islamic society is determined by the Koran, the tradition of the Prophet Mohammed (PUB), and the interpretations of Islamic law and traditions influenced by social customs and practices. Through the revelation of the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet Mohammed (PUB), Islam liberated women from unacceptable conditions that prevailed in the tribal society of pre-

56 Interviewed in February 2014 at MOLSA conference hall
Islamic Arabia. Among the rights granted to women by Islam were the rights to life and education as well as the right to inherit, manage and maintain property\textsuperscript{57}.

In holding public office, the Qur'an, in describing the qualifications of true believers, states: “… and whose rule in all matters of common concern in consultation (shura) among themselves. When it comes to administration and leadership positions, Islamic law (shari'a) does not allow a woman to be a head of any state based on this Hadith: *No people will ever succeed if they hand their affairs to a woman*\textsuperscript{58}.

In the run-up to the 2012 municipal elections, some religious leaders chose to raise the issue of women in their public speeches in an effort to discourage women from taking part in elections. Some of the key informants who participated in the study doubted whether such speeches were significant enough to affect the overall performance of women who participated in those elections. Amina Milgo\textsuperscript{59}, for example, says “*religious rhetoric had some effect but not significant enough to override other realities that surrounded women’s success or failure in the last elections*”. However, many of the women aspirants, politicians and general public referred to the rhetoric of some religious leaders as a serious constraint to the ability of women aspirants to freely and fairly participate in Somaliland elections.

![Figure 7 Anab Ileye, Head of KULMIYE women political wing being interviewed at her office in Hargeisa](image)

According to Anab Ileye\textsuperscript{60}, the head of Kulmiye women political wing, some of the religious leaders depict that it is not admissible (for women) under Islam to hold public offices. Such preaching normally has negative impact as it influences public voters against women candidates. But when you look at the societies in some major Muslim countries which are more developed than Somaliland, they accepted women’s political

\textsuperscript{57} Women’s Rights in Islam and Somali Culture (December 2002), P6  
http://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_WomenInIslam.pdf

\textsuperscript{58} Women’s Rights in Islam and Somali Culture (December 2002), 23  
http://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_WomenInIslam.pdf

\textsuperscript{59} Interviewed on December 24, 2013 at NAFIS office, Hargeisa

\textsuperscript{60} interviewed on December 25 at her office in Kulmiye headquarters
participation and leadership. Countries like Pakistan, Turkey, Bangladesh and Indonesia had women prime ministers or presidents. This demonstrates that there is nothing wrong with women participating in politics in Islam.

In some of the mosques in Borama, some of the local religious leaders made organized public speeches designed to deter women from taking part in elections. Khadra Osman61 was one of the women candidates from Borama. Explaining the religious leaders role in the participation of women in the past elections, she said, “One of the Sheiks in my clan has personally approached me and urged me against running for elections. When the election results were announced, the Sheik was jubilant after learning that I did not win. He immediately called me and said “you have to pray and thank Allah that you lost”. He also called my husband and congratulated him that I did not win. That was the kind of message some religious leaders were promoting in the past 2012 elections”.

**Economic barriers**

Most of the people interviewed in the post-election study agreed that the factor of economics or financing was one of the main constraints that adversely affected many of the women aspirants in the past elections. Running in elections requires the launching of organized efforts intended to influence the voters. In order to run an effective election campaign, one needs to be able to adequately finance his/her campaign so that it can make an impact and influence the public opinion in a manner that favors the candidate. For most women candidates, it proved difficult to raise enough money to invest in their campaign; neither did most of last election’s candidates have enough personal money to put into their election.

Normally, some of the candidates financed their campaigns with their own money. However, according to interviewed women candidates in 2012 municipal elections, a regular source of funding came from clan donations supporting their candidates with financial contributions raised from fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen before and during elections. Unlike male counter parts, women aspirants did not enjoy the benefits of such contributions which usually went to male candidates only. Many of the male candidates had property like land, house, vehicle etc at their disposal to sell and use the generated money to finance their campaign. This was not the case for women who participated in the past elections.

Unlike men, most women did not have property or assets of their own to sell for fundraising purposes. Due to financial limitations, women candidates had difficulties in organizing rallies for their supporters and covering the huge travel expenses involved in reaching out to the various target groups. Therefore, the inability of women aspirants to adequately fund their campaigns affected their chances to fully compete and win.

