

DARAASADDA WACYIGA DADWEYNAHA

EE DIMUQRAADDIYEYNTA IYO DOORASHOYINKA GOLAYAASHA DEGAANKA PUNTLAND



XARUNTA HORUMARINTA & CILMIBAARISTA PUNTLAND

LUULYO 2021



Puntland
Development &
Research Center



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GOLAYAASHA DEGAANKA PUNTLAND**

Luulyo 2021

Xarunta Horumarinta & Cilmi baarista Puntland

www.pdrconsomalia.org

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MAHADNAQ

Xarunta Horumarinta & Cilmi-Baarista Puntland (PDRC) waxay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha, Federaalka iyo Dimuqraadiyeynta uga mahadnaqeysaa wada-shaqeyntii muddadii ay socotey daraasaddan. Sidoo, waxaan mahadnaq iyo boogaadin u jeedinayaa Jaamacadda Nugaal, Jaamacadda Bariga Afrika iyo Jaamacadda Ummadda Soomaaliyeed (Badhan) kaalinta ay ka qaateen soo xulista koox arday ah oo gacan weyn ka geystay xog-ururinta daraasaddan, kuwaas oo aanu si weeyn ugu madnaqayno.

Guusha daraasaddan waxa udub-dhexaad u ah hay'adda National Endowment for Democracy (NED) oo ku deeqday daraasadda taageero farsamo iyo mid dhaqaale. Ugu dambeyn, waxaan jecelahay inaan u mahadceliyo kooxda cilmi-baarista ee PDRC (Cabdinaasir Maxamed Yuusuf, Muktar Xirsi Maxamed, iyo Fardowsa Axmed Gambool) dadaalka hagar la'aanta ah ee ay u galeen tabba-gelinta daraasaddan.

Cali Faarax Cali

Agaasimaha PDRC

Garroowe, Puntland

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SOO KOOBID

Bishii Ogosto 1998, isimada iyo hoggaamiyaasha maxalliga ayaa yeeshay kulan wada-tashi oo dhidibbada loogu taagay maamul-goboleedka Puntland ee Soomaaliya. Marka laga reebo xoojinta amniga iyo xal u helidda sharci-darada ka jirtay gobolka wixii ka dambeeyey burburkii dawladdii qaranka Soomaaliyeed, ujeeddada aasaasiga ah ee loo dhisay Puntland waxa ay ahayd in laga gudbo ku-dhaqanka qabiilka, loona gudbo nidaam dawladeed casri ah oo ku dhisan dimuqraadiyad iyo nidaamka axsaabta badan. In kasta oo dadaalka iyo ka go'naanshaha daneeyayaasha Puntland uu horseeday yagleelidda hay'ado dawladeed oo fara badan, haddana weli waxa awood leh hab siyaasadeedkii ku dhisnaa qabiilka.

Wakhtigaa wixii ka dambeeyay, Puntland waxa ka dhacay lix doorashooyin Madaxweyne - iyada oo odayaasha dhaqanku "Isimada" soo xuleen lixdan iyo lixda (66) xubnood ee baarlamaanka oo iyaguna doortay madaxweynaha, madaxweyne-ku-xigeenka, iyo af-hayeenka baarlamaanka muddadii u dhexeysay 1998 illaa 2019. Hannaankan waxa guud ahaan astaan u ahaa kala-wareegid awood oo nabdoon iyo joogteyn nidaamka dawladnimo. Hannaanka dimuqraaddiyeynta Puntland wuu sii amba-qaaday wixii ka dambeeyey 2005, iyada la raacayo dastuur qabyo ah oo markii dambe la ansixiyey muddadii uu xilka hayey Madaxweyne Faroole. Dastuurka qabyada ah waxa lagu ansixiyey aqlabiyad sannadkii 2012, iyada oo 480-kii ergey ay 472 ka mid ah u codeysay in la qaato.

Iyada oo guushan laga duulayo, Puntland waxa ay horay ugu dhaqaaqday qabashada doorashooyin muddadii uu xilka hayey Madaxweyne Faroole (2009-2014), waxaba la dhaqan-geshay Sharciga Guddiga Ku-meel-gaarka ah ee Doorashooyinka Puntland (TPEC), ansixinta Xeerarka Doorashooyinka Golayaasha Degaanka iyo Ururrada Siyaasadda, asaaska ururradii siyaasadeed ee ugu horreeyay iyo diyaarinta farsamo iyo hawl gal ee doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee 2013, in kasta oo hannaanku joogsaday ka dib markii ay dhasheen rabshado looga soo horjeedo doorashooyinka.

Intaa ka dib, maamulkii Madaxweyne Abdiweli Gaas (2014-2019) waxa uu ballanqaad xooggan ku sameeyey dib u soo celinta geeddi-socodka dimuqraaddiyadda Puntland. Waxa uu magacaabay TPEC cusub iyo wasaarad u gaar ah u-guurista nidaamka xisbiyada badan. Hase yeeshee, muddadii uu xilka hayey Madaxweyne Gaas, geeddi-socodka dimuqraaddiyeynta waxa fadhiid ka dhigay arrimaha ay ka mid yihiin hannaanka oo wakhti dambe la bilaabay,

dabacsanaan dhanka ka go'naanshaha dawladda iyo jiritaan la'aan dhaqaale ku filan.

Iyada oo maamul cusub uu xilka la wareegay 2019, waxa muuqata inay Puntland ka soo cusboonaatay ka go'naanshaha geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyeynta. Soo nooleynta hannaanku waa mid ka mid ah mudnaanta koowaad ee Madaxweynaha hadda xilka haya, Mudane Siciid Cabdullaahi Deni. Iyada oo guddigii saddexaad ee TPEC uu xafiiska la wareegay biliha ugu horreeyey ee muddada xukuumadda hadda jirta, maamulka Puntland waxa u qorsheysan in doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee la soo hormariyey (Early Elections) laga qabto 3 degmo (Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn) bisha Luulyo 2021, ka hor inta aysan dhicin doorashooyinka guud ee golayaasha degaanka ee qorsheysan inay dhacaan Febraayo 2022, oo ay ka qayb-galayaan 9 urur siyaasadeed oo diiwaangashan¹. Dawladda iyo TPEC waxa ay aaminsan yihiin in doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ay muhiim u yihiin in lagu cabbiro u-diyaarsanaanta dadweynaha ka-gudubka nidaam siyaasadeedka ku dhisan hab-beeleedka, iyo u-gudubka nidaam dimuqraaddi ah.

Iyada oo ka duuleysa arrimaha kor ku xusan, Xarunta Cilmi-Baarista & Horumarinta Puntland (PDRC) waxa ay 22 degmo oo ka mid ah Puntland ka sameysay daraasad ku saabsan aragtida dadku ka qabo hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta, daraasaddaas oo ay ka qayb-galeen dad tiradoodu gaareyso 2,548 qof oo matalaya dhamaan qaybaha bulshada. Ujeedooyinka guud ee daraasadda aragtida dadweynuhu waxa ay ahaayeen in la cabbiro fahamka dadku ka qabo geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda, iyo u-diyaarsanaantooda iyo rabitaankooda ka-qaybgalka doorashooyinka.

Daraasaddu waxa ay muujisay dadkii la wareystay intooda badan ee ku nool Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn (85%) inay ka warqabaan doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ee golayaasha degaanka ee la qorsheeyey inay June/July 2021 ka dhacaan degmooyinkooda. Daraasaddu waxa kale oo ay soo saartay in dadka wax la su'aalay intiisa badan (1,879 ka mid ah 2,548 jawaabe ama 74%) aanay xubno ka ahayn urur-siyaasadeed, hase yeeshe, aqlabiyadda jawaabeyaasha (77%) inay doonayaan inay codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda.

