

PUNTLAND'S POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

Taking the First Steps toward Democratic Elections



Awareness Campaign Poster (PDRC/TPEC)

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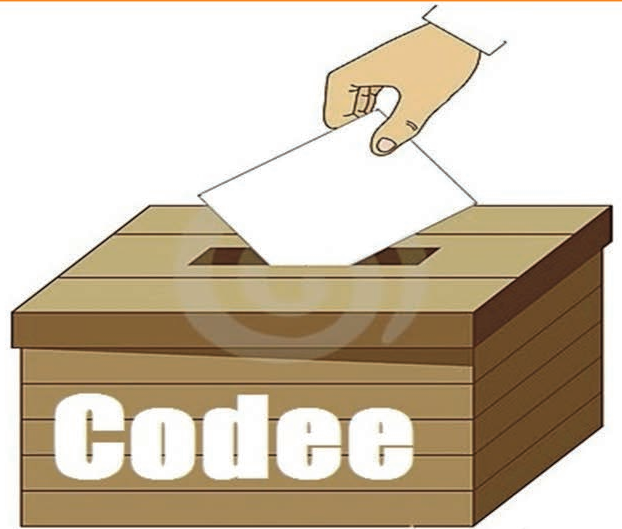
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1. Acronyms

AIAI	Al-ittihad-Al-Islami
AVU	Audio and Video Unit
CAC	Constitutional Assembly Convention
CCC	Constitutional Community Conference
CoC	Code of Conduct
CRC	Constitution Review Committee
DSC	Democratization Steering Committee
EMC	Election Monitoring Committee
HoR	House of Representative (Puntland)
IC	International Community
Interpeace	International Peacebuilding Alliance
LCE	Local Council Elections
MAP	Media Association of Puntland
MAVU	Mobile Audio and Video Unit
MLG&RD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MP	Member of Parliament
PDRC	Puntland Development Research Center
PoP	Pillars of Peace
PUNSAA	Puntland Non-State Actors Association
SFS	Somali Family Service
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General (UN)
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	Transitional national Government
ToR	Terms of Reference
TTE	Titled Traditional Elders
TPEC	Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission
UN	United Nations
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia

15 July

WAA CODAYNAYNAA



NIDAAMKA XISBIYADA BADAN U HIILI CODKAAGA DHIIBO

2. Executive Summary

This report highlights the progress and stages of Puntland's democratization process and explains the challenges it has encountered, focusing primarily on the aborted 2013 local council elections.

2.1 Origins of Puntland State of Somalia

In 1991, Somalia's central government collapsed and the country fragmented into clan-based enclaves. Many Darood clan members fled to the regions that would become Puntland. Early on, the region experienced political uncertainty, security threats, an internal Islamist menace, and a miserable economic situation. Attempts to establish security and the rule of law were foiled by feuding political and military factions, though traditional elders provided a fragile sense of order.

In 1998, Puntland State of Somalia was established by a Constitutional Community Conference, which formed a government and adopted a three-year charter envisioning a transition from the clan-based system to a democratic system by the end of the first government's term. By 2001, many steps in this transition were incomplete,

including a permanent constitution to replace the charter. The legislature tried to extend the government's term by three years, infuriating the public and igniting a political crisis that led to chaos, civil strife, displacement, and armed clashes.

In May 2003, a group of elders and businessmen brokered a peace agreement between the feuding groups. In 2005, President Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde) established a Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) made up of members of parliament, cabinet ministers, and independent lawyers. PDRC and Interpeace provided the CRC with facilitation and technical expertise. In 2007, the government suspended the near-complete process without explanation.

In 2009, the government of new President Abdurahman Sheikh Mohamed (Farole) revived the development of a multi-party democratic system and completed a new draft of the provisional constitution, which

the cabinet and legislature passed. The new provisional constitution increased the president's term from four years to five, leading to controversy and increased public distrust of Farole's government due to the "one-year extension."

2.2 Cornerstones of Puntland's democratization process

Farole's government introduced key laws and institutions. The new law established the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to oversee the process. In January 2012, the House of Representatives passed a presidential election law.

In November 2012, the Constitutional Referendum Law, changing the means of ratification from a popular referendum to a constituent Assembly, was passed. In 2012, this convention adopted a permanent constitution with provisions that established a firm foundation for a democratic electoral system.

The new constitution was followed by key electoral laws, starting with the Local Council Election Law passed in September 2012. Amendments to this law in April 2013 were controversial, especially the cancellation of voter registration and the issuance of voter ID

cards, which ultimately led to an election boycott by two political associations.

Parliament passed the Political Associations Law in June 2012. In September 2012, TPEC launched the registration of political associations.

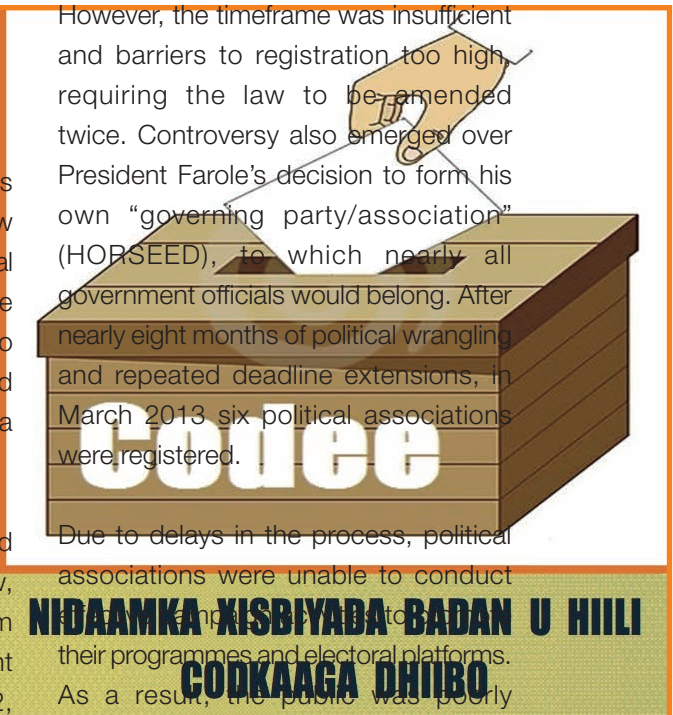
However, the timeframe was insufficient and barriers to registration too high, requiring the law to be amended twice. Controversy also emerged over President Farole's decision to form his own "governing party/association" (HORSEED), to which nearly all government officials would belong. After nearly eight months of political wrangling and repeated deadline extensions, in March 2013 six political associations were registered.

Due to delays in the process, political associations were unable to conduct their programmes and electoral platforms. As a result, the public was poorly

informed about the nature and different political orientations of the associations. Also, none of the associations was able to establish a presence across all parts of Puntland.

2.3 The pre-election period

In May 2013, PDRC worked with the political associations to draft and adopt a code of conduct (CoC) that addressed issues such as the responsibilities of



associations and their supporters, campaign management, maintenance of security during campaigning and voting, the role of the media, and the illicit use of public finances to benefit political associations. In June 2013, PDRC also worked with representatives of Puntland's media sector to develop and adopt a code of conduct for the media, to promote fair media reporting and equal access to all contestants.

Since no credible elections have been held in the regions that make up Puntland since 1969, several generations have grown up without basic knowledge about democracy or experience with electoral processes. In advance of the elections it was vital to conduct voter education and awareness-raising campaigns to mobilize voters and inform them about their roles, rights, and responsibilities. TPEC oversaw these efforts, with support from international and local institutions. PDRC spearheaded a civic and voter education programme throughout Puntland, employing its Mobile Audio Visual Unit to produce messages that would be spread through radio, TV, the internet, print media, stickers and flyers, and film screenings in remote localities.

The nonpartisan, independent domestic Election Monitoring Committee (EMC) was established in June 2013 to observe election processes, monitor the implementation of the codes of conduct,

and report on violations. Members of the EMC were nominated through consensus decisions by representatives of civil society organizations, political associations, and TPEC.

Throughout Puntland there was a remarkable level of political activism and campaigning. Vibrant discussions and debates also took place on many media outlets, including radio and TV stations. Puntland's limited civil society sector played a role in the promotion of voter awareness and understanding of the electoral process. Political associations launched campaigns successively, each claiming four days as their campaign period. The EMC did not discover any substantial campaign misconduct or code of conduct violations on the part of the associations, even in areas with fragile security situations and high levels of citizen dissatisfaction.

PDRC provided an impartial problem-solving forum for stakeholders in the electoral process. This included a March 2013 series of consultative meetings between the principal electoral actors, including the political associations and TPEC, to discuss key electoral issues and campaign procedures, develop a code of conduct, and ensure security of election processes.

All five opposition associations threatened to boycott the elections,

which many viewed as a ploy to extend the government's term for five more years. In May 2013, PDRC held a meeting with four of the six registered associations. At the end of May, two associations announced that they would boycott the elections. Two days before Election Day, on July 13, 2013, PDRC suspended its work and the number of associations participating in the elections.

In the weeks leading up to the election, many associations had to leave the country for fear of violence. The PDRC's suspension of work and the boycott by two associations created a tense atmosphere. At the same time, the government's attempt to extend the term of the parliament, the government's attempt to extend the term of the parliament, and the extension of the term of the parliament to resolve the political crisis.

Beginning in February 2013, different parts of the country experienced unrest, including violent anti-government protests in Mogadishu and the distribution of civic education materials in Ballibusle. On 14 July, the eve of Election Day, the delivery of ballot boxes to areas in Gardo, Bari, Sanaag, and Mugug was met with violent resistance, resulting in four deaths and many injuries.

As a result of this violence, President Farole suspended the elections. This move was applauded within Puntland and by the international community, including UN Special Representative for

Somalia Nicholas Kay (who described it as "brave and wise"), the head of the EU mission to Somalia, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, and the Federal Government of Somalia. The tense atmosphere subsided, and attention quickly turned to the way forward.

2.4 Aftermath of the suspension

Following the suspension, competition resumed among political and traditional actors for greater stakes in the next transitional arrangement. 10 days after the suspension, the government submitted to Parliament a bill returning Puntland to the old system of selection, and scheduling the appointment of a new Parliament that would elect the president

and vice president in January 2014. The bill was approved by the Parliament and Ratification Committee (CRRC) to resolve disputes. By December, nearly 20 candidates had launched their campaigns for the presidency.

Throughout 2013, there were calls for traditional elders to defuse the political stalemate and reinstate community cohesion. However, the elders did not have the political backing of the government, lacked public credibility, and were sharply divided along political lines. Political alienations and hostilities hampered elders' efforts to reach a



solution to outstanding political debates. Several PDRC-hosted elders' meetings lacked inclusivity and failed to produce tangible solutions. A political stalemate continued, and armed confrontation was a looming possibility.

By the end of September, the clan-based selection process for the new parliament started. Sharp divisions among traditional elders, a lack of consensus marred this process over the formation of the CRRC, a large number of presidential candidates, and a volatile security situation. By the end of December, the CRRC had received over 160 nominees for 66 seats.

At the end of December, Farole and opposition leader Gen. Adde met at State House, resulting in the consolidation of the CRRC's legitimacy and the publication of a genuine and balanced roster for the new parliament on 31 December.

On 8 January, Parliament met to elect a new president. The event was broadcast live and witnessed by more than 600 domestic and international guests. Before voting the candidates pledged to abide by the rules and to accept the outcome. Abdiwali Mohamed Ali (Gaas) won the contest by a single vote. President Farole accepted defeat and congratulated the new president.

2.5 Lessons learnt

Lessons to be drawn from Puntland's political transformation include the following:

The suspension of the elections can be attributed to a lack of common understanding among stakeholders and the public about the democratic process and its goals. The government and the public were not on the same wavelength, and the government failed to address challenges to the process, whose fairness and legitimacy were a source of public skepticism.

The influence of clan politics substantially affected the shared understanding of the process. Puntland's electorate is mostly illiterate and nomadic, and the nascent political associations were formed on the basis of clan affiliation and loyalty rather than political platforms and programmes.

The time allocated for the electoral process to evolve was very short. Neither the emerging political associations nor TPEC had enough time to systematically advance their obligations, leading to protracted extensions of deadlines.

The political environment was not conducive to free and fair elections.

It is impossible to exercise democracy without a free media, credible political platforms, and a secure environment.

The elections were hampered by a lack of financial and institutional capacity. The government and political associations lacked resources for their programmes and campaigns.

The election process lacked genuine political outreach. The government did not engage in timely, properly manifested, and realistic political outreach. It neglected opposition at all levels and opted to carry out the elections with little or no proper technical arrangements in place.

Widespread misinformation about elections complicated the public's ability to understand the process. The absence of an ethical and principled political culture led to confusion and the spread of unfounded and often misleading information.

TPEC must be an independent entity. The establishment of this entity was neither consultative nor comprehensive, leading to misconceptions and contradictions.

The hastily formed political associations lacked both political and administrative capacities to embark

on their political drives. They were inexperienced, and most were merely driven by enthusiasm and opportunism rather than political principles or programmes.

The aborted local council elections exposed faults in Puntland's legal framework. Almost all laws related to the electoral process require in-depth review and amendments to adjust to the challenges and legal inconsistencies that emerged in the 2013 election.

Stakeholders in Puntland have gained basic electoral experience and understanding. Public awareness of and support for the democratization process have substantially increased.

Despite the suspension, Puntland has proved that it can organize and hold successful elections. It overcame many challenges, including that of recruiting and training large numbers of staff and deploying thousands of election workers and election materials on time.

Although the elections were suspended, a number of civil society organizations (CSO) that directly engaged in civic and voter education have gained considerable experience and learning. These CSOs, including PDRC, engaged in intensive awareness raising campaigns in both rural and urban settlements, accumulating invaluable expertise.

The elections allowed the international community to demonstrate its firm commitment to Puntland's democratization. The enthusiasm of the international community for Puntland's first elections can be a model for other federal states to engage international assistance.

2.6 Looking ahead

If Puntland is to hold credible elections, it must solve a number of contentious issues, including:

Voter Registration. The absence of voter registration makes the allocation of seats and polling stations contentious and provides a classic motive for disturbances.

Electoral Laws. Laws are incomplete and need revision commensurate with legal requirements.

Electoral Commission. The Electoral Commission determines the technical necessities for an election to take place, and cannot be viewed as a technical arm of the incumbent government.

Constitutional Court (CC). In the absence of a constitutional court, each political association makes its own self-serving legal interpretations of disputed issues. A Constitutional Court plays an important role in the resolution of electoral disputes.

WAA CODAYNAYNAA

Nidaamka Xisbiyada Badan U Hiili Codkaaga Dhiibo

3. Introduction

The Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC), in partnership with Interpeace, has been engaged in Puntland's democratization process since it formally began in 2005. The process took its first steps in May 2005, when a seven-member committee began reviewing the provisional constitution, with facilitation and technical support by PDRC and Interpeace. Although successive administrations have identified the democratization process as a mandatory task, it did not receive the serious attention or resources it was due until early 2012, when the Puntland government finally adopted the Constitution and promulgated necessary legal and administrative frameworks.

This report will highlight the progress and stages of Puntland's democratization process and will explain the challenges it has encountered throughout its decade-long evolution. It will mainly focus on the aborted 2013 local council elections.

The report will explore the various activities and action points that enabled Puntland's democratization process to unfold. Furthermore, it will provide a glimpse of lessons learnt from this complex process and will provide reference materials for future endeavors to democratize the political systems of Puntland and of Somalia as a whole.

3.1 Origins of Puntland State of Somalia
Shortly after the disintegration of Somalia's central government and

collapse of all state institutions in January 1991, the country fragmented into a number of clan-based enclaves. The civil strife that followed resulted in the sporadic and chaotic displacement of large numbers of Somalis, which led to unprecedented clan polarization as members of major Somali clans sought refuge in ancestral enclaves. Many members of the Darood clan fled to Somalia's northern and northeastern regions. The pressures caused by the influx of displaced people into these regions soon produced serious political, economic, and security challenges.

During the 1990s, the regions that would become Puntland State were overwhelmed by political uncertainty,

constant security threats from both the west and the south, an internal Islamist threat, and a miserable economic situation. However, the area was effectively governed through traditional systems. Traditional elders imposed customary arrangements to maintain security, stability, and to a certain extent the rule of law.

3.2 Managing chaos

During the early 1990s, Puntland's court system functioned minimally under the purview of traditional elders and the rule of *shari'a* law. Most police stations were deserted, but they were neither looted nor beset by squatters. The only properly functioning major facility during that period of near-constant chaos was the Bosaso seaport, initially under the Islamist Al-Ittihad-Al-Islami (AIAI)¹ movement and later under the leadership of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF)² and the elders.

Although the region was spared from much of the devastating Somali civil

war, in late 1992 the AIAI movement attempted to place it under theocratic rule. However, SSDF forces overwhelmed AIAI in early 1993 after prolonged and fierce battles.

Several attempts to re-establish security and the rule of law in this part of a disintegrated Somalia failed. In 1994, a community conference organized by a divided SSDF failed to establish a credible administrative system. The 1994 Gardo SSDF Conference not only failed to unite the SSDF, but also widened the gap between the feuding factions represented by Gen. Mohamed Abshir Mussa³ and his opponent, Col. Abdullahi Yousuf Ahmed.⁴

What semblance of a rule of law there was remained in the hands of the traditional leaders. Elders handled almost all local and regional administrative and security responsibilities. The area, mostly inhabited by pastoral and coastal communities, had enjoyed strong kinship bonds for centuries in the absence of a central government, and continued its

1 Al-Ittihad-Al-Islami (AIAI) was an Islamic coalition established in the 1970s that later split into a number of factions with different agendas and motivations.

2 The Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) was an armed opposition group established in Ethiopia in the late 1970. After recovering from almost total disintegration in the early 1980s, the SSDF was re-instated in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Somali State, and eventually took over the administration of the northeastern regions of Somalia.

3 Gen. Mohamed Abshir Mussa was the first post-colonial Commander of the Somali Police Force, in 1960. Gen. Abshir was in imprisoned in 1969 when the Somali Army overthrew the civilian government of Somalia. He was released in 1982. He was one of the prominent figures that established the "Manifesto" group in 1989.

4 Abdullahi Yousuf Ahmed, a prominent Somali Army officer, joined the Army in the 1950s. He was imprisoned several times by Mohamed Siyad Barre's military regime. He fled to Ethiopia after the failure of the 9 April 1978 coup d'état. He formed the SSDF in 1979 and led it until Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam imprisoned him in 1985. He was released in 1991, and in 1998 he became the first president of Puntland. In 2004, he became the first president of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia. He passed away in 2011.

traditional self-rule until 1998, when the Puntland State of Somalia was finally established.

This clan-based interim system of governance presented great challenges to women's participation in politics. Since clan leadership structures are traditionally male-dominated, women were not able to participate meaningfully in decision-making processes. This can be partially attributed to women's disadvantageous position within the clan structure, wherein a woman is neither recognized as belonging fully to her clan of origin nor to her husband's clan.

Furthermore, though women were allowed to vote in elections held in Somalia in the 1950s and 1960s, the absence of free and fair elections after 1969 denied them the opportunity to influence the political leadership through the ballot box. Strict interpretations of Islam and shari'a law among clan leaders also made it difficult for women to gain a strong voice in policy debates.

3.3 The Transitional Charter

In mid-1998, an all-inclusive Constitutional Community Conference (CCC) held in Garowe resulted in the adoption of a three-year charter for the Puntland State of Somalia. The delegates elected a president, a vice president, and

a 66 member House of Representatives. Puntland established functional government institutions and embraced a viable self-governing political course. Within two and half years an almost complete set of basic administrative and governance institutions arose from the ashes of the civil war, along with a stronger rule of law.⁵

The 1998 charter envisioned a transition away from the prevailing inefficient clan-based system to a democratic system of governance. The charter obliged the first government administration to achieve this transition before the end of its term, from 1998 to 2001. However, it failed to fulfill some crucial tasks, including:

- Drafting a new constitution
- Conducting a census
- Holding a referendum to adopt the new constitution
- Preparing all necessary legal and institutional frameworks for the establishment of the Puntland Electoral Commission (PEC) and political parties.

For the first time in Puntland's history, the CCC also provided some leadership positions to women, including 5 seats in the new House of Representatives. However, no women were included in Puntland's first cabinet.

5 The Puntland Experience: A Bottom-up Approach to Peace and State Building (Garowe, PDRC/Interpeace, 2008), pg. 26.

In June 2001, the administration attempted to extend its term in office at an extraordinary session of the House of Representatives, under the pretext of reassuring the public that it would complete the unfinished tasks. The government made public a rough draft of a provisional constitution, but this immediately met with stiff public resistance because it was not based on broad consultations. The government, headed by Col. Abdullahi Yousuf Ahmed, asked only for a one-year extension, but the House unexpectedly increased the government's request to three years, infuriating an already angry public and plunging the area into a serious political crisis.

Mounting pressure from a disorganized local opposition and the influence of Somalia's Transitional National Government (TNG) ultimately threw the Puntland administration into disarray. In 2000, demonstrations took place in Bosaso and Gardo in support of the Arta (Djibouti) Somali National Reconciliation, one of a series of reconciliation conferences. Participants at this conference selected the first 245-member national parliament, which then elected president Abdulqassin Salad Hassan as the first president of Somalia's Transitional National Government.

Puntland's original charter expired in mid-2001, with no permanent constitution to replace it. For more than two years, chaos and civil strife dominated the area. Successive armed clashes between the supporters of Col. Abdullahi Yousuf and Col. Jama Ali Jama and then Gen. Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde) resulted in widespread displacement of people, animosity among neighboring communities, and setbacks to a previously thriving economy. Though the militias generally avoided fighting in urban areas, the conflict took the lives of dozens of civilians and militia members.

In late 2002, a group of prominent elders and businessmen initiated a mediation process between the feuding groups. The mission succeeded in brokering an agreement between Col. Abdullahi Yousuf and Gen. Adde, who signed a historic peace agreement in Bosaso on 18 May 2003. According to the agreement the two leaders' militias would merge to form the new Puntland "Darawiish."⁶

3.4 Reviewing the constitution

While it ended the conflict, the 2003 Bosaso agreement did not solve the core problem of the still-provisional constitution, as later highlighted in the

6 The Darawiish was a paratrooper force consisting mainly of the remnants of the defunct Somali National Army and recruits from the various clan militias.

2008 PDRC/Interpeace publication *The Puntland Experience: A Bottom Up Approach to State-Building and Peace-Building*:

Despite its amicable resolution, the crisis brought into stark focus the significance of the state's constitution as a vital social contract between the administration and the people – and of the need to revise and revitalize the current constitution to make it a more practical and effective contract.⁷

In 2004, PDRC and Interpeace (through a conflict mapping exercise under the Dialogue for Peace Programme) concluded that reviewing Puntland's provisional constitution was of utmost necessity to accomplish the unfinished tasks of the democratization process. In May 2005, Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde), who was elected president of Puntland after Abdullahi Yousuf Ahmed became president of Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG), established a Constitutional Review Committee (CRC). This committee was made up of members of parliament,

cabinet ministers, and independent lawyers. PDRC and Interpeace supported the CRC through facilitation and the provision of technical expertise. Initially, the CRC was based at PDRC's offices, until Interpeace obtained separate premises to enable them to work efficiently and independently.

In early 2007, CRC had almost completed the constitutional review when the government suspended the review process. The reasons for the suspension were not made clear.

After the end of President H. E. Adde's tenure in 2009, a new president, H.E. Abdurahman Sheikh Mohamed (Farole), took office. Unlike his predecessors, President Farole adamantly embarked on the development of a multi-party democratic system of governance. Farole's nomination in February 2009 of a State Minister for Democratization and Constitutional Affairs, Abdi Hassan Juma'ale, attested to his government's firm commitment to and support for the democratization process.

The first revision of the Puntland constitution had been concluded at the end of president Adde's term in 2008. In November 2009, the government completed a final revised draft of the Puntland provisional constitution, which

⁷ Roots for Good Governance (Garowe: PDRC, 2006). Available online at www.pdrcsomalia.org/.

the cabinet and House of Representatives then passed. The president signed the bill and the reviewed constitution went into temporary use.

The most controversial aspect of the revised constitution had to do with the presidential term. Before the 2008 revision, the provisional constitution provided only a four-year term, but the revision increased it to five. When President Farole came to power in 2009, he allowed this increase to stand until the constitution was adopted in April 2012. The opposition rejected this increase and labeled it an “illegal extension” on the part of president Farole. This issue came up again and again in the run-up to the 2013 election, and was a major source of public distrust in President Farole’s administration.