**Poor education and political awareness**

The factor of education and political awareness had, to certain degree, negatively affected both women aspirants and women electorates. Many of the women candidates did not administer proper campaigning and outreach strategies in the past 2012 municipal elections to attract potential supporters. The main reason for this was the fact that female

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61 Interviewed on December 3, 2014 at MOLSA regional office in Borama during a FGD
aspirants could not travel as much distances as their rival male candidates even though that was a must in order to win the contest. Their movement was restricted by the lack of endurance to long travel hours and most women focused their campaigns on big towns and cities. On the other hand, most of women electorates are illiterates and did not understand what it means to elect a female in terms of promoting the interest and priorities of women in general. Most women voters do not understand democracy and their civic rights in such a way that they can vote for anyone they want (other than the male candidate from their clan) including women candidates.\(^{62}\)

### 8. KEY OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Observing the historical trends of Somaliland women’s participation in elections, there has been a tangible-though marginal-improvement in both the level of women’s participation in those elections and the eventual winning of seats. In between the two municipal elections, women seats increased from only 2 (in 2002) to 10 (in 2012). This phenomenon is by itself an opportunity which requires to be maintained and exploited by women activists and politicians in the future.

As per the findings of this post election study, the perceptions of the general public are not entirely hostile to women in public life. Despite the significant opposition to the concept, majority of people (women and men) believe that women can be more honest and more effective in serving the community, and that women are more development oriented than men. Strengthening the positive public perceptions through more sensitization and awareness campaigns to a level where their threat and/or influence is reduced to minimum is a prospect that can contribute to future advocacy and lobbying efforts.

The affirmative action and/or proposed quota for women and marginalized groups in elected bodies are an opportunity for Somaliland women to establish their ability to change the current situation. Despite the legal setback, the quota has already attracted national opinion and made its way to the House of Representatives and Guurti. Many of the academics and human rights activists also believe that Quota is the only immediate solution to women’s disadvantaged political participation. Relevant stakeholders need to consider the progress already made in this aspect as an opportunity.

The positive attitude of the current government and national parties towards women’s political participation is an opportunity worth seizing. The political platforms of national parties provide some scope for special measure for women, an opportunity that can be capitalized to strengthen the current status of Somaliland women. Women organizations and activists can develop strategies to hold accountable both the government and other political actors and support them implement their own political platforms.

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\(^{62}\) Qamar Mohamed Salah (Erigavo councilor), Kawsar Aw Ali (Salahlay councilor), Muna Qorane Curaage (Odweyne councilor), gave this information during FGGs held at MOLSA on December 5 2013
The number of women appointed to key public offices has increased in the past few years. Even though, such increment is not huge, it is a symbolic one and can point to the general recognition and acceptance of women in decision making structures. The current government has appointed more women to political posts than its predecessors.

Some of the women organizations like NAGAAD have managed to strategically engage some traditional and religious leaders in their efforts to promote the human rights of Somaliland women in general and their political participation in particular. Some of the local traditional and religious leaders have already endorsed the adoption of affirmative action. This means that the traditional positions of some of the most formidable forces against women’s political participation are gradually being influenced.

The adoption of NGP and NYP, the various task forces formed to advocate for women affirmative action, and the increasing number of women politicians and activist all represent positive and hopeful prospects for Somaliland women. While recognizing these successes and opportunities, it is also important to note that only 10 women secured seats in the current local district councils which underline the importance of continued campaigning for measures to support women’s political participation.

9. CONCLUSIONS
In general, the legal and policy frameworks that regulate Somaliland elections (i.e. the constitution, electoral laws and code of conducts) conform to the international standards in terms of achieving free and fair electoral processes with acceptable and legitimate results. The Somaliland constitution guarantees equality of citizens and equal political rights for men and women. There are no constitutional provisions that are likely to specifically or systematically disenfranchise or otherwise disadvantage women. However, the Constitution does not provide for special measures to encourage or increase women’s representation in politics, decision-making and public life in general. The electoral Code of Conduct urges every political party to take all the necessary steps to promote the inclusion of women candidates in their respective list of candidates for each region. The analysis of political parties’ by-laws and their platforms also indicate that there are no obvious policies or internal party systems that deny women to equally participate in political party structures, operations and processes. To the contrary, the political programs of Somaliland national parties theoretically state a preferential treatment to women in their bylaws and platforms.

The National Gender Policy, National Youth Policy and the proposal for an Affirmative Action quota for women are among the recent initiatives launched by the government of Somaliland in order to enhance the political participation of women, youth and marginalized groups. The NYP and NGP have been approved and adopted as policy agenda for the government with the NYP allowing many young aspirants to participate in the 2012 municipal elections. Local CSOs, in collaboration with UN agencies and International Organizations, have executed intensive advocacy campaigns to draw the attention of policy and decision makers towards the need for women quota in elected institutions. The advocacy campaigns by various stakeholders made a tangible progress
and resulted in the Presidential declaration of a proposed quota for women. Such efforts are still underway to realize equitable representation of Somaliland women.