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1. Urur Siyaasadeedka Cadaaladda iyo Sinaanta, Urur Siyaasadeedka Dhalinyarada, Urur Siyaasadeedka Horseed, Urur Siyaasadeedka Ifiye, Urur Siyaasadeedka Kaah, Urur Siyaasadeedka Mideeye, Urur Siyaasadeedka Mustaqbal, Urur Siyaasadeedka Run iyo Cadaalad iyo Urur Siyaasadeedka Shaqaalaha
 2. Baargaal, Badhan, Banderbayla, Boocame, Bosaso, Buhoodle, Buraan, Burtinle, Carmo, Dhahar, Eyl, Galdogob, Galkacyo, Garowe, Gumbax, Hadaaftimo, Jariiban, Qardho, Taleex, Uffeyn, Waaciye iyo Widhwidh

Dadka intiisa badan waa uu doonayaa inuu codeeyo doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka, iyada oo dadka ku nool degaannada xeebaha, miyiga, iyo magaalooyinka (86%, 80% iyo 74% siday u kala horreeyaan) ka badan yihiin dadka reer guuraaga ah (59%) ee doonaya inay ka codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda.

Arrinta kale ee xoogga badan ee ka soo baxday daraasadda ayaa ah in dadku urur-siyaasadeed ku dooranayaan fikir siyaasadeed (72%), marka loo bar-bardhigo dadka doonaya inay wax ku doortaan qabiil (4%). Tani waxa ay caddeyn u tahay sida dadku u diiddan yahay nidaamka siyaasadeed ee ku saleysan qabiilka. Intaa waxa dheer, dadka wax la su'aalay waxa ay soo jeediyeen talooyin lagu xoojinayo ka qaybgalka haweenka iyo matalaadda golayaasha degaanka, talooyinkaas oo ay ka mid yihiin qoondada sharciga ah ee haweenka (46%), wacyigalin iyo abaabul (37%), taageero dhaqaale oo la siiyo haweenka musharrixiinta ah (19%) iyo in haweenku ka mid noqdaan xilalka hoggaamin ee ururrada siyaasadda (15%). Intaa waxa dheer, dadka lagu wareystay daraasaddu waxa ay u arkeen amni-darrada (37%), kasbashada siyaasadeed ee dawladda oo yar (19%), wakhti yaraan (18%), iyo hooseyn awoodda waxqabad ee TPEC (16%) iyo ururrada siyaasadda (12%) inay yihiin caqabadaha ugu waaweyn ee carqaladeyn kara hannaanka doorashooyinka dawladaha hoose ee Puntland.

Warbixintan waxa ay ku saabsan tahay waxyaabihii ugu waaweynaa ee ka soo baxay daraasadda, iyo weliba falanqeyn ku saabsan arrimaha muhiimka ah ee la xiriira doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda iyo guud ahaan qorshaha dimuqraadiyaynta Puntland. Warbixintu waxa kale oo ay soo bandhigaysaa talooyin ku saabsan sida horay loogu amba-qaadi karo. PDRC waxa ay rumeysan tahay in natiijooyinka daraasaddu ay sababi doonaan in dadku dood siyaasadeed ka yeesho arrimaha ku saabsan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka, isla markaana gacan ka geysan doonaan aqoonsiga istiraatiijiyado wax-ku-ool ah oo wax looga qabanayo caqabadaha hortaagan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee Puntland.

1

HORDHAC IYO UJEEDDOOYIN

Sanadkii 2014, PDRC waxa ay daraasad ka sameysay aragtida dadka, waxana daraasadda ka qayb-galay dad tiradoodu gaareyso 1,525 oo ku kala nool 12 degmo oo ka tirsan Puntland, iyada oo ujeedku ahaa in la cabbiro aragtida dadka iyo sida ay u taageersanaayeen soo nooleynta hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta oo wakhtigaas hakad ku jiray, iyo waliba sahrinta caqabadaha ka hor iman karay hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta Puntland. Natiijooyinka daraasaddu waxa ay muujiyeen rajo, iyada oo 86% dadka wax la su'aalay ay taageersanaayeen in dib loo bilaabo hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta, halka 91% dadku ay doonayeen inay codeeyaan haddii doorashooyin la qabto.

Hadda lix sano ka dib, weli waa jirtaa rajadii ahayd in Puntland ay ka dhacaan doorashooyin. PDRC, oo taageero ka heleysa hay'adda National Endowment for Democracy (NED), waxa ay u garatay inay habboon tahay in daraasad kale laga sameeyo aragtida dadweynaha, taas oo iftiimineysa aragtida dadweynuhu ka qabo hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda iyo doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee qorsheysan inay dhacaan, iyada oo la asteynayo caqabadaha, fursadaha, iyo casharradii la baray ee wax ku biirin kara hawlaha is daba-jooga ee dimuqraadiyeynta.

Waa arrin ahmiyad weyn leh in talada lagu daro fikradaha iyo aragtida dadweynaha si loo hubiyo in si hufan oo guul leh loogu gudbo dimuqraadiyad shaqeysa. PDRC waxa ay rajeyneysaa in natiijooyinka daraasaddu asaas u noqon doonaan wada-hadal dadweyne iyo inay taageeraan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadeed iyo kan go'aan gaaris ee socda.

Hoos waxa ku qoran ujeeddooyinka gaarka ah ee daraasadda:

- ▶ In la cabbiro/qiyaaso aragtida dadku ka qabo doorasho hal-qof-hal-cod ah ee ka dhacda Puntland.
- ▶ In la sahmiyo fursadaha waaweyn iyo caqabadaha hortaagan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda
- ▶ In la qiimeeyo wacyiga iyo rabitaanka bulshada dhanka ka qayb-galka doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka.

- ▶ In laga baaraan-dego istiraatiijiyadaha suuragalka ah ee lagu xoojin karo ka qaybgalka haweenka ee doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka.
- ▶ In la fahmo ka-qaybgalka dadweynaha/ka mid noqoshada ururrada siyaasadda ee jira.

1.1 Habraaca Daraasadda

Daraasadda waxa la sameeyay muddadii u dhaxeysay 1^{dii} iyo 13^{kii} Maarso 2021, waxana laga fuliyey 22 degmo^[3] oo ka mid ah 50-ka degmo ee Puntland. Koox ka kooban 24 arday jaamacadeed oo isugu jira rag iyo dumar ayaa wareystay dad tiradoodu gaareyso 2,548. Iyada oo raacaysa habka cilmi-baarista loo dhan yahay, PDRC waxa ay xog ururinta u adeegsatay hab ra'yi ururin laga wada qayb-galo^[2]. Waxa la diyaariyey su'aal-side (questionnaire), loona adeegsaday hagidda wareysiyada.

Xog ururinta ka hor, kooxda waxaa lagu tababaray xirfadaha xog-ururinta iyada oo la adeegsanayo KoboCollect oo ah hab xog-ururin la isticmaalayo teleefannada gacanta. Tababbarka waxa kale oo ku jirey casharro ku saabsan sida xiriir wanaagsan loola sameeyo dadka la wareysanayo si loo helo macluumaad sax ah oo qoto dheer iyo qaababka la isaga ilaalin karo cudurka Covid-19, iyo weliba siyaabaha loo yareyn karo halista la-kulanka cudurka ee xubnaha kooxda ama ka qaybgalayaasha daraasadda. Tababbarku waxa kale oo uu diiradda saaray arrimaha ay ka mid yihiin anshaxa, habka su'aal-weydiinta tooska ah, helitaanka oggolaanshaha iyo xafidaadda xogta.