After Farole came to power, international cooperation over Puntland’s democratization stagnated due to a misapprehension between the main

actors. Minister Juma’ale suspended the Puntland government’s cooperation with Interpeace. The Interpeace office in Puntland was temporarily closed and the chief legal consultant to the CRC, Mr. Rubin Zamora, an international legal consultant and veteran Salvadoran politician, was expelled from Puntland. In late 2009, PDRC and Interpeace conducted a peace mapping exercise, which identified the main challenges to democratization as:

- Diverging public perceptions and understanding of democracy
- Clans and clan politics
- The Islamic perspective on democracy
- The impact of the Somali conflict
- Puntland’s institutional challenges.⁸

The intent of this mapping exercise was to understand the main challenges that impeded the democratization process. The main challenge was that the public had little or no knowledge and diverging perceptions of democracy.

8 *Puntland Note: Mapping the Foundations of Peace* (Garowe: PDRC, November 2010), pg. 39.

4. Cornerstones of Puntland's democratization process

At the end of 2009, Puntland's leaders began in earnest to plan the implementation of a full-fledged democratization process. Then-State Minister for Democratization and Federal Affairs, Dr. Abdi Hassan Juma'ale⁹, drafted and released a roadmap that provided a clear idea of how this process should be structured. It presented the following milestones.

Table 1: Minister Juma'ale's roadmap to elections

Milestone	Plan
Introduction of a new constitution	To be approved in 2009 and put into force by 2010
Formation of the Puntland Electoral Commission (PEC)	PEC Act to be proposed by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the parliament by 2010
Voter registration (or census)	To be conducted before the constitutional referendum
Constitutional referendum	Referendum Act and laws on political associations/ parties to be ratified by Parliament by 2011
Establishment of multiparty system	Electoral Law to be ratified by Parliament and political associations/parties registered by PEC by 2011
Municipal elections	Elected district councils to be formed by 2012 and the three winning associations to be appointed as the official political parties in the upcoming parliamentary elections
New Puntland Electoral Commission (PEC)	New PEC to be approved by the political parties and put in charge
Parliamentary election	Free and fair parliamentary election to pave the way for the democratization process and more sustainable peace, political stability, and socio-economic development

⁹ The late Mr. Juma'ale served as the State Minister for Democratization, Constitution, and Federal Affairs under Pres. Farole. The Minister passed away in May 2012.

If the dates included in this roadmap had been followed, Puntland could have held its first elections in 2012. However, during several years of stagnation post-2009, some of this roadmap's deadlines were not met. Nevertheless, President Farole's administration was ultimately successful in seeing through the adoption of Puntland's first permanent constitution and a number of key electoral laws. The establishment of the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) in April 2011 was a major step forward for Puntland's democratization process, but it took more than a year for TPEC to become operational.

4.1 The Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC)

On 2 January 2011, Parliament approved the Puntland Electoral Commission Law, establishing Puntland's first (albeit transitional) electoral commission, with a mandate to conduct and administer overall electoral processes. The ratified Electoral Commission Law was primarily based on Articles 112, 113, 114, and 115 of the transitional constitution, which clearly described the Commission's organizational setting, mandate, and responsibilities, as well as its working relations with other key actors in the democratization process.

Table 2: List of Transitional Puntland Election Commission (TPEC)

#	Name	Region	Position
1	Mohamed Hassan Barre	Bari/Karkeer	Chairman
2	Mohamoud Soofe Hassan	Ayn	Vice Chairman
3	Ali Abdurahman Hersi	Sanaag	Member
4	Barkhad Ali Salah	Bari	Member
5	Yousuf Haji Said	Haylan	Member
6	Ahmed Mohamed Ahmed (Dubays)	Sool	Member
7	Abshiro Muse Isse	Nugaal	Member
8	Osman Mohamoud Haji Hassan	Mudug	Member
9	Abdulrizak Ahmed Mohamoud (Shoole)	Mudug	Member

Later in 2011, TPEC and Interpeace finalized and signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and developed a comprehensive roadmap leading to the Constitutional Assembly

Convention. Over the following several years, Interpeace provided TPEC with professional development support, including numerous technical training workshops on electoral process

management. These workshops were intended to lay the foundation for a consolidated partnership between TPEC and Interpeace. The first three technical training workshops for TPEC members were held between July 2011 and June 2012 in Nairobi.

Interpeace also facilitated a trip to Oslo in 2012 for two TPEC members (including the TPEC Chairman) and two members of the House of Representatives (including the speaker). The Oslo trip provided

delegates with the opportunity to meet a delegation from the Somaliland National Electoral Commission and exchange experiences in the democratization process.

During this period TPEC and Interpeace developed an activity plan and 18-month roadmap from June 2012 to January 2014. The latter date was the planned culmination of the democratization process, when a popularly elected House of Representatives would elect the president and the vice president.

Table 3: TPEC roadmap to elections

Task	Dates		Actual completion date
	Beginning	End	
Registration of political associations (PAs)	11 September 2012	10 December 2012	31 December 2012
Public awareness-raising on registering PAs	September 2012	November 2013	November 2013
Scrutinizing the PAs that fulfill the obligations stipulated in the PAs Law	11 December 2012	10 February 2013	10 March 2013
Developing the Parliamentary and Presidential Election Laws	1 November 2012	15 January 2013	Not completed
Local council elections (LCE)	12 February 2013	15 May 2013	Prepared for 15 July, but finally cancelled
Announcement of the LCE Results and recognition of the three associations with the most votes as officially-recognized parties	16 May 2013	15 June 2013	Did not happen
End of TPEC's term and the establishment of PEC	16 June 2013	15 July 2013	Did not happen
Puntland Parliamentary Election	16 July 2013	31 October 2013	Did not happen
Announcement of the Parliamentary election Results	1 November 2013	30 November 2013	Did not happen
Publishing the list of the new MPs	1 December 2013	31 December 2013	Did not happen
Election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker	December 2013	December 2013	Did not happen
Election of the President and Vice President by an elected body of 66 MPs	8 January 2014	8 January 2014	Did not happen

In general, this roadmap was about one year behind the earlier one of Dr. Jum'ale.

Through its cooperation with Interpeace, TPEC appraised the main tasks ahead and anticipated challenges. The main areas of focus it identified included:

- Institutional development
- Delimitation of constituency boundaries
- Voter registration
- Political parties/associations and candidate registration
- Civil and voter education
- Rules and regulations
- Polling, counting, and election results
- Electoral dispute resolution and security.

TPEC also recognized that it needed to complete a number of tasks to build its organizational structure, including:

- Hiring and supporting core headquarters staff
- Furnishing and equipping the TPEC headquarters
- Recruiting and training staff for regional and district election commission offices staff
- Furnishing and equipping regional and district election commission offices.

TPEC anticipated the following challenges to its implementation of the electoral process:

- The burden of recruiting and training large numbers of staff
- The challenge of awarding procurement contracts
- Conducting civic education and voter awareness activities among rural nomadic pastoralists
- The logistical challenge of deploying thousands of election workers on time.

4.2 The Constitution

On 29 November 2011, Parliament passed the Constitutional Referendum Law that TPEC had prepared. The aim of this law was to change the mechanism of constitutional ratification from popular referendum to a Constituent Assembly Convention (CAC) of 480 delegates.¹⁰ The CAC was held in Garowe from 15 to 18 April 2012. This well organized and widely publicized convention included the presence of the Titled Traditional Elders (TTE), Puntland civil society, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia as represented by its Minister of Commerce, members of the International community including diplomats from more than 8 diplomatic missions accredited to Somalia, representatives from the United Nations, and local and international media. The delegates, who included community leaders, government officials, and Diaspora representatives, officially

¹⁰ According to article 141 of the transitional constitution, "the Puntland State Constitution shall be officially enforceable after the referendum confirming its acceptance by Puntland citizens; such referendum may take place either by popular plebiscite or through delegates."

adopted a permanent constitution. The TFG acknowledged the success of the convention and promised to replicate it in ratifying a national constitution.

It is worth noting that this convention was not fully accepted throughout Puntland, but rather encountered resistance from actors with divergent political agendas. Some opposition elements viewed it as a pretext for extending the government's term for an additional year.

The new constitution contains a large number of provisions that establish a firm foundation for Puntland's electoral system and institutions.

Article 12 establishes the concept of equality of all people before the law, an indispensable prerequisite for “one person, one vote.”

Article 14 establishes the freedom of expression, providing a foundation for political campaigns to engage in a vibrant exchange of ideas and disallowing the use of government power to stifle political discussion.

Article 16 establishes the freedom of movement within Puntland and travel outside of Puntland, another important foundation for political campaigning. Any limits to this freedom must come through special legislation or by-laws.

Article 39 clarifies that all people born in Puntland or who have legally acquired the status of a Puntlander are accorded citizenship, and that this citizenship cannot be removed. This is an important step toward establishing eligibility to vote.

Article 40 lists the duties of a Puntland citizen, among which is the duty to vote in elections.

Article 41 recognizes the right of all citizens age 18 or older to participate in electoral processes, vote in elections, establish or join a political party, and compete for election to public offices for which they meet the qualification criteria.

Article 42 establishes the right of Puntland citizens to file petitions or complaints to the president, Parliament, the cabinet, or any other public official. The institution or official to which grievances are addressed is required to respond within 30 days. This article paves the way for citizens to call attention to perceived mismanagement of electoral processes or to dispute election results.

Article 43 clarifies that citizens' political rights, including the right to hold office, can only be suspended if they are convicted of a qualified offence, or are declared incapacitated by a court of law. This is an essential protection against the arbitrary suspension of individuals' political rights.

Article 44 outlines basic principles for elections in Puntland, including that:

- All citizens who fulfill legal criteria have the right to vote and to be elected
- Members of the House of Representatives and the district councils shall be elected by direct vote
- Voting for shall be held in a fair, free, and legal manner. It shall be conducted on a public, individual, secret ballot basis, and shall be free from interference.
- Laws shall be passed to establish electoral constituencies for the House of Representatives and the district councils, and the number of seats shall be based on population
- The electoral commission shall determine election dates, which shall not be less than two months nor more than four months before the expiry of the term of the House of Representatives and District Councils
- No elections shall be held until laws are passed regulating all matters related to the process of elections.

Article 45 designates certain people as ineligible to run for public office. It forbids active-duty armed forces personnel and serving judges from seeking election or joining any political party. Furthermore, it requires public officials from resigning their posts before becoming candidates in an election, within a timeframe to be established by law.

Article 46 establishes a multi-party political system, in which all parties that fulfill certain requirements are allowed to compete in elections. This article specifies that an unlimited number of political associations can participate in Puntland's first district council elections, but only the three associations that receive the majority of votes shall be recognized as official political parties eligible to compete in the following election. Electoral competition will be reopened to political associations after every two elections.

This article also outlines some further restrictions on the multi-party system:

- Parties and associations of a military or clan nature are prohibited
- Candidates who win election as the member of a certain party will forfeit their office if they desert their party
- Political parties may use "public property intended for common use," which includes stadiums, public grounds, and state-owned media, on an equal basis to conduct political campaigns. No other Puntland State property or resources shall be used for political party campaigns or interests, and anyone who violates this restriction shall be brought before a court of law.

The article states that the government shall introduce separate legislation on political party rules and regulations for approval by the House of Representatives.

Article 47 specifies the conditions under which a political party can be formed. According to the article, the Electoral Commission must authorize parties before participating in elections. To receive this authorization, a party must have branches in every region of Puntland, and must set up a political agenda and internal rules regulating its activities. The electoral commission shall refuse to authorize any party whose agenda or internal rules violate the Constitution or other laws. If a party collapses, the political association that received the next largest number of votes in the most recent district council election shall replace it as a recognized political party.

Article 78 provides qualifications for candidates for president and vice president. These candidates must be citizens, practicing Muslims, of sound mind, law-abiding, at least 40 years old, and not married to a foreigner. They must have higher education, experience in leadership, and knowledge of Somali culture and traditions. They must also have been present in Somalia for two years, making it impossible to go directly from the Diaspora to the presidency. If a member of the House of Representatives is elected president or vice president, he or she must resign from the House.

Article 79 stipulates that the president and vice president can serve a maximum of two five-year terms of office.

Articles 112-115 establish the Puntland Electoral Commission (PEC). Article 112 states that the PEC is an autonomous body that answers only to the law. The Constitutional Court can only void the decisions that PEC takes. It is made up of nine members who serve six-year terms.

Article 113 deals with the procedure for selecting PEC members. The three political parties shall make the nominations one nominee each, while the president makes three nominees, and the House of Representatives also enlists three nominees, whereby the House must approve all nominees. PEC members may be dismissed through a procedure similar to that of Constitutional Court members.

Article 114 delimits the powers of the PEC, including those to:

- Conduct and administer referenda and elections in accordance with the Constitution
- Exercise jurisdictional powers in electoral matters, solve disputes, adjudicate rights, and impose penalties on violators of electoral law
- Authorize political parties, supervise their actions, and adjudicate disputes within a party upon the request of a party member or group of members
- Manage systems for the performance of the PEC's duties and procedural matters necessary for elections
- Announce referenda or election results and certify the winners.

Article 115 clarifies the coordination between the PEC and political parties. It states that all political parties taking part in an election have the right to monitor all steps of the electoral process, in a manner to be determined by law. In particular, party observers have the right to be present at all polling places and to monitor the collection of ballot boxes and counting of votes. PEC is required to ensure that the personnel conducting electoral processes are not dominated by any political affiliation. This article also allows for laws regulating political campaigns and imposing limits on campaign funding and expenditures. It also provides parties with equal access to state-owned media. Finally, it provides for a Transitional Electoral Commission (TPEC) to be established until a permanent PEC can be formed.

Article 123 deals with the establishment of District Councils throughout Puntland. It stipulates that the number and boundaries of districts will be determined based on population size. District Councils are to be directly elected by citizens for five-year terms.

Article 125 provides qualifications for District Council candidates. They must be Puntland citizens, of sound mind, Muslims, and at least 25 years old. They must also have received an intermediate level of education, be law-abiding, and

have a deep knowledge of their district's social context.

4.3 The electoral laws

The ratification of a new constitution supplied TPEC with the momentum it needed to table a number of indispensable electoral laws. In late 2012, the Puntland government established a comprehensive roadmap for promulgating a legal framework for vetting and registering political associations and holding local council and parliamentary elections before January 2014, when the newly elected parliament was slated to elect a new president and vice president.

4.4 Local Council Election Law

The Puntland Parliament passed the Local Council Election Law on 7 September 2012. Since then, the law has undergone a number of substantial reviews and amendments. On 9 April 2013, Parliament amended the law in an extraordinary session, altering some seventeen articles. The revisions included the following:

- The 37 existing districts of Puntland were designated as electoral districts.¹¹ This step defused

¹¹ Sources: Ministry of Interior and Local Government. Successive Puntland administrations have established about 16 new districts by breaking up the old districts.

tensions resulting from the original law's stipulation that local council elections would only be held in the 21 districts that existed before the fall of the Somali central government. In particular, inhabitants of the districts of Baargaal, Ufayn, Waaciye, and Rako had protested vehemently against the exclusion of their districts from the local elections.

- The candidacy fee for each local council election candidate was significantly reduced, from 10 million to 3 million Somali shillings.
- Two vital articles were removed concerning voter registration and the issuance of voter identification cards prior to the local elections. This removal aggravated the political associations and triggered a protracted controversy between TPEC and most political associations, which eventually led to an election boycott by the Mindimo and PDP associations. These two associations perceived an increased potential for election fraud as a result of these changes.
- The length of the campaign period was shortened to 24 days from 30 days.

4.5 Political Associations Law and the formation of political associations

The Political Associations Law was approved by Parliament on 30 June 2012 and signed by the president on 7 July. The law was amended on 2 September 2012 at an extraordinary session of Parliament upon the request of TPEC. This amendment was primarily meant to reduce the number of required supporting signatories for each political association in every region of Puntland from 500 to 300.

The formation of political associations was not an easy enterprise. Though Puntlanders were promised a multiparty political system as early as the first state charter, endeavors toward the implementation of such a system dragged on for more than a decade, mainly due to reluctance on the part of successive Puntland administrations and the massive energy devoted to other priorities, including the restoration of law and order, the construction of administrative structures, and the formation of a viable socioeconomic infrastructure.

Puntland finally legalized the formation and registration of political associations and parties on 11 September 2012,

almost 14 years after Puntland came into existence. The registration of political associations was subject to certain constitutional limitations. For instance, TPEC was not allowed to approve political associations with ties to military organizations or clans.

On 15 September 2012, TPEC formally launched the registration of political associations in an event held in PDRC's main conference hall. Those in attendance included the president and vice president, cabinet members, regional officials (including 8 governors and 35 mayors), and high-ranking police, security, and military officials. The government emphasized that authorities at the regional and district levels would address issues of concern to general security, particularly the security of polling stations and people involved in the electoral process.

After this event, members of TPEC began touring all of the regions to meet with people and explain the conditions and requirements for registering political associations, and to inform them about the deadlines and timeframe for the conclusion of the local election process by 15 May 2013.

President Farole formed his own political Association in an unexpected way that drew criticism from the opposition and the public at large. In September 2012, the president went to Parliament

and announced the formation of the "HORSEED" (Vanguard) political association. According to HORSEED's supporters, it would be regarded as the "governing party/association" and, at least initially, almost all of the cabinet ministers, members of Parliament, regional governors, and district mayors would be HORSEED members. The statement echoed in all corners of Puntland and prompted heated debate and comments on its implications. The growing opposition raised a number of pertinent issues concerning the constitutionality of HORSEED as a governing association, and its compliance with electoral laws.

The original election schedule allowed three months for the registration of political associations (11 September to 10 December 2012). However, by mid-November 2012 no political associations had met the onerous eligibility criteria within the insufficient timeframe that the law had established. Therefore, with the deadline approaching, no political association was registered to participate in the local council elections.

An acute political impasse followed, compelling TPEC to propose a review of the laws and regulations and to remove or change clauses that made the registration of political associations difficult. In November 2012, Parliament reviewed and made changes to the law on the formation and registration

of political associations, including the following:

- The registration fee was reduced by 50 percent, from \$15,000 to \$7,500
- The required membership per political association was reduced from 500 to 300
- The number of required offices per political association was reduced from 8 regions to 5 regions.

To accommodate these changes, Parliament extended the registration deadline by three weeks, from 10 to 31 December 2012. The political associations began to register, belatedly, in the following sequence:

Table 4: PAs announced by founders

#	Name of PA	Date Announced	Location
1	HORSEED	14 November, 2012	Garowe
2	PDP	23 November, 2012	Nairobi
3	UGUB	3 December, 2012	Bosaso
4	HORCAD	4 December, 2012	Bosaso
5	MIDNIMO	11 December, 2012	Bosaso
6	WADAJIR	30 December, 2012	Garowe
7	UDAD	30 December, 2012	Garowe

On 31 December 2012, the registration deadline for political associations, TPEC announced that the first phase of the process had ended and the six

political associations out of nine that had submitted applications had been legally registered to take part in the forthcoming elections. These were as follows:

Table 5: Registered political associations

Somali Name	English Name	Support Base
HORSEED	Vanguard	Incumbent president and his supporters
HORCAD	Development and Justice	Predominantly the business community
MIDNIMO	Unity	Religious elite and business community
WADAJIR	Together	Business community and Diaspora
PDP	People's Democratic Party	Unclear – undefined ideology and programme
UDAD	Puntland People's Party	Professionals and politicians

Other political associations that intended to register but failed to submit their applications on time were removed from the process.

Having registered these six associations, TPEC declared the start of the process' second phase, covering the period of 31 December 2012 to 10 February 2013. The major feature of this phase was a vetting process that would require political associations to:

- Provide rental certificates for offices in 5 regions
- Demonstrate that they had at least 330 members
- Provide audio-visual evidence that they had held a general assembly to discuss internal bylaws and political programmes, and to elect a central committee.

Once again, all of the registered political associations missed the 10 February 2013 deadline to fulfill these requirements. TPEC extended the deadline to 10 March 2013. On 10 March, TPEC conferred eligibility on six associations that had met all vetting requirements.

The registration of political associations and their qualification for legal recognition took nearly eight months, from September 2012 to March 2013, four months longer than the original plan.

The vetting process was followed by two months of political wrangling with TPEC on electoral issues stemming from the proposed amendments to the electoral law. On 17 March 2013, five of the six registered political associations, namely MIDNIMO, UDAD, WADAJIR, HORCAD, and PDP, circulated a letter addressed to TPEC, Interpeace, the EU, the president, and Parliament. The letter expressed the associations' shared concern over the proposed amendments, in particular measures related to the establishment of the Constitutional Court, voter identity cards, voter registration, and the demarcation of administrative borders between districts. Despite the associations' concerns, Parliament passed the proposed amendments.

Due to delays in the registration and vetting process, political associations were unable to conduct effective political activities to promote their programmes and electoral platforms, and had very little time for campaigning. The public received little information about the nature and political orientations of the political associations and the differences among them, other than their symbols and the names of their leaders.

5. The pre-election period

5.1 Code of Conduct for Political Associations

Following the registration of six qualified political associations, PDRC was entrusted with drafting a code of conduct (CoC) for the associations in the run-up to the district council elections. The six associations acknowledged PDRC's integrity, institutional insight, and capacity for catalyzing the democratization process. PDRC was very receptive to this proposition and availed its utmost efforts in crafting a code that would regulate the actions of political associations and their supporters during the campaign.

To this end, PDRC moderated a number of meetings among the key actors in the electoral process to thoroughly discuss the technicalities of the election campaign, voting practices, the political "code of conduct," and the roles and responsibilities of different political players in maintaining peace and security during the elections. PDRC also undertook a comprehensive desk study and referenced other codes whilst engaging all political associations to reflect their views in the draft document. Ultimately, two of the registered political associations (Midnimo and PDP) withdrew from the electoral process, thus reducing the number of political associations willing to participate in the elections to only four.

The final CoC (see Annex 9.3) covered various different themes, including campaign management, maintenance of security during campaigning and voting, the responsibilities of political associations in the run-up to the elections, the role of the media, and the illicit use of public finances to the benefit of political associations. The code was formally adopted at a signing ceremony held at PDRC on 9 May 2013, under the auspices of TPEC and in the presence of representatives of the political associations.

5.2 Media Code of Conduct

Throughout the past decade, the Puntland media sector has flourished and dozens of local FM radio stations, newspapers, and satellite TV stations as well as a myriad of websites have emerged. But it is quite apparent that most media outlets do not practice even minimal standards of professionalism, especially during elections when biased and imbalanced media coverage is prevalent. Some media channels resort to sensational and biased reporting in favor of one of the contesting parties, thus jeopardizing the security and stability of the nation.

This necessitated the development of a sound and binding code of conduct for the media, in order to govern the activities of the various media facilities and personnel, as well as to promote fair media reporting and equal access to all contestants. A vibrant and impartial media can significantly contribute to the electoral process by educating the people on their rights and responsibilities, rendering the media a professional and credible service provider.

PDRC, which has ample experience in providing training to Puntland journalists, took the initiative to convene a five-day training workshop in May 2013 for 30 journalists representing almost all media outlets operating in Puntland. The overall

aim of this exercise was to instruct media owners and operators on their roles and responsibilities in reporting on the electoral process. The participants in the training, with the guidance of a veteran media expert hired by Interpeace, were able to draft a media “code of conduct.” The draft code (see Annex 9.6) was further reviewed and adopted by the Media Association of Puntland (MAP).

MAP also took responsibility for exclusively implementing the code while ensuring adherence by all journalists until the announcement of election results. In a launching ceremony held at PDRC on 23 June 2013 the MAP Chairman officially signed the Media Code of Conduct with PDRC, TPEC, and the Ministry of Information co-signing as observers.

5.3 Polling stations

The ratification of the Puntland Constitution on 18 April 2012 set the democratization process in motion. In September 2012, TPEC dispatched its commissioners on a working tour throughout Puntland. The primary aim of the tour was to map possible polling stations, inform the public about electoral milestones, and request their support and buy-in to the democratization process. In the absence of clear district boundaries, the identification of polling stations was not a simple undertaking. It required considerable efforts on the

part of TPEC, the Ministry of Interior, and district administrations. Nevertheless, TPEC was able to lay down coherent criteria for the identification of polling stations. A total of 517 polling stations were identified through the use of these criteria, which included the following.

The quality of facilities: Polling stations can be established in private homes or in public buildings like schools. Polling stations must have access to electricity and sanitation. They must also be accessible to all people, including those with disabilities. There must be an accessible route and entrance to the polling station, and in urban areas there must be ample parking nearby.

Size: Polling stations must be large enough to accommodate at least 10 people at a time, and a minimum of 200 voters over the course of Election Day.

The area around polling stations should be large enough to allow a minimum of 150 voters to queue.

Distribution: The area's population should determine the distance between two urban polling stations. Each polling station should take the name of its location and the specific polling station (i.e. A, B, C).

Security: Every polling station should be allocated a minimum of three security officers, and every electoral district should be allocated a minimum of ten security officers or police during the last month of the election campaign. Every polling station should receive a security assessment based on a 5-point scale, from "very safe" to "very risky."

As a result of this process, TPEC identified 517 polling stations, distributed across Puntland as follows.