Though not overwhelmingly, the majority (62%) of the ordinary citizens incline towards acceptance of women political participation. The legal rights of women to equal political participation, dedication of women to development and the perceived likelihood of women politicians not to corrupt or abuse their authority were among the principal reasons used by the general public to justify their positive attitude on women in political life. Compared to past elections, women made marginal progress in the 2012 municipal elections; with their representation increasing from 2 seats in 2002 to 10 seats in the current nationwide district councils.

Despite all the above optimistic signals, there are some key constraints with legislative, traditional and religious dimensions that hold back women from achieving substantial representation and political participation. Somaliland constitution and other electoral laws do not include provisions that encourage women to participate in elections. The gender sensitiveness of the political parties’ bylaws and political platforms and the preferential treatments stated therein is not reflected in the actual set up and conduct of those parties. The proposed quota supported by the government and other stakeholders has not been approved by the House of Representatives and therefore has not yet achieved the ultimate goal. Significant percentages of the general public find women’s political participation an unacceptable trend. The rhetoric of most traditional and religious leaders combined with the existing clan structure does not help the situation and continues to be the major factor hindering women from taking part in national elections.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS
In order to strengthen the democratic process of Somaliland and improve the equitable representation of women and men in elected organs and in the decision making process, the study presents recommendations to the national legal, policy and decision makers, civil society organizations and UN agencies. The following recommendations result from the findings and analysis of the study and are intended to assist the different stakeholders to make informed decisions and adopt effective strategies in their approach towards enhancing women’s political participation in Somaliland.

Government
The primary responsibility of respecting the international human rights instruments and mainstreaming gender into national political system lies with the government of Somaliland. In order to fulfill its obligation towards women’s political participation, the government should take the following steps:

- Reinforce the president’s support for the affirmative action by accelerating the approval and adoption of the proposed women quota. This should be done by making a strong case with human rights view to the House of Representatives. The government must influence KULMIYE MPs and other parliamentarians to work together and approve the proposed quota before the upcoming 2015 parliament elections.
The President of the Somaliland has the constitutional authority to appoint the highest positions of government including the council of ministers as stipulated under Article 90(2) of the constitution. Therefore, the government should publicly demonstrate its full support for women empowerment and consider setting an example to other key players by increasing the number of women holding key public positions. Such step will improve the inclusiveness of the government and will narrow the existing gender imbalance.

The tenure of the current Electoral Commission expires in few months and it is a matter of time before they are reappointed or replaced. The government should consider revising the composition and gender balance of NEC so that women are fairly represented in the institution. Given the president nominates three of the seven commissioners; there is an opportunity for the president to nominate one or more females to the Commission.

The NGP is one of the key public initiatives on women’s empowerment and political participation. In cooperation with central government, UN and international organizations engaged in supporting women human rights; relevant Somaliland ministries led by MOLSA should mobilize their resources and put the implementation of gender policy at the top of their agenda for the current and coming years.

MOLSA should play a key role in advocating for the adoption of women quota within the government. The Ministry should also design a long-term strategy to contribute to the efforts towards the long-term transformation of the significant negative perceptions about women’s political participation among the wider general public.

House of Representatives and House of Elders (Guurti)

Even though the existing laws do not disenfranchise women, they do not enable women to achieve equitable representation in elected institutions. There is a need for the parliament and Guurti to recognize the traditional factors that hinder women and thus must consider legal options to address or overcome this problem. The review of the constitution and electoral laws and incorporation of provisions encouraging women’s political participation should be considered as one of the options.

Since any eventual review of electoral laws can take some time, the Parliament should consider the proposed affirmative action as an important policy measure to boost women’s access to decision making circles and for that reason should immediately enact the proposed quota for women and marginalized groups.

The members of the Guurti should particularly support any proposed review on the constitution and electoral laws in order to increase the representation of women in elected institutions and improve their political participation.
National Political Parties

- Just like other elected and public institutions, women are underrepresented within the structures of the political parties. The three national political parties should implement the provisions on preferential treatment within their bylaws and platforms towards women’s representation in party structures. They need to devise and disseminate to the public a mechanism to do that.

- The national political parties should play active role in advocating and supporting the adoption and implementation of the proposed quota for women and marginalized groups. The parties should sensitize and work through their MPs to achieve the approval of the quota bill.

- The national political parties, especially the two opposition parties (WADANI and UCID), should consider nominating or appointing women to NEC as part of their stated commitment to empower Somaliland women for political participation.

CSOs and UN Agencies:

- Women organizations and activists should consider the quota system as the most tangible immediate corridor to equitable representation and organize their work and efforts accordingly. In this vein, the local women organizations and should intensify their advocacy efforts towards the adoption and implementation of women quota.

