



# SONSAF

Somaliland Non-State Actors Forum



## CIVIL SOCIETY HEADCOUNT OBSERVATION MISSION REPORT

---

November 2022

## Acknowledgement

SONSAF would like to express appreciation to the Somaliland Civil Society organizations who took part in headcount observation mission, with a special thanks to AYODA, SOYDAVO, YOVENCO, SVO, SNDF, SONYO and Taakulo organizations for their valuable input in deploying observers across the six regions of the country.

SONSAF would also like to thank the Commission for the Registration of Political Associations and Approval of Political Parties for their accreditation of headcount observers and technical support during the headcount process.

## Table of content

Acknowledgement .....	ii
Table of content .....	iii
List of Tables and Figures.....	iv
Acronyms and abbreviations .....	v
Executive Summary.....	vi
<b>Section One: Political Associations Headcount Process.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1Background.....	1
1.2 The Dispute of the Opening of Political Associations .....	1
1.3 The Commission of Political Associations and Approval of Political Parties (Legal Frame).....	2
1.4 Roadmap for Opening Political Associations in 2022.....	3
1.5 Procedures Registration of the Political Association.....	4
1.6 The complaint about the policy .....	4
1.7 The Results of Phase One.....	5
1.8 Women and Opening of Political Associations .....	6
1.9 History of SONSAF Observation Mission.....	7
<b>Section Two: Civil Society Headcount Observation Mission.....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 Procedures to confirm the thousand supporters.....	10
2.3. Intimidation at Headcount Locations.....	12
2.4 Refusal for Supporters to Reach Headcount Locations.....	13
2.5 Disturbances Experienced During the Headcount .....	14
2.6 Announcement of results on headcount site.....	15
2.7 Special care for the disability people .....	16
2.8 Presence of Police at the Headcount Locations.....	17
2.9 Ineligible personnel on the headcount locations .....	17
2.10 Challenges encountered by the headcount observers.....	18
<b>Section Three: Post- Headcount phases .....</b>	<b>19</b>
3.1 Overview of the Political Environment .....	19
3.2 Announcement of Headcount Results .....	19

3.3 Result Acceptance by the Unsuccessful Political Associations .....	20
<b>Section four: Conclusion and Findings .....</b>	<b>22</b>
4.1 Conclusion.....	22
4.2 Findings.....	23
4.2 Recommendations.....	23
4.2.1 Recommendations to Commission for the political associations registration and the approval of political parties.....	23
4.2.2 Recommendations to other election/political registration stakeholders .....	24
References .....	26

## List of Tables and Figures

### List of Tables

Table 1: List of Successful political association phase one.....	5
Table 2: List of women holding significant position in political associations.....	7
Table 3: History of SONSAF on observation missions .....	8
Table 4: Schedule for the headcount of thousand supporters per region .....	10
Table 5: List of successful political associations on the headcount phase .....	20

### List of Figures

Figure 1: Roadmap of Opening political associations.....	3
figure 2: confirming supporter's IDs     figure 3: Supporters arrangement in Lines..	11
figure 4: Intimidations reported during the headcount .....	12
figure 5: Supporters reach to the headcount locations.....	13
figure 6: Movement of Supporters during the headcount time.....	15
figure 7: Onsite result announcement by the commissione.....	16
figure 8: Consideration provided to people with disability .....	16
figure 9: Police presence on the headcount locations .....	17
figure 10: Ineligible persons on the headcount locations    Figure 11: Ineligible persons in categories.....	18

## Acronyms and abbreviations

AYODA	African Youth Development Association
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
IDs	Identification Document
NEC	National Election Commission
SONSAF	Somaliland Non-State Actors Forum
SONYO	Somaliland National Youth Organisation
SOYDAVO	Somaliland Youth Development & Voluntary Organization
SNDF	Somaliland National Disability Forum
SVO	Steadfast Voluntary Organization
UDUB	United People's Democratic Party
YOVENCO	Youth Volunteers for Development and Environment Conservation

## Executive Summary

This report evaluates the process of the headcount phase of the political associations. During the headcount phase SONSAF in collaboration with other civil society organizations in the region deployed a total of 90 headcount observers. In the headcount phase fourteen political associations were contesting, as a result ten political associations were successful. This report presents the finding of the headcount observation mission conducted by the civil society organizations led by SONSAF. Historically this is the third time that political associations are contesting to qualify to become national political parties. The observers reported the overall headcount phase was successful across the country. However, the correct procedures for conducting the headcount phase were not followed, children under the age of 15 years were reported to be members of the thousand required supporters of political associations in each region. This contravenes the election law 91/2020. On the other hand, according to policies of the headcount phase, during the headcount day, supporters of the political association should have their national IDs/voting cards, observers reported this policy was not practiced across the country. Consequently, supporters gathered in their required destinations without having their national IDs/Voting cards, further increasing the possibility of children under the ages of 15 years being counted as members of the political associations.

Furthermore, the result announcement procedures adopted by the commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties was not consistent. Movement of supporters from one political association to another political association has been observed during the headcount phase, the loophole was that different timings had been allocated to the political associations. It was encouraging to see people with disability being given special provisions during the headcount to have better access to the headcount locations. It was the first time in Sool region, in the capital city of Las'anod the first headcount phase occurred, though the number of supporters had been reduced to 400 supporters instead of thousand supporter. Although this is the third time Somaliland is having a registration of new political parties, no technological improvements have been made to the process from previous elections. The traditional procedures/method of counting one by one was used, which can create confusion and room for gaps in accuracy and errors, for example; there is a possibility of counting one supporter multiple times, as there is the tendency for people to move about during the counting process. Out of the unsuccessful four political associations Ubax political association was courageous and publicly admitted their loss and congratulated the other successful political associations

# SECTION ONE



**Political Associations  
Headcount Process**

## Section One: Political Associations Headcount Process

### 1.1 Background

Since the referendum on the Somaliland constitution in 2001, which 97% of the Somaliland population authorised, the state has moved from a clan-based political system to a multiparty system. Article 9 (1,2) reveals that the country shall have three political parties<sup>2</sup>. As a result, the first Somaliland political associations came into existence, namely Asad Hormood, UDUB, UCID, Kulmiye and SAHAN. In an election held in December 2002, UDUB, UCID and Kulmiye moved from political associations to national political parties for ten years. Again in 2012, the license of the political parties expired, and the establishment of new political associations came into existence; where 15 political associations were successfully registered in phase one<sup>3</sup>, and during the headcount process, the following seven political associations were made to contest the local elections in 2012 (Kulmiye, Ucid, Waddani, Rays, Dalsan, Umadda and Xaqsoor<sup>4</sup>). The commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties declared UCID, Kulmiye and Waddani as the three national political parties, starting from December 2012 until December 2022<sup>5</sup>. The previous elections in 2002 and 2012 were combined elections which served two purposes: to elect the local councillors as well as the political associations, which would determine which of the three national political parties would proceed to contest national elections.