Table 6: Distribution of polling stations by region

SN	Region	# Polling Stations	%
1	Bari	136	26.3
2	Ayn	18	3.5
3	Haylaan	20	3.9
4	Karkaar	48	9.3
5	Mudug	92	17.8
6	Nugaal	83	16.1
7	Sanaag	72	13.9
8	Sool	48	9.3
	Total	517	

5.4 Distribution of political associations by region

Following the identification of polling stations throughout the regions and districts and political associations' submission of their candidate lists, a brief appraisal of the presence of political associations across the regions was conducted.¹² The purpose of the appraisal was to measure the presence of political associations in various districts.

The following table illustrates the number of districts within each regions in which a certain number of associations submitted candidate lists. All four associations submitted lists in only 11 (29 percent) of Puntland's 37 districts. Nearly all of these districts were in the regions of Bari, Nugaal, and Mudug. Three associations submitted candidate lists in 13 districts, while two associations submitted lists in 6 districts. Finally, only one association submitted a list in 7 districts.

Table 7: Number of districts in each region where political associations submitted lists of candidates

Region	Total Districts	Districts with 4 PAs submitted lists	Districts with 3 PAs submitted lists	Districts with 2 PAs submitted lists	Districts -with 1 PAs submitted list
Bari	9	4	3	2	0
Cayn	3	0	2	0	1
Haylan	1	0	1	0	0
Karkar	5	0	4	0	1
Mudug	4	2	0	2	0
Nugaal	5	5	0	0	0
Sanaag	5	0	3	1	1
Sool	5	0	0	1	4
Total	37	11	13	6	7
%	100	29.7	35.1	16.2	19

¹² Ahmed Abbas, Consultant, 26 June 2013.

The pattern of distribution of the associations varies from Nugaal, where all four associations submitted lists in every district, to Sool, where 4 out of 5 districts saw only one association submit a list.

5.5 Voter education

Somalia's last nationwide election was held in 1969, after which the country went through decades of military dictatorship under Gen. Mohamed Siyad Barre and then more than 20 years of civil strife and fragile transitional governments. During that period the Somali people were unable to fully exercise their civic and political rights by electing their own leaders through competitive and transparent electoral processes. Due to this long break in the democratic process, several generations, constituting the majority of the present population of Puntland and of Somalia as a whole, have grown to maturity without basic knowledge about democratic governance or any experience of participating in electoral processes. Therefore, in advance of the 2013 elections it was extremely vital to introduce massive voter education and awareness-raising campaigns to mobilize the voting age public and better inform them about their roles, rights, and responsibilities in the electoral process. Additionally, voter education efforts were meant to counter anti-democracy propaganda, rectify misconceptions

about the democratization process, and re-orient the people to have more objective views of the electoral process. To this end, TPEC set up a voter education and awareness-raising unit that was tasked to coordinate, consent to, and oversee all activities pertaining to voter education, mobilization, and awareness raising. In view of this, several international and local institutions volunteered to offer assistance and became actively involved in the voter education campaign including, among others, PDRC, Diakonia, Kaalo, and Somali Family Service (SFS).

TPEC contracted PDRC to spearhead a grassroots-level civic and voter education programme that would reach almost every corner of Puntland through PDRC's Mobile Audio Visual Unit (MAVU). The primary objective of this campaign was to raise the people's understanding of their civic rights and responsibilities and to sensitize them to the basics of democracy, including the multiparty system, elections, and voting processes. Campaign messages were tailored to augment Puntlanders' electoral literacy in the run-up to the election to ensure their active participation.

PDRC formulated its voter education strategy, aligned it with the overall campaign framework, and pursued the campaign through a range of approaches, including media engagement, public film

screenings, and the dissemination of information and communication materials across Puntland.

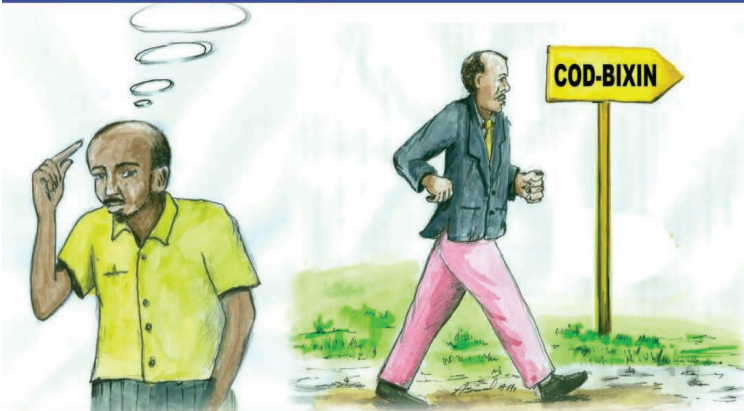
Throughout the process, PDRC partnered with twelve different media outlets, including four FM radio stations, one satellite TV channel, four websites,

and three weekly newspapers. The audio-visual media partners broadcasted various talk shows, short messages, and dramas pertaining to the election and voting processes whilst the print media published awareness-raising articles and messages on voting processes and procedures.

Figure 1: Sample civic and voter education materials

<p style="text-align: center;">SI XOR OO XALAA AH U CODEE DOORASHOYINKA GOLAYAASHA DEEGAANKA 15KA JULY 2013 6.00 SUBAXNIMO - 6:00 MAKHRIBNIMO TALLAABOYINKA CODBIXINTA</p>	
<p>Tallaabada 1</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Safida goobta codeynta</u></p> <p>Laba saf mid ragga ah iyo mid dumarka ah Dadka waweyn, kuwa naafada ah. Kuwa buka ama uurka leh waxa la geynayaa safka xagiisa hore, waxaa la siinayaa mudnaan in ay codeeyaan</p>
<p>Tallaabada 2</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Aqoonsiga iyo diiwaangalinta codeeyaha</u></p> <p>waxa la hubinaya raadka Khadka si loo xaqiijiyo in aad halmar codeysay. waxa lagu weydiinayaa da'da, magaca iyo meesha aad ku dhalatay, Faafahinta waxa lagu qorayaa diiwaanka codeeyayaasha</p>
<p>Tallaabada 3</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Soo saarista waraaqaha codeynta</u></p> <p>Waxaa lagu siinayaa warqaddaada codbixinta u qaado qolka codenyta si aad si qarsoodi ah ugu codeysid</p>
<p>Tallaabada 4</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Calaamadaynta warqada codbixinta</u></p> <p>Calamadee afar geeslaha banaan ee ku yaala midigta magaca iyo astaanta urur siyaasadeedka aad u codeynesid. Hal urur siyaasadeed kallya ayaad uu codeyn kartaa. Isku laab warqadda codeynta adigoo weli ku jira daaha codeynta</p>
<p>Tallaabada 5</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ku calaamadinta fartaada khadka aan tirmin</u></p> <p>Far yaradaada bidix geli dhalada uu ku jiro khadka aan tirmin [haddii aadan lahayn faryaro bidix geli far kale ama meel muuqata oo jirkaaga ka miid ah]</p>
<p>Tallaabada 6</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ku ridista codka sanduuqa codeynta</u></p>

SI XOR OO XALAAH AH U CODEE DOORASHOYINKA
GOLAYAASHA DEEGAANKA
15KA JULY 2013
6.00 SUBAXNIMO - 6:00 MAKHRIBNIMO







**QOF WALBA OO MUWAADIN AH WUXUU
XAQ U LEEYAHAY IN UU CODEEYO.
U CODEE URURKA AAD RABTID**



GUDDIGA DOORASHOYINKA KMG PUNTLAND
SI XOR AH OO XALAAL AH U CODEE
15 Ka July 2013

Afarta urur ka aad u codaynayso calaamadi adiga oo aan dhaafayn Halka astaanta xisbiga ka dambaysa

Tusaale ahaan sidan hoose oo kale

Magaca Ururka	Astaanta Ururka	Ka Manji (X)
UDAD		
HORCAD		
WAAJIR		
HORSEED		

Magaca Ururka	Astaanta Ururka	X
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WAKHTIGA CODAYNTU WAA
06:00 Subaxnimo-06:00 Markhribnimo

The table below indicates the tentative schedule of both civic and voter education through all media facilities. The media benefitted the campaigns both

materially and in terms of the capacity of their staffs. Several trainings were conducted for all media workers.

Table 8: Tentative Schedule of Civic and Voter Education

Media outlet	Message/ Program	Duration and Frequency	Coverage
Radio			
Radio Daljir	6 messages	1 minute 3 times a day for 40 days	2 stations (Buhoodle, Galkayo)
	6 interviews	40 minutes /3 times a day for 6 days	2 stations (Buhoodle, Galkayo)
Radio Garowe	6 messages	1 minute 3 times a day for 40 days	2 stations (Garowe, Eyl)
	6 interviews	40 minutes 3 times a day	2 stations (Garowe, Eyl)
SBC	6 messages	1 minute 3 times a day for 40 days	2 stations (Bosaso, Qardho)
	6 interviews	40 minutes 3 times a day	2 stations (Bosaso, Qardho)
SPR	6 messages	1 minutes 3 times a day for 40 days	2 stations (Badhan, Dhahar)
	6 programs	40 minutes 3 times a day	2 stations (Badhan, Dhahar)
Radio Galkayo	6 messages	1 minute 3 times a day for 40 days	1 station (Galkayo)
	6 programs	40 minutes 3 times a day	1 station (Galkayo)
Television			
Horn Cable	6 messages	1 minute 2 times a day for 40 days	Somalia and beyond
	2 dramas	2 times	
Somali channel	6 messages	1 minute 2 times a day for 40 days	Somalia and beyond
	2 dramas	2 times	
Websites			
Puntlandpost	6 messages	40 days	Somalia and beyond
Allpuntland	6 messages	40 days	Somalia and beyond
Dunidaonline	6 messages	40 days	Somalia and beyond
Raxanreeb	6 messages	40 days	Somalia and beyond
Newspapers			
Ilays	6 messages	6 issues	Most of the regions
Kaaha Bari	6 messages	6 issues	Most of the regions
Nugaal Times	6 messages	6 issues	Most of the region

Additionally, PDRC's public film outreach effort was an effective means of reaching rural and mostly illiterate communities who had little access to public information and media. This enterprise attracted an audience of thousands of people, primarily in remote localities, and delivered informative messages through film screenings and educational sessions facilitated by MAVU field staff.

The information education and communication (IEC) component was mainly composed of billboards, banners, stickers, and flyers, which MAVU distributed and displayed prominently in targeted urban and rural areas, in conjunction with PDRC research staff and PDRC's satellite office in Galkayo.

5.6 Election Monitoring Committee

The Election Monitoring Committee (EMC) was a temporary platform established on 16 June 2013 to observe Puntland's local council election processes. It was a nonpartisan, independent domestic observational entity mandated to systematically observe and document the practices of TPEC and the political associations in implementing the electoral code of conduct that was enacted as part of the broader democratization process, and to objectively report on allegations and violations against the code. The EMC was empowered to make independent decisions and issue reports, based on the principles of prudence and responsibility.

Table 9: Members of the Election Monitoring Committee (EMC)

Name	Organization	Region
Nur Mohamed Nur	Chairman of Puntland Non-State Actors Association	Karkeer
Khadra Ahmed Aware	Civil society leader	Haylaan
Abdurahman Diirye Samatar	Elder	Nugaal
Said Ali Mohamed	Elder	Bari
Mr. Mohamed Ismail Mohamed	Civil Society Organization (CSO)	Sool
Abdi Farah Mohamed (deceased)	CSO – human rights activist	Mudug
Hawa Ali Jama	WAWA	Bari
Amina Hassan Ali Maah	CSO	Sanaag
Mohamed Aynab Mohamed	Educator	Bari

Key civil society organizations under PDRC's leadership, political associations, and TPEC were equally involved in the process of EMC's formation and the nomination of its members. This process was thoroughly consultative, participatory, and consensus-based. It was essential that this process provide a solid foundation and framework for identifying respected, credible, and capable members to shoulder this immense responsibility, particularly within this highly fluid political and security landscape. After a lengthy and heated discourse, the stakeholders reached consensus and identified nine committee members. Each committee member was assigned to operate in one specific region.

The committee derived its legitimacy from the confidence granted to it by the TPEC, the political associations, and civil society organizations. This was also reinforced by the endorsement of the Puntland government and the unremitting acceptance and support of the wider public for the objectives of the committee.

Among its responsibilities, the EMC monitored and compiled reports for the media. EMC members also attended political rallies and demonstrations organized by the political associations. It noted a considerable level of patience, enthusiasm, inquisitiveness, respect,

and freedom of association, thought and speech. Unfortunately, a member of the EMC was assassinated in Galkayo during the heat of the campaign. Abdi Farah was a dedicated long-time civil society activist and a courageous human rights advocate. Unknown gunmen assassinated him on 12 July 2013, only two days before Election Day.

5.7 The election campaign

Puntland's regions and districts enjoyed a remarkable level of political activism and campaigning by all political associations involved in the 2013 contest, including HORSEED, HORCAD, WADAJIR, and UDAD. Garowe, the capital of Puntland State, was the epicentre of massive political movements, rallies, and demonstrations. Discussions and debates among political association leaders, scholars, opinion-makers, and civil society organizations took place on many media outlets, primarily FM radio and TV stations whose coverage extends beyond Puntland's borders.

The political campaign was orchestrated in a very structured manner as political associations agreed to launch their campaigns successively, each claiming four days as their campaign period. The overall campaign period took place from 27 June to 12 July, according to the following schedule in Table 7. TPEC and the political associations agreed on the campaign schedule, on the basis of drawing lots.

Table 10: Campaign schedule

Political association	1st campaign date	2nd campaign date	3rd campaign date	4th campaign date
WADAJIR	27 June	1 July	5 July	9 July
UDAD	28 June	2 July	6 July	10 July
HORSEED	29 June	3 July	7 July	11 July
HORCAD	30 June	4 July	8 July	12 July

The political associations followed the above four-day rotations as per article 22 of the election law, which stipulates “The election campaign shall continue 24 days and shall end 48 hours before the Election Day.”

During the campaign, the EMC did not report any substantial campaign misconduct on the part of the various associations. Bosaso, the commercial capital and most populous city of Puntland, was Bari Region’s leading centre for political campaigning. In general, Bosaso experienced a secure and peaceful campaign atmosphere with extensive citizen participation. The political associations did not make their campaign finances public, and the opposition continuously accused the government using public funds and property for HORSEED campaign activities.

In Mudug region, particularly Galkayo, the campaign environment was quite tense due to the region’s fragile security

situation and high levels of citizen dissatisfaction toward the conduct of the democratization process. However, some political associations successfully conducted their campaigns in Galkayo and Goldogob. The code of conduct and standards set for the election campaign were not significantly breached in either locality. It is noteworthy that the minimal presence of political associations in Galkayo discouraged local people from departing from their own subjective points of view to take more objective views of political issues.

Haylaan and Eastern Sanaag regions were similar in terms of the presence of political associations and the tensions that arose from military disputes with Somaliland in these two regions. HORSEED and UDAD found ways to live with these tensions and to continually carry out their campaign programmes.

In the Sool region, political campaigning was confined to the Tukaraq district, where all associations demonstrated their

political agendas. There was little media coverage in this region and very little presence of civil society organizations.

The political associations carried out varying levels of campaigning in Puntland's main towns, as well as small-scale outreach in remote districts. During the campaign period, youth and women were mainly seen conducting rallies in support of different political associations. The media transmitted campaign messages throughout Puntland.

5.8 The role of civil society

In democratic countries, civil society plays a significant role in creating public platforms, educating the public on their civic rights and responsibilities, and most importantly acting as a watchdog regarding the implementation of the overall electoral process. Since the collapse of the Somali central government in 1991, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) undertaking community-based projects have also been instrumental in development and the delivery of basic services throughout Puntland and Somalia as a whole.

Nonetheless, the role of civil society in Puntland's recent democratization process was limited to the promotion of voter awareness and understanding

of the electoral process. Although this was the first democratization process adopted in Puntland and most civil society organizations were impotent to effectively cope with democratization efforts, a number of civil society members pioneered the implementation of voter education campaigns and related outreach activities to communities living in very distant localities. These civil society organizations included PDRC, Kaalo,¹³ Puntland Non-State Actors Association (PUNSAA), and Somali Family Service (SFS).

5.9 PDRC confidence building initiatives

PDRC also played an important role during the pre-election period. When disputes emerged, PDRC provided an impartial problem-solving forum for stakeholders to resolve these disputes and move the electoral process forward.

5.10 Political association confidence-building

After the vetting process for political associations concluded, PDRC took the initiative to organize a consultative meeting (see Annex 9.2) on 18 March 2013 for the six political associations and TPEC. The main objective of the meeting was to bring together the political actors

13 KAALO is a local NGO dedicated to relief and development in Puntland. The organization also runs the Puntland State University (PSU), and is based in Garowe, Nugaal Region, Puntland.

and provide them with a neutral space to discuss the following issues:

- Election campaign procedures
- Developing an electoral code of conduct during the campaign
- Maintaining security during the election processes.

Afterward, PDRC organized a series of consultative and confidence building meetings from 18 to 19 and 23 to 25 March 2013 at its premises between the principal actors in the elections. Representatives attended from the political associations HORSEED, MIDNIMO, WADAJIR, UDAD, and PDP, as well as TPEC and PDRC, to discuss key issues in the electoral process, including the technicalities of the election campaign and voting practices, a “code of conduct” and the roles and responsibilities of these different political players in maintaining peace and security during and after the elections while promoting free and fair political competition.

The meetings were interactive, and the participants could freely express their views and state their positions on the process and how it could be better conducted. PDRC offered a neutral space and impartial platform and acted as a facilitator moderating the discussion.

Each of the stakeholders at the meeting expressed strong viewpoints on the elections and what needed to be done for them to succeed.

PDRC Director Abdurahman A. Osman (Shuke) stressed the need for peaceful campaigning and a transparent election process to ensure the stakeholders’ buy-in. The Director also emphasized the need for a comprehensive security plan, involving the TPEC, political associations, traditional elders, and the government security apparatus at the state, regional, and local levels.

Political association leaders stressed that Puntlanders were skeptical of the electoral processes and needed assurance that TPEC would carry out these processes fairly and transparently. MIDNIMO representative Mohamed Abdinour insisted that voter registration is a constitutional requirement and any change to this provision should entail constitutional review and amendment. UDAD representative Abdullahi Hashi requested that TPEC and the government put in place the Constitutional Court and voter registration as necessary keys to free and fair elections. The political associations were infuriated that TPEC, without consulting them, had submitted a draft proposal to the government to revise articles of the Local Council Election Law.

TPEC Chairman Mohamed H. Barre emphasized the necessity to revise some articles in the election law to ensure timely implementation of the electoral roadmap. He also discussed the need

to establish regional and district-level election offices as well as recruitment and capacity building for election staff. The Chairman insisted that voter registration would take place in polling stations on Election Day. He also asserted that for the purposes of identification it would be sufficient for the voter to be recognized as a Puntlander by traditional elders placed in the voting stations. The Chairman acknowledged the importance and legality of voter registration and the establishment of the Constitutional Court, but at the same time stressed that the existing time constraints and the extent of work to be carried out would not allow enough time to TPEC to implement all the associations' complaints. However, the Chairman welcomed the idea of having more consultation meetings with political associations to discuss the outstanding issues on consensual terms.

Despite the TPEC Chairman's assurances of transparent and sincere cooperation with the political associations, the associations' representatives rejected the idea of constitutional amendments to make adjustments that would affect the legality of the process. At the conclusion of the conference, only HORCAD had softened its stand on the removal of voter registration and identification from the Local Council Elections Law. The other

four political associations (MIDNIMO, PDP, WADAJIR, and UDAD) remained firm in their dissent and insisted that the process would not be fair without a voter registration and voter IDs. The associations were concerned with the possibility of widespread ballot rigging that could threaten the legitimacy of the election results.

In a bid to unlock the stalemate, on 26 March the Democratization Steering Committee (DSC) met with the six political associations at the PDRC conference hall. The purpose of the meeting was to hear their views on the timely implementation of the democratization "roadmap." After listening to statements by each association, the DSC encouraged them to engage in more dialogue to solve outstanding issues that might undermine the roadmap's timely implementation. The DSC also reminded the associations that the time and resources available for the process to move forward were limited, perhaps too limited to allow for the voter registration and issuance of voter identification that the associations had demanded. Afterward, the chairmen of the four associations issued a jointly signed petition stating their complete rejection of the proposed amendments to the Election Law. It read in part:

We, the undersigned political associations, strongly believe that the removal or alteration of these articles from the local council election law will undoubtedly nullify the fairness and transparency of the upcoming elections.

PDRC arranged another consultative meeting on 31 March 2013 between the government, the political associations, and TPEC (see Annex 9.2). The main purpose was to defuse the political impasse before Parliament took a decision on the disputed amendments. Representatives of the incumbent government, TPEC, and the six associations attended the meeting, which PDRC facilitated.

In the meeting, WADAJIR and PDP showed flexibility on the amendments and opted to support the process as it moved forward, joining HORSEED and HORCAD, who had already supported the amendments. Despite the vice president's efforts to persuade them, MIDNIMO and UDAD threatened to boycott the election if the House of the Representatives passed the proposed amendments. Participants in the meeting could not reach consensus on the issues under discussion, but promised to continue the dialogue.

The rejection of the process by MIDNIMO and UDAD was more about mistrust of how the process was being conducted by TPEC and the government than about specific items that needed to be corrected. They were concerned that an unfair and illegitimate process could lead to fraudulent election results.

Outside these dialogue meetings, the opposition, meaning all associations

except HORSEED, refused to take part in the elections because they considered the government altogether unconstitutional and therefore illegitimate for having extended its term in office for one more year. They also suspected that the elections were a sophisticated ploy to extend the president's term for five more years. In their view, the only way forward was to stop the electoral process altogether and call a general conference of all stakeholders to form a new parliament and government.

Debates between TPEC and the political associations continued from the end of March through April and May, amid a series of key events regarding the political associations:

- On 15 April 2013, TPEC announced that the district council elections would take place on 30 June 2013.
- On 6 May 2013, TPEC announced in a press conference that the political associations' submission deadline for candidate lists would be on 11 May 2013.
- On 7 May 2013, PDRC held a consultative meeting with HORSEED, HORCAD, WADAJIR, and UDAD. UDAD decided to return to the list of participants after TPEC promised the establishment of a Constitutional Court and the allocation of a quota of electoral staff to the political associations.
- On 9 May 2013 at PDRC's offices in Garowe, all six registered political

associations jointly signed a code of conduct to manage the electoral process. The code of conduct was prepared by PDRC and read to the six political associations' representatives, who discussed and agreed upon the code. President Farole was the first to sign, as he was the Interim chairman of HORSEED.

- On 13 May 2013, the cabinet endorsed a presidential decree creating a Constitutional Court. The court would be composed of nine judges, four of who would be appointed by Parliament to join the five sitting judges of the Supreme Court. However, this Court was never established.
- On 28 May 2013, MIDNIMO and PDP announced that they would boycott the elections and removed themselves from the list of participating associations. The remaining associations were listed on the ballot paper in the following order, determined by a random drawing conducted by TPEC in the presence of representatives from the competing associations:
 - UDAD
 - HORCAD
 - WADAJIR
 - HORSEED.
- On 12 July 2013, 48 hours before Election Day, WADAJIR withdrew from the election. The association provided no explanation for its withdrawal.

5.11 Women's declaration

On 14 May, PDRC provided the forum for and co-facilitated a consultative forum organized by the Puntland Ministry of Women, Development, and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA) and the UN Development Programme, on the theme of "advancing women's representation in the 2013 Puntland Local Government Elections."

This forum, which included participation by the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN), women candidates, women NGOs, and members of civil society, produced a final declaration highlighting the exclusion of women from the 2013 electoral process (see Annex 10.4). It noted the following:

- With less than two weeks to go before the deadline, very few women candidates had registered with political associations
- Despite the requirement that political associations include women among the top five candidates on their lists, no minimum number of women candidates had been set, making it likely that there would be only one woman per list
- Although the Garowe II Principles and a 2007 presidential decree had both called for a 30 percent quota of district council seats for women, the low number of women candidates registering made it unlikely that this quota could be met.

The declaration called for:

- Greater assurances of gender equity on the political associations' nomination lists
- Increased awareness raising by TPEC, MOWDAFA, and political associations about electoral processes for women across the regions
- Waiving of registration fees for women candidates
- More vocal support for women candidates by clan elders and religious leaders
- Increased reporting by the media on the issue of political gender imbalances.

These elections were seen by women leaders as a chance to increase women's historically low representation within government. As shown in Tables 1 and 2 below, women have actually lost ground in the House of Representatives since the founding of Puntland State in 1998. The number of women cabinet members has gradually increased, but it remains very low.