- In collaboration with other key stakeholders (UN agencies and International organizations), local women organizations should increase public awareness raising efforts and transform, to a minimum level, the prevailing negative attitude about women’s political participation. Traditional and religious leaders should be the primary target for such campaigns with a view to engaging them as partners in reaching wider communities.

- There is a pressing need to design and implement gender-sensitive civic education campaigns to address the low level of political awareness and improve women’s understanding of their basic human rights as well as the benefits of participating in the national decision making process.

- The relevant local CSOs should pressure the government especially the president to increase the number of female figures in important public positions through direct nominations or appointments. The increase of women in public institutions will enhance the public awareness and confidence in women’s ability to serve in leadership positions and contribute overall to development through public institutions.

- Using the media, organize public debates on the importance of women’s political participation to the democratization process and sustainable development of Somaliland.
11. REFERENCES

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1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Title of the consultancy: Somaliland Post-Election Study
Type of Contract: Temporary Consultant Contract

Duration of the assignment: 60 working days

Duty station: Hargeisa, with field visits to three selected regions (Awdal, Togdheer and Sahil regions)

Supervisor: Gender Unit of Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, Somaliland

Date of Issue: July 20, 2013
Closing Date: August 7th, 2013

2. Background
The Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs is the lead agency mandated to advance gender issues in Somaliland. Somaliland developed and adopted a National Gender
Policy in 2011 with the support of UNDP/JPLG. The National Gender Policy has been guided by the principles of the national Constitution, the Reconstruction Development Framework and international conventions and treaties.

The overall objective of the National Gender Policy is to facilitate the mainstreaming of the needs and concerns of women and men, girls and boys in all areas for sustainable and equitable development and poverty eradication. The policy defined the following priority areas: (i) poverty reduction and economic empowerment; (ii) education and training; (iii) health and reproductive health; (iv) political participation and decision making; and (v) gender based violence.

Through decades of conflict, Somali women have contributed immensely to maintaining daily life and keeping local communities functioning. However, they continue to face a great number of challenges in their daily lives and in accessing justice and other basic rights. Women’s participation in the political sphere is limited. The Parliament recently removed discussion on 25% quota for women from its agenda. However, the President, in his annual speech, has reaffirmed his commitment towards the quota and urged the parliament to have it approved by any means. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, along with NAGAAD, the national women’s umbrella association, have held several dialogue sessions with various groups to discuss women’s right to political participation and have reaffirmed their commitment to continuing to advocate for adoption of the quota.

Somaliland held municipal elections on November 28th 2012, which was the first poll for local councils since 2002. The election panel listed nearly 2,400 candidates for 353 council seats. Out of 172 women candidates, 10 were elected as local councilors (an increase from the two women who were in the previous local councils). In March 2013, the only woman in the Guurti (Senate) resigned; as the only woman out of 82 members, she was unable to carry out her job effectively due to the lack of support she received from the other members.

As part of civic education campaigns, MOLSA organized a panel discussion intended to review the performance of women candidates, challenges encountered and strategies for enhancing women’s participation in elected bodies. It was noted that the women candidates demonstrated better performance during election campaigns as a result of capacity building assistance. It was also noted that some traditional leaders dissuaded voters from giving assistance to or voting for female candidates, that some political parties were suspected of rigging votes for male candidates and that while many male candidates garnered financial support from their tribal constituency, most women had to rely on their own resources.

This study is therefore being commissioned in order to assess and document women’s participation in elections in Somaliland, focusing on the recent municipal elections while drawing lessons from historical trends and broader societal issues surrounding women’s participation to influence future interventions.

3. Objectives of the assignment
The purpose of this consultancy is to conduct an study of women’s participation in the 2012 Somaliland municipal elections.

The specific objectives of the consultancy are:

- To assess what factors in the recent municipal elections contributed to the increase in women’s representation, and to determine on the other hand,
what barriers or challenges female aspirants and candidates faced; whilst making an analysis of the historical trends.

- To provide recommendations to political parties, the electoral commission, government ministries (e.g. MOLSA), UN agencies and civil society organizations on how to increase the participation of women in elections specifically and politics more generally; and
- To help local women’s organizations reorient and enhance the effectiveness of advocacy strategies employed for increasing women’s participation in politics and decision making.

The consultant will work closely with the MoLSA Gender Unit to plan and conduct the post-election study.