### 1.2 The Dispute of the Opening of Political Associations

The opening of the political parties has unleashed mixed reactions from the public, government, the house of representatives, and the opposition parties. Although, it was known that Somaliland had three elections in the horizon in 2022, it was not clear the modality and the order of the elections, simply because of legal gaps and strategic political tactics.

It became apparent during the official public announcement from the Minister of information and national guidance on 12<sup>th</sup> December 2021 that the registration of the political association election was high on the agenda and within its timeframe according to the ruling party. Additionally, the minister

---

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.somalilandlaw.com/somaliland\\_constitution.htm](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/somaliland_constitution.htm)

<sup>3</sup> <http://samotalis.blogspot.com/2011/12/liiska-ururada-siyaasada-sl-ee.html>

<sup>4</sup> SONSAF and Saferworld (2013), Somalilanders Speak; lessons from the November 2012 local elections

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2012/dec/wararka\\_maanta26-20327.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2012/dec/wararka_maanta26-20327.htm)

stated that the election of the political associations would be held first, followed by the presidential elections<sup>6</sup>.

This created an outrage and series of disputes between the ruling party and the opposition parties. As a direct result of this announcement the opposition party responded to the minister by claiming that the presidential election should be the first election, followed by opening of the new political associations<sup>7</sup>. The election dispute continued, and several interpretations of Act 14/2021 on opening political associations, which led to confusion among the citizens of Somaliland. The parliamentarians also had internal disagreements about whether the act registration of the political association act was valid as it stands, or an amendment was mandatory. Finally, 46 parliamentarians and 24 prominent politicians wrote a letter of interpretation to the supreme court. The supreme court responded on 16<sup>th</sup> January 2022, in which they stated that registration of political associations is open as per Act 14/2011, and the election of the political association will be done through direct elections but there must be an amendment in the law to accommodate. The decision of the Supreme Court of Somaliland was welcomed by all stakeholders.

### **1.3 The Commission of Political Associations and Approval of Political Parties (Legal Frame)**

The commission consists of seven members appointed by the Somaliland president; the official term is two years starting from the approval date of the members of parliament. The commission's structure includes a chairman, vice chairman, and general secretary, which they elect internally. The first commission was appointed in 2002 and since Somaliland had two other commissions for registering political associations and approval of political parties in 2012 and 2022. The new commission's appointment is mandatory upon opening of political associations, which is carried out at an interval of every ten years. The current governing act for the registration of political associations is Act 14/2011, which is an amendment from the version of the same Act of 14/2000.

---

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vf8clrvibg>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JxKwgtyJoe4>

## 1.4 Roadmap for Opening Political Associations in 2022

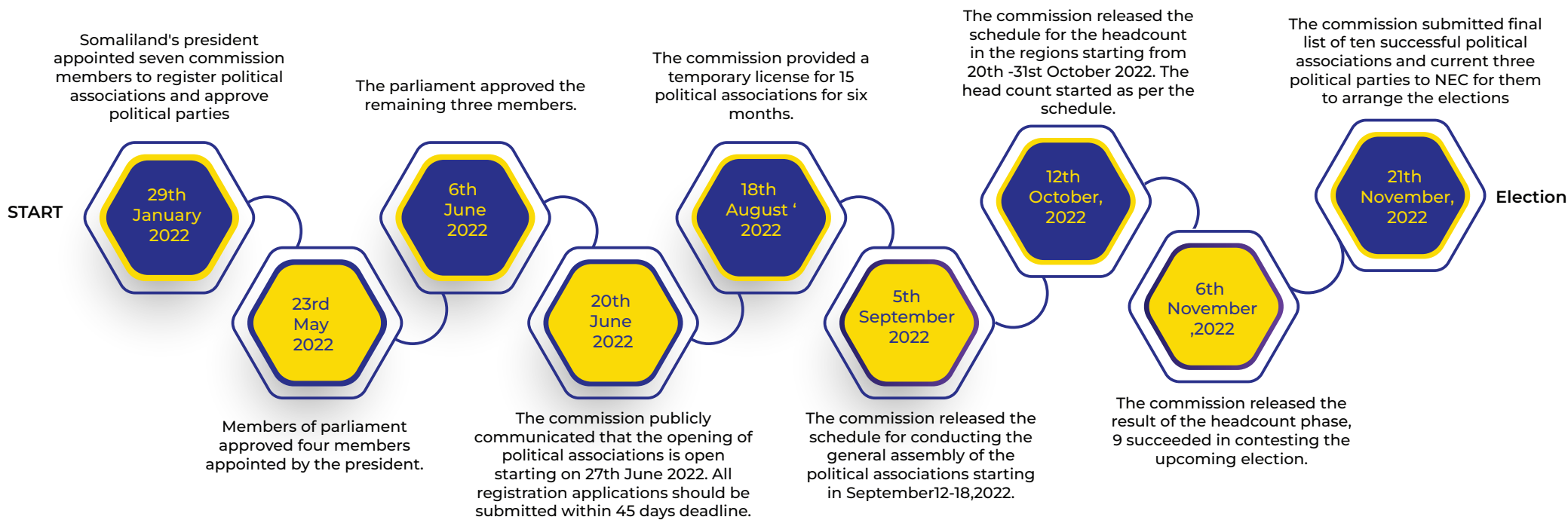


Figure 1: Roadmap of Opening political associations

## 1.5 Procedures Registration of the Political Association

There are several hurdles that must be crossed by the new political associations before the election begins. To prepare, the commission developed a policy to guide the whole process holistically. The policy was developed from Act 14/2011 and was publicly available to the wider public. The commission developed the agreed policy to support in the transparency of the headcount procedures.

The following are mandatory procedures and policies that each new political associations must fulfil before the final stage:

- 1) The fully filled application forms and receipt of the registration payment must be submitted by the political association to REC.
- 2) Once this is accepted, the political associations must organise and conduct their general assembly, in which they elect the association's leadership (the chairman of the political association).
- 3) Upon completing the above requirements, each political association shall submit to the commission copies and documentations that outline information on the location of their general assembly, proof of the leadership of the association and the constitution of the political association.
- 4) The political associations shall further prove that they have offices in all the regions of the country with one thousand registered members by submitting a list of the members in all six regions including their national and electoral ID cards.

## 1.6 The complaint about the policy

On 26<sup>th</sup> of September 2022, the leaders of the Galool political associations filed a formal complaint to the constitutional court. The objective of their complaint was to clarify articles in the policy released by the commission in reference to the current governing Act 14/2011. According to Galool the new policy is against Act 14/2011, based on the following arguments:

- 1 According to Galool political association, Act 14/2011 mentions only that each political association shall have supporters in each region, but the new policy includes during the headcount the supporters should be arranged in lines consisting of 100 each, this is not included in the Act 14/2011 and therefore a modification.
- 2 The other claims from Galool political association were concerned with citizens' confidentiality and right to privacy; keeping the records and IDs of the one thousand supporters in the political parties' offices is a threat to the privacy of the citizens, the Act 14/2011 does not state that

political parties get to keep the record of the one thousand supporters IDs in the political association's office.