Figure 2: Women's representation in Parliament, 1998-2014

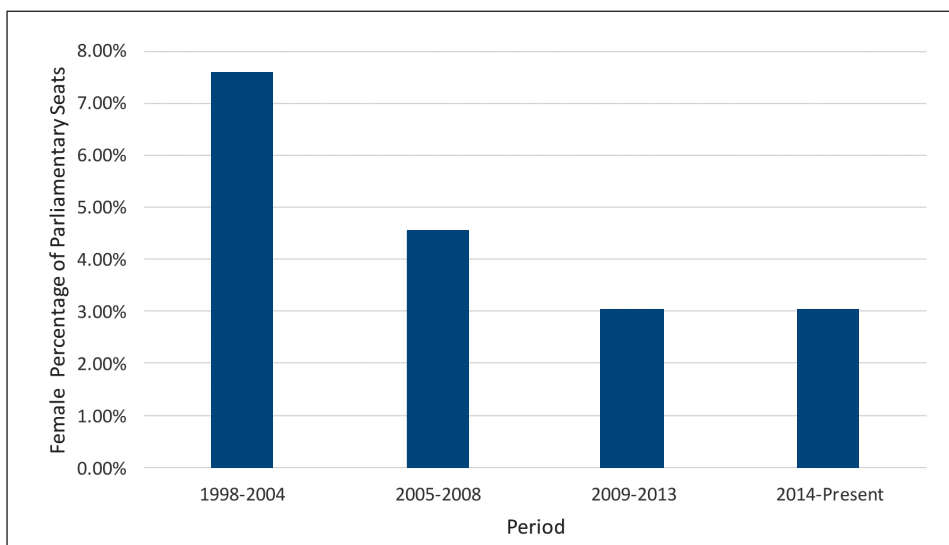
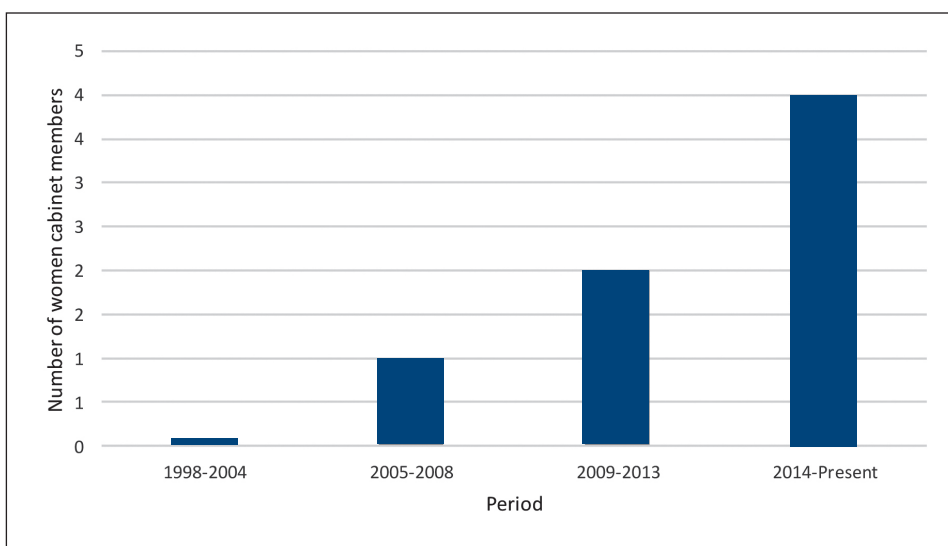


Figure 3: Women's representation in the Puntland cabinet, 1998-2014

5.12 Straw poll

From 25 June to 9 July 2013, PDRC and Interpeace conducted a poll of 8,597 Puntlanders randomly selected

on the streets of three major cities. The demographic and regional composition of this sample can be seen below in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12: Age composition of poll respondents

Age 18-25	Age 26-35	Age 36-50	Age 51+	Total	
Garowe	1,169 (41.4%)	837 (29.7%)	565 (20.0%)	251 (8.9%)	2,822
Galkayo	1,160 (40.6%)	815 (28.5%)	606 (21.2%)	277 (9.7%)	2,858
Bossaso	1,199 (41.1%)	973 (33.4%)	582 (20.0%)	163 (5.6%)	2,917
Total	3,528 (41.0%)	2,635 (30.7%)	1,753 (20.4%)	691 (8.0%)	8,597

Table 13: Gender composition of poll respondents

Male	Female	Total	
Garowe	1,605 (56.9%)	1,217 (43.1%)	2,822
Galkayo	1,643 (57.5%)	1,215 (42.5%)	2,858
Bossaso	1,796 (61.6%)	1,121 (38.4%)	2,917
Total	5,044 (58.7%)	3,553 (41.3%)	8,597

The poll results revealed the following:

- Most surveyed Puntlanders looked forward to exercising their democratic rights. 61.1 percent of respondents planned to vote in the local council elections, while 38.9 percent did not plan to do so.
- There was variation between locations in enthusiasm for the 2013 elections. While 72 percent of respondents in Garowe said that they planned to vote, only 56 percent of those interviewed in Galkayo and Bosaso said the same.
- Many Puntlanders did not understand or trust the 2013 electoral process. Among those who said they would not vote, the most frequently cited reasons were a lack of trust that the process was fair (24 percent), a lack of interest (20 percent), a lack of knowledge about the process (18 percent), and concerns about security (18 percent). The poll did not reveal any widespread concerns about the timing of the election during the holy month of Ramadan not pressure from communities or families not to vote.
- There was widespread awareness of the political associations contesting the election, but not as much of the individual candidates. The data also revealed that 75 percent of interviewees were able to name one or more of the political associations,

while familiarity with individual candidates was less than 30 percent.

If indeed 56 to 72 percent of voters had turned out to vote, this would have been well within the standards of established democracies. Participation in the 2012 parliamentary elections in Egypt was 62 per cent, the local government elections in the UK in 2012 drew only 33 per cent of the voters, and the 2012 presidential election in the United States saw 58 percent participation.¹⁴

5.13 The flare-up of violence

Opposition to the incumbent government's conduct of the political transformation process had begun well before the official adoption of the constitution in April 2012. The controversial one-year extension issue was a key point in any political discussions.

In Bari, Karkaar, and Mudug in September 2012, sub-clan groupings began to issue petitions and political statements highlighting their opposition to the "presumed" term extension. During that period some elders, attempting to organize consultative meetings in defiance of the government's prohibition against unauthorized gatherings, were temporarily detained in Garowe.

In Bosaso and Gardo, disparate opposition elements began to mobilize loose militias, with varying interests but a shared goal of toppling the incumbent government. In late 2012 and early 2013, the arrival of former president Gen. Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde) and former Minister of Security General Abdullahi Said Samatar, from Canada and UK, respectively, further charged an already tense political situation in Puntland. Although a number of opposition members reached deals with the government, the threat to general stability posed by the growing opposition remained high and worrisome.

In the days leading up to the election, many Puntlanders had a sense of foreboding that something bad would happen. The pressure of two years of controversies and the high level of political tension resulting from the so-called “one-year extension,” as well as public unpreparedness for the hastily organized local council elections, threatened to explode on Election Day. Voices of dissent were heard from different parts of the political spectrum, but the government neglected to conduct the extensive political outreach that could have helped to resolve disagreements and doubts about the electoral process.

Demonstrations and discontent in Gardo continued to bring turmoil to the area. Anti-government protests against the

vetting of political associations and, to a certain extent, the civil society organizations that were conducting civic education, including PDRC, spread to Galkayo and other rural and urban centers. In February 2013, during the vetting of HORSEED and other political associations, at least two security officers and two civilians died when militias opposing the election process clashed with security officers protecting the political associations in Galkayo. Also in Ballibusle, angry militias burned PDRC’s civic education training materials in front of the then-minister of Women and Family Affairs.

On 14 July, the eve of Election Day, the delivery of the voting materials (ballot boxes, voting papers, stationary, etc.) met with stiff resistance not only in Gardo, but also in some areas of Bari, Sanaag, and Mudug regions. In Gardo at least four people were killed, among them a Puntland military commander, a soldier, and two civilians. At least a dozen civilians were wounded in the crossfire between government troops and opposition militia members. Soon after the news broke of armed violence taking place in Gardo, public anxiety, outrage, and disappointment reached the highest level within Puntland’s urban centers. Ambassador Nicholas Kay, the UN Special Representative to Somalia (SRSG) who was then present in Garowe, appealed for calm and restraint from both the government and the opposition.

5.14 The suspension of the elections

As a result of the violence on 14 July, President Farole took the unpleasant but wise decision to suspend the Local Council Elections. This decision brought comfort and relief to a public worried about the outbreak of widespread violence and apprehensive about Puntland's stability. Since the closing of this chapter, the fate of the democratization process in Puntland has remained uncertain.

The international community applauded the move. At about 10:00 a.m. on 14th July 2013, Ambassador Kay was meeting with civil society representatives at PDRC when he received a call from the office of the president stating that the president had called off the election. Relief and consolation filled the meeting room. The SRSG announced the breaking news just moments after the president signed the decree in front of the media and members of the cabinet. He made a short statement describing the decision

as "brave and wise," condemning the outbreak of violence in Gardo, and sending condolences to victims of the violence. He also urged all those involved to refrain from violent actions and work together to restore peace and a credible democratic process.

Other prominent international community representatives added their voices to congratulate the president for taking such an important decision. The head of the EU mission to Somalia, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Federal Government of Somalia also welcomed the decision. The atmosphere of extreme tension suddenly subsided, and talk on the street quickly turned to the way forward.

Despite the immediate relief brought by the suspension, this act underlined that Puntland's democratization process had ended in total disappointment to both the public and the international community that had supported it without reservation.

6. Aftermath of the suspension

With the suspension, Puntland's democratization process was put on indefinite hold. Although the suspension temporarily eased mounting tensions between the incumbent government and the opposition, inter-clan animosities remained high. Tough competition resumed among Puntland's various political and traditional actors and stakeholders for greater stakes in the next transitional arrangement.

On 24 July, only 10 days after the suspension of the local council elections, the incumbent government submitted to the outgoing parliament a bill specifying a roadmap for the transition. Parliament passed the bill as "Annex 3" to the Puntland Constitution. The Annex not only indicated a return to the old system of selection for Parliament and the president, but also set the end of the old parliament's term as 31 October 2013, and scheduled the presidential and vice presidential election by Parliament for 8 January 2014. Another provision of the annex was the establishment of a Conflict Resolution and Ratification Committee (CRRC) charged with resolving disputes over the selection of MPs and the ratification of the official list of the new MPs, in close consultation with the Isimo (titled traditional elders), chiefs, and other community leaders in the various constituencies.

"This case is especially relevant for the projected democratic transition in the rest of Somalia by 2016, to which both the Somalia Federal Government (SFG) and donors, including the UN, are vocally committed. All four of Puntland's presidents have articulated ambition for constitutional and representative democracy, yet progress has been haphazard. It took eleven years to pass a draft state constitution, a complex, internally disputed process further delayed by the machinations of political elites torn between shoring up a stable regional base and competing for power in Mogadishu."

Puntland's Punted Elections-Report by the International Crisis Group, December 2013.

A number of personalities, among them prominent political figures, immediately announced their candidacies for president and vice president. These individuals launched their political campaigns among the Somali Diaspora communities in many parts of the world. Somali satellite television networks broadcasted rallies and political gatherings in many cities that accommodated large numbers of Somali Diaspora members. At the end of November 2013, close to 20 candidates (see Annex 9.13) had arrived in Puntland to launch their campaigns. The incumbent president announced his candidacy well ahead of all contenders, in August 2013.

In November and December 2013, Garowe received the candidates one after another with near-equal enthusiasm. Security was tightened in the capital. President Farole established the Election Security Committee (ESC), headed by General Said Mohamed Hersi (Said Dheere), a respected Puntland Army Chief. The ESC consisted of the Commanders of the various security forces including the Commanders of Darawiish army, the Puntland Police Force, the Puntland Security Service (PSS) and the Puntland Security Agency (PSA).

PDRC worked directly with the ESC, by providing both technical and advisory support. The ESC often conducted its work at PDRC and all press releases

emanated from there. To further strengthen security in the capital PDRC, the ESC, and local authorities jointly organized consultative forums and workshops. In addition, PDRC facilitated connections between the community, the authorities, and the ESC.

PDRC attempted to convene an inclusive traditional elders meeting to defuse the political stalemate and to mitigate looming insecurity. Given the complex fabric of the traditional system and the controversial agendas of conflicting parties, the meeting did not produce any conceivable solution to both the political stalemate and the impending insecurity.

Throughout 2013, there had been repeated calls for traditional elders to defuse the political stalemate and reinstate community cohesion. However, the elders did not have the political backing of the incumbent government and lacked credibility among the public. Furthermore, for the first time since the collapse of Somalia in 1991, Puntland's traditional leadership system had become sharply divided along political lines. This division stemmed from the interference of politicians with highly divergent political agendas. Many elders continuously questioned who had the authority to convene a meeting of the Isimo.

The clan role in Puntland remains important and significant. But the

existing political wrangling has somehow weakened the traditionally cohesive voice of the elders. Political alienations and hostilities hampered the elders' efforts to reach a consensual solution to almost all outstanding political debates. A situation of chaotic debate predominated, which led to senseless and confused political maneuvers. Consequently, several PDRC-hosted elders' meetings lacked inclusivity and therefore failed to produce

any tangible solution to the outstanding problems.

On 3 December 2013, president Farole nominated the CRRC, which was immediately rejected by almost all presidential candidates and to a lesser extent the international community that directly supported a peaceful and smooth political and administrative transition in Puntland.

Table 14: CRRC members

Member	Background	Position
Eng. Yuusuf Abshir Cadami	Political activist, businessman, and industrial engineer	Chairman
Cismaan Guureeya Kaarshe	Former civil servant, manager of Garowe Orphanage College	Member
Eng. Maxamuud Axmed Xasan	Petroleum engineer, businessman, and respected elder	Member
Maxamed Cabdilaahi Faarax (Cillal)	Respected elder	Member
Caaqil Cabdiraxmaan Axmed Xaaji Diiriye	Respected elder	Member
Caaqil Abshir Cabdi-Raxmaan Caraale (Dhegacas)	Respected elder	Member
Caaqil Siciid Xasan Xaaji Yuusuf (Warabacade)	Respected elder	Member
Maxamed Cabdiqaadir Cismaan	University teacher	Secretary

Soon after the CRRC was announced a group of prominent candidates, challenging the government's formation of the CRRC, announced their own

version. Their intention was merely to flout Farole's unilateral nomination of the CRRC. However, on 25 December almost all opposition presidential candidates

issued a joint statement conditionally recognizing the CRRC. This statement ended a protracted standoff over the CRRC's legitimacy.

By late December, the political stalemate deteriorated further, and armed confrontation was a looming possibility. Both the opposition and the government continued to exchange threatening statements. However, the international community and the traditional elders continued their efforts to find solutions to the mounting and complex qualms.

6.1 Selection of the new parliament

By the end of September 2013, the selection process for new members of parliament (MPs) started in all constituencies. This clan-based selection method was not new, having been clearly defined during the formation of the first parliament in 1998. In late 2013, more than 10 candidates lobbied for each seat on the basis of clan selection. Sub-clan elders selected each member, who was then endorsed by the titled traditional elder of the same sub-clan. The regional governors, after applying preliminary scrutiny, then transmitted the completed lists of members to the CRRC for further examination and analysis. The CRRC, responsible for sorting out any disputed seats, were empowered to summon the elders of the disputed seats to further investigate and find solutions.

This process was much more convoluted and complicated than previous processes had been. This complexity could be attributed to:

- Sharp divisions and loose cohesion among the traditional elders
- The controversy and lack of consensus over the CRRC
- The large number of presidential candidates
- The volatile security situation.

The deadline for the submission of new MPs was 15 December 2013. Conflicting communities from all constituencies tried to submit competing lists, and sub-clan elders flocked to the temporary offices of the CRRC at the Puntland Parliament. The Committee received huge numbers of lists and set about sorting out the genuine lists from the counterfeit. By the end of December, the Committee had received over 160 nominees for only 66 seats. The governors played a crucial role by endorsing the legitimate lists. Nonetheless, corruption and flaws marred the process.

On 28 December 2013, the political standoff took a new course, when incumbent president H.E. Farole and his predecessor, H.E. Gen. Adde, met at the State House. The meeting appears to have been brokered by a senior UNSOM advisor, Nuraddin Diriye. The fact that Gen. Adde, who led the mainstream of the opposition, endorsed this move presented an opportunity for all parties,

including the incumbent administration. This formal reconciliation consolidated the CRRC's legitimacy and resulted in a genuine and balanced roster for the new parliament (See annex 9.15).

The final list of the new MPs was ready on 29 December. There was considerable tension among stakeholders over how, where, and when to announce the much-awaited list of the new MPs. Furthermore, on 29 December some elders asked the CRRC not to publish the list until they approved it. That call further exacerbated the composite anxieties and heightened the prevailing impasse. Notwithstanding the mounting pressures from different groups, the CRRC decided to publish the list on 31 December 2013. Late in the evening, the press was summoned and the members of the CRRC announced the much-awaited news.

6.2 The election of the new President

On 31 December 2013, the CRRC announced the final list of the new MPs. The list did not satisfy everyone, but was acceptable to the overwhelming majority of stakeholders and met with public approval (see Annex 9.15).

Soon afterward, preparations began for the election of the Speaker and his two deputies. The speakership was contested by former speaker H.E. Abdurashid Mohamed Hersi and former Minister of

Livestock H.E. Said Hassan Shire. On 1 January 2014, the new parliament elected Said Hassan Shire its Speaker and chose his two deputy speakers. The process, closely watched by an anxious public, was complicated, sensitive, and ultimately marred by skepticism and distrust. On 2 January the new parliament set out its internal rules and procedures for the election of the president and his vice president for a five-year term. The Parliament also established a seven-member Presidential Election Committee that would be responsible for the election process. The committee, vested with the confidence of the contestants, began its work on 3 January 2014.

The campaign intensified, but the list of candidates began to shrink as the parliament's presidential election committee announced the terms and conditions for taking part in the election. Among other terms and conditions, a payment of US\$5,000 and US\$2,500 was expected as bond from each presidential and vice presidential candidate, respectively.

Soon after the committee announced the terms, some candidates withdrew from the race and endorsed other candidates. By 4 January 2014, the list of candidates for president shrunk from over 20 to 11 and candidates for vice president shrunk from 16 to 10. Of these 21 total candidates, none were women.

Table 15: The official list of candidates

Presidential Candidates	Vice Presidential Candidates
Abdiwali Mohamed Ali Gaas	Abdul Abdullahi Omar Amey
Abd/man Mohamed Moh'd (Farole)	Abdullahi Ali Hersi (Timade)
Ali Haji Warsame	Gen. Abdulsamad Ali Shire
Mohamed Abdinur Hersi	Ahmed Elmi Osman (Karaash)
Shire Haji Farah	Hussein Hashi Hassan
Ali Abdi Aware	Dahir Khalif Farah
Gen. Abdullahi Said Samatar	Abdullahi Dahir Afqurac
Abdidahir Mohamed Yousuf Yey	Mohamud Aydiid Dirir
Abdiwali Mohamud Gurey	Dr. Mohamed Hersi Duale
Ali Abdulqadir	Abdulrizak Mohamed Omar
Abdurahman Mohamud Uke	

On 7 January 2014, the candidates were invited to spell out their profiles and programmes before a session of parliament. In alphabetic order, the contestants delivered their profiles or CVs and an overview of their future programmes. The security of the parliament and its surroundings was tightened to the maximum. Besides the legislators in session, a large public audience also attended the candidates' speeches.

On the eve of Election Day, 8 January 2014, SRSG Nicholas Kay met with candidates at PDRC's main conference Hall. The main purpose of the meeting was to receive assurances from the candidates that they would abide by the established security measures and accept the outcome of the election.

During the meeting the candidates pledged individually to abide by the rules and assured the SRSG that they would accept the outcome. In the remaining hours, the candidates were very busy seeking last minute promises from the legislators who would vote for or against them the following day.

At midnight, all private transport in and around the capital was halted, except for security forces vehicles. The capital was like a ghost town as it plunged into a self-imposed curfew. On the morning of 8 January, hundreds of security officers could be seen on almost every street corner in Garowe. The legislators began to take their seats at the center of the Parliament Hall, while invited guests began to queue at the northern and southern entrances of the building.

The media broadcast the event live on radio and TV. Journalists, both local and foreign, flocked into the parliament building. Only a limited number of specific personalities and security forces were allowed to bring mobile phones. Otherwise, all phones were confiscated and carefully labeled and numbered so that they could be restored later to their owners.

More than 600 guests were invited to witness the voting process. These included distinguished members of the International Community and the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), Titled Traditional Elders, Traditional Aqils, members of CSOs, representatives of various local authorities (mayors and governors), international and local observers (including 3 members from the Puntland Diaspora Forum), and the media. The candidates were seated in order of their number in the official list. A transparent ballot box clearly marked with the Puntland flag stood in front of the candidates, the observers, the Presidential Election Committee, the MPs and the president and vice president of the Supreme Court.

Prior to voting the candidates signed a pledge to abide by the rules and to accept the outcome. Soon afterward the candidates were asked to nominate their official representatives to witness on their behalf. For the purpose of

assuring transparency and fairness, the committee displayed the ballot box for all present in the forum.

The voting started at about 9:00 a.m. with the Secretary General of the parliament calling the MPs in alphabetic order. The voting area was very calm and composed. The only sound heard was the name of each MP and the sound of his shoes as he walked toward the ballot box. The results of the three voting rounds, as illustrated in the table below, for both the president and the vice president, demonstrate the complexity and toughness of the contest. At about 1:00 p.m., Abdiwali Mohamed Ali (Gaas) won the contest by the narrowest margin of one single vote (See table 16 below). Former President Abdurahman Farole immediately accepted defeat and wholeheartedly congratulated the new president of Puntland. At about 5:00 p.m. on the same day, Abdulhakim Abdullahi Omar (Amey) became the vice president of Puntland. Former vice president Abdulsamad Ali Shire and Timacade (the second runner-up) conceded defeat and congratulated the new president and his vice president.

Upon the official announcement of the voting results, both the former president and the president elect made remarkable speeches that turned the silent arena into a lively, agitated, and fervent atmosphere. Lengthy standing ovations and applause

dominated the event. Short statements were made by the Speaker of the Puntland House of Representatives, the head of FGS delegation, the SRSG, the head of the EU delegation, and other dignitaries. They all, without exception, welcomed the results and appreciated the outcome. In addition, all those who spoke wished for a peaceful handover and a smooth transition of power.

The international community has generally welcomed the peaceful election and transition. The UN envoy for Somalia,

Nicholas Kay, led an international delegation comprised of the EU, Norway, Spain, and the UK to witness the election, which was described as well organized, peaceful, and transparent. All contestants have so far accepted the results.

The Nairobi-based Democratization Steering Committee, comprised of donor agencies from the European Union, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, and the United Kingdom, released the following statement:

The Democratization Programme Steering Committee (DSC) congratulates Puntland for the orderly, transparent, and peaceful process through which it has elected its new President, Dr. Abdiweli Mohammed Ali Gaas, and Vice President Abdihakim Abdullahi Haji Omar Amey on 8 January. We commend outgoing President Abdirahman Mohamed Farole for his public service and his government's professional execution of the elections.

We look forward to continuing our engagement with the government of Puntland as it resumes its peaceful democratization process, expanding on the substantial foundations already built. As it sets out a vision for Puntland's future, we encourage the new leadership to reach out to stakeholders across the political spectrum and to prioritize the enhancement of political participation by women, youth and marginalized groups. Through an open and inclusive democratic process, Puntland can build a vibrant state that can best contribute to Somalia's stability and engage with the federal government and other federal states.

Table 16: Puntland presidential election results

President			
Candidate	First Round	Second Round	Third Round
Abdiwali Mohamd Ali Gas	12 (18.18%)	18 (27.27%)	33 (50.50%)
Abdirahman Mohamed Farole	27 (40.91%)	31 (46.97%)	32 (48.48%)
Ali Haji Warsame	13 (19.70%)	16 (24.24%)	
Mohamaed Abdinor Hersi	6 (9.09%)	-	-
Shire Haji Farah	4 (6.06%)	-	-
Ali Abdi Aware	3 (4.55%)	-	-
Gen. Abdullahi Said Samatar	1 (1.52%)	-	-
Abdidahir Mohamed Yusuf (Yey)	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Abdiwali Mohamud Gurey	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Ali Abdulqadir	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Abdirahman Mohamud Cuuke	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Vice President			
Candidate	First Round	Second Round	Third Round
Abdihakim Abdullahi Omar – Camey	26 (0.00%)	35 (0.00%)	48 (72.73%)
Abdulahi Ali Hersi (Timaade)	13 (0.00%)	17 (0.00%)	17 (24.24%)
Gen. Abdisamad Ali Shire (Former VP)	12 (0.00%)	9 (0.00%)	
Ahmed Elmi Osman (Karash)	9 (0.00%)	-	-
Husein Hashi Hassan	3 (0.00%)	-	-
Dahir Khalif Farah	2 (0.00%)	-	-
Abdullahi Dahir – Afqurac	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Mohamud Aydid Dirir	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Dr Mohamed Hersi Du'ale	0 (0.00%)	-	-
Abdirisak Mohamed Omar	0 (0.00%)	-	-

6.3 The commitment of the new administration

During their campaign activities, the new president H.E. Abdiwali Mohamed Ali (Gas) and his vice president, H.E. Abdulhakim Abdullahi Omar (Amey), promised to materialize the dream of the people of Puntland – to democratically elect their representatives and get rid of the unpopular “clan-based” system of governance. After their election, the

president and vice president reiterated their firm commitment to fulfill these promises. In Galkayo in March 2014, the president once again reassured a large public gathering organized by PDRC that his government “shall be considered failed if the next administration, in five years’ time, is not elected on one-person-one-vote.” Among his first acts as president was to establish a separate Ministry for Constitution, Federal Affairs, and Democratization.

