DEMOCRACY IN SOMALILAND CONTINUES TO MATURE:

2024 Presidential & Political Parties/Associations Elections Final Report

A joint Civil Society Report

Towards Peaceful and Inclusive Electoral Processes

JANUARY
2025

SOMALILAND NON STATE ACTORS FORUM
SONSAF

CONCLUDING SUCCESSFUL ELECTION

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The Somaliland Non State Actors Forum would like to express its appreciation to the people of Somaliland for their active participation in the 2024 electoral process.

SONSAF pays tribute to the commitment and hard work of the 35,000 overwhelmingly young, and often female, volunteers who managed the nearly 2,600 polling stations across Somaliland.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CPA	Centre for Policy Analysis
CRPD	Convention on Rights of People with Disabilities
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EOM	Election Observation Mission
FCDO	Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office
GBV	Gender Based Violence
MoI	Ministry of Interior
NAGAAD	Network of Women's Organizations in Somaliland
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
SCISEF	Somaliland Civil Society Election Forum
SNDF	Somaliland National Disability Forum
SOLJA	Somaliland Journalists Association
SONSAF	Somaliland Non State Actors Forum
SONYO	Somaliland National Youth Organization
SOYDAVO	Somaliland Youth Development Voluntary Organization
UCID	Justice and Welfare Party
UDUB	United Peoples' Democratic Party
WiJA	Women in Journalism Association
WSR	Women's Situation Room

Foreword from the Chairman of SONSAF

The 2024 Presidential and Political Parties and Associations Elections in Somaliland were another significant milestone in the country's democratic journey. Despite numerous challenges, Somaliland's electoral system has proven resilient once more.

I commend the three political parties and seven political associations for their commitment to democracy and for setting aside their differences in the interest of peace, stability, and prosperity for Somaliland.

SONSAF's experience of election observation enabled us to undertake another credible observation mission. Despite more scarce resources meaning we were able to deploy fewer observers than in the past, civil society organizations were again at the heart of the process, alongside businesses, labour organizations, traditional leaders, religious groups, and the wider public. The members of SONSAF, including the NAGAAD Network, WIJA, SOLJA, ADAM Academy, SONYO, and SNDF for their invaluable contributions to finalizing this report.

Organising elections is the result of a collective effort, and I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all who contributed to this accomplishment. In particular:

The professional and dedicated Commissioners of Somaliland National Electoral Commission (NEC), successfully conducted the elections within the agreed timeline, demonstrating their commitment, efficiency, and integrity.

The Ministry of Interior (MoI), under the leadership of Minister Mohamed Kahin Ahmed, ensured the security of the elections, enabling a peaceful and orderly process.

The domestic election observers and media organizations showed vigilance in monitoring the election process, ensuring its integrity.

The Government of Somaliland provided 95% of the funding for the elections and ensured the timely allocation of these funds.

The financial and technical support provided by the NED and the FCDO was essential in strengthening civil society's role in the electoral process.

Yours sincerely,

Anwar Abdirahman Warsame
Chair, Somaliland Non-State Actors Forum (SONSAF)

Executive Summary

Democratic progress in Somaliland has been remarkable, with the successful organization of presidential and political parties/association elections on 13 November 2024. This report, prepared by SONSAF on behalf of its member civil society organizations (CSOs), assesses the electoral process based on the preliminary findings issued on 14 November 2024. The elections represent a significant milestone in Somaliland's commitment to democratic governance, with a particular focus on inclusivity, transparency, and adherence to constitutional mandates.

The legal framework underpinning the elections is grounded in the Constitution of Somaliland and the electoral laws governing presidential and political parties/associations elections, and whilst the legal framework is sufficient for the conduct of democratic elections, some weaknesses remain.

The role of the Guurti (House of Elders) in extending term limits has been a point of contention. While the Constitution allows the Guurti to extend the terms of elected officials under exceptional circumstances, such extensions have drawn criticism for undermining the principle of regular and predictable elections. Addressing this issue will be essential to enhancing public confidence in the democratic process and ensuring adherence to international democratic norms.

Somaliland demonstrated robust institutional capacity in organizing elections. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) oversaw the electoral process effectively, ensuring that elections were conducted within the framework of the country's electoral laws.

Notable achievements include:

- Peaceful Electoral Environment: The elections were conducted peacefully, with minimal reports of violence or disruption.
- Enhanced Participation: Enthusiastic voter turnout signalled public trust in the democratic process. Importantly, efforts were made to ensure women and marginalized groups could participate meaningfully.
- Few Problems on Election Day: Isolated problems did not detract from the generally effective conduct of polling on election day
- Use of Technology: The biometric voter registration system played a critical role in enhancing the credibility of the voter rolls, minimizing instances of fraud.
- Peaceful Transition: The declaration of results went smoothly, and the contesting parties and candidates accepted the electoral outcome without dispute.

Despite these successes, several challenges emerged during the electoral process that require attention:

- Observer Access Limitations: Domestic and international observers faced restricted access in certain regions, particularly Togdheer, Awdal, and Sahil, limiting their ability to monitor some aspects of the process.
- Conduct of the Campaign: While generally strong, some contesting political parties failed to adhere to the established standards for appropriate campaign behaviour.
- Technical and Logistical Issues: While the biometric system generally improved voter identification, technical glitches caused delays in some polling stations.
- Electoral Misconduct: Some minor security incidents occurred, and there were some reports of attempted vote-buying by a civilian person, this indicate the need for stricter enforcement of electoral regulations.
- Inclusivity Gaps: Although progress was made, significant barriers remain for persons with disabilities and residents of the eastern regions, where elections could not be held in certain districts.
- Voter registration: To enhance and extend the democratic franchise requires substantial investment and should be improved, such as to ensure that the demographic profile of Somaliland and voter registrations outcomes are more closely aligned.

In order to strengthen future electoral processes, SONSAF's key recommendations include:

1. Limit Term Extensions and Strengthen the Supreme Court: Reforms should aim to ensure that extensions are used sparingly and transparently, adhering to constitutional and democratic principles.
2. Voter Education: Redouble efforts to enhance voter education, and begin voter education at an earlier stage in the electoral process.
3. Voter Registration: Move towards a continuous voter registration system, to help ensure the electoral roll is as credible as possible.
4. Strengthen the Biometric System: Conduct a thorough review of the biometric system. Invest in testing and training for NEC staff to ensure the system's reliable operation.
5. Investigate Electoral Misconduct: Investigate reported incidents of misconduct thoroughly, hold perpetrators accountable, and implement preventive measures for future elections.
6. Promote Inclusivity: Address accessibility barriers for persons with disabilities and ensure that elections are held in all districts, including the eastern regions.
7. Enhance Observer Access: Guarantee unrestricted access for observers to polling stations and vote counting processes. Implement adequate security protocols to protect observers.
8. Institutionalize NEC Budget: Establish an independent annual budget for NEC to maintain operational continuity and strengthen its institutional framework.

The 2024 elections reinforce Somaliland's reputation as a stable and democratic polity in the Horn of Africa. The peaceful conduct of elections and enthusiastic voter turnout demonstrate public confidence in democratic institutions. However, sustaining these gains requires continuous investment in electoral infrastructure, capacity building, and policy reforms. Strengthening the legal framework will be critical to ensuring long-term sustainability and adherence to democratic norms.

Somaliland's 2024 elections underscore its commitment to democracy and provide a model for electoral processes in similar contexts. While challenges persist, the progress made highlights the potential for further strengthening democratic governance. The recommendations outlined in this report aim to build on these achievements, addressing gaps and ensuring that future elections are even more inclusive, transparent, and credible.

SECTION ONE 1

Context of Somaliland's Elections

1. SECTION ONE: Context of Somaliland's Elections

1.1 Introduction

Democratic progress in Somaliland continues to be impressive. On 13 November 2024, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) successfully organised presidential and party and association elections in Somaliland. This report is prepared by SONSAF, on behalf of its members who together comprise the primary civil society organisations (CSOs) operating in Somaliland.

This report follows the preliminary statement of findings issued by SONSAF on 15 November 2024. It provides an analysis and assessment of the pre-election period, including election preparations, developments during the election campaign, and on election day itself, as well as in the immediate post-election period. Critically, it identifies recommendations for enhancing Somaliland's future electoral processes, in line with best practice for election administration and regional and international standards for democratic elections.

1.2 Political context

Somaliland operates a multi-party system in which elections are held for the presidency, political associations, and local councils. No more than three political parties can be recognised at any time; the 2024 vote opened the possibility for new political associations to be recognized as political parties, for the first time since local council elections in 2012.

Presidential elections were last held in 2017. According to the Constitution, elections should have been held after five years, therefore in 2022. However, an extension of 24 months to the incumbent president's term of office was controversially endorsed in October 2022, by the Guurti, the Upper House of Parliament.

The 2024 Somaliland Presidential and Political Parties and Associations Elections were the eighth vote held in Somaliland since 2002, the fourth direct presidential election, based on Somaliland's constitutional1guarantee of universal suffrage (one person, one vote).2 For the first time, presidential elections were held alongside elections to determine which three political entities would be recognised as national political parties for a period of ten years. Consequently, the 2024 elections represented a continuation of Somaliland's ongoing democratic evolution since reasserting its independence from Somalia in 1991.

In Somaliland's eastern regions, a combination of narrow clan based political disaffection amongst some members of local minority clans, primarily a section of the Darod clan family, including the Dhulbahante and Warsengeli clans, and political interference from regional

actors, including the administrations of Mogadisho, neighbouring Puntland, and international actors have contributed to increasing inter communal tensions, with the prevalence of both sporadic and sustained incidents of violence.

Preparations for the elections were preceded and adversely affected by a heightened level of political instability and attendant insecurity. In 2023-2024, the intercommunal conflict in Laasanod formed the backdrop to, and constituted the most serious examples of political instability and insecurity in Somaliland prior to the elections 2024.

The past two presidents of Somaliland (Muse Bihi Abdi, and his predecessor Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud ("Silanyo"),3 secured their elections through a coalition of the Haber Awal and Haber Jeclo clans under the Kulmiye party. However, this alliance fractured in 2024, when many members of the Haber Jeclo clan turned against Bihi, favouring Waddani's candidate, Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi ("Cirro").

Alongside the presidential elections, Somaliland's political organizations contested a parallel election to determine which would qualify as official parties for the next decade. Somaliland's system permits only three parties to operate at any given time, aiming to curb the proliferation of clan-based parties. Ultimately, Kulmiye and Waddani retained their party status for the third and second consecutive times, respectively, while Kaah, a new party led by veteran politician Mohamoud Hashi Abdi (formerly of Kulmiye), joined the roster, replacing UCID. Notably, all three parties are now led by members of the Haber Jeclo clan, marking a unique development in Somaliland's political history.

1.3 Political System

Somaliland operates a presidential system with three branches of government, comprising the executive, a bicameral legislature consisting of the House of Representatives (Lower House) and the Guurti (Upper House, House of Elders), and the judiciary.

The president is elected to serve a term of office of five years (if re-elected, the president may serve two five-year terms). In addition to serving as the Head of State and Government, the president serves as the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces and enjoys extensive constitutional authority in appointing key officials such as members of the cabinet and regional administrators.