As a result, Galool political association wrote a complaint to the commission, however, the commission did not respond and Galool escalated their complaint to the supreme court. On 28<sup>th</sup> of September, the constitutional court responded to Galool political association, the constitutional court concluded the complaint on the following grounds:

- The constitutional court unequivocal decision on the complaint was rejected. The decision further emphasised that the new policy released by the commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties is not against the political registration Act 14/2011 and a just procedure was adopted by the commission to assess each political association in line with Act 12/2011.

Consequently, Galool political association did not partake in the process of the headcount phase based on their complaint. This meant that although, Galool fulfilled the first stage of the process and were part of the 15 political association (see figure 1, below), Galool did not proceed to the next stage of the process.

### 1.7 The Results of Phase One

After scrutiny, the commission reviewed the documentations for the first phase and publicly announced the number of political associations that had fulfilled the requirements to qualify for the headcount phase. The commission concluded that the below associations have fully fulfilled the requirements and are ready to advance to the next stage.

Figure. 1 conveys the names of the final list.

Table 1: List of successful political association phase one

No.	Political association name
1	Waaberi
2	Shacabka
3	Horseed
4	Rejo
5	Daljir
6	Barwaaqo
7	Hilaac
8	Miisan
9	Mideeye
10	Ogaal

11	Galool
12	Kaah
13	Iftin
14	Talowadaag
15	Ubax

### 1.8 Women and Opening of Political Associations

Historically, since the declaration of the Republic of Somaliland the opening of the registration of new political associations occurred only three times in total (2002, 2012, and 2022). As a patriarchal society, women are generally not given or encouraged to seek higher positions due to several factors including cultural barriers, lack of public confidence and network. However, in 2011, Foosiya Haji Adan publicised the opening of Peace, Democracy, and Prosperity political association, but failed in the headcount stage. In the current opening of the new political associations rally, Roda Abdi Muse declared the opening of the Ogaal political association; this is the second time in Somaliland's history that a woman is leading a political association that could move to become a political party. Roda and her association have fulfilled all the requirements and is on the list for the final ten that will run for elections.



Photo1: Roda Abdi Muse, Ogaal chairperson lecturing on public gathering

In addition, this year marks a new era for Somaliland's women. We have witnessed several credible women given a high rank position within the political association structures. It's a new day for Somaliland politics as we observe women negotiating their positions within the political associations structure to secure significant positions. These are women with strong educational background that want to have a significant influence. The positions include vice chairpersons, general secretaries, and deputy general secretaries. The below table Summarises the names of the women and their positions.

Table 2: List of women holding significant position in political associations

No	Name	Title	Political associations
1	Rooda Cabdi Muuse	Chairperson	OGAAL
2	Saynab Ali Hassan	Vice Chairperson of Social Affairs	KAH
3	Khadra Haji Gaydh	General secretary	KAH
4	Salma Abdirahman Sheikh	General secretary	WAABERI
5	Hamda Jama Aali:	Vice Chairperson	BARWAAQO
6	Muna Bile Hersi	First Vice Chairperson	HILAAC
7	Fadumo hassan Mahame	Second Vice Chairperson	HORSEED
8	Nimco Sahardid	Vice Chairperson	UBAX
9	Salma Adan Hashi	General secretary	UBAX
10	Qadan Adan Abdilaahi	First Vice Chairperson	TALO-WADAAG
11	Dr Hafsa Kayse Ismacil	Deputy General secretary	TALO-WADAAG
12	Nadira Goray	Vice Chairperson of Women and Social Affairs	SHACABKA
13	Ayaan Ismaciil	Vice Chairperson	RAJO
14	Sahra Abdirahman Adan	Third Chairperson	DALJIR
15	Nura Ismail Mohamed	General secretary	GALLOOL
16	Mustalifa Awil Saleban	Vice General secretary	GALLOOL

### 1.9 History of SONSAF Observation Mission

SONSAF is the umbrella organisation that unites the voice of civil society in Somaliland. SONSAF is mandated to provide local election observation missions, which deploy neutral observers to all election-related engagements. Upon the completion of the observation mission, SONSAF, in collaboration with other civil society organisations, publishes an election report based on the observers' findings. For example, in the current political association's headcount phase in 2022, SONSAF deployed 90 observers covering all 14 political

associations across all the regions. The observers have been accredited by the commission of registration of the political parties and approval of political parties by providing an official movement letter informing the political association and headcount security of SONSAF's observation missions. The table indicates the SONSAF election observation missions since the 2010 presidential elections.

**Table 3: History of SONSAF on observation missions**

2010 Presidential election	2012 local council elections	2016/2017 Voter Registration	2017 Presidential elections	2020/2021 Voter registration	2021 parliamentary and local elections	2022 Political associations headcount observation mission
SONSAF deployed 677 observers	SONSAF deployed 800 trained observers	SONSAF deployed 180 voter registration observers covering 65% of the registration centres	SONSAF deployed 667 observers in the country's polling stations, covering 41% of the polling stations	SONSAF deployed 66 voter registration observers, covering 50% of the voter registration centres	SONSAF deployed 850 domestic observers inside the polling stations and 90 mobile observers across the six regions, covering 51% of the polling stations	SONSAF deployed 90 headcount observers in all the regions covering 100% of all the 14 political associations.

# SECTION TWO



**Civil Society Headcount  
Observation Mission**

## Section Two: Civil Society Headcount Observation Mission

### 2.1 Introduction

As a key stakeholder in the democratisation process the CSO's observation of the headcount process is crucial. The observation is fundamental to conclude in assessing if the process was fair, transparent, and creditable. It provides the checks and balances needed in any democratic setting.

SONSAF, in collaboration with other civil society organisations across the regions, managed to arrange the local observer's mission in each region. Each region was led by the following organisation:

- Awdal - AYODA
- Marodijeh - SONSAF
- Sahil- YOVENCO
- Togdher- SOYDAVO
- Sanaag- Takulo
- Sool- SVO

Each organisation began holding meetings with other CSOs in the region to prepare for the deployment of the observers in their respective region. Each lead organisation brought together 14 observers as part of the organised mission, totalling to 90 observers across the six regions.

Once the headcount observation was completed, the observation forms were sent to SONSAF headquarters within the same day.



Photo2: Civil society Observers in Erigavo, Sanaag Region

Meanwhile, the commission released the official schedule for the headcount (see table4). According to the shared plan, the commission had two days in each region to complete the headcount for each political association. However, Sool region was approached differently; day one was organised to inspecting and visiting the political association's branch/offices, and day two was aimed at verifying the one thousand members headcount process.

In each region, the commission released the locations of the headcount, the total duration of the process was 12 days starting from the 20<sup>th</sup> until 31<sup>st</sup> of October 2022. The headcount process occurred only in the regional capital of each region. The political associations had been given the preference of the headcount venues; some held it in Halls, others in stadiums. However, each association had to submit the location a day prior to the head-count operation.