Si loo xusho cabbirka muunadda daraasadda, qiyaasta ugu dhow ee dadku waxa ay ahayd tii 2015 ay soo saartay Wasaaradda Qorshaynta iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ee Puntland. Iyada oo tiradaas la hayo, PDRC waxay adeegsatay xisaabiyaha cabbirka muunadda (Standard Sample Size Calculator) oo xisaabiyaha cabbirka muunadda dadka la bartilmaameedsanayo. Marka la raaco qaabkaas, tirada dadka oo dhan 4,284,633 qof waxaa matali kara cabbir muunad dhan 385 jawaab-bixiye. Hase yeeshee, waxa muhiim loo arkay in la kordhiyo cabbirka muunadda la xisaabiyay, si loo kabo ama loo buuxiyo saameynta suurtagalka ah ee ka dhalan karta naqshadda la qaatay.

Iyada oo habkaa la raacayo, PDRC waxay go'aansatay inay wareysato ugu yaraan 2,500 qof si loo hubiyo saxsanaanta iyo sugnaanta xogta. Dadka 2,500 ee la beegsanayo waxa loo kala qaybiyey saami ahaan iyada oo loo eegayo tirada dadka hadda ku nool sagaalka gobol ee Puntland, isla markaana muunad ka kooban 22 degmo^[4] ayaa laga soo qaatay dhamaan gobollada, maaddaama ay matalaan bulshooyinka Puntland, iyada oo tixgelin la siinayo in degmooyinkaas yihiin meelo

²<https://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm>

la gaari karo. Degmooyinka loo doortay daraasadda waxay kaloo matalaan sida ay bulshooyinka Puntland u kala deggan yihiin, iyo weliba barta iyo nooca degaanka (sida magaalo, miyi, reer guuraa, iyo xeeb).

Marka laga baaraan-degay cabbirka muunadda iyo degmooyinka laga fulinayo daraasadda, kooxda waxa loo kala qaybiyay 6 qaybood oo ka hawl-gala goobo cayiman, isla markaana leh qorshe safar iyo tiro go'an oo dadka la wareysanayo ah. Koox kasta, oo uu hoggaaminayo cilmibaare PDRC ah, waxa ay u ambabaxday meelihii ay ka hawl-gali lahayd, si ay u wareysato dad aan da'doodu ka yarayn 18 sano jir, iyaga oo hannaanka xulista dadka ku dheehaya qaab aan rasmi ahayn. Dadka la wareystay waxaa lagula kulmay goobo kala duwan oo ay ka mid yihiin waddooyinka, suuqyada, goobaha adeegga bulshada, masaajidda, iyo goobaha shaqada.

Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa ay isugu jireen reer magaal, reer miyi, reer guuraa, iyo reer xeebeed. Ka qayb-galka dhamaan qaybaha kala duwan ee dadka waxa ay lagama maarmaan u ahayd in la helo aragtiyo kala duwan, iyo in la ogaado caqabadaha waaweyn ee koox walba u aragto inay hortaagan yihiin hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta. Intaa waxa dheer, daraasaddu waxa ay xoogga saartay in la helo aragtida rag iyo dumar labadaba.

1.2 Dood-Kooxeedyada

PDRC waxay qabatay lix Wadahadal Dood kooxeed (Focus Group Discussions) oo barbar socday wareysiyada gaar-gaarka ah ee lala yeeshay 41 qof oo xog-ogaal ah, oo ka kala socday qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada ku nool degmooyinka Eyl, Boocame, Galdogob, Qardho, Badhan iyo Uffeyn (dhallinyarada, haweenka, hoggaamiyeyaasha dhaqanka iyo diinta, xirfadleyda, ganacsatada, ururrada bulshada rayidka, saraakiisha dawladda iyo beelaha la hayb sooco, barakacayaasha iyo dadka naafada ah).

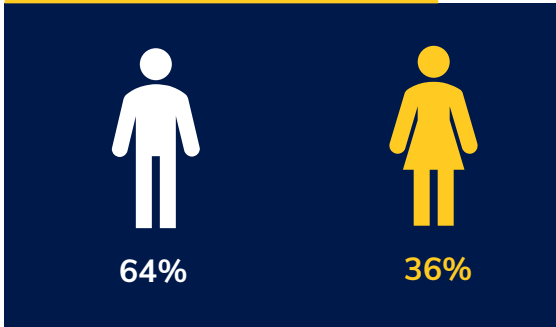
Saddex ka mid ah dood-kooxeedyada waxa lagu kala qabtay Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn oo ah degmooyinka la qorsheynayo in ay ka dhacaan doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey bisha Luulyo 2021. Dood-kooxeedyada waxa loo isticmaalay in lagu helo xog lagu kabo natijada tirada ah (quantitative) ee daraasadda iyo in la xaqiijiyo macluumaadka ay bixiyeen dadka wax la weydiiyey. Intii ay socdeen doodaha, ka qeybgalayaashu waxa ay ka wada-hadleen, kana jawaabeen, su'aalaha hoose ee la xiriira hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta iyo doorashada.

- ▶ Maxaa la qabtay si loo suurageliyo/loo dhaqaajiyo doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka?
- ▶ Sideed u aragtaa doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee la soo hormariyey?

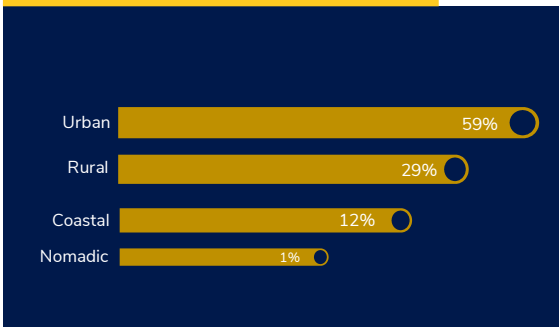
- ▶ Maxay yihiin caqabadaha iyo fursadaha la xiriira doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka? Sideese wax looga qaban karaa?
- ▶ Maxaa xoojin kara kalsoonida aad ku qabto hawlaha doorashada ee socda?
- ▶ Sidee loo xoojin karaa ka qeybgalka haweenka iyo matalaaddooda doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka?