The president also has the power to appoint and dismiss members of the judiciary including the Chief Justice, the latter of whom must be approved by both the House of Representatives and the Guurti.

Elections are based on universal suffrage, and are mandated to take place every five years, whilst the terms of office of the Upper and Lower Houses of the legislature are mandated for five- and six-year terms, respectively.

Pursuant to the Constitution, the number of political parties in the Republic of Somaliland is restricted to three.4

Prior to the 2024 elections, these parties were:

Kulmiye Party: The Kulmiye Party has historically been associated with the Haber Awal and Haber Jeclo clans of the Isaaq family. These clans formed a significant coalition that helped secure electoral victories for past presidents under the Kulmiye banner.

Waddani Party: The Waddani Party has gained substantial support from the Garhajis clan, another major faction of the Isaaq family. It has also sought to appeal to disenfranchised groups outside the Isaaq clan family.

Justice and Welfare Party (UCID): UCID's base has traditionally been less clan-centric, but it receives support from various sub-clans within the Isaaq family, particularly among intellectuals and urban elites.

According to the Constitution, elections should have been held after five years. However, an extension of president Bihi's term of office was endorsed in October 2022 by the Guurti, Somaliland's upper house of parliament.

1.4 Legal Framework

Somaliland Constitution recognized United Nations Charter, International laws and the human right related frameworks as stipulated in constitutions Article 10(2) "The Republic of Somaliland recognises and shall act in conformity with the United Nations Charter and with international law, and shall respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Thus, the legal framework for elections in Somaliland is based on, and informed by international, regional and national law, as follows;

International and Regional Law Instruments for Elections

International law conventions promoting electoral rights are crucial for upholding democratic principles globally. These conventions establish guidelines and standards for governments to ensure that all individuals can participate in the electoral process. Notable instruments include:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Article 21 asserts that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives," ensuring that every individual can vote in free and fair elections, regardless of race, gender, religion, or social status.

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: This covenant recognizes voting as a fundamental human right, stipulating that "Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity... to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors." Discrimination based on race, sex, religion, or social status is prohibited.

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): This treaty mandates that States Parties take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life. Article 7 emphasizes that women have the right to vote and be elected to all publicly elected bodies.

- African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter): Adopted in 1981, this charter guarantees the right to vote as a fundamental human right for all citizens of African countries. Article 13 ensures that citizens can participate freely in government, directly or through representatives.

- U.N. Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: This convention highlights the importance of protecting the rights of individuals with disabilities, ensuring their participation in political activities, including voting. Article 29 mandates that States Parties guarantee political rights for persons with disabilities on an equal basis with others.

National Electoral Laws Governing Elections

In addition to the Constitution, Somaliland has promulgated the following legal framework to govern its democratic institutions and elections:

- Somaliland General Election Law Act no 91/2023.
- The Presidential and Local District Council Elections Law 2001 (as amended)
- The Voter Registration Law 2007, as amended in 2014 and renamed the Civil and
- Voter Registration Law (Law No: 37/2007)
- Somaliland Voter Registration & Election Regulations
- Voter Registration & Election Codes of Conduct
- The Political Parties/Associations Law (Law No. 14/2001), amended in 2011

Since the last presidential election in Somaliland (2017), several amendments have been made to the election laws to improve the electoral process and address previous challenges, and the above legislation has been superseded by Somaliland General Election Law No. 91/2023 which now constitutes the primary legislative framework for Somaliland elections. Article 3.1 specifically limits the scope and application of Somaliland election law as follows.

"This Law: ...Shall be used for the conduct of the Presidential, House of Representatives, and Local Council elections as well as the overall voting process, and the direct election for the political associations and parties."5

Somaliland, election laws are therefore anchored in the Constitution, General Election Act No. 91, and the Electoral Act of Political Parties and Political Associations Act No. 14, with Article 22 of the Constitution guaranteeing citizens the right to vote and stand for election. These laws are designed to ensure fairness, transparency, and accountability in the electoral process, providing guidelines for voter registration, campaign financing, and political party participation.

Moreover, Somaliland's election laws prohibit discrimination or intimidation during elections, thereby upholding democracy and protecting citizens' rights to choose their representatives.

Although Article 9 of the Somaliland Constitution mandates the establishment of a multi-party system, the explicit limit of the number of political parties to three is a mechanism designed to ensure a stable and effective government and reduce the risks of political fragmentation. While the three-party system aims to mitigate clan-based fragmentation, significant clan loyalties continue to shape voting patterns and political alliances. The close correlation and approximation between clan affiliations, and the new political parties and associations underscores the challenges facing Somaliland in achieving broad-based, and policy driven representation in Somaliland's political landscape.

Somaliland's Regulation of Political Associations and Parties Law (as amended) No: 14 of 2000, provides that the three parties that won the highest number of votes at the first nation-wide local elections in December 2002, would be the three parties accepted under the Constitution and this law. Subsequently, the three parties duly elected in 2002 were UDUB (the incumbent party in 2000), Kulmiye, and UCID. UDUB lost its official status in 2012. Waddani, gained recognised party status in 2012.

The 2024 elections were intended to give effect to Article 9 of the Somaliland Constitution. For the first time in Somaliland, presidential elections were held alongside elections to determine which, if any, of seven new political associations would be recognised as among the three national political entities entitled to contest presidential and parliamentary elections (as the three constitutionally approved political parties), for the next ten years. This process ensures that only the most popular and well-supported parties compete, fostering a competitive but manageable political landscape.

Therefore, in both political and constitutional terms, the 2024 elections were particularly significant, due to the introduction of new political associations with the opportunity to become one of the three political parties constitutionally mandated entitled to contest presidential elections.

Key reforms include the introduction of the political associations' election alongside the presidential election, an effort to enhance political participation and increase the number of registered political associations.

Although there remains a clear constitutional requirement obliging Parliament to introduce legislation providing for direct elections to the Guurti, Somaliland's most recent election law, No. 91/2023, does not provide for direct elections to the Guurti.6

Neither the executive, nor the House of Representatives, have proposed the requisite law to provide for direct elections and fixed terms for the Guurti. This is a substantial and long standing constitutional and legal gap, and a significant democratic deficit in Somaliland's constitutional settlement.

Whilst Somaliland's election and constitutional law require further amendments and reform, Somaliland's election and constitutional law provide a solid foundation for conducting free, fair, and transparent elections, as they emphasize principles such as universal suffrage, equal representation, and the right to free expression. The legal provisions governing the work of the NEC and the judiciary aim to support transparency and accountability. Somaliland's current election framework therefore provides a sufficient foundation for conducting credible democratic elections.

Gaps in Somaliland's legal framework for elections, have persistently included those issues identified in this report, pertaining to term extensions and the separation of constitutional powers. These are in turn directly germane to reducing, mitigating the effects of, and ultimately to ending electoral delays and term extensions, and addressing the democratic deficit inherent in the lack of direct elections of the Guurti.

Additionally, issues of funding of elections and oversight and prohibition of illicit and foreign financial donations to fund election campaigns remain significant and pressing priorities for constitutional and legislative reforms in Somaliland.

Another key gap is the lack of detailed regulation around electoral financing for political Parties and candidates, which opens the door for potential manipulation and inequality.

Furthermore, dispute resolution mechanisms could be made more efficient and transparent, to mitigate perceptions of political interference.

The amendments to the Election Law No. 91 and adjustments to the Constitution aim to strengthen the framework for conducting democratic elections. Notably, the Election Law No. 91 was revised to accommodate these changes and to clarify the roles of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and other key actors in ensuring fair and transparent elections.

1.4.1 Scheduling of Elections, Delays and Term Extensions

Delays in elections and concomitant extensions of terms of office, is a longstanding and persistent problem in Somaliland. Whilst previous election assessment reports have commented on the prevalence of this phenomenon, a more in-depth assessment is warranted as follows.

Pursuant to Article 6 (Elections Schedule), General Election Law No. 19/2023, empowers the unelected Guurti to delay elections as follows:

"Should it become evident that the Presidential Election cannot happen on the previously declared date due to technical reasons or issues outside those laid out in Articles 83 and 42 of the Constitution, the House of Elders, in consultation with the National Electoral Commission, shall decide the term extension.7

The House of Elders shall decide the extension if the election cannot happen due to the issues laid out in Articles 83 and 42 in accordance with the Constitution."

In terms of the specific constitutional provisions germane to the Guurti, Article 83(5) of Somaliland's constitution, grants the Guurti authority, to extend the term of the President and Vice-President under extraordinary circumstances, such as national security grounds.

in September 2022, the NEC announced that it would not be possible to convene the presidential election scheduled for 13 November 2022, due to "time, technical and financial constraints,"8 and that a further 9 months would be required to convene presidential elections.

The incumbent president sought an extension of nine months to enable the NEC to convene elections in the time frame stated by the NEC. However, the Guurti ignored the recommendation of the NEC, and in October 2022, the Guurti unilaterally extended President Bihi's term by two full years, and its own term by six years. The Guurti has been postponing elections since 1995, when President Mohamed Ibrahim Egal was granted an 18-month term extension. Since then, this practice has become a political culture. The current Guurti was formed in 1997 and has not been elected since then. This further emphasises a significant lack of democratic legitimacy in the Guurti's ability to exercise power.

Delays to presidential and other elections in Somaliland have caused significant extension of local, parliamentary, and presidential terms, becoming a recurring feature of Somaliland's political landscape. However, Somaliland's Constitution only provides that

"If on the expiry of the term of office of the President and the Vice-President, it is not possible, because of security considerations, to hold the election of the President and the Vice-President, the House of Elders shall extend their term of office whilst taking into consideration the period in which the problems can be overcome and the election can be held."9

The ability to independently fund constitutionally mandated national and municipal elections is a core function of any democracy. However, delays to Somaliland elections are frequently justified on financial constraints. The Somaliland executive and the legislative have a constitutional obligation to ensure that elections are convened in accordance with the constitution of Somaliland, and this clearly includes an obligation to ensure the appropriation and allocation of sufficient financial resources in a timeous manner, such as to enable the NEC to facilitate elections in accordance with Somaliland law.

Successive Somaliland administrations have, together with the legislative, repeatedly failed to ensure that decisions on the allocation and release of financial resources are made in a timely manner, in order to enable the Somaliland NEC to convene elections on schedule.

In addition to a failure to ensure timely domestic state funding of elections, they also lack the political will to assure elections are conducted within its timeframe as stipulated by the constitutions thus results unnecessary term extensions.

The conduct of the Guurti in particular has proved problematic and resistance to change, and unless the Somaliland polity is able to implement much needed constitutional and legislative reform, the Upper House of Parliament (Guurti) will continue to suffer from a significant and glaring lack of legitimacy, and the Guurti will be able to continue to make anti-democratic decisions which have a damaging and deleterious effect on the Somaliland's democracy.

Ultimately, the Guurti's role in delaying elections including the 2024 elections, and in extending term limits, is the primary constitutional driver of pre-election insecurity, violence, and instability in Somaliland. The delay in the 2024 elections, exacerbated and heightened pre-existing political tensions, and created an increasingly febrile political atmosphere and inflammatory political rhetoric disclosing long standing and deep political fissures based along clan and regional lines.