7. Lessons learnt

A number of lessons can be drawn from Puntland's political transformation, including the following:

The primary source of the suspension of the 2013 local council elections was a lack of common understanding among the stakeholders and the public about the democratization process and its main goals. This common understanding did not materialize during the implementation of the democratization process. Both the government and the public wanted the democratization process to succeed, but they were not tuned into the same wavelength. The Puntland authorities failed to continuously appraise the outstanding challenges facing the democratization process, while the public was skeptical about the fairness and legitimacy of the process itself. These conflicting perceptions led the process into uncertainty and widespread confusion.

PDRC's 2009 Pillars of Peace (PoP) mapping exercise revealed that the general public had different perceptions and understandings of democratic notions and principles. This induced PDRC and its partner, Interpeace, to

conduct intensive awareness campaigns throughout Puntland. In 2010 and 2011, this awareness campaign reached thousands of citizens in both urban and rural areas through the various media outlets, forums and the use of the MAVU facility. Despite a broad-based dissemination of information about democracy and multiparty systems, the level of common understanding of these concepts remained very low.

One factor that substantially affected the shared understanding of the process was the complex influence of clan politics. The fact that Puntland's electorate is mostly illiterate and nomadic, and that the nascent political associations formed on the basis of clan affiliation and loyalty rather than political platforms and programmes, jeopardizes the genuine principles and notions of democracy. The clan factor also makes Puntland a particularly unwelcoming environment for women or minority candidates. Only a small section of the population truly grasps the significance of democracy as a political system of governance.

“Democracy does not begin and end at the polling booth. The focus on the ballot and preparations for the day itself largely overshadowed the need for long-term public support and participation in the process of democratisation. The timeframe was also clearly too short, limiting civil education, leading to the abandonment of the voter registration exercise, and leaving little time to resolve uncertainty around boundary demarcation. There were no concrete plans for resolving disputes arising from the process, and freedom of expression for the media was increasingly curtailed as the election approached. There was also an increasingly poisonous political environment with the authorities and the Transitional Puntland Election Commission (TPEC), the body charged with preparing for and overseeing the election, failing to consult or engage with the full range of stakeholders, including notably traditional elders, who wield significant formal and informal power, and the political associations contesting the election.”

Puntland at the Polls- Report by Puntland Non State Actors Association (PUNSA) and Saferworld, April 2014.

The time allocated for the electoral process to evolve was too short.

According to respondents interviewed before and after the elections were suspended, neither the emerging political associations nor TPEC had enough time to systematically advance their obligations. On one hand the process encountered protracted “extensions” of crucial deadlines and on the other hand it restricted the performance of the emerging political associations.

Puntland’s political environment in 2013 was not conducive to free and fair elections.

Democracy cannot flourish under undemocratic governance. It is impossible to exercise democracy in the absence of a free media, credible political platforms, and above all a secure environment. Attempting to hold democratic elections without these preconditions is merely a delusion and a misconception of democracy’s basic notions and principles.

The bulk of the media in Puntland are in the hands of the private sector. Both the opposition and the government used these privately owned media outlets in their campaigns on the basis of payment for services. The main concern was that the incumbent government could use public resources for their campaigns. Although it is difficult to verify, the opposition often complained about the government’s use of public money to

hire expensive TV channels to broadcast their campaigns, which other contenders could not afford.

The elections were hampered by a lack of financial and institutional capacity. Neither the government nor the emergent political associations had enough resources to conduct their programmes and campaigns. The fundraising capacity of the associations was either inefficient or nonexistent. The public also lacked a culture of investing in political associations and parties. The associations relied solely on the financial resources of their main founders to fund their campaigns.

Interpeace, right from the date the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) was formed, provided necessary technical assistance and training on the conduct of the electoral process. Despite limitations in time, expertise, and travel, TPEC quickly acquired the basic essential capacities it required to hold the local council elections. However, the capacity and skills of other stakeholders, such as political associations and government institutions, remained very low or nonexistent.

The election process lacked genuine political outreach. Although the government's firm commitment to carry out the election process forward

was discernible in its efforts, it did not engage in a timely, properly manifested, and realistic political outreach. The incumbent government neglected a growing opposition at all levels, and opted to forcefully carry out the local council elections with little or no proper technical arrangements in place. The government's policy of neglect led to the formation of stiff, though dispersed, resistance against the government's handling of the formation of political associations and, subsequently, the local council elections themselves.

Widespread misinformation about elections complicated the public's ability to understand the process.

The absence of an ethical and principled political culture led to confusion and the spread of unfounded and often misleading information. Spoiler elements who belonged neither to the genuine opposition nor to the incumbent government had often disseminated rumors intended to cause confusion and havoc merely to achieve short-range interests and goals. Such elements thrived in the prolonged chaos and statelessness.

TPEC must be an independent entity.

The establishment of this entity was neither consultative nor comprehensive. This led to misconceptions and contradictions. The constitutional provisions for the establishment of the commission are only

temporary arrangements that require intensive consultations and analysis to achieve the acceptance of all political actors and the wider public. However, the nine members of the commission during their term in office worked very hard in a politically charged environment and without inheriting any expertise or capacity.

The hastily formed political associations lacked both political and administrative capacities to embark on their political drives. The associations were inexperienced and oblivious to most of their political business. Some of the emergent associations were merely driven by enthusiasm and opportunism rather than political principles or programmes.

The aborted local council elections exposed faults in Puntland's legal framework. Almost all laws related to the electoral process require in-depth review and amendments to adjust to the challenges and legal inconsistencies that emerged in the 2013 election. The issue of the "Constitutional Court" must also be clarified and its formation clearly and transparently carried out. The "Court" has no firm provisions in the constitution with regard to the selection of its members during the transition period. The selection process of Court members by the incumbent parliament and executive has been criticized as unfair to emerging political associations.

Stakeholders in Puntland have gained basic electoral experience and understanding. Public awareness of the democratization process has substantially increased and a number of negative perceptions against democratization have been substantially reduced.

Despite the cancellation of the 2013 elections, Puntland has proved that it can technically organize and hold successful elections. It overcame some of the above-highlighted challenges, which many considered key obstacles to successful elections. With Interpeace's technical assistance, TPEC overcame the following challenges:

- **The burden of recruiting and training large numbers of staff.** In addition to recruiting key members of its secretariat, TPEC also recruited and trained regional and district electoral officers (REOs/DEOs) and polling station staff members. TPEC identified a team of core trainers from the PDRC database, who conducted training of trainers (ToT) for 80 individuals. These ToTs then trained 1,286 election officials at the regional, district, and polling station levels within one week. These trained officials included district and polling station chairpersons and their respective secretaries, who were prepared to apply the provisions of

election laws in a uniform fashion and to handle any unexpected problems that arose fairly and efficiently.

- **The logistical challenge of deploying thousands of election workers and election materials on time.** Regardless of the anticipated difficulties in transporting election materials and election workers within Puntland, where infrastructure is poor in many locations, especially coastal towns, TPEC managed to deliver ballot boxes and polling station staff on time even to extremely remote districts like Alula, Qandala, and Hafun. This contributed to increased public confidence in Puntland's ability to implement the electoral process. Despite the vast areas without tarmac roads, people across Puntland began to believe that they would have the opportunity to cast their votes.

Although the local council elections were suspended, a number of civil

society organizations (CSO) that directly engaged in civic and voter education have gained considerable experience and learning. These CSOs, including PDRC, engaged in intensive awareness raising campaigns in both rural and urban settlements, accumulating expertise that will prove invaluable in future democratization endeavors.

The local council elections allowed the international community to demonstrate its firm commitment to Puntland's democratization.

The enthusiasm and willingness of the international community, through the DSC, to support Puntland's first local council elections represented an important milestone, primarily because it can be considered as a model for other emerging federal states to engage international assistance. It was also perceived as a reasonable and worthwhile investment of their contributions.

8. Looking ahead

Puntland's democratization process is at a critical crossroads, and now requires careful navigation through huge challenges and hindrances.

There are a number of issues that require the attention of all stakeholders. The new administration, the international community, and the wider public all need to avoid past practices that hampered the steady progress of the democratization process.

Among others, these practices include:

- Prolonged review and modification of basic legal frameworks, including the constitution, political association laws, and election laws
- Delayed and non-transparent formation of vital institutions such as TPEC and the constitutional Court
- Inconsistent legal documentation of the process as a whole
- Absence of solid and agreed upon roadmaps of the various stages of the democratization process
- Absence of consensus building policies and proper political outreach to the wider public. The successive administrations often neglected or marginalized their oppositions, which led to recourse to violence and rejection of the process.
- Insignificant public awareness on civic and voter education.

A failure to rectify or surmount the above practices will lead the democratization process along the same path that frustrated Puntlanders and the international community in 2013. Lessons learnt during the 15 years of Puntland's evolving democratization process must be properly utilized.

If Puntland is to hold credible elections in the future, it must find definite solutions to a number of contentious pre-election issues.

Voter Registration: The purpose of a voter registration system is to distinguish those who are qualified to vote from those who are not. The issue of voter registration was among the major points disputed between the emergent political associations and TPEC. The political associations feared that without

voter registration it would be difficult to prevent attempts at multiple voting and vote rigging. Furthermore, the absence of voter registration would make the allocation of seats and polling stations contentious and provide a classic motive for disturbances. The government and TPEC repeatedly renounced voter registration for several reasons, including a lack of financial resources, deficient technical expertise, and general demographic complexity. It is difficult to carry out voter registration in an area with no defined borders and with a population that is more than 60 percent nomadic and constantly on the move. Time was another factor preventing the implementation of credible voter registration in Puntland.

Electoral Laws: These laws are incomplete and require continuous revision that commensurate with legal requirements. The laws set certain conditions for the elections, determine who can vote, and stipulate the voting procedures themselves. Puntland's electoral laws, including laws on political associations and the electoral commission, have been subject to multiple amendments and revisions. Nevertheless, not all major stakeholders were satisfied with the alterations. The need for engagement of knowledgeable legal experts is of utmost importance.

Electoral Commission: The Electoral Commission also determines some of

the technical necessities for an election to take place. TPEC came under scrutiny immediately after its formation. Political actors and their supporters perceived it as a technical arm of the incumbent government. In fact, misleading and false perceptions often guided the opposition. These political actors and other spoilers neglected the legal procedures necessary for the formation of this "transitional" body by adamantly referring to carry out the next stage of the establishment of the "official/national" electoral commission.

Constitutional Court (CC): In the absence of a constitutional court, each political association made its own self-serving legal interpretations of disputed issues concerning the election. A Constitutional Court should be formed to play an important role in the resolution of electoral disputes and promote confidence in the democratic system on the part of political actors and the public.

Women candidates: A number of prominent women organizations are steadily advancing women's empowerment at all levels in Puntland. Female school enrollment has increased in recent years and has been brought nearly even with male enrollment (56.2 percent male and 43.8 percent female enrollment as of 2013). However, women continue to be poorly served by Puntland's political system, which remains highly male-dominated and clan-influenced.

Efforts should be made to explore methods, including quotas, to ensure a more equitable level of representation for women in Puntland's governing

institutions. In addition, there should be greater outreach and awareness raising throughout Puntland on women's rights and their role in politics.

9. Annexes

9.1 Chronology of Major Election Events

a) Election date postponements

TPEC changed the election date three times due to technical problems and a prolonged Political Association (PA) vetting process:

- On 11 Sep 2012, TPEC fixed the election date as 15 May 2013
- On 15 April 2013, TPEC postponed the election to 30 June 2013
- On 19 May 2013, TPEC delayed the election date to 15 July 2013.

b) Deadlines of the PA vetting process

- Phase I: Launching the PAs, including their names and symbols, and payment of registration fees. Deadline: 10 December 2012, later extended to 31 December 2012
- Phase II: Establishment of PA General Assemblies and offices, and confirmation of 330 members. Deadline: 10 February 2013, later extended to 10 March 2013
- Phase III: Local council candidates nominated and 3 million Somali shillings fee paid. Deadline: 26 May 2013.

c) Changing positions of the political associations (PA)

- 17 March 2013: Five PAs (MIDNIMO, UDAD, WADAJIR, HORCAD, and PDP) circulated a petition expressing their common concern over the proposed amendments to the Local Councils Election Law No. 5 of 7th September 2012. Four of these PAs (MIDNIMO, UDAD, WADAJIR, and PDP), remained firm in their dissenting positions and insisted that without voter registration and voter IDs, the process would be vulnerable to widespread ballot-rigging.
- 31 March 2013: Two PAs (WADAJIR and PDP) showed flexibility on the amendments to the electoral law and opted to support the process, along with HORSEED and HORCAD, who already supported the amendments. MIDNIMO and UDAD threatened to boycott the election if the House of Representatives passed the proposed amendments.
- 6 April 2013: Two PAs (MIDNIMO and UDAD) announced their boycott of the elections unless their requests were accepted.
- 7 May 2013: UDAD returned to the list of participants after it was promised the establishment of a Constitutional

Court. However, this Court was never established.

- 28 May 2013: Two PAs (MIDNIMO and PDP) announced their boycott of the elections and were removed from the list of those admitted to participate in the elections.
- 12 July 2013: WADAJIR announced its boycott 48 hours before the election date.

d) PA orientations, trainings, and debates

- September 2012: TPEC orientation on registration requirements
- 18-19 and 23-25 March 2013: confidence-building interactive meetings organized by PDRC
- 22 -23 May 2013: workshop on elections organized for PAs by National Democratic Institute (at PDRC)
- May 2013: Workshop on Code of Conduct (at PDRC).

9.2 Minutes of Meeting between the PAs, the government, and TPEC, 31 March 2013

Participants

1. Government: Puntland vice president and a number of cabinet ministers
2. Political Associations: Representatives from the six PAs
3. TPEC: Chairman, vice chairman and four members
4. PDRC: Executive director, programme director and researchers
5. Interpeace: Liaison officer

Background

- As the local government elections approached, it seemed impractical or impossible for TPEC to fulfill certain parts of the Elections Law, specifically regarding voter registration and ID cards.
- The Puntland government (cabinet) discussed and supported removal of voter registration and ID cards from the law.
- On 23 March, the Puntland parliament held an extraordinary session to review and reach decisions on the revised law.
- Since the proposal to change this law emerged, there was also growing opposition and condemnation from the Political Associations, and on 29 March, four out of the six PAs issued a joint statement.
- TPEC formally responded to the PAs opposing the motion and addressed the issues/concerns described in their joint statement.
- There were also parallel efforts by various actors to find solutions and political consensus between opposing parties:
 - Between 17 and 31 March, PDRC organized four consultative dialogue sessions for the primary stakeholders of the process: the PAs, TPEC and the government
 - The House of Representatives delayed discussions on the revised law, as they simply intended to provide a chance for dialogue between opposing parties/actors. On 29 March, the designated parliamentary sub-committee extended invitations to two PAs (MIDNIMO and UDAD) to consult and hear their perspectives
 - Other dignified groups and individuals also facilitated formal and informal dialogues.

Consultation Meeting between PAs, TPEC, and government

1. MIDNIMO and UDAD speakers said that their position was unchanged; they would not participate in the upcoming elections unless the following conditionalities were met:

- a. Voter registration
- b. Voter ID cards
- c. Public acceptance of the process and readiness to vote; only Nugaal region was ready to hold elections without major challenges/hindrances
- d. A neutral electoral commission
- e. Demarcation of districts nominated by Somali government
- f. Distinction between the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court
- g. Resolution of disputed and/or contested territories, including clarity on how and where elections would take place in areas under the control of Somaliland and Khatumo.

Where are we on all the above requirements?

Is it feasible to go for three elections in the remaining timeframe of only 8 months?

MIDNIMO stated they would not go for elections without all the above requirements/conditionalities. They also warned that any election without voter registration and ID cards would result in conflict over election results and bring the country into conflict and chaos. They appealed for research institutions to conduct public opinion polling to show which of the competing opinions enjoyed public support.

They also called for the government to think about the aftermath if elections without voter registration and IDs took place in Puntland.

HORCAD and WADAJIR

These PAs declined and changed their position after receiving responses from TPEC. They were convinced that voter registration and ID cards were not doable, as there was not enough time or resources to mobilize these processes before elections. They stated that they were convinced by TPEC's proposition and supported the removal of these two processes from the electoral law. They seemed to be more provocative and challenged the perspectives of the other two PAs (MIDNIMO and UDAD). They argued

that the country was ready for elections. They showed no opposition to the process and agreed that nationwide elections were feasible across all regions. They stated that “If we don’t all support these motions, then it will disappoint the public...If this process doesn’t go through, we will reach the coming January without a government.”

Government officials (Vice President)

The Vice President stated that “In reference to all of your statements, I found out that four out of six PAs are now supportive of this motion, while two are still opposed to it. I call for both sides to come closer and resolve their differences to help reach the common goal, which is to lead our citizens to democracy, to directly elect whomever they deem qualified to represent them.”

Objectives of the Election Monitoring Committee (EMC)

- To monitor the technical objectivity of the electoral process and the way the Political Associations and TPEC codes of conduct are managed
- To register and denounce violators of the codes of conduct and/or agreed-upon technical electoral process designs.

Establishment of the EMC

The EMC shall be established in the following manner:

- Key civil society organizations will identify ten members (nine members plus one alternate in case one of the identified members cannot serve) who are reputable, neutral, and respected Puntlanders representing a broad spectrum of society, with the capacity to carry out the requirements of the below-mentioned terms of reference (TOR).
- Key civil society organizations led by PDRC will consult the political associations and TPEC with a view to obtaining their buy-in on the identified candidates.
- After obtaining the buy-in of TPEC and the political associations, TPEC will officially establish the committee and its members in a joint press conference attended by key civil society organizations and political associations.
- The general public of Puntland, the government, and Parliament will be informed about the establishment of the EMC.

Specific tasks

- Monitor the electoral process' adherence to the technical process design that was developed by TPEC, and share with TPEC and the political associations any observed shortcomings.
- Ensure compliance by stakeholders (political associations, TPEC, and government agencies) with the codes of conduct, constitution, and electoral laws.
- Receive complaints from political associations and/or TPEC about violations of the codes of conduct, constitution, and electoral laws.
- Investigate complaints received and register and denounce violators after verification of their veracity.
- In coordination with TPEC, help resolve conflicts between the political associations during the campaign period.
- Give warnings to political associations and government agencies that violate the codes of conduct.
- Propose to the TPEC disciplinary actions against violators of the codes of conduct and Election Law.
- Recommend measures against violators of the codes of conduct or electoral laws.
- Disseminate to the public information about violators of the codes of conduct by periodically meeting with the media.
- Prepare a final report on the local council elections.

The mandate of the EMC goes beyond Election Day and ends when the Constitutional Court announces the final election results.

9.3 Code of Conduct – Political Associations, 9 May 2013

TRANSITIONAL PUNTLAND ELECTORAL COMMISSION

PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA

HEAD QUARTER OFFICE



GUDDIGA DOORASHOYINKA PUNTLAND EE KMG

DAWLADDA PUNTLAND

XARUNTA DHEXE

XEERKA HAB-DHAQANKA URURADA SIYAASADDA EE DOORASHOYINKA GOLAYAASHA DEEGANADA PUNTLAND

09 May, 2013

Garowe, Puntland

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Arar/Hordhac

Ururada Siyaasadda ee Puntland:

- ⇒ Iyaga oo **dareensan** muhimmadda ay doorashada Golayaasha deegaanadu u leeyihiin horumarka iyo gaarista himilada bulshada reer Puntland
- ⇒ Iyaga oo **tixgelinaya** in ay doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanku/Degmooyinku ay si habsami ah u qabsoomaan
- ⇒ Iyaga oo **garawsan** in shuruueda iyo xeerarka u degsan doorashdu ay leeyihiin daldaloollo iyo nuqsaan
- ⇒ Iyaga oo **ku taamaya** in la hirgeliyo dhaqan siyaasadeed oo isu dheelli-tiran isna kaabaya ayna ka dhashaan “Axxaab” ku habboon in ay hoggaanka u qabtaan siyaasadda mandiqadda
- ⇒ Iyaga oo **aqoonsan** kaalinta iyo mas`uuliyadda hay`adaha dastuuriga ah ee ku hawlan hirgelinta hanaan doorashooyin ku qabsooma si nabad ah oo ka maran khilaaf iyo is-qab-qabsi

Waxay ku heshiiyeen in ay u hoggaansamaan kuna dhaqmaan Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka ururada siyaasadda Puntland. Dhammaan ururada siyaasadda ee ka qaybgelaya doorashada Golayaasha Degmooyinka/Deegaamada iyo Guddiga Doorashada Puntland ee KMG ahi si wada jir ah ayeey u saxiixeen Xeerkan una ballanqaadeen in ay sida uu jidaynayo ama tilmaamayo ugu dhaqmaan una fuliyaan.




QAYBTA 1^{AAD}**Qodobo Guud****Qodobka 1^{aad}:****Nuxurka iyo Magaca Xeerka**

Xeerkan oo dhexmaray Ururada Siyaasadda Puntland iyo Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah waxa loogu yeeri doona “ Xeerka Hab-Dhaqanka Ururada Siyaasadda Puntland” ee xilliga doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanada.

QODOBKA 2^{AAD}:**Dabbaqaadda ama Cidda uu qabanayo**

Xeerkan waxa lagu dabbaqaya ama uu qabanayaa, marka uu dhaqangalo, dhammaan Hoggaamiyeyasha Ururada Siyaasadda, xubnaha Golayaashooda Dhexe iyo Fulinta ee Urrurada Siyaasadda, Xubnaha iyo Taageerayaasha Urrurada Siyaasadda, Mas’uuliyiinta Dawladda ee Magacaabis Siyaasadeed leh iyo GDPKMG ah.

QODOBKA 3^{AAD}**Qeexidda iyo fasiraadda ereyada**

Haddii aanu sharciyo si kale u fasin ama u qeexin, Xeerkan awgiis waxa ereyada soo socda loola jeeda:

Guddiga:	Waxaa loola jeedaa Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee kumeel gaarka ah (GDPKMG) ee loo xilsaaray maamulidda iyo ka garsooridda doorashooyinka
Golle Degaan:	Waxaa loola jeedaa golaha ay cod-bixiyayaasha degmadu u doortaan maamulka iyo xeer-dejinta D/hoose ee degmada.
Doorasho:	Waxaa loola jeedaa tartanka loo gelayo doorashada golaha wakiilada iyo kuwa deegaanka
Olole:	Waxaa loola jeeda hawl-galka ay ururadu/xisbiyadu iyo musharaxiintoodu ugu tartamayaan iska dhaadhicinta iyo soo kala jiidashada cob-bixiyayaasha.
Urur-Siyaasadeed:	Waxaa loola jeeda unug is abaabulid bulsho oo siyaasadeed loona diiwangeliyey ka qaybgalka doorashada dowladaha hoose inta aan loo aqoonsaxisbi siyaasadeed.







QODOBKA 4^{AAD}**Mabaadii'da guud**

Si loo xaqiijiyo hirgelinta doorasho xor iyo xalaal ah oo ay ku soo baxaan Goleyaal Deegaanada ee si sharciga waafaqsan lagu doortay waxaana saldhig u ah:

1. Olole doorasho oo ku hirgala si nabad ah, nidaamka guudna waafaqsan, kaas oo codbixiyeyaasha lagu wacygelayo, looguna iftiiminayo barnaamijyada Urrurada iyo cidda ay u codaynaayan.
2. In ay cod-bixiyeyaashu codkooda u dhiibtaan si xor ah oo ka fayooow cabsi-gelin, musuq-maasuqa iyo dhammaan wax kasta oo saamayn ku yeelan kara kalsoonidooda (*Qodobka 4aad, faq. 2aad ee Xeerka Doodarashooyinka Degmooyinka – Lamb. 5 ee 6 April 2013*).
3. Ku dhaqanka iyo u hoggaansanaanta Xeeraka iyo Shuruucda u deggsan hawlaha doorashada; sida Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Urrurada (Code of Conduct), Xeerka doorashada Goleyaasha Deegaanada, Xeerka Ururada Siyaasadda iyo Dastuuka.
4. In ay cod-bixintu ama is-doorashadu tahay “hal-beegga” *Rabitaanka* iyo *Doonista* Shacabka, natiijada ka soo baxdana ay habboon tahay in la wada xushmeeyo loona wada hoggaansamo.