**Table 4: Schedule for the headcount of thousand supporters per region**

Region	Date
Awdal Region	20 <sup>th</sup> - 21 <sup>st</sup> October 2022
Marodijeh Region	22 <sup>nd</sup> –23 <sup>rd</sup> October 2022
Sahil Region	24 <sup>th</sup> – 25 <sup>th</sup> October 2022
Togdheer Region	26 <sup>th</sup> – 27 <sup>th</sup> October 2022
Sanaag Region	28 <sup>th</sup> – 29 <sup>th</sup> October 2022
Sool Region	31 <sup>st</sup> October 2022

Source: Commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties.

## **2.2 Procedures to confirm the thousand supporters**

According to the headcount procedures signed by the commission, during the headcount day the political association had to prepare the following; firstly, arrange the supporters at the headcount location as per the agreed time, secondly, the supporters had to bring their national IDs/Voter cards during the headcount day and thirdly, arrange the supporters in lines of 100 (totalling thousand). The observers checked whether this procedure was followed, and the results of the consolidated data are analysed below.

### Confirming Supporters' IDs

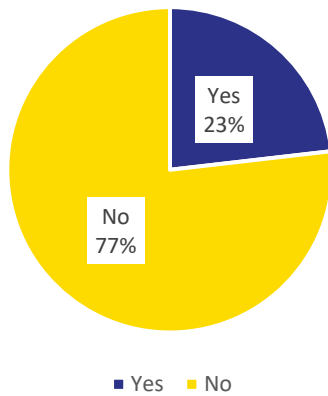


figure 2: Confirming supporters' IDs

### Supporters Arrangement in Lines

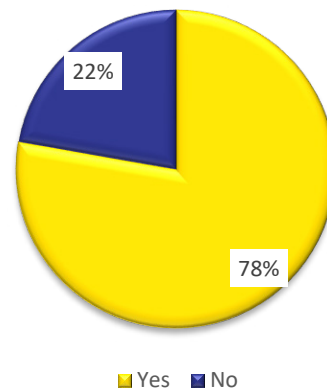


figure 3: Supporters arrangement in lines

Observers reported during the headcount process across the six regions, checking the IDs was one of the critical considerations; 77% of the observers reported that the commission was not matching the ID cards to the individual supporter, while 23% reported that the commission was asking the supporters to show their IDs. In addition, 78% of the observers reported that the supporters were in lines of 100 individuals, while 22% reported that this procedure was not followed.



Photo 3: Commissioners counting the thousand supporters of Waberi political association at Burao, Togdher region



Photo4: Supporters of Kaah Political Association during the headcount day in Burao, Togdheer region

### 2.3. Intimidation at Headcount Locations

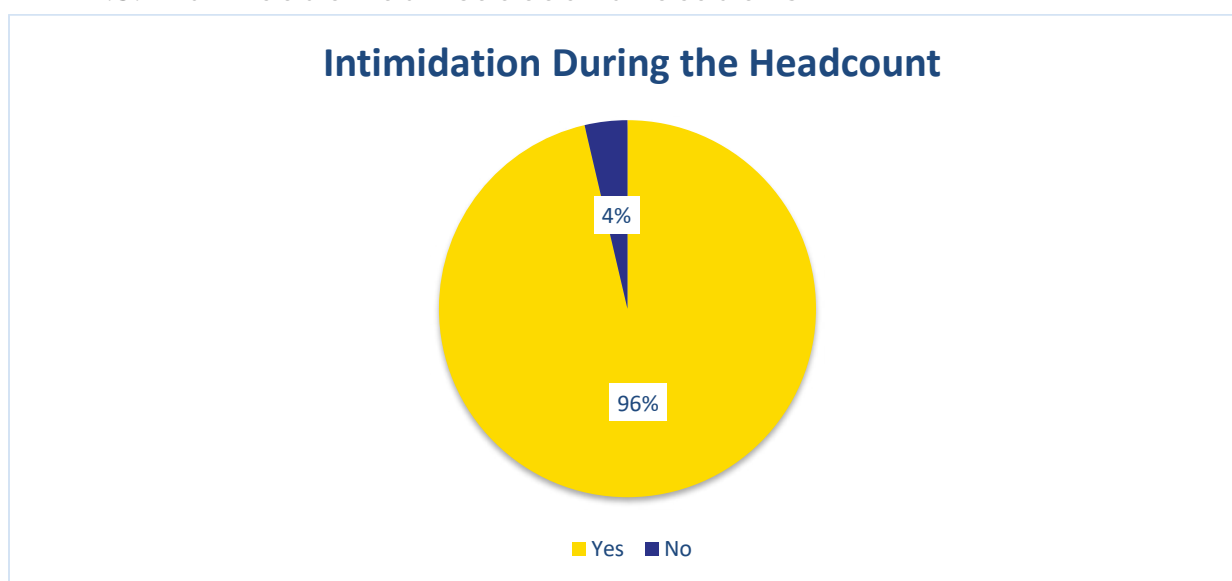


figure 4: Intimidations reported during the headcount

The observation mission also looked at intimidation inside and the surrounding environment of the headcount location; 96% of the observers reported that they did not see any form of intimidation, while 4% confirmed minor incidents occurred between police and supporters during the headcount.