Due to an insufficient separation of powers, Somaliland's judiciary, presently has insufficient constitutional authority to enforce the constitutional provisions on elections to the Guurti, or to check the rampant abuse of power by the Guurti and the executive particularly in relation to electoral delays and term extensions.

The Guurti's unilateral decisions to extend terms, lacks both transparency and constitutional legitimacy. The paucity and absence of judicial oversight of the Guurti, means that delays in elections and term extensions, which constitute an abuse of constitutional power, remains unchecked.

The tense political atmosphere created by the delay in elections and the extension of term limits contributed to the growing radicalization and manipulation of young Somalilanders. This, in turn, was a direct cause of much of the pre-election violence that erupted in August 2023. During this period, some members of the Somaliland security forces were ambushed and killed by armed men from the opposition leader's constituency, who were opposed to the delay of the Presidential Election originally scheduled for 13 November 2022. This was preceded by opposition-organized demonstrations in various cities of Somaliland, during which 11 civilians were shot and killed by security forces.

1.4.2 Negative Effects of Election delays and Term Extensions

Delays to elections and term extensions have a wide range of negative effects, including undermining Somaliland's democratic institutions and has deleterious effects in stability and security and Somaliland.

Term extensions undermine the rule of law: Unconstitutional term extensions and delays in constitutionally mandated elections by an unelected Upper House, are inconsistent with democratic norms, and undermines the rule of law. The invocation of Article 83.5 of the Somaliland Constitution to justify delays to elections. often lacks credible justification and facilitates systemic abuse of power.

Term extensions erode democratic norms and institutions: Term extensions affect all branches of elected government in Somaliland (the presidency, parliament, and local councils) reflecting deep-rooted structural issues. Term extensions undermine the authority of the judiciary, and results in the unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the Somaliland state, and leads to egregious and unchecked abuse of power, including the extension and perpetuation of term limits and delaying elections.

Election Delays are significant drivers of insecurity and Political instability:
All delays to election term and concomitant term extensions increase the risk of political, instability, insecurity and pre-election conflicts. There is a clear and direct correlation between postponement, delayed elections and the risks of increased political tensions and localized conflicts, as witnessed during the 2022–2024 delay. Extensions exacerbate preexisting tensions and political grievances, as seen during the two-year delay from November 2022 to November 2024, including the communal conflict in Laasanod and the Gaan Libax incident, which significantly increased political instability and insecurity in Somaliland.

Electoral Disenfranchisement: Term extensions and delays to democratic elections constitute both an abuse of constitutional privileges by the executive and the legislative branches, and also have the practical effect of disenfranchising all voters. Delayed elections hinder citizens from exercising constitutional rights and weaken public trust in democratic processes, and the repeated extension of terms, damage public trust in Somaliland's institutions.

It is also salient to note that with Somaliland's population is overwhelmingly characterised by a very young population. A large portion of Somaliland's population is under the age of 15. Succinctly stated election delays, and have a disproportionate effect on young people, and under-represented minority groups in Somaliland society.

Until the Somaliland polity decisively addresses the constitutional imbalance by guaranteeing the constitutional separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the state. It is likely that Somaliland's democratic credentials will continue to be significantly undermined, by the ability of unelected officials in the Guurti, to repeatedly delay and postpone democratic elections, and to extend the term of both the executive and their own terms of office.

1.4.3 Negative Effects of Election delays and Term Extensions

In terms of financial and technical resources for convening elections in Somaliland,
for much of its democratic journey, Somaliland has relied heavily on, the financial and technical support provided by international donors, which has made an exceptional contribution to Somaliland's ability to convene elections.

The putative justification for the postponement of the elections and the extension of the terms of office of the president and the Guurti, in November 2022 (and in previous elections cycles), was premised on the NEC not having sufficient financial and technical resources, to convene the presidential elections as scheduled in 2022. It is particularly salient to note however, that the Presidential and Political Parties and Associations Elections in 2024, were almost exclusively funded by the Government of Somaliland.

This confirmed Somaliland's ability to fully fund its elections utilising its domestic budgetary resources.

The decision to fund the 2024 elections from Somaliland's own domestic budgetary resources, came in the context of delays and decision by some donors, to reduce the level of financial support to Somaliland, elections, and unexpected delays in decisions on funding, until just prior to the Somaliland Presidential and Political Parties and Associations elections.

The timing of donor decisions in respect of support for the Somaliland Presidential and Political Parties and Associations Election in 2024, were not conducive to, or consistent with the obligations of donors to "do no harm," raising a perception that such delays had an adverse and deleterious effect on peace, stability and security in Somaliland, which may potentially and inadvertently have contributed to increasing uncertainty, and exacerbated already heightened pre-election political tensions.

These delays potentially contributed to the heightened pre-election political tensions, uncertainty and increased insecurity, which could have had wider implications for regional peace and stability. In practical and operational terms the effects of delays coupled with significant reductions in financial support for Somaliland elections in 2024, had adverse impacts on Somaliland civil society preparations and planning for Somaliland's 2024 elections, and for example contributed to excessive delays to the establishment, training and deployment of a Domestic Election Observer Mission (DEOM).

Consequently, only 300 domestic observers being deployed, compared to the 900 domestic observers deployed to the previous presidential elections in 2017.

and also impaired the ability of SONSAF members (including Women's organisations and those supporting People Living with Disabilities) to prepare for the elections.

Additionally, the sources of, and arrangements for funding of elections are amongst the areas which require urgent reform, to ensure that the NEC is able to function in an independent manner, and is sufficiently resourced enabling the NEC for example, to implement rolling voter registration and to maintain effective operations between election periods.

Succinctly stated, donors could benefit from a more nuanced and granular understanding and appreciation of the prevailing socio political dynamics in respect of planning and preparation for programmatic interventions and support for democratisation and elections in Somaliland, which should inter alia, be informed and guided by a greater degree of conflict sensitivity. Consequently, donors should also be cognisant, apprised of and sensitised to, the need for a greater degree of conflict sensitivity, in a manner consistent with donors longstanding commitment to democratic values, and in accordance with the fundamental right of self-determination in respect of Somaliland.

A highly significant feature of the presidential and Party Associations elections in 2024, was the decision by the administration of President Musa Bihi, to fully fund the core costs of the NEC in successfully convening the elections in 2024, with approximately 96 % of the costs of the election funded by the government of Somaliland.

This had the practical effect of mitigating some of the adverse effects emanating from delays to the elections, due to delayed and/or reduced funding by donor partners. It also had the benefit of enabling donors on focussing precious and limited resources on adding further value, inter alia in providing material, financial and technical assistance, which inter alia included training and deployment of domestic observer missions, and enhancing the ability of civil society organisations to monitor all aspects of the elections in 2024.

As Somaliland's democratic institutions continue to mature. Dependence on international donor assistance for Somaliland elections should be replaced, by statutory budgetary allocations, such as to ensure that a lack of financial resources, cannot in future be used by the executive or legislative to justify term extensions and delays to elections in Somaliland.

1.4.4 Election Funding – Political Parties & Candidates

Somaliland's legal frameworks for elections do not presently adequately address election and party financing. Moreover, Somaliland law, does not presently prohibit illicit and foreign financial donations to fund election campaigns, and this remains a significant and pressing priority for constitutional and legislative reforms in Somaliland, because such practices can, inter alia, undermine and destabilise Somaliland's autonomy and political stability, and constitute a clear and significant threat, to the integrity of Somaliland elections, which may ultimately contribute to internal conflict and insecurity.

Transparency and public disclosure of sources of funding for political parties and candidates, is critical to the establishment and maintenance of democratic norms, and proper functioning of democratic institutions. Statutory and judicial oversight of the sources of funding for Somaliland elections and the actors engaged therein, is essential to protect the public and the state from interference and manipulation by vested interests, and potentially malign and nefarious actors in both the domestic and international sphere.

The absence of robust and regularly enforced constitutional, legislative and regulatory provisions on election and party-political financing, opens the door for potential manipulation and inequality. For example, the absence of laws, regulations and policies, requiring the mandatory registration of financial donations to political parties,
means that there is no oversight of donations by Somalilander business elites, in particular those with significant vested interests in maintaining and perpetuating significant commercial monopiles controlling key sectors of the national economy.

Consequently, and in the absence of legislation or regulations, there is a fundamental lack of transparency around electoral financing for political parties, candidates and election campaigns in general.

1.4.5 The Judiciary

While political actors generally express confidence in the judicial authorities, a continued emphasis on strengthening the constitutional separation of powers would promote, enhance, and protect the impartiality of the judiciary. Furthermore, dispute resolution mechanisms could be made more efficient and transparent, to mitigate perceptions of political interference. This would improve the judiciary's ability to oversee elections and provide checks and balances on the exercise of executive and legislative powers.

Continued emphasis on strengthening the constitutional separation of powers would promote, enhance and protect the impartiality of the judiciary. This is essential to improving the judiciary's ability to oversee elections, and to provide checks and balances on the exercise of executive and legislative powers.

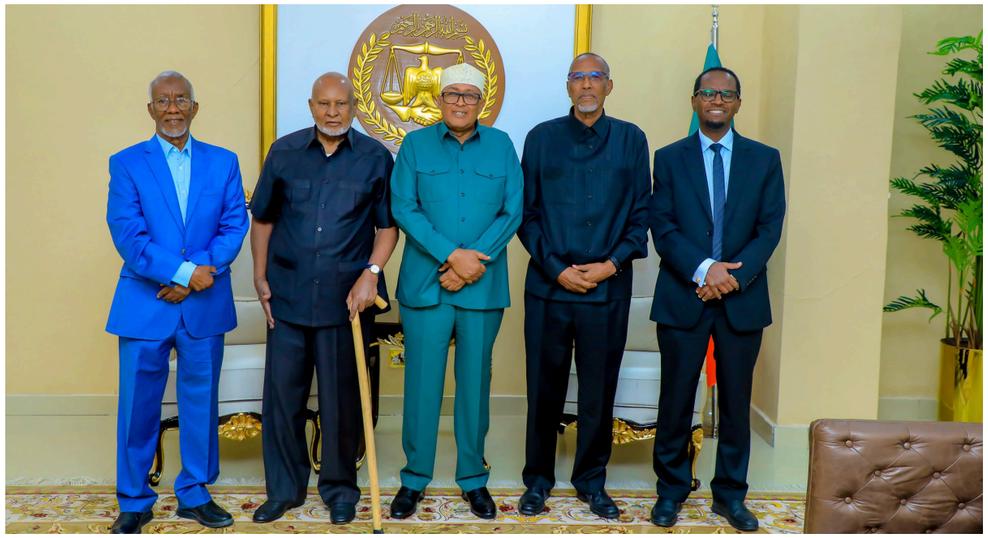
In terms of priority constitutional and legislative reforms, a more sustained focus on constitutional amendments to secure a greater separation of powers is essential to such as to strengthen and enhance the ability of the Supreme Court and the judiciary, to review and where necessary to impose judicial solutions on both the executive and the legislative branches, should be and enhanced to ensure transparent, to mitigate perceptions of political interference, and to further guarantee and strengthen the independence of Somaliland's judiciary, with a particular focus on enhancing the power of the supreme court to review decisions of the executive and legislative branches both in general terms but also specifically in relation to ending the practice of extensions of term limits and delays to elections in Somaliland.