1.3 Qaybaha Dadka La Wareystay

JINSIGA



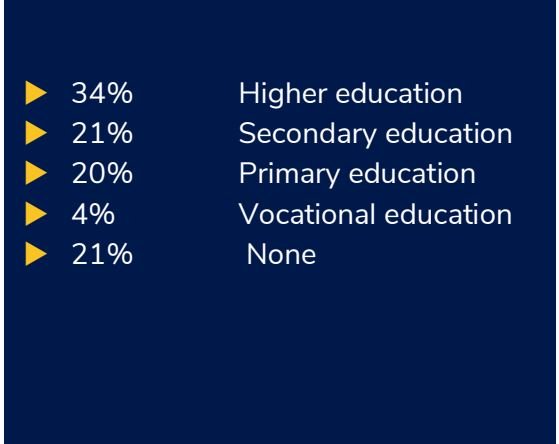
GOOBTA



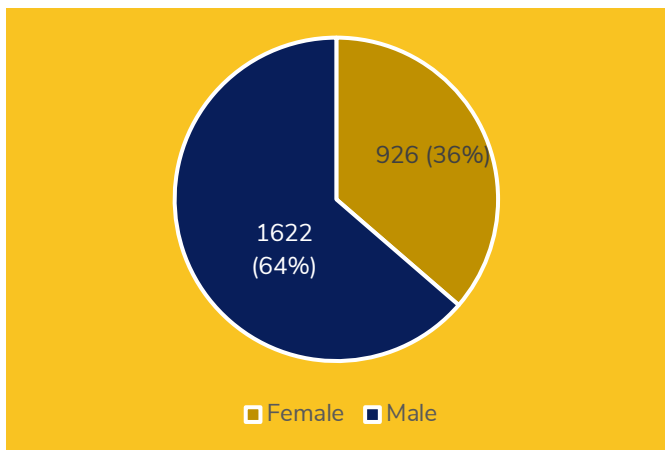
DA'DA



WAXBARASHADA



Daraasaddan waxa lagu wareystay rag ka badan inta dumarka ee la wareystay (64% iyo 36%). In kasta oo dadaal loo galay in la gaaro tiro isku mid ah oo lab iyo dheddig ah iyada oo la hawl-gashay tiro is le'eg oo wiilal iyo gabdho ah, lana faray in ay wareystaan tiro is le'eg oo rag iyo haween ah, waxa aad u batay ragga lagula kulmay waddooyinka,



suuqyada, goobaha shaqada iyo goobaha adeegga bulshada, sidaa awgeed tiro badan oo rag ah ayaa la wareystay. 2,548-da qof ee la wareystay, 1,622 waxa ay ahaayeen rag, halka 926 ay ahaayeen dumar.

Dadka la wareystay intooda badan, ku dhowaad saddex meelood shantii meel ama 59%, waxa ay ahaayeen reer magaal, saddex meelood meel ama 29% waxa ay ahaayeen reer miyi halka shantii meelood meel ama 12% ay ahaayeen reer xeebeed. Marka la eego dhanka da'da, 27% dadka la wareystay waxa ay u dhexeeyeen da'da 18 iyo 24 sano, in ku dhow kala bar jawaabeyaasha ama 46% waxa ay u dhaxeeyeen da'da 25 iyo 44 sano, 22% waxa ay u dhaxeeyeen da'da 45 iyo 64 sano, 5% waxa ay ahaayeen dad ka weyn 65 sano. Aqlabiyadda dadka la wareystay waxa ay ahaayeen dad wax bartay (34% tacliin sare, 21% waxbarashada dugsiga sare, 20% dugsiga hoose/dhexe) iyada oo mid shantiiba ama 21% ayan waxbarasho helin. Tan waxa lagu macnayn karaa xaqiiqda ah in 59% jawaab bixiyayaashu ay ahaayeen reer magaal, sidaa awgeedna ay fursado wanaagsan u heleen waxbarasho.

2

NATIJOOYINKA WAAWEYN EE DARAASADDA

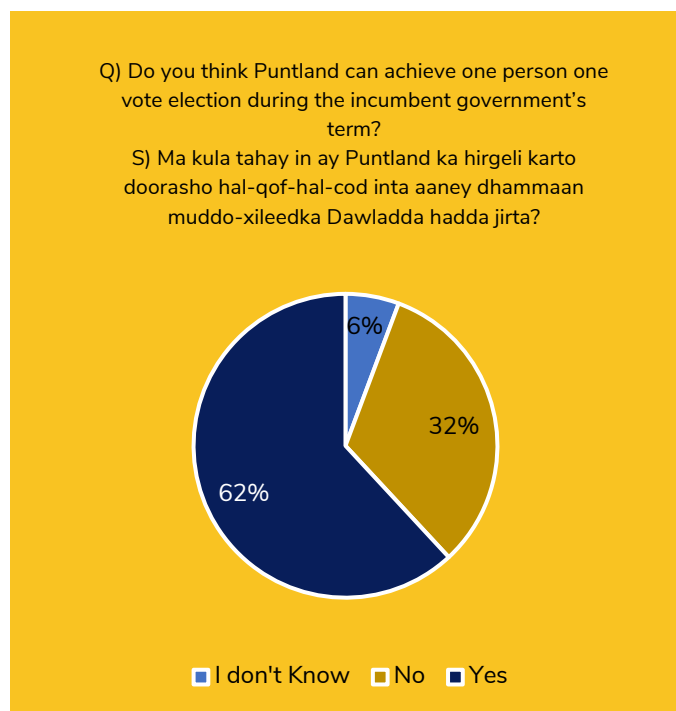
2.1 Aragtida ku Saabsan Wakhtiga Hannaanka Doorashada

Natijada ugu weyn ee ka soo baxday su'aashan waxa ay ahayd in dadweynuhu rajo weyn ka qabo suuragalnimada in doorasho la qabto muddada ay xilka hayso dawladda hadda jirta, oo ku eg Janaayo 2024.

Saddex meelood shantii jawaab-bixiye (62%) waxa ay qabaan fikirka ah in doorasho hal qof iyo hal cod ah la gaari karo inta lagu jiro muddada dawladda hadda jirta. Aragtidan si isku mid ah ayay u qabaan ragga iyo dumarka, dadka da'doodu kala duwan tahay iyo

dadka ku kala nool magaalooyinka, miyiga, iyo degaannada xeebaha. Saddexdii meelood meel (32%) waxa ay qabaan aragti ka soo horjeedda, iyaga oo aaminsan in doorasho hal qof iyo hal cod aan lagu guuleysan karin inta ka horreysa Janaayo 2024. Aragtidan dambe waa ay ka sinnaayeen kooxaha kala duwan ee lagu wareystay daraasadda.

Intaa waxaa dheer, ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyada ee Qardho, Uffeyn, Badhan, Eyl, Boocame iyo Galdogob ayaa rajo wanaagsan ka muujiyay hannaanka doorashada ee hadda socda. Waxay si wadajir ah isugu raaceen in hannaanka doorashada ee socda uu yahay mid ka rajo wanaagsan dadaalladii hore, taas oo caddeyn ay u tahay magacaabista TPEC wakhti hore iyo horumarka uu sameynayo guddiga TPEC, in kasta oo caqabado badan ku xeeran yihiin hannaanka doorashada.



2.2 Fursadaha suuragelin kara hirgelinta doorashooyin lagu guuleysto

Dadka la wareystay ee aaminsan in doorashooyinka la gaari karo ka hor dhamaadka muddada xilka maamulka hadda jira (62%) waxa kale oo la su'aalay fursadaha jira ee suuragelin kara hirgelinta doorashooyinka hal qof iyo hal cod ah inta ay jirto dawladda hadda jirta. Jawaabaha ugu badan ee ay bixiyeen waa sida soo socda:

- ▶ 56% dadku waa ka daalay hab-siyaasadeedka ku dhisan qabiilka
- ▶ 36% sida ay dawladdu uga go'an tahay qabashada doorashooyinka
- ▶ 31% ururrada siyaasadeed ee jira
- ▶ 11% TPEC leh awood waxqabad oo hormuud u ah hannaanka
- ▶ 10% casharrada laga bartay doorashooyinkii 2013 ee dhicisoobay

Ka qayb-galayaasha dooduhu waxa ay tilmaameen fursado dheeraad ah oo suuragalinaya inay si habsami leh doorashooyinka degaanka uga dhacaan Puntland. Casharradii laga bartay geeddi-socodkii maamul-baahinta Puntland ee asaaska u ahaa golayaasha degaanka ee hadda jira, rabitaanka badan ee dadku u qabo in laga gudbo nidaamka doorasho ee ku dhisan habka qabiilka iyo jiritaanka odayaal iyo maamul dhaqameed ka hortagi kara wixii rabshado ah ee la xiriira doorashada ayaa lagu tilmaamay inay dhabbaha u xaadhi karaan doorashooyin lagu guuleysto.