## 2.4Refusal for Supporters to Reach Headcount Locations

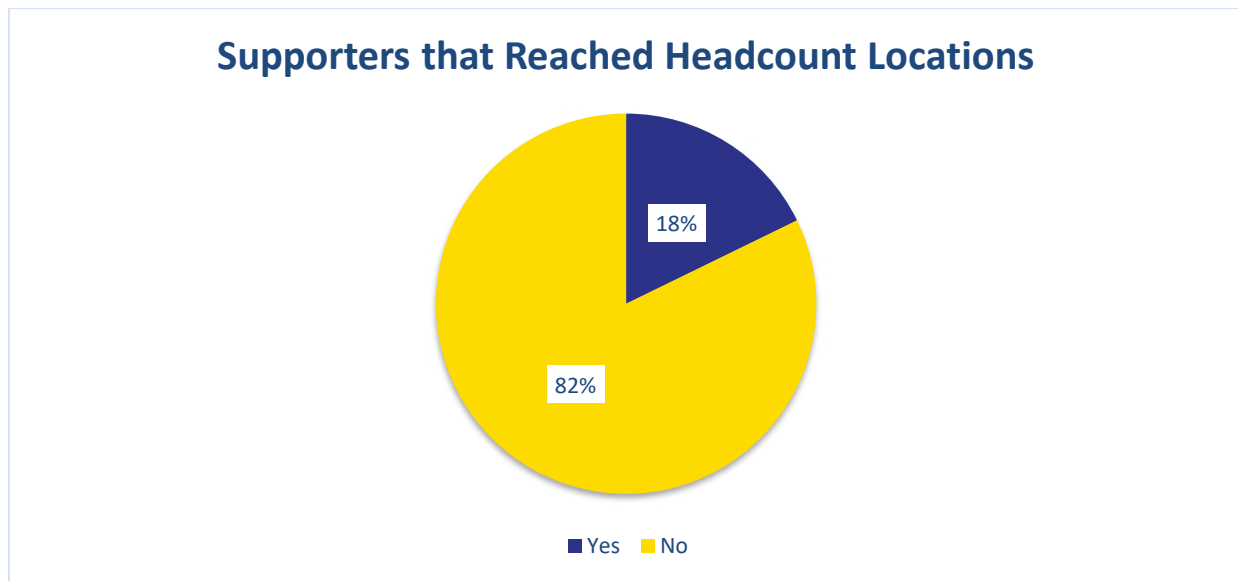


figure 5: Supporters reached the headcount locations

Before the headcount phase, there was speculations in the country that the current government was opposed to the formation of specific political associations. The only way to stop that was by not allowing supporters of those political associations to reach the headcount location. The observation mission had considered this by overseeing whether followers of political associations were refused to enter the headcount location. 82% of observers reported that they did not see supporters that were prevented from reaching the headcount location. Only 18% of the observers reported supporters of the political associations were not allowed to go to the headcount locations, some of the supporters reported that the police told them the headcount location is occupied. Others were given misinformation and mentioned that the headcount had already been completed.



Photo5: Supporters of Hilaac Political association at Berbera, Sahil Region

#### 1.4 Disturbances Experienced During the Headcount

The observation mission also looked at the behaviours of the political associations' supporters during the counting process.

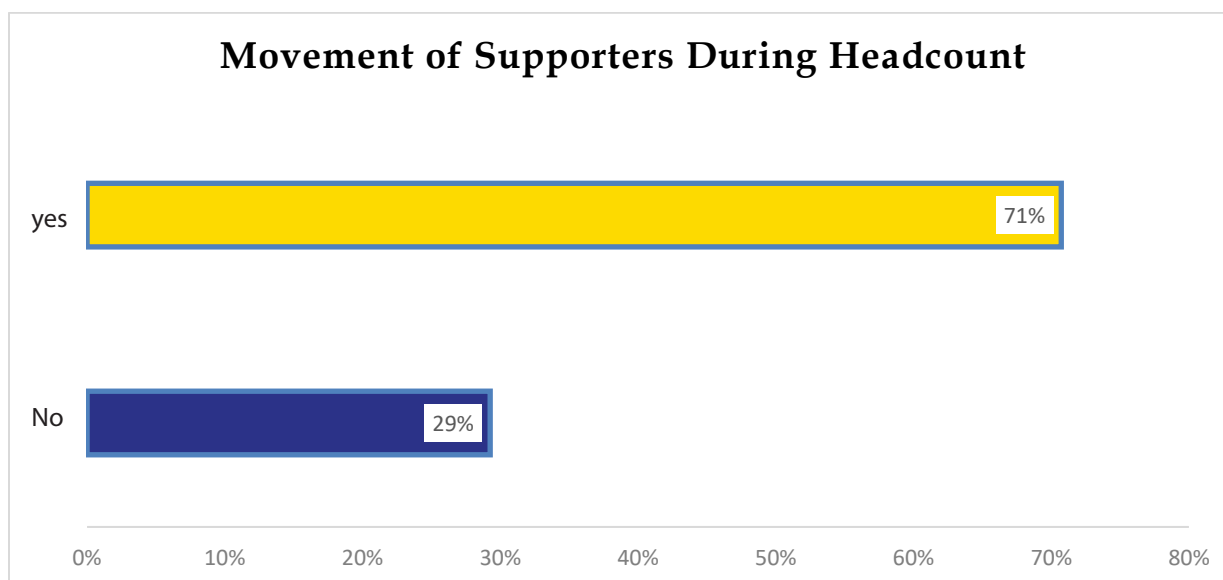


figure 6: Movement of supporters during the headcount

71% of the observers reported that they had seen supporters moving to join other lines during the counting process; this means some of the supporters were double counted as they were in two different lines, while 29% of observers reported they did not see any movement of supports.

## 2.6 Announcement of results on headcount site

After completing headcount for each political associations, the commission adopted different types of result announcements; some of the commissioners announced the result on the site, while others documented the results and only shared the result with the leaders from the political associations. For example, 74% of the observers reported that the commission announced the outcome at the headcount location. Meanwhile, 24% said that the Commission were only sharing the result with the leadership of the political associations in which the leaders informed the crowd that they had reached a thousand supporters. These two different types of result announcements may bring dispute in the future and a uniformed approach is inevitable.

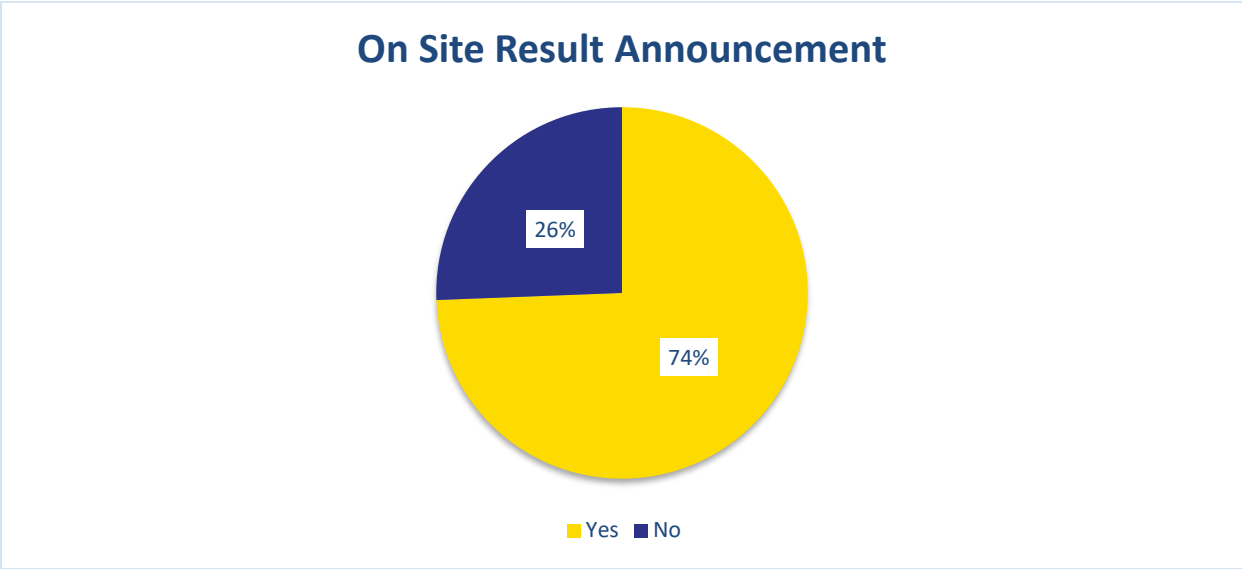


figure 7: Onsite result announcement by the commission

### 2.7 Special care for the disability people

During the headcount process, 82% of the observers reported that special care had been provided to the disabled person to reach the headcount locations, while 12% stated the disabled persons were not helped to get to the headcount location. One of the critical challenges for disabled people during the election, voter registration, and headcount for political associations is the accessibility to polling stations and voting sites, which continues to be an ongoing concern.