QODOBKA 5^{AAD}:**Ujeeddada Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Ururada Siyaasadda Puntland**

Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Ururadu wuxu kaabe ama garab u yahay Xeerarka Doorashada Goleyaasha deegaanada iyo kan Ururada Siyaasadda. Wuxu ilo-tiraya dal-daloollada ka soo bixi kara xeerarkaas iyo shuruucda la xiriirta geedi-socodka siyaasadda guud ahaan.

QODOBKA 6^{AAD}**Nidaamka Ku Dhaqanka (Ballanqaadka Ururada)**

- In ay ururadu ku wacyigeliyaan taagerayaashooda, xubnhooda iyo bulshada guud ahaan ku dhaqanka xeerka Hab-dhaqanka.
- Iney ururadu ballanqaadaan xushmaynta iyo ku dhaqanka xeerkan
- Iney ururadu muujiyaan wada-shaqayn iyo iskaashi dhexdooda iyo GDPKMG iyo lamaha dawladda guud ahaan

- Iney ururadu ballanqaadaan ka hortagga wax kasta oo shaqaaqo keeni kara ama abuuri kara
- Iney ururadu si cad wax uga qabtaan (Tallaabo uga qaadaan) wixi dhibaato soo kordha ama loo arko in ay carqaladayn karaan habsami-u-socodka ololaha iyo doorashada
- Iney ururadu ballanqaadaan in ay aqbalayaan natijada doorashada, wixi cabashooyin jirana ay la tegayaan Maxkamadaha ay khasayso ee awoodda u leh, sida ay qabaan Xeerka Doorashooyinka iyo Dastuurka Puntland.

QAYBTA 2^{AAD}

Maamulka Doorashada

QODOBKA 7^{AAD}

Maamulka Ololaha Doorashooyinka

Inta aan lagu dhawaaqin xilliga ololaha doorahsada Urur Siyaasadeed kastaaba wuxu ballanqaadayaa:

1. In uu xushmaynayo, qaddarinayo uuna xaqdhawrayo xuquuqda madax-bannaanida Ururada kale ee tartanka kula jira. Wuxu sidoo kale aqbalayaa in ay ololayaan, qeexaan aragtidooda siyaasadeed, ayna faafiyaan hal-ku-dhegyadooda iyo calaamadohooda.
2. In uu oggolaado xaqqa ururada kale u leeyihiin in ay si cad u soo bandhigaan barnaamijkooda siyaasadeed, si sharciga waafaqsan, iyaga oo ku muujinaya Boorar, calaamado iyo shaashadaha fagaarayaasha la dhigo.
3. In urur-siyaasadeed kasta si cad oo aan leex-leexasho lahayn u muujiyo hab-dhaqan uu ku tix-gelinayo xuquuqda ururada kale ee tartanka kula jira, muwaadinka cod-bixiyaha ah iyo bulshada guud ahaan.
4. In uu xaq-dhawro oo si dhab ah u tixgeliyo saxaafadda iyo xor-ahaansheeda, Goob-joogayaasha (Shisheeye iyo Maxalliba) iyo dhex-dhexaadnimadooda iyo Guudiga la-socodka/Ilaalinta Doorashada deegaanada (Marka la magacaabo)
5. In ururadu ku dhaqmaan Jadwalka Ololaha (ku qancidda maalmaha loo sami-tuurtay) iyo ururba maalinta loo qoondayey, taas oo ay isku xaq-dhawrayaan goobaha lagu ololaynayo iyo wakhtiga loo cayimay.
6. In urur kastaaba uu xaqiijiyo in aanu ku kicin fal cabsi gelin kara cod-bixiyeyaasha, caga-juglayn ka reebi karta cod-bixinta iyo muujinta aragtidooda siyaasadeed.
7. In ay ururadu ka feejignaadaan dhammaan adeegsiga oraah ama tiraab laga dhadhasan karo dhiirrigelin colaadeed, aflagaadho iyo cay loo geysto tageerayaasha iyo agabka (Xafiisyada, gaadiidka iyo qalabka kale) ururada kale.

-

SIF

8. Mar haddii urur kastaaba mas'uul ka yahay hab-dhaqanka iyo falalka taageerayaashooda, waxa waajib ku ah in ay taageerayashooda ku war geliyaan ku dhaqanka Xeer-Dhaqameedkan iyo dhammaan shuruuca kale

QODOBKA 8^{AD}

Xuquuqda Doorasho ee dhinacyada xeerka wada saxiixay

Dhammaan dhinacyada uu xeerkani ka dhexayo waa in ay ogyihiin lana soocdaan Xuquuqohooda doorasho oo la xiriira:

- ✓ Xaqqa dhiibashada aragtida siyaasadeed oo aan khilaafsanayn shuruuca iyo xeerarka u yaal Puntland.
- ✓ Xaqqa ka wada-hadalka iyo doodista siyaasadda iyo barnaamijyada;
- ✓ Xaqqa baahinta iyo faafinta astaaamaha, aragtiyaha, suugaanta iyo murtida aan naxliga lahayn cidna lagu aflagaadhaynayn;
- ✓ Xaqqa baahinta hal-ku-dhegyada, Boorarka iyo suugaanta la xiriirta ololaha doorashada balse aan cid kale iyo shurrucdaba wax u dhimayn;
- ✓ Xaqqa hirgelinta olole doorasho oo xor ah oo aan sinaba ugu xad-gudbayn Shuruuca, Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka, Dastuurka iyo nidaamka amni ee guud;

QODOBKA 9^{AD}

Dejinta Jadwalka Ololaha Doorashada

Jadwalka ololaha doorashdu wuxu muhiim u yahay habsmi-u-socodka iyo maamulka ololaha siyaasadda. Waa aalad lagu tusmaynayo kala horraynta iyo isku xiriirsanaanta ololaha iyo sida loo kala leeyahay, sidaas awgeed waxa lagu dejinaya qaab loo dhan yahay oo habka "qori-tuurka" ah laguna wada qanacsan yahay:

- ✓ Guddiga Doorashada ayaa gole ay wakiillada ururada siyaasadda ee doorashada ka qayb-gelaya ay joogaan kaga dhawaaqaya maalinta ololuhu si rasmi ah u bilaabanayo.
- ✓ Guddiga Doorashada KMG ayaa u qori-tuuraya ururada sida, goobta iyo goorta ay ka gelayaan ololaha
- ✓ Guddoomiyeyaasha ururada siyaasadda iyo GDPKMG ah ayaa wada saxiixaya jadwalka halkaas lagu dejiyey.
- ✓ Nuqullo saxiixan aya la siiyanaya urur –siyaasadeed kasta iyo dhammaan cidda ku shaqo leh fulinta jadwalka.

(Eeg Lifaafa A)




QAYBTA 3^{AAD}**Sugidda Amniga iyo Nabadgelyada****QODOBKA 10^{AAD}****Sugidda Amniga iyo Nabadgelyada**

Sugidda amniga iyo nabadgelyadu waa waajib guud oo qof kasta gaar ahaantiisa u saran, waxaase si gaar ah xil uga saaran yahay, xilliga ololaha iyo maalinta doorashada, xukuumadda oo laga rabo in ay xaqiijiso sugidda amniga iyo nabadda. Waxa mas'uuliyaddaasi sidaas oo kale goobaha codbixinta uga saaran tahay Guddiga Doorashooyinka KMG ah maalinta doorashada. Saraakiisha amniga ee goobaha cod-bixintu waxay si toos ah uga amar qaadanayaan, maalinta cod-bixinta, guddoomiyaha guddiga doorashada ee goobta cod-bixinta.

QODOBKA 11^{AAD}**Waxyaabaha Reeban**

In kasta oo aaney marnaba bannaanayn in wax sharcigu reebayo lagu kaco ama lagu dhaqmo, haddana xilliga doorashooyinka waxa jira waxyaabo haddii ay shakhsi, koox/urur ama hay'ad ay ka dhacaan keeni kara ama ay ka dhalan karan arrimo cawaaqib xumo ku reeba habsami-u-socodka iyo hirgelinta doorashada. Qoddobada soo socda ayaa qeexaya waxyaabaha reeban ee loo baahan yahay in laga feejignaado oo aan marnaba lagu kucin ama lagu dhaqmin.

QODOBKA 12^{AAD}**Isticmaalka iyo Haysashada Noocyada kala duwan ee Hubka**

Taageerayaasha, xubnaha, madaxda iyo hawl-wadeenada Ururada Siyaasadda waxa ka reeban in ay ku qaataan ama ku haystaan goobaha ololaha ururada kale ka socdaan, madasha shir-weynaha urur kale ka socdo, goobaha bulshadu isugu timaado iyo goobaha codbixinta. Ururadu hub nooc kasta oo uu yahay lama tegi karaan xafiisyada Guddiga Doorashooyinka KMG ah, kuwa gobollada iyo kuwa degmooyinka.

Sida uu qabo Qodobka **24aad ee sharci Lamb. 3, ee 9/4/2013**, ee Xeerka Doorashooyinka Golayaasha Degaannada Dawladda Puntland, Waxa kale oo ururada siyaasadeed ka reeban in ay:

- Ku qorista Boorarka hal-ku-dhegyo iyo ereyo ka horjeeda sharciga iyo anshaxa guud.

- In lagu dhejiyo Boorarka goobaha ay ka mid yihiin Massjidda, Xafiisyada dawladda, qabuuraha, Gaadiidka Dawladda, Xarumaha Diplomasiiyinta iyo Ururada Caalamiga ah;
- Guud ahaan Xarumaha Wax-barashada iyo Caafimaaadka

QODOBKA 13^{AD}

Ammuuraha iyo Tallaabooyinka ka Reeban Xukuumadda

- Xukuumadda waxa ka reeban in ay sinaba ururada siyaasadda, taageerayaashoda iyo xubnohoodaba ay xoog, muqunin iyo cabburin ugu adeegsato ciidamada amniga ee Booliska, Asluubta, Darawiishta, booliska Badda, Nabad-sugidda iyo Sirdoonka.
- Xukuumadda waxa ka reeban in qofna laga qaado xorriyadiisa (lama xiri karo) sida uu qabo sharcigu. Hawl-wadeennada ururada siyaasadda, musharaxiinta iyo goob-joogayaashoodaba lama xiri karo iyadoon lagu qaban iyaga oo fal-dambiyadeed gacanta kula jira sida uu qabo **qodobka 13aad** ee sharci **lam. 3, 9/4/2013** ee Xeerka Doorashooyinka Golyaasha Deegaanadu)
- Ciidamada kor lagu soo xusay waxa ka reeban in ay faraha la galaan arrimaha siyaasadda waana in aaney muujin fikiradooda siyaasadeed ayna dhex-dhexaad ka ahaadaan dhammaan arrimaha siyaasadda.
- In ay hantida dawladda u adeegsadaan dano urur ama si shakhsi ah.

QODOBKA 14^{AD}

Dhexdhexaadnimada Hantida iyo Adeegyada Guud

Sida uu sharcigu qabo, dhammaan hantida guud adeegsigeeda, ku dhaqankeeda iyo ilaalinteedaba waa loo siman yahay lamina kala sheegan karo. Adeegsiga hantida guud waxa loo qoondaysanaya si siman oo la isku waafawsan yahay. Hantidaas waxa ka mid ah:

- Idaacada Dawladda
- Telefishanka/nada
- Barxadaha iyo Fagaarayaasha Magaaloyinka
- Gaadiidka, Goobaha Doorashooyinka iyo agabka doorashooyinka

SM

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

QODOBKA 15^{AD}**Waajibaadka Ururada Siyaasadda ka Saaran Geedi-Socodka Doorashada**

Sida uu shreigu qeexayo, Urur-siyaasadeed kasta waxa si gaar ah waajib ugu saran yahay:

- ✓ in uu xaqiijiyo wada-shaqaynta uu la yeelanayo dhammaan xubnaha iyo saraakiisha doorashada, taas oo sal-dhig u ah hirgelinta doorasho/codbixin xor iyo xalaal ah si nabad ahna ku dhacda.
- ✓ In uu xaq-dhawro uuna xushmeeyo dhammaan saraakiisha iyo Xubnaha Guddiga Doorasha KMG an inta lagu guda jiro ama la isu diyaarinayo xilliga ololaha, cod-bixinta, tirinta codadka iyo ku-dhawaaqidda natijada.
- ✓ In ay ballan-qaadaan ka hor-tagga waxkasta oo carqaladayn kara habsami-u-socodka doorashada ama inta ololaha lagu guda jiro.
- ✓ In uu fuliyo tilmaan kasta oo sharci ah uuna u dhega-nuglaado awaamirta (Sharcigu qeexayo) oo uu siiyo Guddiga Doorasha Puntland ee KMG ahi.
- ✓ In uu si joogto ah u xaqiijiyo xiriirka iyo wada-tashiga dhammaan inta ku hawlan doorashada – Guddiga Doorashada KMG, Urur-siyaasadeedyada kale iyo saraakiisha ciidamada amniga
- ✓ In urur kasta xaq-dhawro, la shaqeeyo sugidda amnigoodana ka qayb-qaato dhammaan xubnaha kormeerayaasha (observers) ah ee wadaniga ama ajnebi

QODOBKA 16^{AD}**Kaalinta Saxaafadda ee Xilliga Ololaha iyo Doorashada**

- Saxaafadda madaxa-bannaan iyo tan Dawladduba waa qayb muhiim u ah habsami-u-hirgelinta doorasho xor ah oo xalaal ah, ayna waajib ku tahay dhammaan ururada siyaasadda, maamulka iyo ciidamada amnigu in ay maqaamkaas ku xaqdhawraan kuna xurmeeyaan, iyada oo isla markaas saxaafadda madaxa-bannaan iyo tan dawladdaba laga doonayo in ay ka fogaadaan wax kasta oo:

- marin-habaabin kara habsami-u-socodka geedi-socodka doorashada
- dhiirri-gelinaya colaad aloosanta iyo buun-buuninta “Dhacdo” amni-darro
- faafinta qoraallo xambaarsan fariimo anshax-xumo iyo ceebayn cid kale
- baahinta fariimo, suugaan iyo murti xambaarsan fidno-abuur iyo kicin bulsho

F.G.: Saxaafadda waxa loo samaynaya tababarro, aqoon-is-weydaarsiyo iyo Xeer Habdhaqan (Media Code of Conduct) oo ay si wada jir ah u ilaalin doonaan GDPKMG, Ururada Siyaasadda iyo Saxaafadduba.

- sidoo kale saxaafaddu waa in ay kaalinta ay ku leedahay ka qaadato:

o

- Faafinta iyo baahinta Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Ururrada Siyaasdda
- Ku-wacyi-gelinta bulshada nuxur uu xambaarsan yahay xeerkani.
- IWM

QAYBTA 4^{AD}

Isticmaalka iyo Adeegsiga Maaliyadda iyo Hantida Dawladda

QODOBKA 17^{AD}

Isticmaalka iyo Adeegsiga Maaliyadda iyo Hantida Guud ee Dawladda

Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee KMG ahi wuxu hubinaya in aan “Hantida Guud” urur siyaasadeed si gaar ah danihiisa ugu adeegsan. Xeerka lamb. 4 ee xeerka Ururada Siyaasada ayaa si cad u qeexaya awoodaha GDPKMG ahi ku leeyhay xaqijinta in **Hantida Guud** si siman iyo **wixii loogu talo galay** loo adeegsado:

a) Maaliyadda

GDPKMG ahi wuxu hubinaya isla markaasna xaqijinaya in aan urur-siyaasadeedna Hanida maaliyadeed ee dawladda si gaar ah danihiisa ugu isticmaalin. Guddigu wuxu qaadaya tallabo kasta oo sharciga waafaqsan ee lagu xaqijinayo arrintaas.

b) Warbaahinta

Warbaahinta Dawladda Puntland waa xaddidan tahay. Idaacad iyo Telefishan cusub oo aan weli si dhab ah u hawlgelin ayaa ka jirta Puntland.

- Guddigu wuxu samaynayaa Jadwal ay urur-siyaasadeedyadu si siman ugu adeegsadaan barnaamijyada ururadooda.
- Guddigu wuxu xaqijinaya, si joogto ahna u ilaalinaya, in aan lagu xadgudbin jadwalka iyo anshaxa waxa la baahinayo
- Ururadu waxay ballan qaadayaan in ay dhawrayaan una hoggaansamayaan anshaxa iyo adeegsiga idaacadda iyo telefishanka dawladda.

c) Shaqaalaha Dawladda

- Qof shaqaale dawladeed ahi xil kama qaban karo urur-siyaasadeed/xisbi
- Sidoo kale qof shaqaale dawladeed ah uma ololayn karo urur-siyaasadeed/xisbi.
- GDPKMG, Ururada Siyaasada iyo xukuumaddu waxay si wada jir ah u xaqijinayaa in aan shaqaalaha dawladda, ciidamada iyo hawliq-wadeenada

hay'adaha madaxa bannaani si toos ah iyo si dadbanba ugu ololayn urur-siyaasadeed.

d) Gaadiidka (Bad, Cir iyo dhulba)

Gaadiidka Dawladdu wuxu ka mid yahay hantida guud. **Xeerka lamb. 4** ee xeerka Ururada Siyaasada taariikhda 02/09/2012 ayaa qeexaya istimaalka gaadiidka dawladda, guud ahaan iyo xilliga doorashooyinkaba:

- GDPKMG ahi wuxu xaqiijinaya in aan urur-siyaasadeedna u adeegsan gaadiidka dawladda danihiisa gaar ahaaneed.
- Gaadiidka Dawladda nooc kasta oo uu yahayba laguma dhejin karo calaamado, xayaysiis, boorar iyo hal-ku-dhegyo urur-siyaasadeed.

QAYBTA 5^{AD}

Xaalado Gaar ah

QODOBKA 18^{AD}

Xaaladaha "Gaarka ah" oo aan halkan ku qeexnayn waxa looga tashanaya shirar loo dhan yahay.

QODOBKA 19^{AD}

Wakiillada Ururrada Siyaasadda ee Goobaha Doorashooyinka

Qodobka 21 aad, Faqraddiisa 5aad ee Xeerka Lr. 3 ee 09/04/2103 waxa uu dhigayaa:

" Haddi ay ururda/xisbiyada siyaasaddu goob cod-bixineed u soo diran waayaan wakiilo, hawsha doorashadu u xanimmoo mayso, hawl-wadeenada guddiga doorashadu ee goobta hawshooda way wadayaan "

Sidaas darteed, Ururrada waxaa ku waajib ah in ay wakilladoodu ku dhiirri-geliyaan in ay saxeeaan Buqshadaha ama ay cabashadooda goobta ka diiwaan-geliyaan.

QODOBKA 20^{AD}

Dhaqdhaqaaqa Gaadiidka ee Maalinta Doorashada

- Maalinta doorashada dhaqdhaqaaqa gaadiidku waa joogsanaya intii aan ka ahyn kuwa ku xusan faqradda soo socota.

- Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee KMG ah aya siinay warqadda dhaq-dhaqaaqa gaadiidka lagama maarmaanka u ah adeegyada bulshada sida gaadiidka gar-gaarka deg-degta ah (Ambulance), booydaha biyahaayo dab-damiska iyo gaadiidka amniga sugaya.

QODOBKA 21^{AAD}

Cod-Bixinta/Cod-Dhiibashada

Sida ku Cad qodobka 36 ee xeerka doorashooyinka golyaasha deeganka cod-bixiyuhu wuxuu calaamad saarayaa warqada cod-bixinta ee khanada/hogta ururka uu u codeyaynayo.

Calaamad kasta oo uu cod-bixiye ku qoro warqadda cod-bixinta, sida dhibic, isku-tallaab, xarriijin, sumad, calaamadda saxnimada, waa la aqbalayaa, illaa inta ay calaamaddu si bayaan ah ugu jirto qaybta/hogta warqadda ee Urur u gaar ah.

QODOBKA 22^{AAD}

Warqadda Codbixinta

Sida ay ugu kala horraynayaan Ururrada Siyaasaddu warqadda codbixinta waxaa lagu kala baxayaa bakhtiyaa-nasiib ama qori-tuur uu Guddiga Doorashooyinka ee KMG ahi u sameeyo dhammaan Ururrada sidaasana lagu soo daabacayaa warqadda codbixinta.

QODOBKA 23^{AAD}

Xallinta Khilaafaadka

- 1) Ururrada Siyaasaddu waxa ay muran iyo khilaaf kasta oo ka dhex dillaaca ku xallinayaan wada hadal iyo is-afgarad (amicable solution);
- 2) Haddii ay Xisbiyadu ku guulaysan waayaan in ay khilaafka dhexdooda ah xalliyaan waxay u soo ban-dhigayaan Guddida Ilaalinta iyo Habsami-u-Socodka Doorashada;
- 3) Haddii arrintu ay tahay mid aanay waxba ka qaban karahaynin Guddidaasi waxaa loosoo gudbinayaa Guddiga Doorashooyinka.

QODOBKA 24^{AD}**Maamulka Cabashooyinka**

- a) Cabashooyinka Sharciga ah
- 1) Xisbiyada/Ururrada Siyaasaddu waxa ay ku dedaalayaan in wixii cabasho ah ee dhexdooda ah ay ku dhameeyaan is-afgarad iyo wada xaajood;
 - 2) Cabashooyinka ku saabsan hawl-galka iyo qaab-socodka doorashada waxaa loo soo gudbinayaa Guddida Ilaalinta iyo Habsami-u-Socodka Doorashada (Election Monitoring Committee).
- b) Cabashooyinka Been-abuurka ah
- c) Xisbiyada/Ururrada Siyaasaddu waa in aanay ku xad-gudbin xuquuqda soo gudbinta cabashooyinka. Waa in aanay samaynin cabasho been-abuur ah (false and frivolous) oo lagu jahawareerinaayo geeddi-socodka doorashooyinka.

QAYBTA 6^{AD}

**Ilaalinta Habsami-U-Socodka Hawlaha Doorashada
Golayaasha Deegaanada Puntland**

QODOBKA 25^{AD}**Asaasidda Guddiga Ilaalinta Habsami-U-Socodka Doorashada****(Eeg Lifaaqa B)**



QAYBTA 7^{AD}**Fulinta Xeerka Hab-Dhaqanka Ururada Siyaasadda****QODOBKA 26^{AD}****Tallaabooyinka laga Qaadayo Cidda ama Darafka Jebiya Xeerkan**

Xeerkani ma laha awood ciqaabeed, balse wuxu lee yhaya awood anshaxmarin. Haddaba, GDPKMG ahi isaga oo fulinaya awoodihiisa qaanuuniga ah, wuxu ka qaadaa tallaabo xeerkan iyo shuruuca kaleba waafaqsan hoggaamiyayaasha, maamulayaasha, hawlwadeennada, xubnaha, taageerayaasha iyo musharixiinta ururada siyaasadda ee ku xadgudba qodob ama ka badan ee isla xeerkan go'aamo anshaxmarin oo ay ka mid yihiin:

- 1) Digniin loo soo jeediyo
- 2) Cambaarayn iyo cannaan iyada oo saxaafadda loo soo bandhigayo
- 3) In muddo kooban laga joojiyo adeegsiga Idaacaha dawladda
- 4) In muddo kooban laga joojiyo qabsashada kulamo dadweyne




QODOBKA 27^{AAD}

Saxiixayaasha Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Ururada Siyaasadda Puntland

Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka ururada siyaasadda Puntland waxa awood u leh in ay saxiixaan Godoomiyeyaasha urur-siyaasadeedyada ama cidda ay qoraal rasmi ah ugu soo wakiishaan.

Maantay oo taariikhdu tahay, ee bisha May (Maajo) 2013, waxa si rasmi ah u saxiixay xeerka Hab-dhaqanka Ururada Siyaasadda Puntland ee kala ah:

Urur-siyaasadeedka MIDNIMO

Mudane: Ahmed Maxamed Axmed (Sadiq) _____

Urur-siyaasadeedka HOR-CAD

Mudane: Cumar Ismaciil Waberi _____

Urur-siyaasadeedka HORSEED

Mudane: Cabduraxman Moxamed Maxamud _____

Urur-siyaasadeedka PDP

Mudane: Cabduraxmaan Salaad Kulmiye _____

Urur-siyaasadeedka UDAD

Mudane: Said Farah Mohamed _____

Urur-siyaasadeedka WADAJIR

Mudane: Cabdullaahi Xassan Moxamud _____

Gudoomiyaha Guddiga Doorashooyinka KMG ah

Maxamed Xassan Barre _____



QODOBKA 28^{AAD}**Ku Dhaqanka iyo Wax-ka-Beddelka Xeerka Hab-Dhaqanka**

Xeerkani wuxu dhaqangelaya marka ay wada saxiixaan dhammaan urur-siyaasadeedyada ka qaybqaadanaya doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanada Puntland iyo Guddiga Doorasha Puntland ee KMG ah oo ku aadan maalinta ay 9^{ka} tahay Bisha May, Sannadka 2013.