2.3 Maxaa hor istaagi kara in doorashooyinku dhacaan muddada dawladda hadda jirta

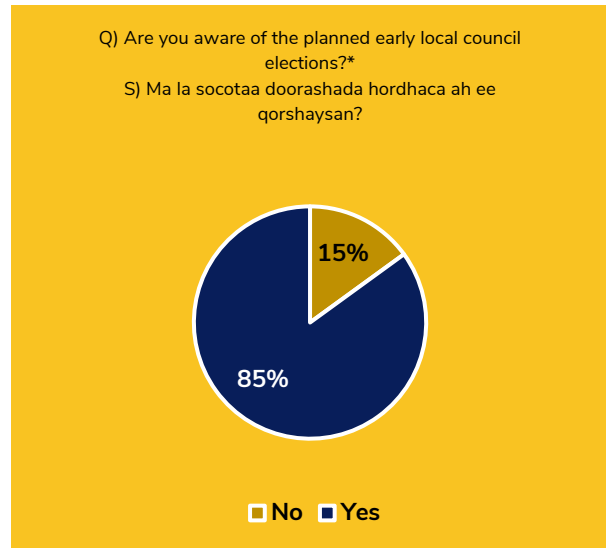
Dadka aan u arkin in doorasho hal qof iyo cod ah la gaari karo muddada dawladda hadda jirta (32%) waxaa la su'aalay waxyaabaha ay u maleynayaan inay hor istaagi karaan doorashada. Hoos waxaa ku qoran jawaabaha ugu badan ee ay bixiyeen:

- ▶ 36% dawladdu kama go'na hannaanka
- ▶ 36% hannaanka doorashadu ma aha diyaar
- ▶ 23% sababo amni
- ▶ 19% beelaha/qabiilladu dooni maayaan doorashooyin
- ▶ 16% dhaqaale ku filan looma hayo
- ▶ 15% wacyiga dadka oo hooseeya

2.4 Wacyiga ku saabsan Doorashooyinka Hordhaca ah ee Golayaasha Degaanka

Ka qayb-galayaasha daraasadda ee ku nool degmooyinka Qardho, Eyl and Uffeyn, halkaas oo qorshuhu yahay inay ka dhacaan doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka Luuliyo 2021, waxa si gaar ah loo su'aalay inay ka warqabaan doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ee ka dhacaya degmooyinkooda.

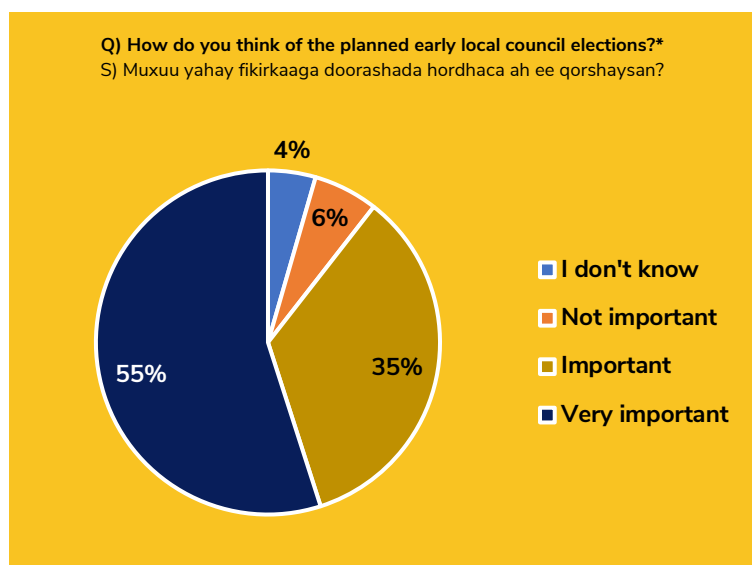
Inta badan dadka saddexdan degmo (85%) waa la socdaan doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ee golayaasha degaanka, marka loo eego 15% oo aan la socon.



*This question was asked respondents in Qardho, Eyl and Uffeyn only

In badan ma kala duwana heerka la socoshada ama ka war-haynta doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ee golayaasha degaanka marka la eego saddexda degmo (Qardho 82%, Eyl 86% iyo Uffeyn 88%). Ma jiro farqi u dhexeeya heerka wacyiga marka la eego dhanka jinsiga, balse ogaanshuhu waxa uu ku badan yahay dhallinyarada (86%) marka loo barbardhigo waayeelka (62%). Tan waxa sabab u noqon kara isticmaalka baahsan ee baraha bulshada ee dhallinyarada iyo xiisaha sii kordhaya ee dhallinyaradu u qabto isbeddellada siyaasadeed ee ka socda Puntland iyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya.

Iyada oo la xiriiirta su'aasha kore, jawaab-bixiyaasha Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn waxa la su'aalay ahmiyadda ay leedahay in la soo hormariyo doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee degmooyinkooda. Inta badan waxa ay ku jawaabeen inay muhiim tahay (90%), halka in yar ay ku jawaabtay inaysan muhiim ahayn (6%).



*This question was asked respondents in Qardho, Eyl and Uffeyn only

Ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyada ee Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn waxa ay sheegeen inay ku qanacsan yihiin in hannaanku wakhti hore bilowday. Waxa kale oo ay kalsooni ka muujiyeen hab-dhaqanka xirfadeed iyo aaminaadda TPEC, iyaga oo xusay in doorashooyinka hadda socda ay ka rajo fiican yihiin kuwii 2013-kii.

Marka laga hadlo doorashooyinka la soo hormariyey ee golayaasha degaanka, ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyadu waa soo dhaweeyeen in doorashooyinka lagu tijaabiyo degmooyin tiro yar, iyaga oo hindisaha ku tilmaamay talo xikmadeysan oo laga baran karo casharro, laguna fahmi karo caqabadaha suuragalka ah ee ay tahay in wax laga qabto ka hor inta aan doorashooyinka laga wada fulin gobollada oo dhan. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha dood-kooxeedyada oo ku sugan Qardho ayaa yiri "waa sida ugu fudud ee dadka loogu suuragelin karo in ay doortaan hoggaamiyayaashooda degaanka, waana hindise wax-ku-ool ah oo lagu gaari karo doorashooyinka guud ee Puntland".

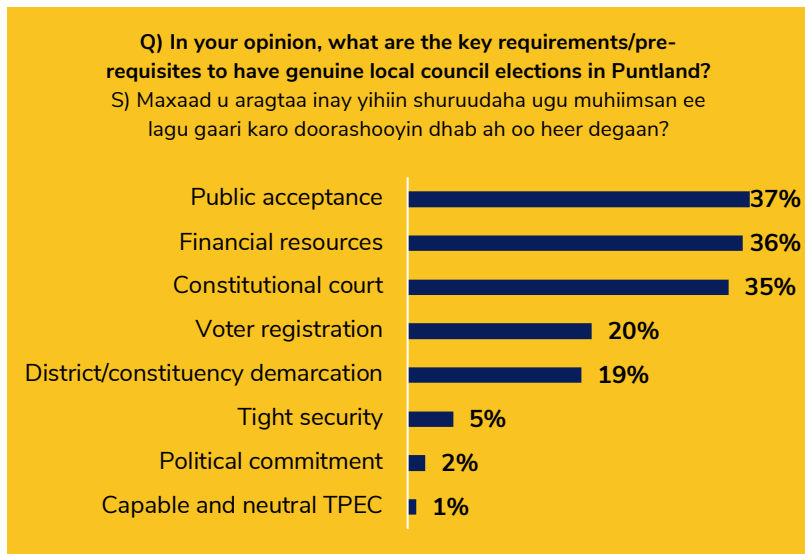
Ka qayb-gale kale oo ku nool Galdogob ayaa yiri "Tiro yar oo dadka Soomaaliyeed ah ayaa xasuusan kara macnaha in cod la bixiyo, maaddaama markii ugu dambeeyay ee Soomaaliya doorasho ka dhacdo ay ka badan tahay 50 sano ka hor. Sidaa darteed doorashooyinka hordhaca ah waa casharro wanaagsan oo dadku u baahan yahay in ay mab'da ahaan iyo farsamo ahaan-ba ku fahmaan xuquuqdooda aasaasiga ee dastuuriga ah ee ah in la codeeyo".