Whilst Somaliland's election and constitutional law require further amendments and reform, Somaliland's current legal framework for elections, are assessed as providing a solid foundation for conducting free, fair, and transparent elections, as they emphasize principles such as universal suffrage, equal representation, and the right to free expression. The legal provisions governing the work of the NEC and the judiciary aim to support transparency and accountability. Somaliland's current election framework therefore provides a sufficient foundation for conducting credible democratic elections.

Gaps in Somaliland's legal framework for elections, have persistently included those issues identified in this report, pertaining to term extensions and the separation of constitutional powers. These are in turn directly germane to reducing, mitigating the effects of, and ultimately to ending electoral delays and term extensions, and addressing the democratic deficit inherent in the lack of direct elections of the Guurti.

Additionally, issues of sources of and arrangements for funding of elections are amongst the areas which require urgent reform, to ensure that the NEC is able to function in an independent manner, and is sufficiently resourced enabling the NEC for example, to implement rolling voter registration and to maintain effective operations between election periods.

The support provided by international donors has made an exceptional contribution to Somaliland's ability to convene elections. As Somaliland's democratic institutions continue to mature dependence on international donor assistance for Somaliland elections should be replaced, by statutory budgetary allocations, such as to ensure that a lack of financial resources, cannot in future be used by the executive or legislative to justify term extensions and delays to elections in Somaliland.



A highly significant feature of the presidential and Party Associations elections in 2024, was the decision by the administration of President Musa Bihi, to fully fund the core costs of the NEC in successfully convening the elections in 2024, with approximately 96 % of the costs of the election funded by the government of Somaliland. This had the practical effect of avoiding delays to the elections due to limited and delayed funding by donor partners. It also had the benefit of enabling donors on focussing limited resources on adding further value, inter alia in providing material, financial and technical assistance, which inter alia included training and deployment of domestic observer missions, and enhancing the ability of civil society organisations to monitor all aspects of the elections in 2024.

Another key gap is the lack of transparency or detailed regulation around electoral financing for political Parties and candidates, which opens the door for potential manipulation and inequality. For example, the absence of laws, regulations and policies, requiring the mandatory registration of financial donations to political parties,
means that there is no oversight of donations by Somalilander business elites, in particular those with significant vested interests in maintaining and perpetuating significant commercial monopiles controlling key sectors of the national economy.

Moreover, Somaliland law, does not presently prohibit illicit and foreign financial donations to fund election campaigns, and this remains a significant and pressing priority for constitutional and legislative reforms in Somaliland, because such practices can, inter alia, undermine and destabilise Somaliland's autonomy and political stability, and constitute a clear and significant threat, to the integrity of Somaliland elections, which may ultimately contribute to internal conflict and insecurity.

Overall, whilst the legal framework protects the principles of universal suffrage, equal representation, and the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and requires Somaliland to act in conformity with international law, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,10 the scope of the law does not include provisions for direct elections to the Upper House, and does not provide for judicial oversight, control and restriction of the ability of the executive, and the legislative, to delay extensions and to extend term limits.

SECTION TWO 2

Election Observation Mission

1. SECTION TWO: Election Observation Mission

2.1 Background to Election Observation in Somaliland

SONSAF, established in 2008, is a leading civil society platform that aims to engage and enhance the voices of Somaliland's non-state actors, and previously observed elections in Somaliland in 2010, 2012, 2017 and 2021. SONSAF has 67 members drawn from the fields of peacebuilding and democratization, security, poverty reduction, human rights, infrastructure, and good governance.11 In addition to its pre-election monitoring, in 2024, it deployed 300 domestic observers across all of Somaliland's regions on election day, who observed more than 10% of the overall polling stations established nationwide.

2.2 Voter Registration

The current national voter registry was first established in 2016. For these elections, a successful voter registration process concluded in December 2023.

Between May and December 2023, the NEC registered a total of 1,227,048 eligible voters, an increase on the 1,065,847 voters registered for the 2021 elections.

Turnout for voter registration was high, particularly in urban areas, although some drought-affected areas, particularly in Togdheer region, faced challenges in including all eligible rural voters. Most voters were registered in the Maroodi-Jeex region. In the first phase of voter registration, which lasted 15 days, voters registered at 176 locations. This was followed by registration continuing at designated centres in 23 constituencies and border areas for a further 15 days. The NEC employed biometric technology to ensure accuracy and to prevent duplicate registrations.

There is a direct correlation between the ability of all eligible Somaliland citizens to register and to vote in elections. In addition, the current national voter registry was first conducted in 2016, therefore, it should be reviewed and screened to remove the registrants that have passed away since 2016. Accordingly, there is an urgent need for Somaliland to establish a demographic census to inform voter registration.

A significant gap in extending the electoral franchise to all Somalilanders, is the exclusion of Somaliland's significant diaspora population, which represents a very large and unmapped population of Somalilanders, who may be eligible to participate as voters in elections, but who are not presently able to do so.

Extending the franchise to the Somaliland diaspora, and also, to nomadic communities would require a significant institutional effort, and additional resources, but could have the effect of widening, deepening and enhancing access to democracy and in the process strengthening Somaliland's democratic credentials.

SONSAF is optimistic that in future elections local clan elders, representing minority clans will encourage their communities to fully participate in voter registration initiatives. However, further resources and sustained effort to establish the requisite demographic data to fully map the Somaliland population and electorate to facilitate and enhance voter registration will be necessary to ensure that all eligible citizens of Somaliland are able to participate in Somaliland's democratic processes.

Overall, voter registration occurred peacefully, with no major security incidents recorded during the process.

2.3 Voter Education

Both the Somaliland Journalists Association (SOLJA) and the Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO) engaged in voter education efforts. SOLJA, in partnership with the NEC and NIMD, launched a voter education campaign in Ga'an Libah District, one of the most populous districts of Hargeisa. This campaign was based on the idea that an informed electorate is key to a strong democracy and will help increase voter turnout.

The campaign focused on reaching citizens for various reasons and educating them about the electoral process and the importance of casting their votes. SOLJA's team of dedicated facilitators worked effectively to engage communities using creative, practical methods, distributing and posting informative materials in easily accessible public areas, including schools, MCHs, and marketplaces. Public outreach and live events, such as Somali drama performances, aimed to connect both physically and virtually with as many people as possible.

SOLJA's contributions were guided by essential factors to emphasize the importance of voting as a fundamental democratic right, and to ensure voters were well-informed and actively engaged. This included the use of drama and social media to make voter education campaigns more accessible while reaching diverse people at Ga'an Libah district. Moreover, to expand the campaign and provide a practical lesson, SOLJA hosted a drama campaign in Hargeisa's Waahen market area where the public was shown the steps of the voting procedure. Many people congregated to watch the event.

SONYO employed diverse communication methods to educate the public about the voting process:

- **Audio Amplification:** Loudspeakers broadcast key messages in public spaces.
- **Radio Broadcasts:** Partnered with local stations to air voter education programs.
- **Printed Materials:** Distributed posters and stickers tailored to varying literacy levels.
- **Street Drama/Theater:** Delivered impactful messages through live storytelling in urban and rural areas.
- **Social media (Facebook):** Leveraged online platforms to engage youth audiences.

In total, SONYO's voter education efforts reached 1,195 participants, of which youth Engagement (under 35 years) incorporated 593 participants. In total, 671 male and 524 female participants were reached. 20 participants were persons with disabilities (PWDs).

Overall, the NEC made considerable efforts to engage in voter education, and delegated responsibilities among different civil society organisations to ensure widespread outreach to voters throughout the country. However, voter education programmes started late in the process, limiting the time available for voter education efforts to be effective. In a society with many rural voters, some of whom are illiterate, voter education efforts could also be better targeted to ensure citizens are appropriately prepared for election day.

2.4 Voter Education

Between 19 October and 10 November, Somaliland's election campaign was conducted vibrantly, competitively, and in a largely peaceful manner. SONSAF, as part of the Somaliland Civil Society Election Forum (SCISEF), monitored campaign activities throughout.

Political parties and political associations were free to campaign throughout the country, apart from in El Afweyn, where the NEC suspended campaigning on 23 October due to security concerns caused by ongoing intercommunal tensions.

While most parties and political associations adhered to the campaign regulations and agreed campaign schedule, some unfortunate incidents led to both fatalities and injuries. These mostly consisted of reckless driving by party and association affiliated individuals. Some citizens expressed concern at campaign supporters driving at high speeds through urban areas at night, particularly in Hargeisa.

On 29 October, both Kulmiye and Waddani parties were temporarily barred from campaign activities due to breaches of campaign protocol, including the failure to respect campaign start and end times. The NEC imposed fines on several individuals as well as political parties and associations for breaches of campaign ethics. Those fined included ruling party Kulmiye, opposition party Waddani, and associations Kaah and Horseed. Among those fined were Abdirnasir Buuni, Minister of Parliamentary and Constitutional Affairs, a Kulmiye official, Mustafe Qodax, head of Kulmiye's campaign, as well as the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Ali Hamud Jibril of Waddani, following a complaint by Kulmiye for defamatory remarks made during a speech in Borama, and Ismail Aden Osman, also of Waddani, who was also ordered to apologize to the Police Chief of Somaliland after making derogatory remarks.

The NEC's relevant committees effectively responded to these violations of the Code of Code and issued appropriate financial penalties, which appeared to be effective in dissuading further violations.

In response to armed individuals attending some party rallies, the NEC restricted campaigning at night, and reminded parties that it was their responsibility to regulate the behaviour of their supporters. This reasonable restriction on when campaign activity could occur improved the conduct of subsequent campaign events.

During the campaign, political parties and associations made a concerted effort to increase women's participation in the electoral process. Many women participated in campaign rallies, in part because parties and associations provided them with transport and other logistical support.

SONSAF received reports of the police arrest of some female campaigners from both political associations and political parties contesting the elections during the campaign. At least 35 female campaigners were arrested, with at least 8 women held in custody for at least one week, all from the Maroodi-Jeex region. The reasons for arrest ranged from the alleged involvement in physical or verbal altercations to the alleged misuse of, or irregularities accounting for, campaign funds.

2.5 Voting

On election day, SONSAF observed nearly 300 polling stations across the country, representing more than 10% of the overall polling stations established nationwide. While most SONSAF observers were freely able to observe polling, there were some initial limitations on observer access, particularly in Togdheer and Hargeisa.

Overall, opening procedures were assessed as good or very good in about 76% of observed stations. However, more than half of polling stations observed by SONSAF opened late, of which a quarter (40 out of 159) opened late by 1 hour or more. In 12 observed cases, stations opened more than 2 hours late. Most of the polling stations which were observed opening late were in Hargeisa. Many of the complaints registered from voters and party agents related to these delays.

In nearly 99% of observed polling stations, ballot boxes were shown as empty to the agents and observers present before being sealed. In 96% of observed polling stations, ballot boxes were sealed correctly, although 8% of ballot boxes observed in Saahil and 6% of ballot boxes observed in Hargeisa were not correctly sealed. In 99% of observed cases, ballots remained correctly secured before polling. While most equipment was present at polling stations, the flashlight to verify the presence of ink on voters' fingers was either not present or not functional in 26% of observed polling stations at the time of opening.