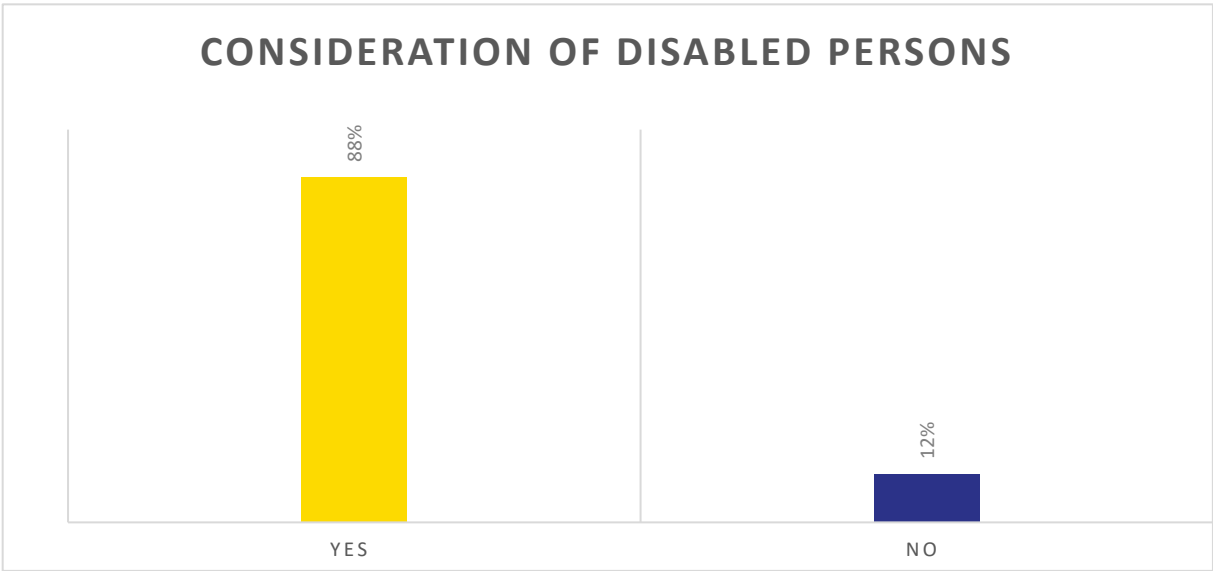


figure 8: Consideration provided to people with disability

## 2.8 Presence of Police at the Headcount Locations

Police presence during the headcount is crucial to ensure overall peace and tackle disputes in case they occur.

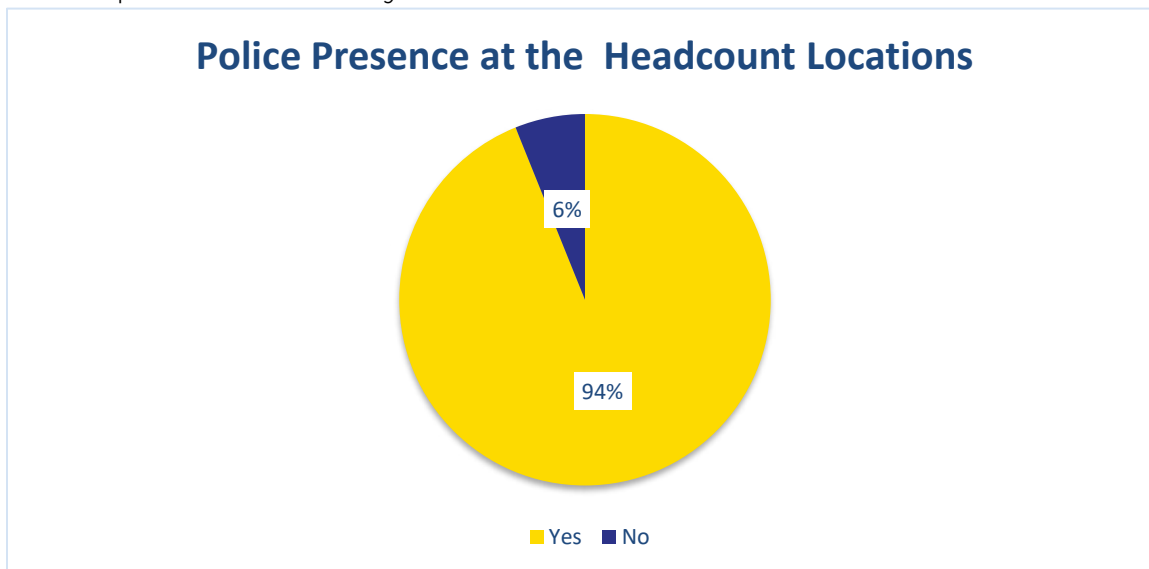


figure 9: Police presence on the headcount locations

As a result, 94% the observers reported that they had seen police in their respective headcount locations. More of the police were conducting their duties to protect against any conflict that may arise between the crowd during the counting. On the other hand, only 6% of the observers reported that police were not present at the headcount locations.

## 2.9 Ineligible personnel on the headcount locations

According to political association Act 14/2011 article 14, specific individuals are not allowed to form or to be part of political associations, including military police, civil servants, intelligence officers, civil society members, and custodial officers. In addition, the election law Act 91/2020 article 31 prohibits the following persons from registering as voters, children under the age of 15 years old, mentally ill persons, and foreign people.