Qaar ka mid ah ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyada ayaa muujiyey wel-welka ah in doorashooyinka hordhaca ahi ay dhicisoobi karaan haddii dadku u arko inay yihiin qaab ay dawladdu ku tijaabinayso sida ugu wax-ku-oolsan ee ay saameyn ugu yeelan karto doorashooyinka kale ee haray. Ka qayb-galayaashu waxa ay carrabka ku adkeeyeen in dawladda looga baahan yahay caddaalad iyo hufnaan si loo dhowro hannaanka doorashada.

2.5 Shuruudaha Lagu Gaari Karo Doorashooyin Dhab ah ee Dawladaha Hoose

Iyada oo si gaar ah loo eegayo fursadaha suuragelin kara in si guul leh loo hirgeliyo doorashooyinka hal-qof-hal-cod, daraasaddu waxa kale oo ay qiimeyn ku sameysay meelaha mudnaanta leh ee lagama maarmaanka u ah gaaritaanka doorashooyinka golyaasha degaanka ee

Puntland. Iyaga oo ka jawaabaya arrintan, ka qayb-galayaasha daraasaddu waxa ay tilmaameen dhowr shuruudood oo mudan in wax laga qabto si loogu guuleysto doorashooyinka golyaasha degaanka. Shuruudahan/mudnaanaha waxa ka mid ah:

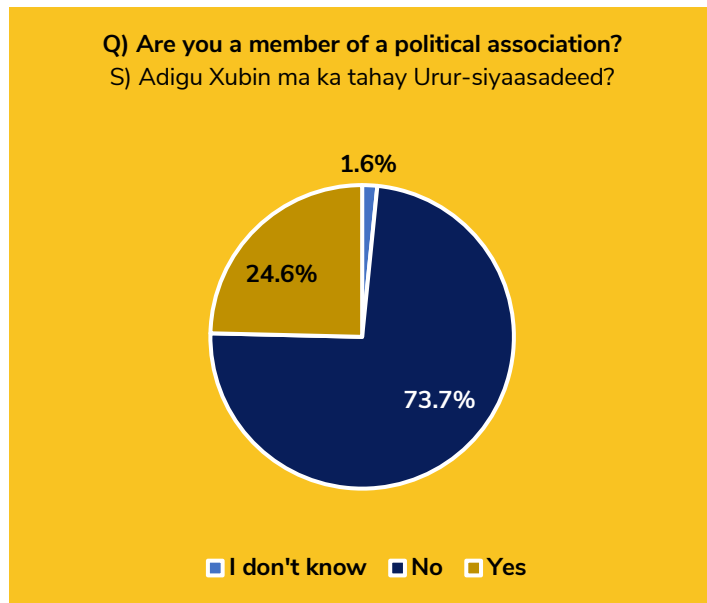


- ▶ 37% rabitaanka shacabka
- ▶ 36% dhaqaale
- ▶ 35% maxkamad dastuuri
- ▶ 20% diiwaan-gelin codbixiyayaasha
- ▶ 19% soohdimaha degmooyinka

Su'aashan waxa ay ahayd su'aal furan (open-ended), iyada oo wareystuhu duubayo jawaabaha, isla markaana jawaabaha la isku habeeyey wareysiga ka dib. Si kasta ha ahaatee, rabitaanka dadweynaha ayaa ahayd shuruudda ugu muhiimsan ee la soo jeediyey si loo gaaro doorasho golyaasha degaanka oo dhab ah oo ka dhacda Puntland, waxana ku xigey baahida loo qabo in la helo dhaqaale maaliyadeed oo ku filan iyo in la dhiso maxkamadda dastuuriga. Sida ay isku raaceen ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyada, isla markaana waafaqsan natiijooyinka ka soo baxay xogta tirada ee daraasadda (quantitative data), rabitaanka shacabka ayaa fure u ah ku-guuleysiga hirgelinta doorashooyinka golyaasha degaanka. Dadku waxa ay u arkaan hadba sida dawladdu u kasbato shacabka, una fahansiiso hannaanka, inay saldhig u tahay taageerada ka imanaysa dhanka dadweynaha.

2.6 Firfircoonida Ururrada Siyaasadda iyo Xubinnimada

Ujeeddada kale ee muhiimka ah ee daraasadda waxa ay ahayd in la cabbiro wax-ku-oolnimada ururrada siyaasadda ee jira (9) iyo waliba xubinnimadooda iyo sida dadku uga wada qaybgalo. Si haddaba arrintan loo baaro, dadka wax la su'aalay ee dhamaan degaannada waxaa la weydiiyay inay xubno ka yihiin urur siyaasadeed. Aqlabiyadda jawaabeyaasha (74%) waxa ay sheegeen inaysan xubno ka ahayn urur siyaasadeed, marka la barbardhigo 25% oo sheegtay inay xubno ka yihiin.



Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda sida ay ugu tiro yar yihiin xubinnimada ururrada siyaasadda waxa sababay iyada oo uu hooseeyo abaabulka bulshada ee ururrada siyaasadda³, ama iyada oo aan la gaari karin qaar ka mid ah degaannada fog-fog ee laga fuliyey daraasadda, sidaa awgeedna ay ku yar yihiin hawlaha ay ururrada siyaasaddu ka wadaan, iyo weliba gaar ahaan hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta Puntland oo curddan ah.

Si guud marka loo eego, ka mid noqoshada ururrada siyaasadeed waxa hoos u dhigay jiritaan la'aan barnaamijyo waxbarashada madaniga oo nidaamsan, dhammaystiran, isla markaana socda muddo dheer. Xaaladda dimuqraadiyeynta ee hadda ka jirta Puntland iyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya, barnaamijyada waxbarashada madaniga waxaa mudnaanta la siiyaa marka ay soo dhawaadaan doorashooyinka, halkii loo mari lahaa hannaan doorasho oo dhameystiran oo bulshada si joogto ah loogu baro xuquuqda muwaaddinnimo iyo waajibaadka ka saaran geeddi-socodka dimuqraaddiyadda.