In nearly all observed cases, SONSAF observers assessed polling station staff as performing their duties impartially during polling procedures. The role of security forces was also generally positively assessed during polling, although there were a few instances where this was not the case. In the view of SONSAF observers, voters requiring assistance, including persons with disabilities and the illiterate, were almost always helped appropriately by polling station staff.

Adherence to the stated electoral procedures was generally good. However, in four instances, SONSAF observers noted that more than one person was allowed to vote at the same time, and on one occasion a SONSAF observer noted that a voter received more than one ballot. The most common problems were deficiencies with the electoral equipment, particularly with the biometric voter identification system, as well as its associated components.

During voting, SONSAF observers noted the presence of campaigning or campaign material at or in the vicinity of polling stations on 18 occasions, representing about 7% of SONSAF's observations.

SONSAF observed several serious incidents during polling. Two men were witnessed attempting to buy voter registration cards in Badhka, Hargeisa, leading to an altercation with waiting voters and with the security forces. In the Calamadaha area of Hargeisa, a polling station security officer inadvertently shot himself while firing in the air to disperse a crowd. However, such incidents were uncommon, and election day was generally calm, if sometimes boisterous.

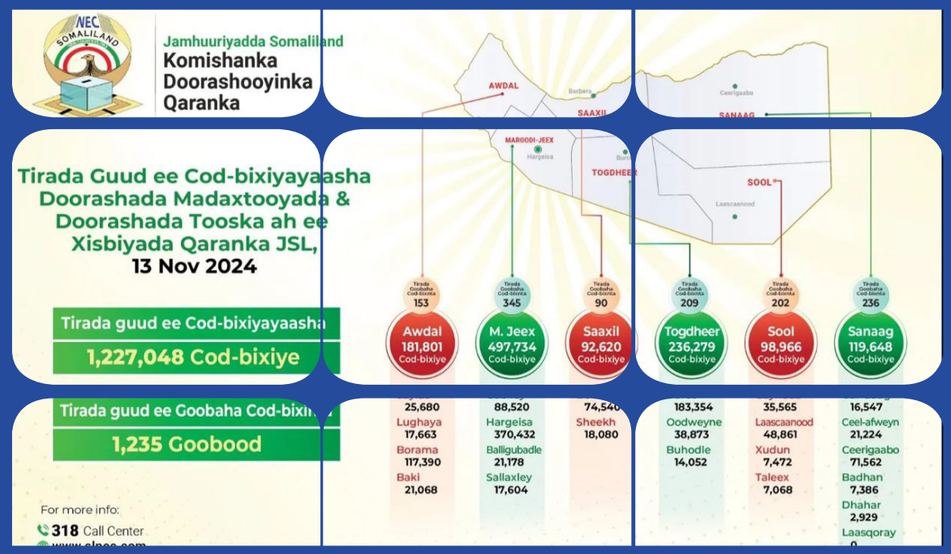
Toward the end of voting, SONSAF observers witnessed flagrant political interference in polling in Barwaaqo, Berbera by senior party, police, and municipal figures. SONSAF observers were forced to leave the polling station by the security forces. We call on the NEC to investigate this incident further and to take the necessary action, as appropriate.

2.6 Counting and Tabulation

In total, SONSAF observers witnessed the counting and tallying of votes in 242 polling stations across all regions of the country. In 95% of observed polling stations, counting was assessed as being efficiently conducted, with the polling station staff in 96% of observed polling stations being assessed as performing well or very well. In general, the closing and counting procedures were most positively assessed in Awdal and Togdheer regions.

However, in at least 23 instances in Awdal, Berbera, Burao, Hargeisa, and Sool, SONSAF observers reported that they were prevented from observing counting, either partially or entirely. Where SONSAF observers were present,counting and tallying appeared to have been conducted accurately, with the apparent choice of the voter respected.

SECTION THREE 3



Election Results and Appeals

On 19 November 2024, the NEC announced the final results of the 2024 elections.

Table 1: Total Votes & Turn Out		
Total Votes Cast	**Total Spoiled Votes**	**Total turnout as a % of registered voters**
674,863	9,528	53%

Table 2: Presidential Election Results by party		
Party	**Votes received**	**% of total votes**
Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi	407,908	63.92%
Kulmiye - Mr. Musa Bihi Abdi	225,519	34.81%
UCID - Faysal Ali Warabe	4,699	0.74%

Table 3: Presidential & Vice-Presidential results by candidate		
The following persons were duly elected as president and vice president		
Elected as president	**Elected as vice president**	**Party**
Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi	Mohamed Ali Abdi	Waddani

Table 4: Political Parties and Associations Election Results		
Political Parties	**Votes received**	**Percentage of votes received**
WADDANI	216,284	34.29 %
KAAH	131,507	20.85 %
KULMIYE	108,100	17.14 %
HORSEED	78,218	12.40 %
HILLAC		9.44 %
BARWAAQO	16,852	2.67 %
UCID	10,105	1.60 %
TALO - WADAAG	6,080	0.96 %
HORSEED	78,218	12.40 %
REJO	2,083	0.33 %
SHACABKA	2,014	0.32 %

Figure No.: Pie Chart – Vote distribution by Political Party
Somaliland Presidential Election Results 2024

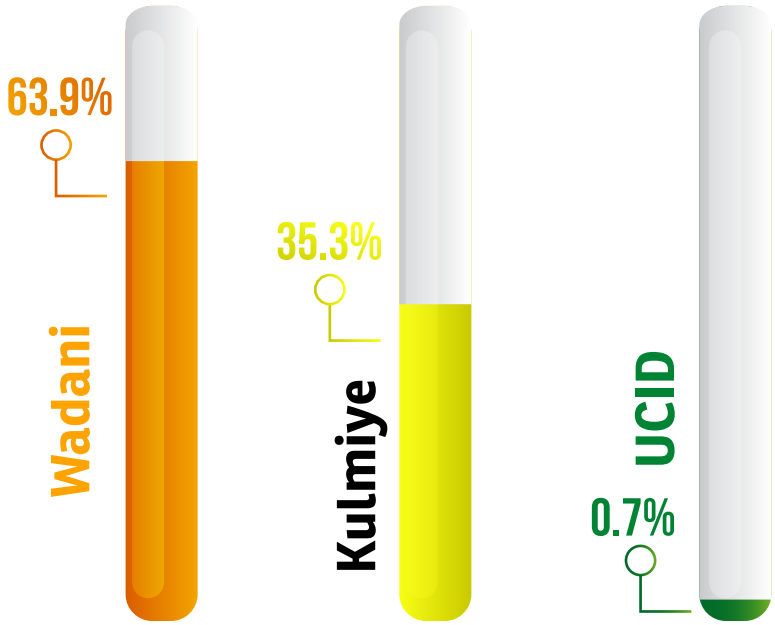
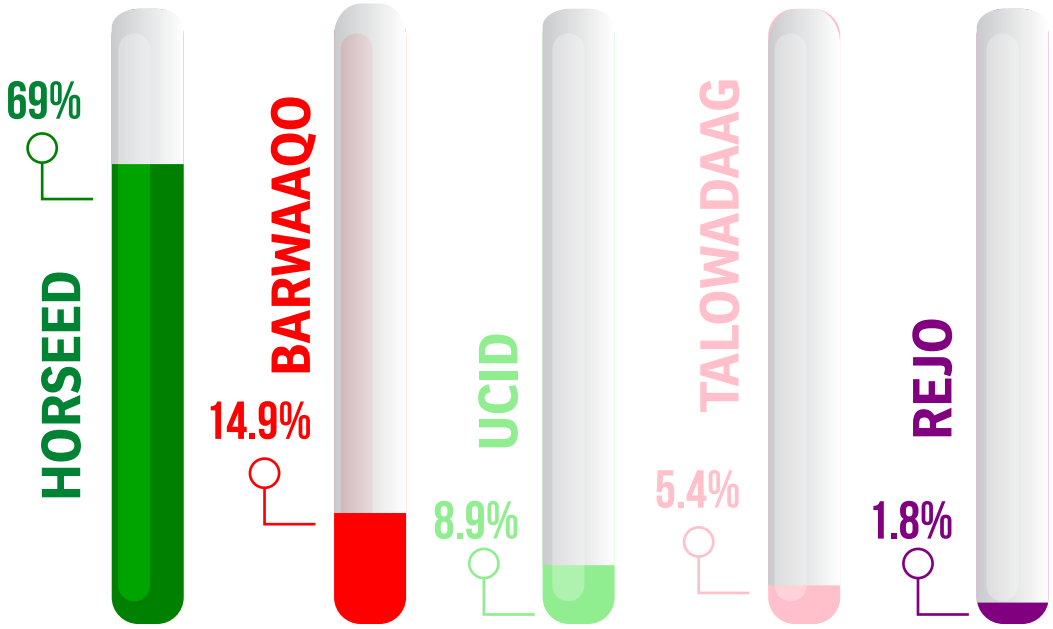


Figure No.: Pie Chart - Vote distribution by Political Association
Somaliland Political Parties and Associations Election Results 2024



The NEC confirmed that no objections or appeals were filed in relation to the 2024 elections.

In the absence of any objections or appeals presented to the Supreme Court, and in accordance with the constitution, Chief Justice Adam Haji, validated the final results on 27 November 2024, enabling the NEC to issue the final election results, confirming that Mr. Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi and Mr. Mohamed Ali Abdi were duly elected as President and Vice President, in accordance with the constitution and laws of the Republic of Somaliland.

SECTION FOUR 4

Women's Engagement by Civil Society in the Electoral Process

1. SECTION FOUR: Women's Engagement by Civil Society in the Electoral Process

As noted in previous SONSAF final reports, formal female representation in Somaliland's politics remains low.12 At the same time, women play an active role in campaigning and other political party work, election administration, as voters, and in civil society. Such multi-faceted participation was evident throughout the 2024 electoral process.

The 2024 elections brought heightened risks for women, including of gender-based violence (GBV). The NAGAAD Network, a member of SONSAF, played a key role in addressing GBV and in ensuring women's participation in the electoral process through both pre-election preparations and measures on Election Day.

Recognizing the vulnerabilities women face during elections, the NAGAAD Network implemented a series of initiatives aimed at protection and empowerment, including a GBV Call Center, the Women's Situation Room, training policewomen on handling GBV, and

4.1 GBV Call Center and Women's Situation Room

In the 2021 elections, the NAGAAD Network launched the Women's Situation Room (WSR) as a temporary hub to mobilize women through meetings and awareness raising campaigns, with the aim of ensuring their active participation in advancing electoral procedures and fostering peaceful elections. This initiative not only proved instrumental in mitigating election-related challenges but also inspired significant progress, highlighting the critical need for a permanent structure.

Recognizing the potential of the WSR, the NAGAAD Network expanded the scope of the WSR by establishing the Gender-Based Violence Call Center. On March 5, 2022, the President of Somaliland, Muse Bihi Abdi, inaugurated the WSR and GBV Call Center—the first of its kind in Somaliland.13 The center became key in supporting survivors of GBV, monitoring incidents, and promoting inclusivity during electoral processes.