4. **Scope of the study:**
The study will cover Somaliland and will examine to following key issues:

- The historical trends of women’s participation in politics in Somaliland and the present situation; including challenges, opportunities and lessons learned;
- National legal and policy frameworks regulating multiparty democracy in Somaliland with particular focus on women’s political participation;
- The status of progress made by various government bodies, CSOs and other relevant stakeholders in advocating for and passing the 30% quota for women’s representation in Parliament;
- Analysis of political party by-laws from a gender perspective;
- The role of the Electoral Commission in promoting women’s participation;
- Impact of advocacy being carried out by civil society organizations on advancement of women’s political participation;
- Perception of Somaliland society about women’s participation in politics; and
- Social institutions which influence women’s roles in leadership/politics and how they can be engaged.
- Profiling selected women candidates; both successful and not successful candidates in the immediate past as well as previous elections to use their personal stories to examine the political experience for women in Somaliland and lessons that can be gained from these. These profiles could be inserted into each of the sections to be covered in the bullets above to exemplify the issues presented.

The study will be structured around these issues.

4.1. **Some key research questions for the study will include:**

- What are the attitudes towards women’s political participation in Somaliland? (*views held about women’s involvement in politics and decision-making by the wider public, clerks, traditional leaders and politicians*). How are these attitudes influenced by Islam and Somali culture?
- What are the key challenges to women’s participation in politics and decision-making in Somaliland?
- What policies/by-laws, if any, do political parties in Somaliland have to ensure the inclusion of women in their internal structures?
- What obstacles/barriers are there to women’s equal participation in political party structures, operations and processes?
What are the barriers towards the passing of 30% quota for women in elected bodies/parliament and district councils? What laws or decrees need to be passed to ensure this happens?

What role did traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or stifling women’s political participation in the Somaliland elections?

What factors (personal, political, institutional) made it possible for the successful women candidates to win in the 2012 district elections, and what factors prevented the majority of female candidates from succeeding?

What are civil society organizations doing to support women’s political participation, and what is working/not working? Did advocacy strategies succeed in building constituency within the wider community particularly female electorates? What advocacy strategies can CSOs further implement to support women’s participation in future elections? What recommendations can be made to the different institutions and political players in Somaliland in order to enhance women’s political participation?

5. Methodology

The consultant is required to conduct the post election study in a participatory manner using various study methodologies (described below) that will involve diverse stakeholders, including female politicians, policy makers, women’s organizations, religious and traditional leaders, youth, academics, Guurti, MPs, and electoral institutions, international development organizations; and women and men in elected bodies.

5.1. Sampling

Apart from policy makers and stakeholders to be met during the course of the study, six hundred respondents will be randomly selected from the wider community. This is to find out practices and attitudes held about women’s political participation by local communities.

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<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th># of respondents</th>
<th>% of women</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marodi Jeex region</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Hargeisa)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Togdeer region</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<td>Awdal region</td>
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<td>Sahil region</td>
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The following methods are proposed to collect data and information. The consultant may also propose other relevant additional information collection instruments. The proposed methods of data collection are as follows:

5.2. Document review (References/Materials for the Consultancy):

A review of the following documents is required to familiarize the consultant and identify the issues pertaining to the key issues of post-election study. These documents include:

The MoLSA Gender Unit will provide relevant reference materials for the consultancy which include, but are not limited to:

- The UNDP Somalia CPD
5.3. **Focus Group Discussions**

Information on the key issues will be gathered through a Focus Group Discussion with female political activists, policy makers, academic, staff of MoLSA and other stakeholders from UNDP, international and local organizations engaged in the advancement of women’s political participation in Somaliland.

A list of guiding questions will be required from the consultant, to be approved by MoLSA.

5.4. **Key Informant Interviews**

Key informant interviews will be carried out with selected individuals (politicians, traditional leaders, electoral commission, law makers, political parties and women in elected bodies, UNDP’s Head of Governance and Rule of Law Programme, Project Manager of the Joint Programme on Local Governance and the National Programme Officer for the Gender Project), etc.

A sample of women candidates in the 2012 district council elections (both successful and unsuccessful), as well as women who have been active in politics in one capacity or another over the years, will be profiled, in order to use their personal experiences to enrich the report. These experiences could be used in each specific section of the report to highlight and exemplify the issue covered in the section.

The consultant is expected to develop proper tools for key informant interviews, including, if required, questionnaires, to capture sufficient information from various perspectives on women’s political participation in Somaliland.

5.5. **Information Analysis**

The collected data will be collated, analysed and interpreted systematically by the consultant.

6. **Expected Deliverables**

The main deliverable of this consultancy is a report of the post-election study of women’s political participation in Somaliland with the following components:
a) Literature review on women’s political participation in Somaliland;
b) Detailed post-election study plan agreed with Gender Unit of MoLSA;
c) Development and finalization of the post-election study tools (including pre-testing if required);
d) Data/information collection and analysis;
e) First draft report submitted to Gender Units of MOLSA and UNDP for comments;
f) Presentation of initial findings of the study to a forum of key stakeholders; to be facilitated by the Gender Units of MoLSA and UNDP; and
g) Final post-election study report submitted to MOLSA Gender Unit within 4 weeks after the completion of study.