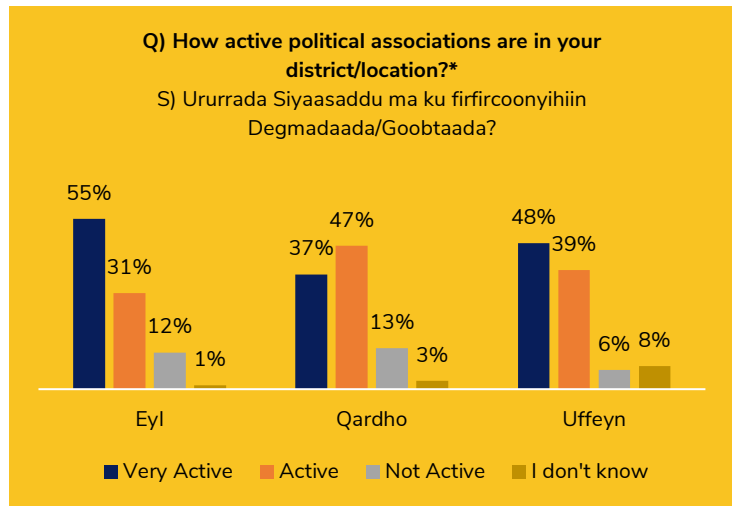
Marka la eego ka tirsanaanta urur siyaasadeed, ma jiro kala-duwanaan ama farqi weyn dhanka da'da, jinsiga iyo heerka waxbarasho, hase yeeshee xubinnimadu waxa ay ku sarreysaa degaannada xeebaha (46%) marka la barbar dhigo miyiga

³Urur Siyaasadeedka Cadaaladda iyo Sinaanta, Urur Siyaasadeedka Dhalinyarada, Urur Siyaasadeedka Horseed, Urur Siyaasadeedka Ifiye, Urur Siyaasadeedka Kaah, Urur Siyaasadeedka Mideeye, Urur Siyaasadeedka Mustaqbal, Urur Siyaasadeedka Run iyo Cadaalad iyo Urur Siyaasadeedka Shaqaalaha

iyo reer guuraaga (18%). Waxaa xusid mudan in Boosaaso, oo ah magaalada ugu weyn magaalooyinka Puntland haddana loo tixgeliyo inay tahay magaalo xeebeed, isla markaana ku nool yihiin dadkii ugu faraha badnaa ee daraasadda lagu wareystay (8.4%), ayaa ah degaanka ugu xubno badan marka la eego dhulalka xeebaha.

Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda, iyaga oo ka jawaabaya su'aasha ku saabsan firfircoonida ururrada siyaasadda ee degmooyinka Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn, halkaas oo qorsheysan in ay ka dhacaan doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka bisha Luulyo 2021, waxa ay sheegeen in ururrada siyaasaddu aad u firfircoon yihiin (47%), firfircoon yihiin (39%), aan firfircooneyn (10%). Tan waxa ay muujineysaa in ururrada siyaasaddu guud ahaan ku firfircoon yihiin (86%) saddexda degmo. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, tani macnaheedu ma aha in ururrada siyaasaddu ka hawl-galaan degmooyin kale, halkaas oo ay hooseeyso joogitaanka ururrada siyaasadda, isla markaana dadkii ka qayb-galay dood kooxeedku ku sheegeen inay ku yar yihiin dhaqdhaqaaqyada siyaasadeed, sida ay arkeen kooxda fulisay daraasadda.

Ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyadu waxa kale oo ay xuseen in ururrada siyaasaddu aysan lahayn awood dhaqaale oo ay ku qabtaan wacyigalin ballaaran, waxa ayna tilmaameen inay muhiimad weyn leedahay in dawladdu taageerto [\[1\]](#) ugu yaraan muddada hore, isla markaana dawladdu ka fogaato inay ururkeeda ka doorbiddo ururrada mucaaradka marka laga hadlo isticmaalka hantida dadweynaha iyo ololaha siyaasadeed.



*This question was asked respondents in Qardho, Eyl and Uffeyn only

2.7 Doonista Codeynta ee Doorashooyinka Dawladaha Hoose ee Soo Socda

Marka loo eego qorshaha doorashooyinka ee TPEC, Puntland waxa u qorsheysan inay qabato doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka bisha Febraayo 2022. Arrintaas awgeed, ka qayb-galayaasha daraasadda waxa la weydiiyay inay doonayaan inay codeeyaan marka la

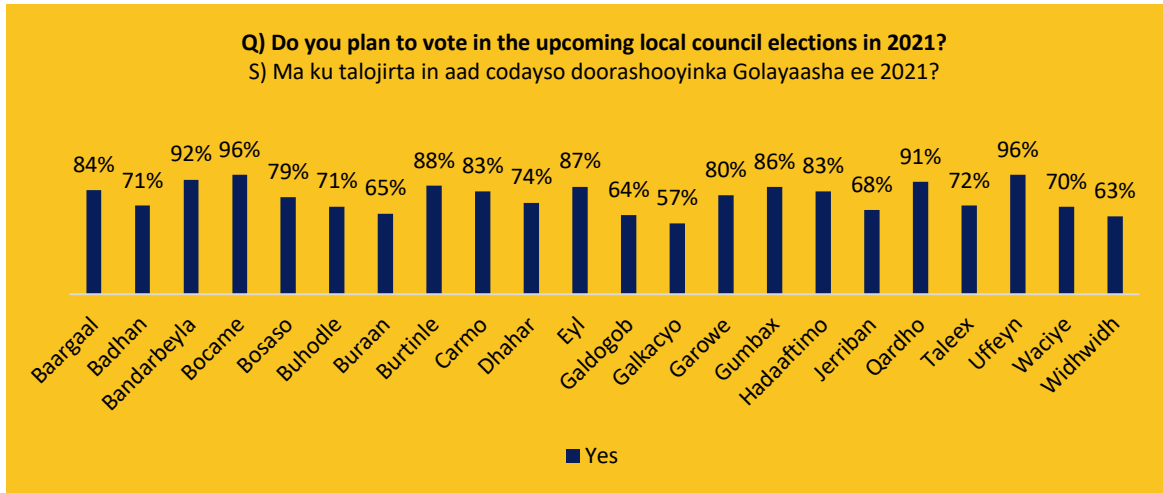


gaaro doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda. Dadka intiisa badan (77%) waxa ay ku jawaabeen inay doonayaan inay codeeyaan, halka dad dhan 19% ay sheegeen in ayan codeyn doonin.

Natiijadan aad ayay uga hooseysaa natiijadii ka soo baxday daraasaddii la sameeyay 2014, taas oo muujisay in 91% dadku doonayeen inay codeeyaan haddii doorasho la qabto. Hoos u dhaca waxa sabab u noqon kara gaabinta hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta ee muddadii uu xilka hayey Madaxweyne Gaas, taas oo lumisay xawligii uu hannaanku ku socdey. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, in kasta oo gaaritaanka doorashooyin dimuqraaddi ah ay ku qeexan tahay axdigii ugu horreeyay ee Puntland iyo weliba dastuurka hadda jira, haddana weli ma dhaafsiisana rajo, iyada oo dad badani ay lumiyeen xiisihii ay u qabeen himiladaas muddada dheer la sugayay. Dib-u-dhac kale ama ku guul-darreysi ku yimaada qabashada doorashooyin hal-qof-hal-cod ah muddada dawladda hadda jirta, waxa ay dhabar-jab weyn ku noqoneysaa jiritaanka dawladda ee Puntland.

Rag iyo dumar-ba waa doonayaan in ay codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda, hase yeeshe ragga ayaa uga badan dumarka arrintaas (81% iyo 72%). Daneynta codbixintu waa ku badan tahay dhallinyarada (18-24 sano jir); 82% marka la barbardhigo dadka waayeelka ah (65 + sano); ama 63%. Daraasadda waxa kale oo ka soo baxay in farqi weyn u dhexeeyo doonista codeynta marka la eego degaannada kala duwan, iyada oo 86% jawaab-bixiyeyaasha degaannada xeebaha, 80% jawaab-bixiyaasha reer miyiga, 74% jawaab-bixiyaasha magaalooyinka iyo 59% jawaab-bixiyaasha reer guuraagu doonayaan inay codeeyaan. In kasta oo rabitaanka codeynta ee doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka soo socda ay ahmiyad weyn u leedahay degaannada kala

duwan, haddana hooseynta heerka doonista codbixinta ee dadka reer guuraaga ah waxa sabab u noqon kara wacyi yaraan.