QODOBKA 28^{aad}**Ku Dhaqanka iyo Wax-ka-Beddelka Xeerka Hab-Dhaqanka**

Xeerkani wuxu dhaqangelaya marka ay wada saxiixaan dhammaan urur-siyaasadeedyada ka qaybqaadanaya doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanada Puntland iyo Guddiga Doorasha Puntland ee KMG ah oo ku aadan maalinta ay 9^{ka} tahay Bisha May, Sannadka 2013.



Lifaaq A

Taalooyinka looga hortagi karo isdabomarinta laguna abuuri karo kalsooni.

1. Horudhac

GDP wuxuu dareensanyahay jiritaan la'aanta is diiwaan gelinta in loo arko fursad lagu samaynayo isdabamarin iyo inay codeeyaan dadka aan u dhalan Puntland, tan sidoo kale waxay ka turjumaysaa cabashada ururada xisbiyada oo codsaday in la diiwaan galiyo dadka codeeyayaasha intaan la gaarin waqtiga doorashada, taasoo aanay suurto gal ahayn sabab la xiriiira waqtigoo yar iyo dhaqaale kufilan oo aan lahayn. Taalaabooyinka waxaa looga hortagi karaa musuq maasuq ka yimaada dhanka doorashada.

2. Ka feejignaanta isdabamarinta iyo musuqmaasuqa.

a) Maxkamada Dastuuriga Ah.

Muhiimada ay maxkamada dastuurka ah u leedahay doorashada waa mid qofkasta dareensanyahay, GDP wuxuu si toosa dowlada ugala shaqeeeyey sidii loo dardar gelin lahaa in la aasaaso maxkamada dastuuriga ah. Maxkamada dastuuriga xeerkeedi waa mid gacanta lagu hayo balse suagay si loo ansixin lahaa. GDP wuxuu ku dhiiri gelinaysaa Golaha Xukuumada iyo Golaha Xeer dajinta inay u doortaan maxkama dastuuriga ah qareeno kuwaasoo leh sumcad, sharaf iyo taageeradaba dhanka shacabka iyo dhinacyada ay qusayso.

b) Hawl wadeenada Goobaha codaynta.

GDP waxay ka shaqaalaysiin doonaan goob kasta oo cod-bixineed laba howl-wadeeno(2)oo laga soo doorandoono. Hawl-wadeenada goobaha codbixintu a waxay noqon doonaan dad laga yaqaan goobaha codaynta si ay u kala saaraan dadkaan u dhalan Puntland iyo kuwa u dhashay. Tani waxay sii xoojinaysaa GDP dadaalka ay ugu jirto inaysan codayn qof aan Puntlander ahayn

c) Lasocodka agabka codaynta.

Iyadoo la isticmaalayo formska loogu tala galey in lagula socdo dhaqdhaqaaqa agabka codaynta oo ay ka mid yihiin, foomamka Agabka xasaasiga ah sida warqadaha codbixinta, kuwa natiijada, iyo wixii la mid ah, waa lala socon doonaa talaabo kasta laga bilaabo marka laga saaro bakhaarka GDP (Warehouse) ilaa iyo dib looga soo cesho bakhaarka GDP (Warehouse) ee garowe. Tiro taxaneedyada aan wax laga bedali Karin waxaa lagala

tashanayaa urur siyaasadeedka, nuqulada fooman lasocoshada ee siilasha waxaa la siin doona Ururada Siyaasada inta aan agabka laga qaadin bakhaarka kaydka.

d) Tirada taxanaha ah waraaqaha codaynta.

Warqadaha codaynta waxay yeelan doonaan afar calaamadood oo kale duwan taasoo ay suurto gal ahayn in la badeelo, warqad kastana waxay yeelan doontaa number taxane ah oo iyada gaar u ah, Tiro taxaneedka dhamaan waraaqaha codbixinta ee goobkasta oo lagu codaynayo waxaa lala wadaagi doonaa Urur Siyaasadeedyada si ay ugu suurto gasho inay ogaadaan tirada dhabta ah ee waraaqaha codbixinta oo loogu tala galay lana siiyay goobkasta oo lagu codaynayo.

e) Qaybinta waraaqaha codbixinta ee dheeraadka ah.

GDP waxay muhiimada saari doona inay xaqiijiyaan hadii codsi uga yimaada goobaha codbixinta kasoo ay ku doonayaa waraaqo codbixineed oo dheeraad ah kadib marka lasoo xaqiijiyo codbsigaas inu dhab yahay. ka hor intaan la bixin waraaqaha codbixinta waxaa la war gelinayaa ururada siyaasada si ay ogaadaan tirsiga waraaqo dheeraadka ah la siiyey goobtaas

f) Ururinta xogta ee goobta codbixinta.

Maalinta codaynta qof walba waa in la hayaa xogtiisa oo buuxda intaanu codayn, taasoo lagu samaynayo sanduuqyo ugu diyaarsan goobta, qofkastoo codaynayo waxaa lagu qorayaa buuga diiwaan iyadoo la tixraacayo shuruudaha soo socda, taasoo uu saxiixi doono codbixiyaha, gudoomiyaha goobta codbixinta iyo wakiilada ururada siyaasadda.

- Magaca codbixiyaha
- Da'da codbixiyaha
- Lab ama dhadig
- Meeshuu ku dhashay codbixiyuhu
- Saxiixa codbixiyaha

g) Isu eegida codaynta.

Tirada codbixiyayaasha goob walba waxaa lala barbar dhigayaa tirada codaysay goobta iyo xogta iyadoo la hubinayo inaysan jirin wax farqi ah oo u dhexeeya, goobtii laga helo wax

kala duwanaansho ah ama tiro dheeraad ah waxaa baarayaa Hawl-wadeena Doorashooyinka ee Degmada, ka dibna waxay u gudbin doonaan xarunta dhexe ee GDP si ay u xaqiijiyaan arintaas. hadii xal loo waayo GDP waxay goobtaas ka saari doonan tirada sanduuqyadaas si looga taxadaro inay saamayn ku yeelashaan natiijada degmadaas.

h) Wakiilada ururada siyaasada

Urur siyaasadeed walba wuxuu xaq u leeyahay in ay xubin wakiil ah u joogto goob kasta oo cod-bixineed. wakiilkaas ay aqoonsi siinayo GDP, sidoo kale waxay ku dhiiri gelinaysaa inaysan ururada siyaasadeed inay shaqaaleeyaan dad u dhashay degaanaada Puntland. taasoo kor u qaadaysa in laga taxadaro inay codeeyaan dad aan u dhalan degaanka Puntland.

i) Goobjoogayaasha goobta codbixinta.

Goobjoogayaal ayaa ka imaandoona qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada kuwaas oo la gayn doona dhamaan goobaha codbixinada Puntland.

j) Guddiga dabagalka doorashooyinka

Gudiga dabagalka doorashooyinka waxay ka kooban yihiin dad karti leh sumcadna ku leh qaybaha bulshada puntland. waxayna awood u yeelan doonaan dabagal ka iyo eegida doorashada. guddigan waxaa laga soo dooran doonaa ururada aan dowliga ahay lana wargelinayo ururada siyaasadda waxaana magaacabi doona GDP.

k) Fariimaha digniinta.

Maalinta doorashada wasaarada amniga iyo arimaha gudaha ee dawlada Puntland, waxay digniin u diraysaa dadka aan Puntland u dhalan inay ka qayb gelin codbixinta .digniintaas waxaa ka mid ah in hadii lagu qabto laga masaafurin doono kuwa lagu qabto goobaha codaynta. ciidamada booliska ee goobaha codbixinta waxaa lagu tababarayaa siday ku gartaan dadkaan Puntland ahayn, dadka dhowr ka jeer codaynaya iyo dadka isku dayaya inay wax ka badalaan sanduuqyada codaynta waxaana loo taxaabi doona xabsi ka dibna maxkamad.

Sidoo kale fariimahaas waxay ku dhiiri gelinayaan dadka reer Puntland inay toos ula shaqeeyaan GDP iyo wasaarada amniga si ay u codeeyaan dadka reer Puntland oo kaliya.

l) Habka Maareynta Natijada Doorashooyinka

GDP waxay soo diyaarinaysaa habraaca maareynta natiijada doorashada oo ay la wadaagi doonto ururada siyaasada iyo Guddiga Dabagalka Doorashada. sidaas daradeed waxay noqonayaa kuwo la socda dhamaan habka natiijada doorashada iyo geedisocodkaba iyo sida ay doorashadu uu dhacayso talaabo kasta oo la xiriirta taasoo ay ku jirto ka go'aan gaarista 3da xisbi oo soo baxa mateli doonana doorashooyinka danbe (Goobaha Cod-bixinta, Degmooyinka, Gobolada iyo ilaa Heer Qaran).

m) Xeerka Habdhaqanka ee Ururada Siyaasada.

Talaabooyinkaas waa lgu samayndoo xeerka habdhaqanka ee ururada Siyaasada.

n) Maxkamada dastuuriga

muhiimada ay maxkamada dastuurka ah u leedahay doorashada waa midqofkasta aqoon yahay, taasoo maskaxda lagu hayo, GDP waxay si dhawaansha ah ugala shaqaysay dowlada sidii loo dardar geliin lahaa habka loo aasaasi lahaa maxkamad dastuur. Maxkamada dastuurka sharcigeeda wuxuu marayaa qaybta kowaad. GDP waxay ku dhiiri gelinaysaa dowlada iyo parlumaanka inay u doortaan maxkama dastuurka ah qareeno laga taageersan yahay dadwaynaha iyo dadka ay sida gaarka ah u qusayso.

o) Xulista howl wadeenada goobaha cod-bixinta

GDP waxay si wayn u dareensantahay muhiimada howl wadeeno aqoon leh, dhexdhexaad ah uguna tababaran howlaha doorashooyinka. fursad ay GDP ku taxgelaynayo ayaa waxay tahay in laga soo xusho ardayda jaamacadaha Puntland, kuwaasoo ka hawl geli doona goobaha codbixinta. TPEC oo kaashanaysa saraakiisha doorashada ee gobolada iyo degmooyinka ayaa waxay goob kasta u soo xulayaan laba arday. sidaan markii hore u soo sheegnay labada halwadeen oo kale waxaa laga soo xulayaa dadka degaanka goobta doorashadu ku taal, si kor loogu qaado kalsoonida hanaan socodka doorashooyinka. TPECK waxay diyaar u tahay inay la tashato ururada siyaasadeed soo xulista howlwadeenada.

Si kalsooni dheeraad ah oo kale loo sii sameeyo doorashada TPEC waxay kala badalaysaa hawl wadeenada (2 qof goobtiiba) oo kala gaynaysaa degmooyin si howl wadeen ka yimi degmadaa uga shaqeyo goob kale.

p) Gudiga dabagalka doorashooyinka

Gudiga dabagalka doorashooyinka waxay ka kooban yihiin dad muhiim ah, karti badan leh kana ah qayb wayn bulshada Puntland. Waxayna awood u yeelan doonaan dabagal ka iyo eegida doorashada. Gudigan waxaa soo dooran doona Puntland shacabkeeda iyo ururada siyaasada. TPEC waxay la wadaagi doontaa ururada siyaasada iyo gudiyada shacabka (TOR) am tixraaca ilaalinta doorashada gudigeeda waxayna caawin sii waydiisan doonaan ururada siyaasadeed iyo gudiga dabagalka intaysan mashquulin. TPEC waxay aaminsan tahay qaybaha kala duwan ee kalsoonida lagu dhisi karo iyo sidii looga hadli lahaa meelaha banbanaan ee dhinaca sharciga iyo kan ku xiga. Sidiina loo samayn lahaa xeerka anshaxa.

3. Ka dib Doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanka

Doorashooyinka Barlamaanka ee nagu soo aadan, GDP-KMG waxaa lagu badeli doonaa PEC. Urura Siyaasada eek u guulaysta Doorashada Golayaasha deegaanka ayaa soo magaacaban doona xubno si loo soo macaabo guddi doorasho oo cusub.



Lifaaq B

**QAAB-HAWLEEDKA
GUDDIGA ILAALINTA DOORASHADA**

Ujeeddada Guddiga Ilaalinta Doorashada (GID):

In uu farsamo ahaan kormeero in geedi-socodka doorashadu u fulayo sidii loogu talo galay iyo sida ay urur-siyaasadeedyada iyo Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee KMG ahi u maaraynayaan Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka.

In uu diiwaangeliyo eedayna u soo jeediyo cidda jebisa ama ku xadgudubta Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka iyo qaabka loo dejiyey ee geedi-socodka doorashooyinka ee lagu heshiiyey.

Asaasidda Guddiga Ilaalinta Doorashada

GID waxa loo asaasayaa sida soo socota:

- Ururada Bulshada ugu miisaanka weyn ayaa soo xulaya 10 xubnood oo ka mid ah dadka la qaddariyo, la xushmeeyo, dhex-dhexaad ah reer Puntland –na ah (9 xubnood iyo 1 kayd ah haddiiba mid ka mid ahi aanu diyaar ahayn), xubnahaas oo wakiil ka ah bulshada awoodna u leh in ay fuliyaan shuruudaha hoos ku xusan.
- Ururada Bulshada miisaanka weyn (Key CSOs) oo ay PDRG hoggaamineyso ayaa kala tashanaya Uru-siyaasadeedyada iyo Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee Ku-Meel-gaarka ah (GDPKMG) ah isla qaadashada/aqbalaadda xubnaha la soo xulay.
- Marka ay helaan aqbalaada GDPKMG ah iyo urur-siyaasadeedyada, GDPKMG ah ayaa goob fagaare ah oo ay goob-joog ka yihiin ururada siyaasadda, ururada bulshaduba iyo warbaahintu ayuu si rasmi ah ugaga dhawaaqaya asaasanka Guddiga.
- Bulshada Guud Puntland, dawladda iyo Golaha Wakiillada ayaa lagu wargelin doonaa asaasidda GID.

Hawlaha Gaar ah ee Guddiga

- Ilaalinta iyo la socodka in geedi-socodka doorashadu ku socdo sidii GDPKMG ahi u qaabayey, iyo in uu Guddigu la wadaago GDPKMG ah iyo uru-siyaasadeedyada wixi nuqsan ah ee ka soo baxa qaabka shaqada
- In uu xaqiijiyo in ay daneeyayaashu (Uru-siyaasadeedyada, GDPKMG , hay'adaha dawladda) u wada hoggaansameen uguna dhaqmeen Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka, Dastuurka iyo shuruucda doorashada sida ugu habboon.
- In uu guddigu qabto oo eego cabashooyinka urur-siyaasadeedyada iyo/ama kuwa GDPKMG ah ee la xiriira ku xadgudubka Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka, Dastuurka iyo Shuruucda Doorashooyinka.
- In uu guddigu baaris ku sameeyo cabashooyinka la soo gaarsiiyey, uuna diwaan geliyo iyo in uu cambaarayo mar kasta oo uu hubiyo run ahaansheheeda.
- Guddigu isaga oo kala taashamay GDPKG ah wuxu xallinaya khilaafyada ama muranka ka dhex-dhasha urur-siyaasadeedyada muddada lagu guda jiro ololayaasha doorashada.




Lifaaq B

- In uu digniin siiyo urur-siyaasaddedyada iyo hay'adaha dawladda eek u xadgudba Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka.
- In uu u soo jeediyo GDPKMG ah anshax-marinta ku habboon ku ah cidda ku xadgudubta Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka iyo Sharciga Doorashooyinka.
- Talo-soo-jeedinta tallaabooyinka ka dhan ah cidda ku xadgudubta Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka iyo Sharciga Doorashooyinka.
- Iyada oo uu guddigu adeegsanayo warbaahinta wuxu ku Wargelinya bulshada xogta la xiriirta ku xadgudubyada Xeerka Hab-dhaqanka iyo Sharciga Doorashooyinka.
- Diyaarinta qoraalka kama dambaysta ah ee hawlihii ay soo qabteen ee doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanada.
- Xilliga xilhaynta Guddiga Ilaalinta Doorashooyinku kuma eka maalinta doorashada ee waxay ku egtahay maalinta Maxkamadda Dastuuriga ahi ku dhawaaqdo natiijada kama dambaysta ah ee doorashada.



9.4 Women's Declaration, 14 May 2013

The following press release resulted from a consultative forum organized by the Puntland Ministry of Women Development, and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA) and UNDP with the partial facilitation of PDRC, on the theme of "advancing women's representation in the 2013 Puntland Local Government Elections." The forum was held at the PDRC conference hall in Garowe, Puntland, on 14 May 2013.

We, the women of Puntland from diverse groups, including the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN), women aspirants, women NGOs, members of civil society and young women, having deliberated on the on-going political and electoral processes towards the local government elections of 2013 feel excluded from the whole new electoral process.

The deadline for submission of the final political associations' nomination list to TPEC is the 26th of May and very few women candidates have registered with the political associations.

According to the submission criteria of the political associations' nomination lists to TPEC, the top 5 persons on the list of candidates for each district should not be exclusively men or women but a mix of both genders. However, there is no clarity on the minimum number of men or women to be on the top 5. This runs the risk of political associations submitting their list with only one woman. We understand that the Elders and religious leaders have a significant role to play in shaping the democratization process in Puntland positively.

Dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and concerned at the likely detrimental impact of these issues on women's representation in the Puntland Local Government Elections 2013; bearing in mind the Garowe II Principles which earmark a 30 percent quota for women and 2007 Presidential Decree which specifically allocates 30 percent of all district council seats to women; bearing in mind the imminence of the deadline for submission of the political associations' final nominations lists (26th May) and considering the role that various stakeholders could play to ensure credible elections, conducted on the basis of fairness, transparency, justice and inclusiveness, we declare as follows:

TPEC

- Be firm and clear on a balanced gender representation on the political associations nomination lists
- Deploy committees in every district to be observe the political associations nominations process and ensure gender balanced representation
- Continue and expand awareness-raising on the new electoral process to all the regions, specifically reaching out to women.

Political Parties

- Reach out to the women and engage them beyond the ‘tarmac roads’ by creating presence in every district through focal points to facilitate registration
- To waive or pay the registration fees for women to increase their representation within the associations.

Elders and Religious Leaders

- Actively and openly support the democratization process
- Publicly promote equal participation of men and women in the electoral process; especially from the Islamic perspective
- Support advocacy to political associations to nominate women; especially at the top 5 of the nomination lists.

Media

- Monitor the electoral process and report on gender imbalances.
- Support awareness-raising on the importance of women’s participation
- Promote or initiate debates for female politicians to discuss women’s political participation and their role in governance

MOWDAFA

- Conduct trainings, awareness and capacity building for women aspirants and candidates on the new electoral process
- Continue to advocate to political associations to increase women membership and roles; especially at the executive levels

Women

- Know their rights and avoid conflicts within the family
- Introduce and register with the political associations; choose wisely the political association that shares the same vision with them.
- Commit to mobilize and pay the party registration fees for women who cannot afford it.

Men

- Show moral and financial support to their mothers/wives/sisters/daughters who wish to run for the local government elections Voters
- Vote for political associations that promote an agenda of balanced development; involving men, women, boys, girls and all facets of the society.

The above statement led to the holding of the following roundtable discussion on the issue of women's participation in politics. These direct talks between prominent women personalities and representatives of four contesting PAs were organized by PDRC and were intended to further advance women's participation in the decision-making processes of Puntland politics.

9.5 Roundtable Discussion with Political Associations on Increasing Gender Balance in the Puntland Local Government Elections, 21 May 2013

Pledge of Political Associations

1. HORCAD
2. HORSEED
3. UDAD
4. WADAJIR

We, the leaders of the above listed political associations, are committed to the 2013 local government elections that include and involve all citizens in Puntland, both men and women.

The officially registered political associations have met with PDRC, TPEC, MOWDAFA and the PWCN, supported by UNDP, and have agreed to uphold the 30 percent quota for women as decreed by the President in 2007 and in the Garowe II Principles, through the measures listed below.

We recognize that there are a number of obstacles to women's involvement in the political process, and as political associations, acknowledge our important role in creating a political environment that is open and accessible to all.

To achieve this, we make the following pledge:

1. Based on the grade of districts, women's nominations in each district should be at least:
 - Grade A – 7 women candidates out of 27
 - Grade B – 6 women candidates out of 21
 - Grade C – 5 women candidates out of 17
2. To ensure that at least two of the top five nominees on the list are women
3. To provide support to women in the campaigning process leading up to the elections by encouraging them, at the district level in particular, through media campaigns, discussion forums and outreach meetings, and to include religious and traditional leaders, as well as youth, in this process
4. To take medium and long term measures to increase women's participation in political parties and governance overall

We commit to creating a safe environment for all of Puntland's citizens in the upcoming local elections and actively supporting the inclusive participation of women and youth.

In mind	that proper engagement of the mass media during elections can improve the awareness of the citizens
Realized	that the media can play a crucial role in the preparation and successful implementation of the elections
Known	that proper utilization of the media be instrumental for the citizens to vote for the person/association he/she wants
Recognized	the importance of the Code of Conduct for the media,

Agreed to adhere to this Media Code of Conduct which all parties duly signed today, 23 June 2013.

Article 1: Abbreviated Name of the Code

This Code of Conduct will be called “**Media Code of Conduct**” for the Local Council Elections in Puntland.

Article 2: Definition

Commission – is meant as according to paragraph 7 of Article 115 of Puntland Constitution.

Associations – is meant the Political Associations contesting in the Local Councils Elections due to be held on 15th July 2013.

Candidate – is meant the candidate running for the Local Council Elections in Puntland.

Media – is meant government/public media and independent media including foreign media operating in Puntland.

Article 3: Adherence and Monitoring

This Code of Conduct will be applicable to the diverse media outlets and journalists that operate in Puntland. It is obligatory that the media implement this Code of Conduct in accordance with its general principles whereas at the same time observing other obligatory laws of Puntland such as the media laws.

Article 4: General Principles and the Objectives of the Code

1. Puntland Media should conduct their work with a sense of responsibility and diligence by observing good ethical standards by way of impartiality and accuracy.
2. The media should not publish/discharge inaccurate and unsubstantiated information or news that can jeopardize stability, peace and the electoral process.
3. Every person is entitled the right for protection of his/her private, family life, dignity and property
4. Journalists should neither acquire nor attempt to seek news/information or pictures through using intimidation, persistent pursuit and /or by means of violence.
5. The Media should not photographs or interviews with children under the age of 15 (under age) on issues without the consent of a parent.
6. The Media should respect and follow of copyright ownership.
7. The journalists have a moral obligation to protect confidential (confidentiality) sources of information (confidentiality).
8. The Media is a standing pillar for the protection and the defense of fundamental rights.
9. If the Media releases in accurate information/news, the media has to immediately rectify the mistake as soon as they learn the fact.
10. The media should neither be used for a personal gain nor serve private interests which is against journalistic ethics, and any media or journalist found to commit such acts shall be considered to have violated the professional ethics and this Code of Conduct and thus, will face disciplinary measures or otherwise be declared as professionally unethical.
11. The media should not publish or broadcast any information or photos that invade the rights of a person (personal privacy) and make sure not to commit defamation.
12. The media should not discharge any information or photos that damages the values of the Islamic Faith to avoid blasphemy
13. If the election results are submitted to a court (petition), the media should act with great caution without preferring to side either of the parties while reporting on cases in progress in courts which are not yet issued.

14. The Media should take part in the voter education process in a transparent manner in order the voters should have an informed decision to vote for the candidate of their choice and/ or elect a responsible person/association.
15. The media must not seek to acquire information by using secret devices such as hidden cameras or secret listening devices, unless otherwise a vital public interest makes it necessary to do so.
16. The Media must not exaggerate the announced results of the election in a way that morally amplifies the winner party or candidate which at the same time lowers the party that lost the race. Such kind of reporting practices could have a negative impact on the peace and social coexistence and may lead to a greater violence which may endanger the general stability (public order) of the nation.

Article 5: The Rights of the Media during Elections

1. The Media must have access to the electoral process and be provided with all the information concerning the election, such as the candidates, parties/associations, voters, polling stations and electoral managers. It is vital that the media have access to public information.
2. The Media should be given a safe environment to study and report the election process, without fear of intimidation, restrictions and retribution
3. The Media should be free to cover and report elections.
4. The media has the right to freedom of movement to be able to travel to the districts/regions it wants to monitor and report the elections.
5. All media should be treated equally with equal opportunity, whether it is the government or the private media.
6. Government officials, political parties/associations and other parties should abstain from interfering with activities of the media with the view to influence the elections to their advantage.
7. In order to avoid the danger of speculation, or false assumptions and emotional attitudes about the election results, the Electoral Commission should announce the results in a timely manner.
8. The Foreign media and reporters in Puntland can cover and report the election process while giving due regard to their own codes, international standards and this Media Code of Conduct.
9. The Media Association of Puntland will set up a mechanism to monitor the election coverage of foreign media, and at the same time will establish a mechanism for dealing with complaints.