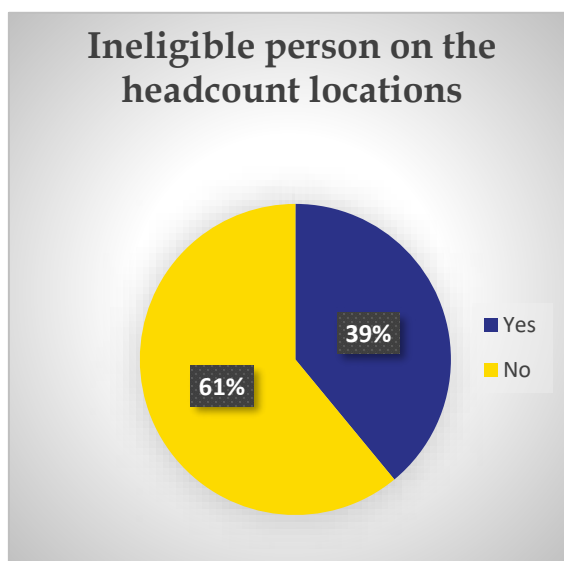


figure 10: Ineligible persons on the headcount locations categories

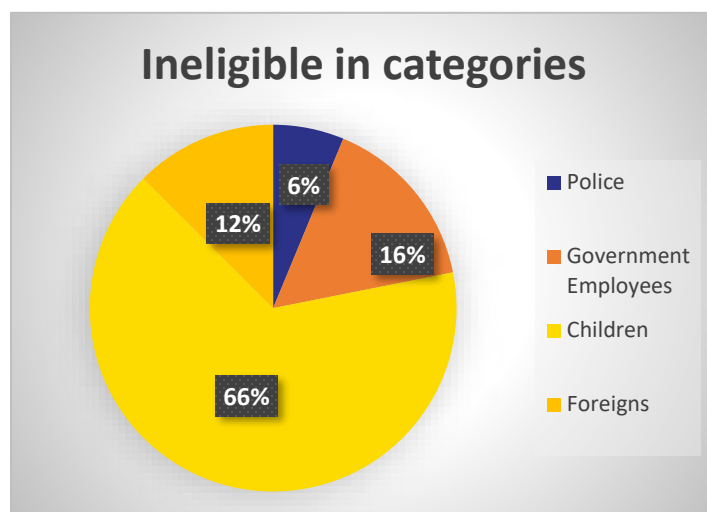


figure 11: Ineligible persons in

However, during the headcount, 61% of the observers reported not witnessing an ineligible person in the headcount locations. While 39% mentioned they had seen disallowed persons counted as supporters of the political associations. The highest number of ineligible persons that the observers witnessed were children under the age of 15 years old and the observers also reported that they saw foreign people in the queues.

## 2.10 Challenges encountered by the headcount observers

During the headcount observation, the location of the political parties was a challenge as some of the political associations changed the location they communicated initially. Another challenge encountered by the observers during the process was accessibility to enter the headcount locations; however both challenges were promptly dealt with by the leaders of the political associations once they were made aware of the situation by the lead CSO.

# SECTION THREE



**Post- Headcount  
phases**

## Section Three: Post- Headcount phases

### 3.1 Overview of the Political Environment

This is the third time Somaliland is forming new political associations who are aspiring to become national political parties. During this time there are political tensions concerning the upcoming elections for the presidential and the election of house of elders. The term for the current president expired on November the 13<sup>th</sup> 2022, however, the house of elders extended the term for the president for two years.

Furthermore, the National Election Commission proposed that they will manage to hold presidential election within nine months starting from October 2022.

Moreover, the opposition parties are adamant that it is constitutional to hold the presidential election in every five years and since the term of the president expired first, the presidential election must be held first. However, the ruling government is planning for the political associations' election, followed by the presidential election.

Over the past couple of months political tension has been rising in the country, which has created several public protest and heated exchanges between the political elite. It is paramount for the stakeholders to commit to dialogue, reconciliation, and an agreed roadmap for the upcoming three elections.

### 3.2 Announcement of Headcount Results

On 6<sup>th</sup> of November 2022, the commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties announced the results; out of 14 eligible associations only ten political associations succeeded in presenting the one thousand supports during the headcount phase. While four political associations have been disqualified (Ubax, Daljir, Miisan, and iftiin). The table below illustrates the names of the successful political parties that will process to the elections.

Table 5: List of successful political associations on the headcount phase

NO.	Political association name
1	Waaberi
2	Shacabka
3	Horseed
4	Rejo
5	Barwaaqo
6	Hilaac
7	Mideeye
8	Ogaal
9	Kaah
10	Talo-Wadaag

Source: Commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political associations

### 3.3 Result Acceptance by the Unsuccessful Political Associations

The results were not welcomed by all, for example, on the same day of the result announcement, Talo-wadaag political association spoke to the media directly and mentioned that the results were inaccurate. The chairman of Talo-wadaag mentioned during the press conference “We have all the thousand supporters per region, we have all the documentations signed the commission for the registration of political parties, we will share our supporting documents to the media”<sup>8</sup> the chairman called the president of Somaliland to intervene. According to the chairman the Talo-wadaag political association succeeded in this phase but they did not understand why the commission has included them on the list of the unsuccessful political association. On 9<sup>th</sup> November 2022 Talo-wadaag filed a complaint to the supreme court against the result announced by the commission, consequently on November 14<sup>th</sup> 2022 the supreme court decided to uphold Talo-wadaag’s complaint elevating the number of political associations that have been successful in the headcount stage to ten.

The Iftiin political association’s chairman also mentioned the result announced by the commission was unjust. According to the Iftiin chairman, other political associations have involved in corrupt practices, which are against the ethics, election laws and the constitution<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, Daljir political associations requested from the commission to explain how their political association did not proceed to the next stage, Daljir requested detailed report on the points they have met the standards of the commission and where their

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6clGPvSRvk>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXoHTz9r94Q>

weakness is, these clarifications will depend on the acceptance or refusal of the result announced by the commission.

So far only one political association accepted the results which is Ubax political association, the chairman of Ubax posted a Facebook message “We congratulate successful political associations during the headcount phase, Ubax political associations reached where Allah has planned. Thanks to the members and supporters of Ubax political association”<sup>10</sup>. During the writing of this report, Miisan political associations had not yet spoken to the media concerning their decision on the announced results.

---

<sup>10</sup>[https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story\\_fbid=pfbid0KNwGQvPg3nH3iqezopSqZ5J4MsoNfDQMC6w6ojJnfzZ2mRHnHt8Q8KUcnTeH4F2l&id=1487146511&sfnsn=mo&mibextid=M7TnbG](https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=pfbid0KNwGQvPg3nH3iqezopSqZ5J4MsoNfDQMC6w6ojJnfzZ2mRHnHt8Q8KUcnTeH4F2l&id=1487146511&sfnsn=mo&mibextid=M7TnbG)

# SECTION FOUR



**Conclusion and findings**

## Section four: Conclusion and Findings

### 4.1 Conclusion

Somaliland is known for electoral delays, however the opening of the political associations has been hailed as a success on this front, since it was completed in a relatively smooth and timely manner. Once this election is finalised, it will be an added value to the democratisation process in Somaliland.

Somaliland Civil Society Organizations have been part of the observation mission since 2012, to oversee the process of voter registration, elections, and headcount observations. SONSAF deployed 90 observers in collaboration with member organisations across the regions, covering 100% of the headcount locations. Observers reported no intimidation during the headcount process across the six regions. Furthermore, observers noted that the process for announcing result was not consistent among the commissioners; some publicly announced the result after finishing the headcount, while others were documenting the results then sharing with political association leaders at a later stage. On the other hand, the procedures signed by the commission for the registration of political associations and all the registered political associations indicate the followers should bring their national ID/Voter card during the headcount process; SONSAF observed this procedure was not followed. As a result, there were many children under the age of 15 years old counted during the process.

To conclude, historically this is the largest number of political associations to succeed at this stage of the process. There will be ten political associations that have qualified to proceed to the election and the three existing political parties that will join the contest to qualify as a national party. In addition, it is inspiring to see a substantial increase in the number of women with key roles within various political associations and also this will be the first time that a women-led political association has been successful at this stage of the process.