6.1. Outline of the post election study report

MoLSA requires that the post-election study report contains the different elements mentioned below. All parts should be clearly distinguished from each other and of sufficient quality.

ii. Cover page

iii. Table of contents

iv. An executive summary that can be used as a document in its own right, to include the major findings of the study and summarise conclusions and recommendations

v. Background to the study
   a. The objectives of the post-election study
   b. The main questions and derived sub-questions
      i. A justification of the methods and techniques used (including relevant underlying values and assumptions, theories) with a justification of the selections made (of persons interviewed, villages or projects visited)
   c. Eventual limitations of the post-election study
   d. A presentation of the findings and the analysis thereof, including unexpected, relevant findings (all research questions should be addressed)

vi. Findings based on analysis of the various sections under the scope (legal and policy frameworks, government initiatives, progress made by stakeholders in advocacy for the quota, analysis of political party by-laws, role of Electoral Commission, perceptions, profiles of candidates, etc.

vii. Recommendations should be clearly related to conclusions but presented separately and should be practical and if necessary divided up for various strategies and targeted stakeholders to be employed for increasing women’s political participation in Somaliland

viii. Report appendices, including, interview respondents, questionnaires, references, etc.

7. Duration of the Consultancy

The consultancy will take place starting from September, 2013 for 60 effective days. The final report is anticipated no later than 4 weeks after completion of field work.

8. Support to be provided by MoLSA
9. Qualifications and Competencies

9.1. *Academic Qualifications and experience*

- Master’s degree in relevant social science discipline (preferably gender studies, or political science) with minimum of 4 years’ experience in the field of gender and development with a focus on politics/governance;
- Working experience from the public sector or governance programming in a post-conflict setting;
- Extensive knowledge of political systems; and
- Background in working towards increasing women’s political participation;
- Proven ability in developing and implementing qualitative research methodology and identifying relevant stakeholders with solid understanding of and experience with carrying out multi-stakeholder studies.

9.2. *Competencies:*

- Knowledge of critical gender issues in the Somaliland context;
- Superior skills in gender mainstreaming, analysis and monitoring;
- Excellent communication skills (spoken, written and presentational) in English;
- Relevant knowledge of legislation making process in Somaliland;
- Good interpersonal skills and ability to work in and with teams;
- Ability to set priorities and manage time effectively; and
- Good understanding of democratization process in Somaliland.

10. *Language requirements:*

- Strong written and spoken English language skills

11. *Submission of application and a technical proposal*

Interested Consultants are required to submit a technical proposal (no more than 5 pages) and a proof of similar previous related work to jamuna88@hotmail.com. The technical proposal should include:

- Brief explanation about the Consultant with particular emphasis on previous experience in this kind of work;
- Interpretation of the TOR and how s/he will approach it if awarded the consultancy;
- Draft work plan (including methodology); and
- A detailed proposed budget.

Application received later than the deadline will not be considered. Unsolicited contacts may lead to your application being cancelled and MoLSA will only respond to those applications in which there is further interest.
12.2. Tool 1: General Public Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE 1:

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE (OPTIONAL)  ________________________________________________________________

AGE OF INTERVIEWEE:  ________________________________________________________________

SEX OF INTERVIEWEE (GENDER):  ________________________________________________________________

OCCUPATION:  ________________________________________________________________

REGION/TOWN:  ________________________________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>NOTES FROM ANSWERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>What is your attitude towards women’s political participation in Somaliland?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>If positive, why do you think so?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. If negative, why do you think women political participation is not good? Please explain


5. If a female family member of yours, close relative or a friend decides to run for an election/public office, would you support that decision?

6. If yes, why? If no, why not?

7. How many elections have you casted your vote in the past?

8. Have you voted for a female candidate in any of the elections you voted? If no, please state why?

9. What do you think are the key challenges to women’s participation in politics and decision-making in Somaliland?

10. Have ever attended/read/listened to or watched sensitization campaigns on women’s political participation prior to elections?

11. Are you aware of the proposed quota for women in elected bodies/parliament and district councils?
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>If yes, how do you see it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>What role do you think that traditional and religious leaders played in promoting or stifling women’s political participation in the Somaliland elections such as district council elections in 2012?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>What factors do you think (personal, political, institutional) has made it possible for the 10 female candidates who won seats in the 2012 district council elections?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>What factors do you think has prevented the majority of female candidates (162 female candidates) from succeeding?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>What recommendations can be made to the different institutions and political players in Somaliland in order to enhance women’s political participation?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 12.3. Tool 2: Questionnaire for CSOs