During the 2024 election period, NAGAAD established a year-round GBV Call Center and WSR. Steps taken included:

- Training Call Center Operators: 15 individuals were helped to develop their communication and documentation skills by the NAGAAD Network. The aim of the skills development was to improve operators' ability to document cases and provide immediate assistance.
- Developing Referral Systems: Operators learned to efficiently connect survivors to service providers, ensuring their needs were met swiftly and sensitively. and refer survivors to appropriate services, including medical care, psychosocial support, and legal aid.
- Engaging Women Political Leaders: At NAGAAD's request,
  Women from Somaliland's three main political parties nominated by the women wings of the Political Parties were trained on the Women's Situation Room's role and the resources available. This empowered them to advocate for these services within their communities and to support women during campaigns.

4.2 Training Policewomen

Photo 2: trained Policewomen

To enhance security and sensitivity in handling GBV cases, 35 female police officers from various stations across the country were trained on:

- Responding to GBV incidents with victim-centred approaches.
- Collaborating with NAGAAD's Situation Room to address urgent cases.
- Ensuring women's safety during public gatherings and at polling stations.

4.3 Election Day: Real-Time Support and Response

On Election Day, NAGAAD's GBV Call Center operated as a hub of assistance:

- Addressing Complaints: The centre handled 83 calls (60 from women, 23 from men), about polling station complaints, including confusion concerning the exact polling station at which to vote, police harassment, and minor conflicts. 51 of these calls were from Hargeisa and the remaining 32 were from other parts of the country. 15 of these calls were urgent calls that involved police harassment during the election day.
- Collaborating with Stakeholders: Representatives from the police, Human Rights Commission, and other partners were present and actively involved at the NAGADD Situation Room, providing immediate intervention and ensuring proper case documentation.
- GBV-Specific Incidents: Reports included women staff harassed by political representatives and police misconduct, showcasing the ongoing challenges women face in political spaces.

NAGAAD's initiatives revealed key trends and challenges:

- Prevalence of GBV: 285 cases were reported in the pre-election period. These ranged from physical injuries to psychological abuse, emphasizing the need for sustained support systems.
- Digital Harassment: Over 150 cases of online abuse highlighted the risks of social media as a tool for intimidation during elections.
- Underrepresentation and Advocacy Gaps: Despite efforts, structural barriers continue to limit women's full participation in Somaliland's democratic processes.

NAGAAD's work during the 2024 elections underscores the importance of collective action in safeguarding women's rights during political transitions. Through its commitment to safety, inclusivity, and advocacy, NAGAAD Network has set a powerful precedent for creating democratic spaces where everyone can participate without fear.

4.4 Minority Groups

The minority community as locally know 'Gabooye communities who were culturally marginalized in their different spectrum rights including their political fair share, economic, education and social rights. The minority community is a fragments or dispersed community to all Somaliland six regions.

The minority community in Somaliland as they key electoral process participators in all Somaliland region was hugely visible in elections seasons be it pre- Election, election Day and post-election.

The minority existing NGOs including ADAM DYDO and Bulsho, were leading the campaign for election participation in order to exercise their Constitutional rights by conducting voter education and awareness campaigns through Somaliland regions. 28 Minority members were also identified as election local observers hired by the SONSAF through a fair selection process. On November 13 2024 the largest number of minority communities were casted to vote.
Senior CSOs members from the minority community were also part domestic observers in collaboration with the SONSAF supervised election processes during the Election Day.

After the election days ADAM Academy as the only organization advocate the right for the minority community, met with the international observers that were witnessed the Election Day and exchanged information of how minority community in all Somaliland regions took part the election and their political right exercises.

SECTION FIVE 5

Engaging Persons with Disabilities in the Electoral Process

1. SECTION FIVE: Engaging Persons with Disabilities in the Electoral Process

The Somaliland National Disability Federation (SNDF) has previously estimated that 700,000 people have disabilities in Somaliland.14 In 2024, SNDF collaborated with the NEC and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) to organize and provide essential facilities for persons with disabilities who registered to vote. The SNDF and its partners ensured that the necessary resources and support systems were in place in some polling stations. These resources included 18 portable disability ramps, a call center for assisting persons with disabilities, 18 mobility aids (wheelchairs), and transportation services across all six regions of Somaliland. These efforts aimed to facilitate the participation of persons with disabilities in both the presidential and political party elections in Somaliland.

Photo 3: wheelchairs and the portable ramps used to assist PWDs on election day

Table 5: Number of Persons with Disabilities Assisted in 2024

Regions	Number of people with disabilities Assisted
Buroa - Togdheer	124
Borama - Awdal	105
Hargeisa - Maroodijeeh	210
Berbera - Saahil	94
Erigavo - Sanaag	69
Ainabo - Sool	93
Total	695

SECTION SIX 6

SOLJA's engagement in Somaliland Elections

1. SECTION SIX: SOLJA's engagement in Somaliland Elections

From 29 October 29 to 5 November 5, SOLJA organized an extensive journalist training program across five regions of Somaliland: Togdheer, Sanaag, Sahil, Awdal, and Maroodi-Jeex. A total of 368 journalists, including 304 males and 64 females, representing various districts within these regions, participated in the training.

The trainings were designed to address the challenges journalists face during elections, including managing misinformation, handling political pressures, and ensuring unbiased reporting. With Somaliland's upcoming elections being a critical milestone in its democratic development, the initiative aimed to equip journalists with the skills to navigate these challenges and contribute to a peaceful and well-educated electoral process. These trainings were intended to enhance the credibility and responsibility of local media, thereby strengthening public trust in the media.
Key topics covered in the training included:

- The media code of conduct for elections.
- Understanding election cycles.
- Combating disinformation and misinformation.
- Conflict sensitivity.
- Avoiding tribalism in reporting.

After completing these trainings, journalists gained valuable insights to improve their reporting skills and contribute to maintaining the integrity of election coverage. The training ultimately supported the development of a more responsible and informed media landscape in Somaliland, fostering democracy and promoting fair journalism during and after the election period.
As a result, SOLJA noted a significant outcome in which journalists reported the election results more fairly and balanced. In these elections, No media was accused of reporting fake news or violating the code of conduct the media signed with NEC.

On election day, SOLJA deployed 28 journalists to various regions across the country to monitor events and incidents on election day. The deployed journalists reported that the election occurred peacefully, with no incidents of illegal activity, intimidation, or violence recorded throughout the day. However, they did note some minor technical issues, including malfunctions with biometric systems, delays in the voting queues, and reports of underage children casting their votes at certain polling stations. Despite these minor challenges, theoverall election process was largely peaceful and orderly, with no significant disruptions to the democratic process.

The NEC and SOLJA signed a media code of conduct designed to guide journalists and the broader media landscape throughout the election period. The code of conduct outlined the ethical standards, responsibilities, and expectations for media professionals during the elections, ensuring fair, accurate, and impartial reporting. However, the Code was agreed at a late stage.

A committee of seven individuals was appointed to oversee the implementation and enforcement of the code, which SOLJA judged to have performed satisfactorily. Of these, two members were appointed explicitly by SOLJA, reflecting the association's key role in upholding the integrity of the media during this critical time.

SECTION SEVEN 7

SONYO's engagement in Somaliland Elections

1. SECTION SEVEN: SONYO's engagement in Somaliland Elections

The SONYO Umbrella was pivotal in ensuring informed, peaceful, and inclusive participation in Somaliland's 2024 presidential elections. As a leading youth-focused organization, SONYO executed various activities, from voter education campaigns and youth engagement forums to serving as part of the domestic observation mission. SONYO's role included organising:

Youth-led Townhall Meetings

SONYO conducted four youth-led townhall meetings to gather youth perspectives and formulate the Youth Manifesto:

- **Hargeisa:** Addressing urban youth priorities.
- **Borama:** Highlighting regional challenges and opportunities.
- **Berbera:** Focusing on coastal community issues.
- **Burao:** Engaging rural and semi-urban youth.

The Youth Manifesto was launched as a roadmap for youth-inclusive governance, emphasizing demands related to climate action, management, and peacebuilding.

Promoting Peaceful Elections

To promote peaceful elections, SONYO organized:

- **Sports Events:** Held in Hargeisa, Borama, Berbera, and Burao to foster unity.
- **Drama Sessions:** Performed in public spaces and aired on TV, using storytelling to advocate for non-violence and civic engagement
- **Peace Messaging through Bulk SMS:** In partnership with Telesom Telecommunication Company, SONYO disseminated thousands of SMS peace messages emphasizing non-violence and active voter participation.
- **Dialogue with Political Parties:** SONYO facilitated a dialogue session between youth representatives and political parties, fostering mutual understanding and emphasizing youth inclusion in governance.

SECTION EIGHT 8

Recommendations

1. SECTION EIGHT: Recommendations

SONSAF acknowledges that Somaliland's democracy is a work in progress. To that end, the recommendations in this report here are offered constructively with the aim of strengthening Somaliland's electoral system, enhancing the legitimacy of future elections, and building greater trust among Somaliland's citizens and the international community. While all stakeholders have a role to play, we focus here on recommendations to three key audiences: political parties, the government and parliament of Somaliland, and the NEC.

8.1 Recommendations to Political Parties

8.1.1. Improve Conduct of the Election Campaign

To improve the civility of the election campaign, all contesting political parties should ensure that their campaign representatives are aware of the requirements for responsible campaigning, including desisting from hate speech.

8.1.2. Develop the Quality of Political Party Agents

To increase the quality of political party representation, political parties should ensure that all political party agents sent to polling stations are trained ahead of election day and are fully cognizant of their duties and responsibilities.

8.1.3. Enhance the Transparency of Campaign Finance

To improve public confidence in the electoral process, political parties should disclose and publish the details of their campaign contributions and expenses, in accordance with international best practice.

8.1.4. Improve Political Party Inclusivity

To foster inclusivity, all elected officials, political parties and associations should be encouraged to commit to, adopt and implement policies that promote cross-clan representation within parties, focussing on the socio-economic and policy issues most directly affecting their constituents' members and supporters.

8.2 Recommendations to the Government and Parliament of Somaliland

8.2.1 Avoid Term Extensions

To avoid chronic election delays, the mechanism for term extensions should be reviewed. In specific terms, this should consist of enhanced constitutional authority and commensurate statutory powers for the Supreme Court to review, and where necessary to deny and to overturn executive and legislature decisions to delay elections and/or to extend their term of office, beyond their constitutionally mandated term limits.

8.2.2. Improve the Separation of Powers

To avoid chronic election delays, the mechanism for term extensions should be reviewed. In specific terms, this should consist of enhanced constitutional authority and commensurate statutory powers for the Supreme Court to review, and where necessary to deny and to overturn executive and legislature decisions to delay elections and/or to extend their term of office, beyond their constitutionally mandated term limits.