## 4.2 Findings

- The overall headcount process was peaceful, and only minor disputes between the followers within the same political associations were reported.
- Procedures for announcing headcount results were different; commissioners used a variation of methods to count and report the results.
- The schedule for the headcount was not simultaneous during the headcount processes; we found the movement of individuals from one political association to another.
- Observers reported that children under the age of 15 were part of the thousand followers of the political associations; this was against election law 91/2020.
- In the Sool region, Lascanod, it was the first time that headcount occurred inside the town. However, the commission for the registration of the political associations made special arrangements in the Sool region; reducing the required number of followers to 400 individuals.
- During the headcount phase, observers reported there was movement of people from one region to another. In addition, some political associations arranged means of transport for their followers to other regions to meet the stipulated number of supporters.
- The media played a crucial role in covering the political associations on the headcount day; sharing the pictures and videos of the event, keeping the population well informed of the process.

## 4.2 Recommendations

### 4.2.1 Recommendations to Commission for the political associations registration and the approval of political parties

- The commission must follow the same procedures during the counting of the thousand supporters for the political associations.
- For the commission to have a regional office across the country to simplify the tasks of the commission during the registration period of political associations.
- To adopt technological means to confirm the thousand supporters of the political associations in each region and to have a systematic system in place.

- To consider making decentralized system, which will allow political associations to have supporters at district level for better representation, consequently supporters will come from the region and districts.
- The result announcement process has not been consistent, it is important to adopt a more uniformed announcement mechanisms to avoid any controversy regarding the validity of results..
- It is vital to adopt ineligible person's policies and guidelines signed by the political associations to avoid ineligible people being counted as part of the thousand supporters.
- Sool regions had been given special consideration this time, the political associations were required to bring only 400 supporters in this region rather than the usual thousand supporters. The commission must adhere to the current approved act for the registration of political associations 14/2011, which outlines each political associations should have a thousand supporters per region. This concession that was granted on this occasion can be deemed as a breach of the Act 14/2011.
- According to the assigned policy by the commission for the registration of political associations, supporters should bring their national/voter IDs during the headcount day, we recommend the commission to implement this principle and check whether the supporters of the political associations have their IDs during the headcount and this should be communicated to the political associations in advance for them to prepare supporters along with their IDs. This will minimise duplication during the counting process and movement of individuals from one district to another electoral district.

#### **4.2.2 Recommendations to other election/political registration stakeholders**

- For the government to prohibit civil servants from participating as the thousand supporters of the political associations.
- Recommend for the government of Somaliland to keep providing financial means to the commission of registration of the political associations and approval of the political parties to avoid any delays on Somaliland democratization process.
- Calling parliament to address all legal gaps and make the necessary amendments to the current act for the registration of political

associations 14/2021, in particular the stipulated license period, since the law does not indicate what will happen if the license expires.

- For the unsuccessful political associations during the headcount phase to follow complaints procedures and communicate their concerns to the constitutional courts instead of using the media which may create conflicts or stirrup tension in some parts of the country.
- For the civil society organizations to keep observing the democratization process in the country, and to further to mobilize the community they serve to be part of the democratization process.
- For Ministry of Interior to keep providing security to the commission for the registration of political associations and approval of political parties.
- The registration fee is a huge challenge to youth and women and should be discussed and evaluated with stakeholders.

## References

SONSAF (2021), 'Somaliland votes for peace, combined parliamentarian and local elections 2021' November

Carter, B. (2021). Strengthening gender equality in decision-making in Somaliland.

Pegg, S., & Walls, M. (2018). Back on track? Somaliland after its 2017 presidential election. *African Affairs*, 117(467), 326-337.

Khayre, H. (2016). Clan Democracy in Somaliland Prospects and Challenges.

SONSAF (2013), 'Democratisation policy brief on Somaliland's 2012 post-election challenges and priorities' March

Kibble S (2012), 'Preparing for local elections in Somaliland: Plans, challenges and progress'(London: Progressio and Somaliland Focus)

Makokha J, Ali Y (2013), 'Somalilanders speak: Lessons from the November 2012 local elections' (London: Saferworld and SONSAF)

SONSAF (2012), 'Citizens dialogue on upcoming local council elections' April, available at [www.somalilandlaw.com/SONSAF\\_pre\\_2012\\_Election\\_Report.pdf](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/SONSAF_pre_2012_Election_Report.pdf)

Pham, P. (2012). The Somaliland Exception. *Marine Corps University Journal*. c, 3, 1.

Abokor, A. Y., Kibble, S., Bradbury, M., Yusuf, H. A., & Barrett, G. (2006). *Further steps to democracy: The Somaliland parliamentary elections, September 2005*. CIIR.

Gers M (2002), Support for Local Elections in Somaliland: Final Report of the EU/GTZ (December)

## Appendix 1: Accreditation letter of headcount observers

**JAMHUURIYADDA SOMALILAND**  
Guddida Diiwaangelinta Ururada Siyaasadda  
Iyo Ansixinta Asxaabta Qaranka



**REPUBLIC OF SOMALILAND**  
Committee for Registration of Political  
Associations and Approval of National Parties

Taariikh: October 17, 2022

Tixraac: GDUS/78/22

KU: DALLADA URURRADA AAN DAWLIGA AHAYN EE SONSAF  
OG: URURADA SIYAADDA  
OG: CIIDANKA BOOLISKA

= Hargeysa  
=Hargeysa  
=Xarunta

**UJEEDO: OGOLAANSHO GOOBJOOGAYAASHA MADAXA BANAAN (LOCAL OBSERVERS)**

Guddiga diiwaangelinta Ururada Siyaasadda iyo Ansixinta Asxaabta Qaranka, waxay halkan ku cadaynayaa in ay dallada SONSAF siiyeen ogolaansho in ay goobjoogayaal maxali ah u soo diraan goobaha ay ka soconayso tirinta xubnaha uga diiwaangashan ururada siyaasadda lixda gobol ee dalka. Shaqadda goob-gooyaashu waa in ay indha-indheeyaan habsami u socodka hanaanka madax-taabashada 1000 ka qof.

Waxaanu faraynaa ururada siyaasadda iyo ciidanka boolisku in ay u ogolaadaan goobjoogayaasha goobaha ay madaxtaabashadu ka socoto, goobjoogayashuna waa inay tusaan cadaymahooda (kaadhka aqoonsiga) markii looga baahdo.

Allaa Mahad leh

Siciid Maxamed Cilmi (Siraadle)  
**GUDOOMIYAHA**

Guddida Diiwaangelinta Ururada Siyaasadda iyo Ansixinta Asxaabta Qaranka



## Report Authors

This report is a combined effort the Following SONSAF Staff

Ayan H. Hassan  
SONSAF Executive Director  
Ahmed Adan  
SONSAF Program Manager  
Hassan Abdilahi  
SONSAF project Coordinator  
Abdliahi Adan  
SONSAF Project Officer  
Adna Ismail  
Human Resource and Admin Officer

## Report Design

Mohamoud Hassan  
SONSAF IT Officer



**TAAKULO**  
SOMALI COMMUNITY



## Contacts Us:

**Email:** [info@sonsaf.org](mailto:info@sonsaf.org)

**Website:** [www.sonsaf.org](http://www.sonsaf.org)

**Address:** Hargeisa, Somaliland

**Phone:** +252 2 567059