**QUESTIONNAIRE 3:**

**NAME OF THE CSO:**
__________________________________________________________

**AGE OF INTERVIEWEE:**
__________________________________________________________

**TITLE OF THE INTERVIEWEE:**
__________________________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>NOTES FROM ANSWERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td><strong>What are civil society organizations doing to support women’s political participation?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td><strong>Can you tell me any project towards women political participation that your organization has recently implemented or is currently undertaking?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td><strong>What efforts by your organization are working?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td><strong>What efforts are not working and why?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td><strong>Did advocacy strategies succeed in building constituency within the wider community particularly female electorates?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td><strong>What advocacy strategies can CSOs further implement to support women’s participation in future elections?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td><strong>What recommendations can be made to the different institutions and political players in Somaliland in order to enhance women’s political participation?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.4. Tool 3: Guiding Questions for FDGs and Key Informant Interviews

Guiding questions for FGDs and Key Informant Interviews

**Purpose and main objective of the study:** The purpose of this consultancy is to conduct a study on women’s participation in the 2012 Somaliland municipal elections. The main objective is to assess what factors in the recent municipal elections contributed to the increase in women’s representation, and to determine on the other hand, what barriers or challenges female aspirants and candidates faced; whilst making an analysis of the historical trends.

**Focus Groups Discussions:**

“Female political activists, policy makers, academic, staff of MoLSA and other stakeholders from UNDP, international and local organizations engaged in the advancement of women’s political participation in Somaliland”.

Guide questions:

1. In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Somaliland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there is only 1 woman in the House of Representatives, 4 in the cabinet and 10 in the district councils. Why is that?

2. What were the main obstacles that prevailed before the past 2012 elections?

3. Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women’s political participation prior to elections in 2012?

4. How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections?

5. How women’s role in politics/decision-making is traditionally perceived by the society?

6. What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women’s participation in 2012 district elections?
7. How did the government perform to support women’s political participation in past elections?

8. What role can Somaliland government (politicians, law makers, ministers, etc) play in promoting women’s political participation in the Somaliland elections?

**Key Informant Interviews:**

“Key informant interviews will be carried out with selected individuals (politicians, traditional leaders, electoral commission, law makers, political parties and women in elected bodies, UNDP’s Head of Governance and Rule of Law Programme, Project Manager of the Joint Programme on Local Governance and the National Programme Officer for the Gender Project),”

Guide questions:

1. What policies/by-laws, if any, do political parties in Somaliland have to ensure the inclusion of women in their internal structures

2. What obstacles/barriers are there to women’s equal participation in political party structures, operations and processes?

3. What are the barriers towards the passing of 25% quota for women in elected bodies/parliament and district councils? What laws or decrees need to be passed to ensure this happens?

4. What laws or decrees need to be passed to ensure this happens?

5. What role did traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or stifling women’s political participation in the Somaliland elections?

6. What factors (personal, political, institutional) made it possible for the successful women candidates to win in the 2012 district elections, and what factors prevented the majority of female candidates from succeeding?

7. What are civil society organizations doing to support women’s political participation, and what is working/not working?
## 12.4. List of FGD and Key informant participants

### List of key informants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TEL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Anab Omar Ileye</td>
<td>Kulmiye</td>
<td>Women’s wing</td>
<td>0634401584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Halimo Osman Rage</td>
<td>UCID</td>
<td>Women’s wing</td>
<td>0634413639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Fatumo Shaacib</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>Executive committee</td>
<td>0634421201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Yassmin Ali Raygal</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>Office Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mohamed</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>Office employee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Amina Milgo</td>
<td>NAFIS</td>
<td>Executive director</td>
<td>0634090828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mohamed Farah</td>
<td>Academy for peace</td>
<td>Executive director</td>
<td>063 4474077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Yasmin Saed Liban</td>
<td>Nagaad</td>
<td>Gender project officer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Bihi Iman Egeh</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>National Gender Program officer</td>
<td>0634474201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Abdisalan Yusuf Farah</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Access to justice officer</td>
<td>0634422930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Jama Mohamed Askar</td>
<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>0634848440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Abdi Abdilahi</td>
<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Head of Social Dept</td>
<td>063 4705970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Abdishakur Aden Ahmed</td>
<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Gender Section staff</td>
<td>0634112760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Luul Aden Geddi</td>
<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Gender Section staff</td>
<td>063 4460607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Abdirazak Mohamed Askar</td>
<td>Traditional leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>0634470613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Mohamed Hersi</td>
<td>Traditional leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Abdi Osman</td>
<td>Traditional leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>0634837331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Hassan Badmaah</td>
<td>Traditional leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>0634117236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Hassan Hussein Abdi</td>
<td>MOLSA</td>
<td>Technical Consultant</td>
<td>063 4418302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20. Abdifatah Ibrahim Sheik  
NEC  
NEC commissioner  
0634035590