8.2.3 Strengthen the Legal Framework for Elections

Regular reviews and updates to Somaliland's electoral laws are required to align them with emerging challenges and international best practices. Updates should address issues like the integration of new political parties and technologies while ensuring compliance with democratic norms. In particular, to advance transparency and public confidence in the process, the electoral legal framework should be amended to enhance transparency by:

1. Requiring immediate public display of vote counts at polling stations.

2. Outline a mechanism for extending the licences of political parties and associations beyond ten years.

8.2.3 Urgent Decision Needed on the Future of the House of Guurti

The process for electing the House of Guurti needs to be decided. The current members of the Guurti have been in office since 1997, and as of the writing of this report, Somaliland lacks any legislation governing the election of the Guurti. There is also ongoing debate about whether the House should be elected or selected, with some arguing that selection is necessary to ensure proper representation of all clans in the House. Regardless of the approach, Somaliland's political leaders must make a decision about the future of the Guurti. Such an important and powerful institution cannot remain unelected any longer

8.2.4 Locus Standi for Civil Society.

The Supreme Court should be specifically empowered to review the constitutionality of such decisions through formal judicial review, and this should be further complimented by a constitutional and statutory right of Somaliland citizens and civil society to challenge potentially unconstitutional or ultra vires decisions and actions of the executive and legislative

Locus standi for civil society is a fundamental, and in fact the primary tool for guaranteeing the constitutional, and statutory rights of Somalilanders to hold free and fair elections and to prevent chronic abuses of power by political elites.

This would require amendment to, extant election related legislative frameworks, and promulgation of regulations and practice direction of the Supreme Court, which should be enhanced such as to specifically provide for locus standi. This would establish a clear and unimpeachable statutory basis, enhancing the legal rights of Somaliland civil society organisations, political parties and associations to seek formal judicial review of proposals by the executive and legislature to delay elections and/or or to extend their term of office beyond their constitutionally mandated term limits.

Progressively extending locus standi to cover all government decisions, will serve to strengthen, deepen and broaden Somaliland's nascent democratic institutions and would reduce the risk of election related political instability and mitigate the risks of election related violence, strengthening the resilience of the Somaliland polity.

8.2.6 Improve the Campaign Finance Legal Framework

To enhance fairness and transparency and prevent undue influence and foreign interference in Somaliland elections, legislation establishing clear rules and regulations around the financing of political parties, associations, and candidates should be introduced. Such legislation should require more timely disclosure of campaign contributions and expenses.

8.2.7 Institutionalize NEC's Budget and Increase Somaliland's Contributions to Financing its Elections

To strengthen its independence and operational capacity, and to sustain its operations between elections, the NEC should be granted an institutionalized annual budget by the Executive, to be approved by Parliament in a timely manner. This would enable the commission to maintain a permanent secretariat and ensure financial stability, in line with best practice for independent electoral management bodies.

Moreover, the Government of Somaliland should further increase its contribution to fund future elections, to ensure that Somaliland elections are not dependent on financial and technical contributions from international partners.

8.3 Recommendations to the National Electoral Commission (NEC)

8.3.1. Streamline Domestic Observer Accreditation

To ensure independent domestic election observation is unimpeded, the NEC should streamline the domestic election observer accreditation process, in line with international best practice. This includes consulting domestic election observer groups prior to finalizing the observer code of conduct and any memoranda of understanding with observer groups; ensuring clear timelines for the accreditation process; and issuing accreditation documents in a timely fashion.

8.3.2 Guarantee Domestic Observer Access to All Stages of the Electoral Process

To uphold transparency, the NEC must ensure that domestic election observers have unrestricted access to all stages of the election process, including vote counting, in accordance with guidance from the United Nations Human Rights Committee.15 If the legal framework remains ambiguous on the question of access to the count, the NEC should use its powers to issue administrative instructions / electoral regulations to ensure there is unimpeded and continuous access for domestic observers. Furthermore, it is essential that adequate security protocols are implemented to safeguard both the observers themselves and the integrity of the electoral proceedings. The NEC must eliminate restrictions in regions like Togdheer, Awdal, and Sahil.

8.3.3 Strengthen the Biometric System

To make election administration more robust, the NEC must address the technical shortcomings of the biometric voter identification system. This involves a thorough assessment to improve system functionality and ensure future reliability. Comprehensive training programs for system operators should also be implemented to minimize delays and enhance operational efficiency, as would further testing of systems before deployment. These measures will increase voter confidence and uphold the credibility of the electoral process.

8.3.4 Continue to Improve the Voter Registration Process

To avoid delays caused by periodic registration, the NEC should transition to a continuous voter registration system. By streamlining the process, regular updates to the voter registry, including the removal of deceased individuals, could be conducted to enhance accuracy and reliability. This aligns with international best practices for maintaining an up-to-date voter roll.

Further resources and sustained effort to establish the requisite demographic data to fully map the Somaliland population and electorate such as to facilitate and enhance voter registration to ensure that all eligible citizens of Somaliland, are able to participate in Somaliland's democratic processes.

8.3.5 Expand Public Awareness and Education Campaigns

At an early stage in future electoral processes, the NEC, in collaboration with political parties and civil society, should launch widespread public education campaigns to inform citizens about their voting rights, responsibilities, and avenues for reporting irregularities. Public awareness efforts should also emphasize the importance of peaceful and legal channels for resolving grievances, contributing to a more informed and engaged electorate. More comprehensive efforts are needed to ensure that all citizens, particularly in rural areas, are aware of their rights and how to participate in the electoral process. Specific actions could include increasing production of materials such as stickers, which were highly popular among the public, and providing adequate branded materials for voter education teams.

8.3.6 Timely and Transparent Response to Issues

To maintain the electoral process's integrity, timely resolution of election-related incidents, such as disruptions at polling stations and vote counting irregularities, is vital. The NEC should establish mechanisms for swift and transparent responses in line with international best practices, such as those outlined by the International IDEA and ACDEG. Prompt responses to observer obstructions and other irregularities will reinforce public trust and reduce potential conflicts.

8.3.7 Investigate and Address Electoral Misconduct

Allegations of electoral malpractice, such as voter card purchasing and security officer misconduct, must be investigated thoroughly. The NEC should hold perpetrators accountable and implement preventive measures, adhering to the principle of accountability. Transparent investigations and sanctions will deter future violations and strengthen electoral integrity.

8.3.8 Improve Accessibility for Persons with Disabilities

The NEC should take further steps to guarantee polling station accessibility for persons with disabilities (PwDs), as outlined in the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). Collaboration with civil society organizations and PwD-led initiatives, such as the work of SNDF, should be enhanced to ensure inclusive participation in the electoral process. In particular, the NEC should consider:

1. Expanding Accessibility Resources: The number of mobility aids (wheelchairs, ramps) and transportation services should be increased to cover a wider area and ensure that all PWDs can access polling stations.

2. Mapping PwDs: Future updates to the voter registry could note voters with disabilities, in order for NEC officials to better prepare and accommodate voters in their respective polling stations.

3. Training Election Officials: Election officials should receive in-depth training on how to assist PWDs, ensuring an inclusive and respectful environment at all polling stations.

4. Continued Community Outreach: Continued awareness-raising efforts are crucial to ensure PWDs know their rights and that support is available during elections.

5. Collaborating with Disability Organizations: Strengthen collaboration with disability-focused organizations to ensure that the needs of PWDs are integrated into all stages of election planning and implementation.

8.3.9 Foster Legal Adherence on Announcing Results

To enhance the NEC's sole authority to announce official results, clear communication and enforcement mechanisms should be established to discourage the dissemination of unofficial results. Political parties must be reminded of their legal obligations to respect the election process, especially when it comes to the announcement of results.

8.3.10 Ensure Inclusive Elections in Eastern Regions

In accordance with the principle of universal suffrage articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), every effort should be made to guarantee that all citizens have equal access to vote, including citizens in Somaliland's eastern regions. Given that elections were not held in three districts in the eastern regions of Somaliland, the NEC should prioritize improving security and electoral infrastructure in these areas to ensure that future elections are inclusive and accessible to all citizens.

8.3.11 Support Efforts to Counter GBV During Elections

To enhance the work of NAGAAD and its members, the NEC could assist by enhancing public awareness of support systems like the GBV Call Center, strengthening its partnership with NAGAAD in relation to mitigating women harassment during elections, expanding digital safety campaigns to combat online harassment, and increasing outreach to women in rural communities to ensure inclusivity.

References

1. Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland, 2001
2. Article 22.2 (Political, Economic, Social and Electoral Rights), provides "Every citizen who fulfils the requirements of the law shall have the right to be elected (to a public office) and to vote."
3. On 15 November 2024 President Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud ("Silanyo") passed away aged 88.
4. Article 9.2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland
5. Article 3.1 Somaliland General Election Law No.91/2003
6. Article 58.1, Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland
7. Article 6.4 and 6.5 Somaliland General Law for National Elections and Voters' Registration Law No. 91/2023
8. https://x.com/SLNECHQ/status/1573688233720004608, 24 September 2022
9. Article 83(5), Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland
10. Article 10(2) Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland.
11. For more information on SONSAF, please see https://www.facebook.com/SONSAFPlatform
12. For instance, see Somaliland Votes for Peace, Combined Parliamentarian and Local Elections 2021, November 2021.
13. The President Of Somaliland, H.E Muse Bihi Abdi, Has Cut The Ribbon On The Women Situation Room & GBV Call Center – The First Of Its Kind In Somaliland – Under The Implementation Of Nagaad Network In Hargeisa, https://nagaad.org/2022/03/05/the-president-of-somaliland-h-e-muse-bihi-abdi-has-cut-the-ribbon-on-the-women-situation-room-gbv-call-center-the-first-of-its-kind-in-somaliland-under-the-implementation-of-nagaad-network-in/
14. Somaliland Votes for Peace, Combined Parliamentarian and Local Elections 2021, November 2021, p. 41.
15. United Nations Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 25: The Right to Participate in Public Affairs, Voting Rights and the Right to Equal Access to Public Service (Article 25)

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: OBSERVATION OPENING FORM
APPENDIX 2: OBSERVATION VOTING FORM
APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATION CLOSING FORM
APPENDIX 4: OBSERVATION COUNTING FORM

SONSAF

Domestic Election Observers - 2021 Local Council And Parliamentary Elections - Somaliland

Opening Form

TEAM N°: - -	FORM N° -
Arrival time:	Departure time:

Region / District:

PS Name

PS N°

Rural

Urban

No. of ballots received

Environment *(from 1 to 4, if yes, pls comment)*

		Yes	No	
1	Did you observe any form of intimidation within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			1
2	Did you observe any form of disorder within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			2
3	Did you observe any campaign material within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			3
4	Were campaign activities taking place around the polling station?			4

Authorised persons

		Yes	No	
5	Were all Four Polling Station Electoral Office (PSEO) members present? If no, pls specify:			5
6	Was the Chairperson a woman?			6
7	How many members of the PSEO were women?			7
8	Were party representatives present in the polling station?			8
	UCID KULMIYE WADDANI			
9	Were International observers present in the polling station?			9