10. To avoid hearsay about the election results, and in compliance with Puntland electoral laws, the Commission should provide the media with preliminary election result from district, regional and national levels.

Article 6: The Responsibility of the Media during Elections

1. The Media should cover election campaigns, voting, as well as the post-election period in a fair, balanced and impartial manner.
2. The media must ensure the accuracy, the balance and the impartiality of their coverage of the news and current affairs reporting and in the content of interviews and the debates that may have an influence on the decision and the attitude of the voters.
3. The media should refrain from providing an extra time or special opportunity to an official whether currently in a position of power or else without portfolio.
4. The Media shall allow equal opportunities to the candidates and the political associations during the election campaign, and their lobbying should be relevant to the elections.
5. The Media shall not broadcast, during the day preceding the election, party appeals concerning the elections in order to provide the public an opportunity to freely decide whom they vote for.
6. The Media should use neutral words or language for impartial, dispassionate election reporting and by avoiding, while reporting elections, anything that may cause unrest and violence and with careful use of technical terms and ensure headlines reflect the facts of the story.
7. The Media should avoid inflaming emotions over controversial issues or opinions that may cause uprising and unrest.
8. The Media should consider and label public or individual opinions or personal interpretations as such and be clearly presented with its holder and limit opinions and editorials to the editorial and opinion columns/programmes.
9. Advertisements should be clearly labeled and separated from news and other editorials. Advertisements shall be in accordance with the Code of Conduct set for the Political Associations by the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC).
10. Political Associations should not be discriminated and be treated equally when charging them advertisement costs and other services they are provided.
11. Journalists must introduce themselves, when performing their duties and seeking news or information to those they seek information, thus fulfill their tasks without secrecy.

12. Journalists must honour their promises and commitments regarding confidentiality to a news sources when there is a compelling reasons, otherwise those sources must be identified.
13. Media and journalists should not commit plagiarism or illegal copying of a data, information owned by other person/persons and attribution should be made when ever making quotes or barrowing information from other sources.
14. Photos and other materials should not be altered in an attempt to mislead the public.
15. Media must never accept bribery, inducement and all forms of corruption and/or anything that can be meant as bribe, personal favour or reward from a candidate or a politician.
16. The Media Association of Puntland is mandated to make sure the implementation of this Code and how the media adhere to this Media Code of Conduct.

Signed by:

Burhan Ahmed Dahir

Secretary General, Media Association of Puntland (MAP)

Witnessed by:

MaxamedXassanBarre

Chairman of the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission




Maxamuud Caydiid Dirir

Puntland Minister of Information, Communication, Culture and Heritage

Cali Faarax Cali

Program Director of PDRC

9.6 Media Code of Conduct: Puntland Local Council Elections, 23 June 2013

		
PUNTLAND GOVERNMENT OF SOMALIA	MEDIA ASSOCIATION OF PUNTLAND	TRANSITIONAL PUNTLAND ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Ref:	Garowe	Date: 23rd June 2013

THE MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT FOR THE LOCAL COUNCILS ELECTIONS IN PUNTLAND

Application

This Code of Conduct shall apply to all media institutions whether governmental, private or foreign media regardless their grade operating in Puntland.

Interpretation

Unless the context otherwise requires, this media code of conduct shall be interpreted in a manner compatible with Sharia Law, Puntland Constitution and other relevant laws.

Disciplinary Procedures

The media law shall govern disciplinary measures against the media officials in violation of this code and the media higher council is competent to take necessary steps. Including profession disqualification

Introduction

The Media, the Ministry of Information and the Transitional Electoral Commission of Puntland Having:

Recognized	the importance of the Local Council Elections for the people of Puntland
Considered	the obligations and the responsibilities on the media and journalists during the election period
Recognized	the fundamental rights of the individual and that of the public in general, whereas respecting and safeguarding the Media Ethical Standards
Acknowledged	that the media is an imperative foundation to the local councils elections
Recognized	the rights of the media, while ensuring the smooth progress of the local council elections process

9.7 Press release by the DSC, 26 June 2013

As part of Puntland State's preparations for upcoming local council elections, which are expected to occur in June 2013, the Democratization Programme Steering Committee (DSC) – comprised of Denmark, the European Union, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States – organized a mission today to Garowe. The delegation was led by United States Special Representative for Somalia Ambassador James Swan and met separately with Puntland State officials, the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC), the six registered political associations, and Puntland civil society.

The mission expressed the international community's continued interest in supporting a democratization process in Puntland that is transparent and that contributes to Somalia's overall democratization process. The DSC welcomed the March 11 Government of the Federal Republic of Somalia endorsement of the Puntland process, as well as the TPEC's successful conclusion of the registration and vetting period for political associations. The DSC encouraged the Puntland government to complete rapidly any amendments needed in Puntland legislation for the process to continue on the projected timeline, and in order for parliamentary elections to occur in November. This schedule is necessary so that parliament can indirectly elect Puntland's president by the January 2014 expiration of the current president's mandate.

The DSC delegation reaffirmed donor commitment to supporting Puntland's elections under which the Puntland people will elect their council and parliamentary leaders. However, it also expressed concerns that the current registration fees for political associations to nominate candidates could be prohibitive for some associations. The DSC mission also sought clarity on the Puntland government's security plan so that security forces maintain order while also permitting political demonstrations essential to democratic expression. The delegation also encouraged Puntland officials to allow space for media freedom, including for media outlets that are needed by civil society and the TPEC to conduct broad-based civic education and voter awareness campaigns.

The DSC and its partners stand ready to further assist Puntland State government and stakeholders in advancing a free and fair, democratic process that could stand as a model for other regions in the Federal Republic of Somalia.

9.8 Press Release by the Government of Puntland, 29 June 2013

Puntland Government welcomes and encourages the kick-off of political campaigns and public rallies by the four Registered Political Associations of Puntland State.

The Government encourages peaceful public rallies organized by the different Registered Political Associations in major urban centers of Puntland that commenced on June 27, as the Registered Political Associations compete for over 700 seats across Puntland in the State's first-ever District Council Elections, scheduled for July 15.

The Government reiterates its commitment to nominate four new Judges of the Puntland Constitutional Court, as the Constitutional Court Law has been passed, the four new Judges will be nominated in wide consultation with Puntland civil society, and the Constitutional Court will be established prior to the upcoming District Council Elections.

The Government reaffirms its strong commitment to rule of law and orderly elections, and calls upon the law-abiding citizens of Puntland to demonstrate to Somalia and to the world the peace-loving nature of the Puntland people, by attending peaceful public rallies and voting in District Council Elections peacefully next month.

Additionally, the Government encourages the independent media in Puntland to promote peaceful exercise of democratic practice and encourages the different Registered Political Associations to use government-run Puntland State Radio for public outreach.

Puntland Government appreciates the international partners' continued commitment and assistance to the democratization process and elections in Puntland, as noted during Puntland President's meeting with representatives of international donors in Nairobi on June 29.

Currently, a Puntland delegation led by Parliament Speaker H.E. Abdirashid Mohamed Hersi is visiting Mogadishu for the closing session of Lower House of Somali Federal Parliament, and to discuss with Federal Parliament outstanding national issues, including the Provisional Federal Constitution and the implementation of federal system in Somalia.

Finally, Puntland Government calls upon all sides in Kismayo to immediately stop the violence and to engage in peaceful dialogue regarding the future of Jubaland State of Somalia.

9.9 PDRC Press Release, 17 July 2013

Puntland President Suspends the Local Councils Election: For the Sake of Peace

On 17 July 2013, PDRC welcomes the Puntland government's decision to suspend the "Local Council Elections" to avoid violent conflict, while regretting the resulting delay in the democratization process. At this critical junction PDRC appeals for restraint of all actors in the maintenance of Peace and stability of Puntland/Somalia and at the same time calls for a broad-based and genuine political dialogue that shall lead to a consensus-based path to a democratic future for Puntland and Somalia as a whole.

Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) is dedicated to peace-building, promotion of democracy and human rights and the furthering of equitable development through participatory action research. The organization, since it was established in 1999, has been working on peace-building, reconciliation of conflicting Puntland communities, strengthening governance structures at local and regional levels as well as supporting the local and international actors in their efforts towards peace-building and state-building.

PDRC is committed to the continued education of the citizens on their roles and responsibilities towards their country. Based on Puntland's long-term political aspirations towards good governance, PDRC with the support of its partners has supported the preparation of the local council elections through civic and voter education in rural and urban areas, through the use of its Mobile Audio and Visual Unit (MAVU) and through working with the media of Puntland. It has in particular supported the development of Codes of Conduct for the political associations and the media and helped establish the Elections Monitoring Committee (EMC).

In 2004, PDRC started to foster the democratization of Puntland's political system. PDRC and its local and international partners focused on a) reviewing the "Puntland Provisional Constitution" and b) assisting in the capacity building of then emerging Local Councils in the various districts of Puntland; especially those in remote and hardly accessible areas. The organization continues to support the main pillars of good governance and rule of law to prevail in Somalia, in general, and in Puntland, in particular.

9.10 Public Statement by the Democratization Programme Steering Committee (DSC), 26 July 2013

The international donors supporting Puntland's democratization efforts urge the people of Puntland not to be discouraged by the recent setback to the electoral process, which was a consequence of the need to maintain peace and to protect human life. Much progress has already been achieved and can be built on, especially in the Puntland State Constitution.

The Steering Committee was troubled by the violent clashes preceding local county elections and the resulting deaths. We deplore the assassinations of Abdi Farah 'INXA', a member of the Elections Monitoring Committee on July 12, and Abdulnasir Mohammed Elmi of the Puntland Development and Research Centre on July 23 in Galkacyo. Both were members of civil society committed to Puntland's democratization process. Our deepest sympathies are with their families and communities.

Due to the suspension of the local county elections, we now call on the traditional authorities, civil society and key political actors, as the custodians of Puntland, to play a constructive role in crafting consensus on the process forward. In the long-term interest of Puntland and Somalia, it will be crucial to re-commit Puntland in an inclusive manner to a continuation of the democratization process under an applicable mandate for government.

The term of office of the current government will end on January 8, 2014, and future dispensation requires a political solution through broad-based dialogue and reconciliation. The political space needs to be opened up with a view to bringing all major stakeholders into one inclusive process.

Significant resources were spent on the aborted local council elections and a lot of hard work has been carried out by the many stakeholders in the technical preparations of the elections. We would like to thank the TPEC secretariat, supported by civil society organizations, for their efforts; many important lessons have been learnt for the process ahead. We are willing to continue our support only if the democratization process in Puntland is resumed through consensus and broad dialogue. Respectful of the necessary local ownership, the international community through the Democratization Program Steering Committee will monitor any such efforts very closely.

9.11 Letter from President Farole to N. Kay, the UN SRSG, 17 December 2013

DOWLADDA PUNTLAND
EE SOOMAALIYA
MADAXWEYNAHA



ولاية بونت لاند الصومالية
الرئاسة
مكتب الرئيس

PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA
THE PRESIDENT

Ref: MW/DPS/281/2013

Date: 17 December 2013

To: H.E. Ambassador Nicolas Kay
SRSG
Cc: E.U. Special Envoy to Somalia
U.S. Special Representative to Somalia

Your Excellency,

Re: Meeting with 17 Presidential Candidates

With reference to your visit to Puntland last month, your letter of 23 November and my response letter of 11 December, I am writing to update you regarding today's meeting between myself, Vice President H.E. Abdisamad Ali Shire, and 17 candidates competing for positions of President and Vice President of Puntland Government.

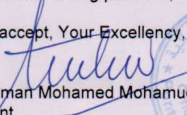
The two-hour meeting occurred at Puntland State House in Garowe and I opened the meeting by thanking the candidates for accepting our invitation and attending the first face-to-face meeting. The candidates' spokesman Mr. Ali Haji Warsame read out four points of discussion, namely: 1) the Vetting and Conflict Resolution Committee should be jointly nominated between the Administration and the candidates; 2) establishing an Elders Committee; 3) domestic and international election observers; and 4) agree to a Terms of Reference for the Vetting Committee and the Elders Committee.

We explained the historical background and the legal precedent set by former Puntland Presidents in 1998, 2004 and 2008, who nominated Vetting Committee members for the parliamentary selection process. We noted that the candidates – including myself – should not interfere in the affairs of the Titled Elders, as the Elders have historically come to Garowe to observe and safeguard a peaceful election process. We also agreed that the election process needs domestic and international observers and on the need to establish Terms of Reference for the Vetting and Conflict Resolution Committee.

We proposed the idea to jointly formulate a Candidates Code of Conduct; however, they disregarded our acceptance of the agenda points and our proposal, saying that "unless we share the nomination of the Vetting Committee with the Administration we cannot agree on anything else". It is unfortunate and indeed foreign to Somali culture that the majority of candidates voted to reject the honorary lunch at State House.

We believe that most of the 17 men are not genuine candidates and some are political spoilers aiming to create a point of conflict leading to political instability. Nonetheless, we remain fully committed to holding peaceful, legitimate, credible and fair elections in Puntland.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.


Abdirahman Mohamed Mohamud (Farole)
President

Office: (+252 907) – 794040 / 746089/ 794776 / 799128

Puntland State of Somalia

9.12 Puntland Presidential Candidates: Brief Profiles

A) Mudug Region Candidates

- Dr Abdiweli Ali Gas is a Somali-American with a Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University in the USA. In Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG), he served as
- Transitional Federal Government (TFG) Deputy Prime Minister (PM), and Minister of Planning and International Cooperation in the gGovernment of PM Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed "Farmajo." In 2011-12, he served as
- TFG PM. during 2011-12 He was
- mMuch respected for his execution of the TFG Transition Roadmap, including drafting of the constitution.

1.

2. Ali Haji Warsame is the

- Somali- British
- mManager of GOLIS, a leading telecommunications company in Puntland.

3. Abdirahman Auke is a

- Somali-Kenyan

Former civil society activist who has worked with or headed a number of NGOs.

Gen. Abdullahi Ali Mire "Arais"

Abdidahir M. Yusuf Ahmed is a Somali-American resident of the USA.

Ali Adaawe is a Somali-Australian who is involved in the oil sector.

Abdullahi Alibarre Idi-libah lives in Nairobi.

Abdirahman Sh. Mohamed "Gablak" is a Somali-Canadian.

B) Nugal Region Candidates

1. Abdirahman Sheikh Mohamed Mohamed "Farole" is a Somali-Australian who was the incumbent president of Puntland.
2. Mohamed Abdinur is a successful and respected Somali-Canadian businessman who challenged Farole in the 2008 presidential election.
3. Ali Haji Abdulle "Dhegoole" is a former civil servant and former Governor of Nugal.
4. Abdullahi Aw Mussa Aw Ali "Dheere" is a Somali-Canadian with no known qualifications.

C) Bari and Karkaar Regions Candidates

1. Shire Haji Farah is a Somali-Canadian resident of Canada and a businessman from the Bari Region.
2. Dr Yassin Farah Artan is a Somali-Canadian medical doctor and former SSDF Central Committee member.
3. Ali Abdi Aware is a businessman and former Puntland Minister of Local Government and Rural Development.
4. Gen. Abdullahi Said Samatar is a Somali-British former Security Minister of Puntland.
5. Ahmed Abbas Ahmed is an economist, civil society activist, and consultant.
6. Abdullahi Sheikh Ahmed is a Somali-Swedish former civil servant and employee of the Life and Peace Institute (LPI).

9.13 Press release from meeting between President Farole and General Adde, 29 December 2013

Puntland State of Somalia

President Farole and ex-President Adde Agree to Support Puntland Elections 2014

PRESS RELEASE
29 December 2013

The President of Puntland State of Somalia H.E. Abdirahman Mohamed Mohamud (Farole) held a closed-door meeting Sunday at the State House in the Puntland capital Garowe with former Puntland President Gen. Mohamud Muse Hersi (Adde).

Speaking at a joint press conference after their meeting, Gen. Adde Muse said that the outcome of their meeting was positive.

“I have always worked to keep the peace in Puntland. The President [Farole] and I agreed that credible election is held and to fully support and to work with the winner,” said Gen. Adde. Continuing, Gen. Adde said: “We support the outcome of the Committee [Vetting and Conflict Resolution Committee] to issue the new Parliament and to recognize the result and work with the [election] winner”.

Gen. Adde said: “I pray to Allah that the election takes place as we wish. I am sure that the United Nations officials who are present here, Gen. Said Dheere [Gen. Said Mohamed Hersi], and the [Puntland] Government have worked together on security”.

For his part, President Farole said: “I am very pleased to meet at the Puntland State House with former President Mohamud Muse Hersi ‘Adde’ and that he has clarified his position in front of you all and what we had discussed”.

President Farole said that, “anyone who expected something from us, what we are telling you here today is indeed what to expect from us,” adding: “We are the two most senior politicians in Puntland today and we agreed, as he [Gen. Adde] said, to promote peace, cooperation, unity, and brotherhood, to complete the ongoing process, currently in the hands of the Vetting and Conflict Resolution Committee, to support the outcome, and afterwards for the new Parliament to sit on January 1, 2014, to hold the presidential election

on January 8 [2014], and to agree and support anyone who wins the election. This is what we discussed and agreed upon.”

Continuing, President Farole appealed “to the Puntland people, the international community, and all those who support peace, such as Horn of Africa region and the African Union, who are interested in peace and stability of Somalia, can hear this news today from us. I appeal to our people to uphold the peace, unity and solidarity of Puntland, in order to form a united front against our political enemies and the enemy that is creating insecurity across Somalia, which Puntland is part of”.

Finally, President Farole commended the Puntland Security Committee – led by Gen. Said Mohamed Hersi (Dheere) – “who are working on upholding the peace in Garowe and across Puntland, in order for the election to take place in a state of peace,” adding: “Everyone living in Puntland including those who entered Garowe should play a positive role in peace. The people should have a positive spirit and we hope that Allah will assist us, as we agreed”.

The joint press conference concluded with President Farole and Gen. Adde Muse shaking hands and posing for photographs under the flying flags of Somalia and Puntland at the State House.

9.14 Official List of New Parliament Members, 30 December 2013

<p>Gud. Xalinta Khilaafaadka & Xulitaanka Wakiilada Puntland</p>		<p>Vetting & Conflict Resolution Committee Of Puntland Representative Parliament</p>
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30/12/2013

Ku: Maxkamada Sare ee Dowladda Puntland

Ku: Isimada Puntland

Ku: Madaxwaynaha Dowladda Puntland

Og: Golaha Wakiilada cusub Puntland

Ujeedo: ANSIXIN GOLAHA WAKIILADA PUNTLAND

Gudiga Ansixinta Xubnaha Golaha Wakiiladu

- MARKUU ARKAY: Go'aankii Golaha Wakiilada Puntland ee dib ugu noqoshada wax qaybsiga hab-beeleedka
- MARKUU ARKAY: Qodabka 61aad ee Dastuurka Puntland
- MARKUU ARKAY: Lifaaqa 2aad ee Dastuurka Puntland
- MARKUU ARKAY: **Xeer Madaxwayne Lr.159 ee December 3,2013 kuna saabsan magacaabis Gudiga Ansixinta & Xallinta Khilaafaadka Golaha Wakiilada Puntland (Vetting Committee).**
- MARKUU ARKAY: Qoraalada Beeluhu ku soo xuleen Xildhibaanadda
- MARKUU ARKAY: Kala saarida dacwadaha, hubinayna qoraalka asalka ah ee ugu dambayntii soo saxiixeen isimadda & cuqaasha Beeluhu
- Ugu danbayna : Dheggaysanay talladii Isimadda iyo Beelaha Puntland

Guddiga Ansixinta & Khilaafaadku wuxuu soo ansixiyey liiska Golaha Wakiiladda cusub ee Puntland ee 2014 ilaa 2018.



LIISKA XILDHIBAANAD EE GOLAHA WAKIILADA PUNTLAND.

No	Magaca Xildhibaan	GOBALKA
1	Siciid Maxamed Salaad	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
2	Eng. Jaamac Faarax Aadan	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
3	Maxamed Axmed Ibraahim	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
4	Maxamed Cismaan Xasan	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
5	Ayaanle Yuusuf Ismaaciil	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
6	Cabdicasiis Siciid Maxamed (Gacamay)	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
7	Yuusuf Maxamed Axmed (Gacshe)	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
8	Cabdirisaaq Siciid Aadan	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
9	Maxamed Maxamud Ismaaciil	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
10	Cabdixamiid Sh. Cabdisalaan ciise	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
11	Maxamed Nuur Siciid	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
12	Ayaanle Galan Guuleed	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
13	Siciid Cali Maxamed	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
14	Mustafe Bile Maxamuud	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
15	Salaad Xareed Cali	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
16	Cabdiqaadir Cabdisalaam Sh. Maxamud	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
17	Siciid Shire Maxamed (Gaarcad)	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
18	Cabdiraxman Siciid Faarax	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
19	Siciid Maxamed Cismaan	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
20	Xasan Xaaji Siciid Maxamuud	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
21	Cabdirisaaq Muuse Maxamed	BARI, KARKAAR & GAARDUFU
22	Abdisalaan Xuseen Bootaan	NUGAAL
23	Liibaan Cabdullaahi Aw-Cabdi	NUGAAL
24	Siciid Cabdi Samatar	NUGAAL
25	Maxamuud Faarax Warsame	NUGAAL
26	Cabdiqaadir Siciid Ciise	NUGAAL
27	Maxamed Faarax Nuux	NUGAAL
28	Burhaan Aadan Aw-Cabdi	NUGAAL
29	Cabdikariim Xuseen Guure	NUGAAL
30	Siciid Xuseen Nuur	NUGAAL
31	Cismaan Dalmar Yusuf	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
32	Cabdixakim Maxamed Axmed	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
33	Axmed Cali xaashi	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
34	Maxamed Cali Guuleed	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
35	Abshir Siciid Saalax	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
36	Cabdirahmaan Cali Jibriil	SANAAG & HAYLAAN



37	Siciid Xasan Shire	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
38	Siciid Daahir Qoddax	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
39	Cumar Maxamud Irbad	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
40	Ismaciil Cabdi Abtiile	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
41	Cabdi Siciid Kafad	SANAAG & HAYLAAN
42	Saleebaan Maxamed Cilmi	SOOL & CAYN
43	Cabdul Cabdi Faarax	SOOL & CAYN
44	Farax Caydiid Casoowe	SOOL & CAYN
45	Cabdirisaaq Jamac cabdi Bile	SOOL & CAYN
46	Saadq Abshir Garaad Maxamed	SOOL & CAYN
47	Cali Jaamac Faarax	SOOL & CAYN
48	Kayse Cawil Cali Boobe	SOOL & CAYN
49	Aadan Xaaji Xussen Ismaaciil	SOOL & CAYN
50	Xariir Gaas Guutaale	SOOL & CAYN
51	Maxamed Cabdullaahi Cilmi	SOOL & CAYN
52	Xuseen Yaasiin Xaaji Diiriye	SOOL & CAYN
53	Axmed Maxamed Jibriil	SOOL & CAYN
54	Faarax Sulub Jaamac	SOOL & CAYN
55	Cali Axmed Cismaan	SOOL & CAYN
56	Cumar xaaji Cabdi Ibraahim (Akabe)	SOOL & CAYN
57	Cabdirisaaq Yaasiin Cabdille	MUDUG
58	Cabdirishiid Maxamed Xirsi	MUDUG
59	Raxma Cabdixabiib Jaamac	MUDUG
60	Cabdqaadir Faarax Bootaan	MUDUG
61	Cabdixakim Macalin Daahir	MUDUG
62	Axmed Jaamac Cabdulle	MUDUG
63	Nuuradiin Cabdirashiid Cali	MUDUG
64	Xasan Xaange Maxamed Faarax	MUDUG
65	Cali Jaamac Xasan	MUDUG
66	Maxamed Cabdi Warsame	MUDUG

WABILAHI TOWFIIQ.



WAXAA WADA SAXIIXAY XUBNAHA GUDIGA:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Eng.Yusuf Abshir Cadami | Guddoomiyaha |
| 2. Cisman Guureeye kaarshe | Xubin |
| 3. Eng. Maxamuud Axmed Xasan | Xubin |
| 4. Eng.Maxamed Cabdullaahi Faarax | Xubin |
| 5. Caaqil.Cabdirahman Axmed X.Diiriye | Xubin |
| 6. Caaqil.Abshir Cabdiraxman Caraale | Xubin |
| 7. Caaqil. Siciid Xasan X.Yusuf | Xubin |
| 8. Mohamed Abdulkadir Osman | Xoghayn |