21. Shukri Ismail Bandare  
Ministry of Environment  
Minister, and Ex NEC commissioner  
0634426085

22. Farah Ahmed Elmi  
WORDA

23. Saed Mohamed Osman  
House of Elders  
0634444463

List of FGD participants

**BUROA FGD List of participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME OF PARTICIPANT</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>TEL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hersi khalif yusuf</td>
<td>Waapo</td>
<td>4439685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Faisa jaruur elmi</td>
<td>Ururka Nabada</td>
<td>4310705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hodan hashi bare</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>4432911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Layla Mohamed Abdale</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>4439327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sahrajamaabdi</td>
<td>Kulmiye</td>
<td>4319125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Asha Ali qabile</td>
<td>Molsa</td>
<td>4438909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Aamina Mohamed nuur</td>
<td>CCPRS</td>
<td>4434756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hinda jamac hersi</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>4389999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Farhan yusuf Ahmed</td>
<td>Student university</td>
<td>4115720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Yusuf aden nuur</td>
<td>UCID</td>
<td>4435652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hargeisa FGD List of participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME OF PARTICIPANT</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>TEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
1. Ilhan Hassan Ali  
   Candidate Rays party  
   4418668

2. Qamar Mohamed Salah  
   Councillor Erigavo  
   4324640

3. Deeka Abdiilahi  
   Candidate Rays party  
   4486663

   Councilor Salahlay  
   4420467

5. Fadumo Mohamed Omer  
   Civil society

6. Muna Qorane Curaage  
   Councceler Odwayne  
   4326262

7. Fadumo Ahmed Sead  
   University student  
   4010955

### Borama FGD List of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME OF PARTICIPANT</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>TEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abdikani Da,udd Qalinle</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>4455493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Su’ad Jama Qalinle</td>
<td>Report</td>
<td>4454474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sead Muse Hashi</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>4458192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aamina Iidle H. Dahir</td>
<td>KULMIYE</td>
<td>613065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fadumo Yusuf Hussein</td>
<td>Talowadag NGO</td>
<td>4456430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hawa Rooble Cirdheere</td>
<td>Civil society</td>
<td>4456387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khadra Osman</td>
<td>Wadani</td>
<td>4512065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mohamed Nuur Elmi</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>4446139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Yusuf Dahir Ibrahim</td>
<td>Ex counselor</td>
<td>4481442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mohamed Adam Kacab</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>4507252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shucayb Kaahiye Ahmed</td>
<td>Ucid</td>
<td>4445541</td>
</tr>
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List of enumerators

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<tr>
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<th>BERBERA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>BASHER HERSI NOOR</td>
<td>ADNAN OSMAN YASIIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>KAYSE MOHAMED OSUAN</td>
<td>ABDILAHI ALI HUSSEIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>MOHAMED MAHAMOUD OSUAN</td>
<td>ISMAHAN MOHAMED LIBAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>MUNA DAHIR MOHAMED</td>
<td>ABDILAHI AHMED MOHAMED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>IFRAH HUSSEIN AWAD</td>
<td>NIMCO AHMED MOHAMED</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NIMCO HASSAN IBRAHIM</td>
<td>FARHIA ABDIRAHMAN MOHAMOUD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>SADIAESMAIL MOHAMED</td>
<td>JAMA ISMAIL MOHAMED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>NAJMAABDIESSA</td>
<td>ABDIKHALIQ ABDIRASHID ABDIRAHMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>MAWLIID MOHAMEDHERSI</td>
<td>IBRAHIM ESSA OMER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ABDIRAHMAN SULEIMAN ALI</td>
<td>MOHAMED YUSUF ABDI</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>MUNAAHMED HASSAN</td>
<td>SAMATAR SH. ADEN SAMATAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>HAMDA YUSUF ADEN</td>
<td>ABDIRAHMAN ABDILAHI ALI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>KHADRA ALI ABDI</td>
<td>ABDIFATAH MOHAMED ABDIRAHMAN</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>SABAAD MOHAMED AYDIID</td>
<td>AYANLE ABDIRAHMAN IBRAHIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>AFAAF OSMAN HUSSEIN</td>
<td>HASSAN MUHUMED HASSAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>MAWLIID ADEN AHMED</td>
<td>NIMCO OMER NUUR</td>
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<td>ABDISHAKURESMAILADEN</td>
<td>BADRA AARE NUUR</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>KHADDAR ABDIRAHAMSEAD</td>
<td>NUURA DU.AALE OMER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name 1</td>
<td>Name 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ABDIWAHAB MOHAMED JAMA</td>
<td>NASRA YUSUF OSMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>MOHAMED ESMAIL HASSAN</td>
<td>FAISA OSMAN FARAH</td>
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