Opening Procedures

		Yes	No	
10	Were all essential materials available? If no, which one(s) were missing?			10
	Voters list Stamp Ballot box Ballot papers			
	Indelible ink Seals Voting Booths			
11	Did the PS Chairperson Allocated duties of polling staff?			11
12	Was the inner cover of the ballot box properly sealed?			12
13	Were party representatives and / or domestic observers allowed to record the number of the seal?			13
14	Did the PS is accessible to people with disability?			
15	Did the Chairperson check the accreditation and the ID card of party agents and observers?			14
16	Did the PS Chairperson show to the party representatives and domestic observers that the ballot box was empty before sealing it? (Add To Somali Form)			
17	Were any unauthorised persons present at the polling station? If yes, please comment.			15
16	Have you observed any disorder inside the polling station during the preparations for the opening?			16
17	Did the polling start later than 07:15? (if yes, note the time the polling started below)			17
	Time of opening			
18	Did the Chairperson/or the Secretary enter properly the required information into the polling book?			18
19	Were any objections raised? (if yes, comment)			19

Assessment

20 Your overall assessment of the opening process

A. Very good B. Good C. Fair D. Poor E. Very Poor 20

Please, use the back of the form for comments

SONSAF

Domestic Election Observers - 2021 Local Council And Parliamentary Elections - Somaliland

Polling Form

TEAM N°: - -	FORM N° -
Arrival time:	Departure time:

Region / District

PS Name

PS N°

Rural

Urban

No. of registered voters

No. of ballots received

No. of persons voted by your departure

Environment *(please, comment on any observed irregularity)*

		Yes	No	
1	Did you observe any form of intimidation within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			1
2	Did you observe any form of disorder within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			2
3	Did you observe any campaign material within the outer perimeter of the polling station?			3
4	Were campaign activities taking place around the polling station?			4
5	Were any other unauthorised persons present at the polling station?			5
6	Was the police / security presence at the polling station according to the regulations?			6
7	Did you observe any campaign material inside the polling station?			7
8	Did you observe any form of intimidation inside the polling station?			8
9	Were the PSEO members performing their duties in an impartial manner?			9
10	Were there any restrictions that prevented observers / party pepresentatives from performing their duties?			10

Authorised persons

		Yes	No	
11	Were all five PSEO members present? If no, pls specify:			11
12	Was the Chairperson a woman?			12
13	How many members of the PSEO were women?			13
14	Were party representatives present in the polling station?			14
	KULMIYE UCID WADDAN			
15	Were domestic observers present in the polling station?			15
	PROGRESSIO OTHER * *specify			

Polling procedures *(please, comment on any observed irregularity)*

		Yes	No	n/a	
16	Were all essential materials available? If no, which one(s) were missing?				16
	Voters list Stamp Ballot box Ballot papers				
	Indelible ink Seals Voting Booths				
17	Was the inner cover of the ballot box properly sealed?				17
18	Were voters' fingers checked for traces of indelible ink?				18
19	Did every voter present a valid Identification Document? (If no, pls comment)				19
20	Was every voter's name marked on the voters list?				20
21	Was the back of the ballot paper stamped with the PS stamp?				21
22	Was the voter's little finger nail of her/his left hand marked with indelible ink?				22
23	Were disabled voters asking for assistance assisted according to the procedures?				23
24	Did you observe any case of voters receiving more than one ballot paper?				24
25	Did you observe any case of proxy voting?				25
26	Did you observe any case of group voting?				26
27	Were any voters refused the right to vote? if yes, pls comment and how many?				27
28	Does the layout of the polling station ensure the secrecy of the vote?				28
29	Did you observe any intentional breach of the secrecy of the vote? (if yes, pls comment)				29
30	Did the party representatives or/and the domestic observers express any concerns regarding the process in the polling station? (if yes, pls comment)				30

Did the party representatives or/and the domestic observers express any concerns regarding the process in the polling station? (if yes, pls comment)

31	Did the Chairperson, the Complaints Officer or the Secretary enter properly the required information into the polling book ?			31

Complaints

		Yes	No	n/a	
32	Were any complaints recorded into the polling book by the time of your arrival? (if yes ,comment)				32
33	Were any complaints raised during your observation in the polling station? (if yes, comment)				33
34	Were any complaints recorded into the polling book during your observation in the polling station? (if				34

Assessment

35 Evaluate the general environment/atmosphere at the polling station

A. Very good ☐ B. Good ☐ C. Fair ☐ D. Poor ☐ E. Very Poor ☐ 35

36 Evaluate how the procedures were implemented by the PSC members

A. Very good ☐ B. Good ☐ C. Fair ☐ D. Poor ☐ E. Very Poor ☐ 36

37 Evaluate the voters' understanding of the procedures

A. Very good ☐ B. Good ☐ C. Fair ☐ D. Poor ☐ E. Very Poor ☐ 37

38 Evaluate the overall performance of the PSC members

A. Very good ☐ B. Good ☐ C. Fair ☐ D. Poor ☐ E. Very Poor ☐ 38

39 Your overall assessment of the polling process

A. Very good ☐ B. Good ☐ C. Fair ☐ D. Poor ☐ E. Very Poor ☐ 39

Please, use the back of the form for comments

Comments for polling

SONSAF

Domestic Election Observers - 2021 Local Council And Parliamentary Elections - Somaliland

Closing and Counting Form

TEAM N°: - -	FORM N° -
Arrival time:	Departure time:

Region / District: PS Name

PS N° Rural Urban

No. of registered voters No. of ballots received

Closing procedures

		Yes	No	n/a	
1	Were voters queuing outside the polling station at 6:00 pm?				1
2	Were all voters queuing allowed to vote? If no, pls comment.				2
3	What time did the polling station close?				3
4	Did the total number of voters' names marked on the voting list equal the number of used ballots?				4
5	Were the used, unused and spoiled ballots properly reconciled according to the procedures?				5
6	Were the spoiled ballots properly reconciled according to the procedures?				6

Authorised persons and unauthorised persons in the PS

		Yes	No	
7	Were all five PSEO members present? If no, pls specify:			7
8	Was the Chairperson a woman?			8
9	How many members of the PSEO were women?			9
10	Were party representatives present in the polling station during the count?			10
	KULMIYE UCID WADDAN			
11	Were domestic observers present in the polling station during the count?			11
	PROGRESSIO OTHER * *specify			
12	Were any unauthorised persons present in the polling station during the count? If yes, pls specify:			12

Counting Procedures

		Yes	No	n/a	
13	Did the Chairperson remove the two seals from the external cover and the seal from the inner cover of the ballot box in front of party representatives and domestic observers?				13
14	Did the total number of voters' names marked on the voting list equal the number of ballots found inside the ballot box? if no, pls. record the figure of the discrepancy:				14
15	Were invalid ballots determined according to the procedures?				15
16	Were disputed ballot papers determined according to the procedures?				16
17	Were all ballots without the PS stamp determined as invalid?				17
18	Were the ballots for each party accurately counted and recorded?				18
19	Did the PSEO complete the Writing Records				19
20	Were there any major problems with the packing of materials/documents?				20

Complaints

		Yes	No	
21	Were any complaints raised during the closing and counting process? (if yes, comment)			21
22	Were any complaints recorded in the Written Records? (if yes, comment)			22

Transparency

		Yes	No	
23	Were party representatives / observers restricted in observing or getting the necessary information?			23
24	Did all party representatives receive a copy of the Written Records ?			24
25	Did you observe any form of intimidation inside the polling station? (If yes, pls comment)			25
26	Did any person disrupt the counting process? (If yes, pls comment)			26

27	Evaluate the general environment/atmosphere inside the polling station										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		27
28	Evaluate how the counting procedures were implemented by the PSEO members										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		28
29	Evaluate the transparency of the counting process										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		29
30	Evaluate the overall performance of the PSEO members										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		30
31	Evaluate the performance of the domestic observers										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		31
32	Evaluate the performance of the party representatives										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		32
33	Your overall assessment of the closing and counting process										
	A. Very good		B. Good		C. Fair		D. Poor		E. Very Poor		33

	Results	
1	Number of received ballots	
2	Number of voters who voted in that polling stat	
3	Numver of spoiled ballot papers	
4	Number of disputed ballot papers	
5	Number of valid ballot papers	
6	Votes for KULMIYE	
7	Votes for UCID	
8	Votes for WADDANI	

Comments for Closing and Counting

Goobjoogaha maxaliga ah ee Doorashada Madaxtooyada iyo Ururada Siyaasada 2024

Foomka Tirinta

W.Imaanshaha:

W.Tegitaanka:

Gobol / Degmo:

M.Goobta Codaynta:

No. Goobta Codaynta: **Miyi** **Magaalo**

Tirada Waraaqaha Codaynta ee la helay

Xaalada (laga bilaabo 1 ilaa 4, Haday "Haa" tahay Fadlan sheeg)

		Haa	Maya
1	Imisa xubnood oo ka tirsan shaqaalaha goobta codbixinta ayaa ku sugnaa goobta xiligii tirinta codadka?		
2	Miyaa loo diiday goobjoogayaasha gudaha iyo muraaqibiinta xisbiyada in ay joogaan goobta codbixinta markii la bilaabay tirinta codadka?		
3	Gudoomiyuhu ma uga jaray lingaxa gudaha iyo ka dibeda ee sanduuqa codaynta wakiilada xisbiyada iyo goobjoogayaasha gudaha hortooda?		
4	Ma loo go'aamiyey codadka aan saxa ahayn si waafaqsan nidaamka?		
	Ma loo habeeyey codadkii ay isku qabsadeen xisbiyada si waafaqsan nidaamka?		
5	Ma la tirtiray dhamaan codadkii aan lahayn shaanbada goobta codaynta in ay yihiin qaar aan sax ahayn?		
6	Ma loo tiriyey loona diiwaangaliyey codadkii uu helay musharax kastaa si sax ah?		
7	Ma dhameeyeen qoraalka iyo tirinta xafiiska goobta codayntu?		
8	Ma la siiyey muraaqibiinta xisbiyada nuqul qoraal ah oo natiijada ah? Haday " Maya" tahay fadlan sheeg sababta?_____		
9	Ma loo ogolaaday goobjoogayaasha gudaha in ay qortaan natiijada codadka la kala helay?Haday " Maya" tahay fadlan sheeg sababta?_____		

Natiijada

10	Tirada codadka la helay	
11	Tirada codbixiyayaasha ah ee ka codeeyey goobta codaynta	
12	Tirada codadka xumaaday	

13	Tirada codadka lagu muransan yahay			
14	Tirada codadka saxda ah			

Tirada Codadka Xisbiyada/Ururada

15	U codeeyey Ucid			
16	U codeeyey Kulmiye			
17	U codeeyey Waddani			

Qiimayn

Qiimee xaalada guud ee gudaha goobta codaynta

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Qiimayn ku samee nidaamka tirinta sida ay habeeyeen xubnaha xafiiska goobta codayntu

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Qiimee hufnaanta nidaamka tirinta

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Qiimayn guud ku samee habka hawl gudashada ee xubnaha xafiiska goobta codbixinta

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Qiimee habka hawl gudashada ee wakiilada xisbiyada

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Qiimayntaada guud ee nidaamka xidhitaanka iyo tirinta

B. Aad u fiican ☐ T. Fiican | J. Dhexdhexaad ah ☐ X. Liita | Kh. Aad u liita |

Wixii soo jeedin ah ama Xog dheeraad ah Fadlan u isticmaal dhabarka warqada

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