Daraasaddu waxa kale oo ay ogaatay doonista in cod la bixiyo doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda ay aad u sarreyso dhammaan goobaha la booqday, iyada oo degmooyin badan (Baargaal, Banderbayla, Boocame, Burtinle, Carmo, Eyl, Garowe, Gumbax, Hadaaftimo, Qardho iyo Uffeyn) ay ka muuqato inay dadku aad u doonayaan inay codeeyaan (80% +).

Marka la eego gobol ahaan, daraasaddu waxa ay iftiimisay in doonista codeyntu ku hooseyso gobolka Mudug, in kasta oo ay weli badan tahay, marka loo eego gobollada kale (Galkacyo 57%, Galdogob 64% iyo Jerriiban 68%). Dhanka kale, daraasaddii 2014 waxa ay muujiyey in ay aad u sarreysay doonista codeynta ee degmooyinkii gobolka Mudug ee laga fuliyey daraasadda (Galkacyo iyo Galdogob).

Dadkii ka qayb-galay daraasadda ee gobollada Sool, Sanaag iyo Cayn heer isku mid ah ayay ka muujiyeen xiisaha ay u qabaan in ay codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda, in kasta oo doorashooyin iyo ololeyaal siyaasadeed kale ay ka socdeen gobolka Sool muddadii ay daraasaddu socotay sida ay aragtay kooxda daraasaddu.

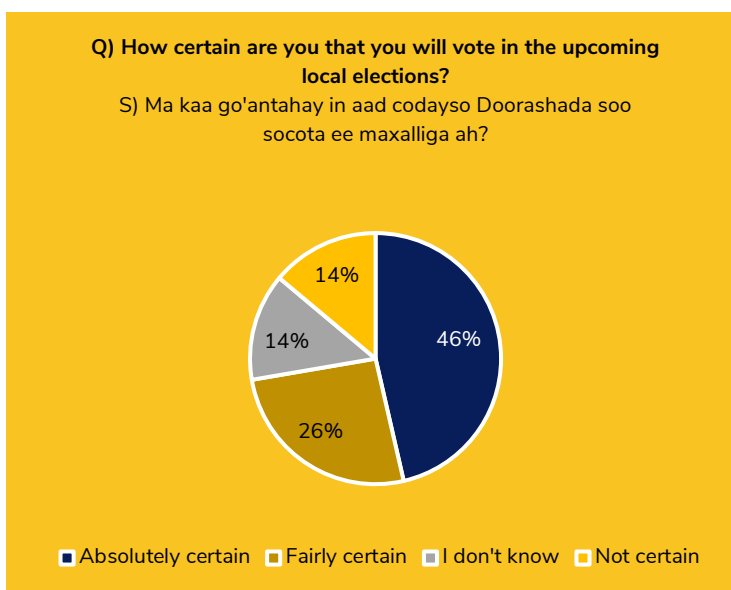
Si ka duwan natiijada daraasadda, ka qayb-galayaashii dood-kooxeedka ee Boocame waxa ay muujiyeen inaysan ku qanacsanayn nidaamka siyaasadeed ee Puntland, waxayna ka cawdeen ballan-fur iyo faquuq joogto ah oo mas'uuliyiinta Puntland ay ku hayaan beelaha Sool, Sanaag iyo Cayn. Waxa ay dawladda Puntland ku eedeeyeen inay hoos u dhigtay ahmiyadda gobollada Sool, Sanaag iyo Cayn taas oo ay daliil u tahay in Boocame iyo degmooyin kale oo ka tirsan gobolladan laga reebay doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee la qorsheeyey, in kasta oo in badan oo ka mid ah degmooyinkan si fudud loo gaari karo, isla markaana ay maamusho Puntland.

Dadka aan dooneyn inay codeeyaan doorashooyinka soo socda ee golayaasha degaanka waxa ay sheegeen inay aaminsan yihiin in aanay doorashooyin dhici doonin (27%), inayan daneyneyn hawlaha doorashada (23%), inaan hannaanka loo dhameyn (15%) ama sababo kale awgood (35%).

Waxaa xusid mudan qaar ka mid ah ka qayb-galayaasha dood-kooxeedyadu inay welwel ka muujiyeen in doorashooyinka heer federaal ee soo socda ay faragalin ku yeelan karaan doorashooyinka maxalliga ah iyada oo la wareegi kara dareenka iyo ka qayb-galka bulshada.

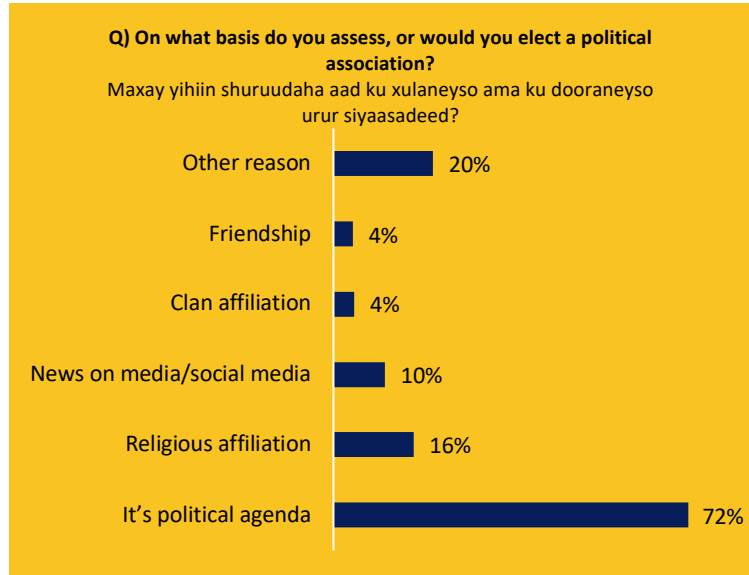
2.8 Hubaasha Codbixinta

Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa la su'aalay sida ay u hubaan inay codeyn doonaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda. Jawaabaha waxaa loo kala saaray; aad u huba, in yar huba, ma hubo iyo garan maayo. Ku dhowaad kalabar jawaabeyaasha (46%) ayaa sheegay inay gabi ahaanba hubaan, rubuc ka mid ah jawaab-bixiyaasha (26%) ayaa sheegay inay in yar hubaan halka 14% jawaab-bixiyaashu sheegeen in ayan hubin inay codeyn doonaan doorashooyinka soo socda. Jinsi ahaan marka la eego, ragga sheegay inay codeynayaan waxa ay ahaayeen (76%) marka loo eego dumarka (66%). Dhanka da'da, dhallinyarada sheegtay inay codeynayaan waxa ay dhamaayeen ^[1] (78%) halka dadka da'da ah ^[2] ay ahaayeen (55%).



2.9 Xulashada Urur Siyaasadeed

Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa la weydiiyey inay tilmaamaan shuruudaha ama astaamaha ay ku qiimeynayaan ama ku dooran doonaan urur siyaasadeed ama xisbi. In ka badan 72% ayaa sheegay inay ururrada siyaasadda ama xisbiyada ku dooran doonaan iyaga oo eegaya qorshahooda siyaasadeed, 16% waxa ay yiraahdeen iyaga oo ku saleynaya arrimo

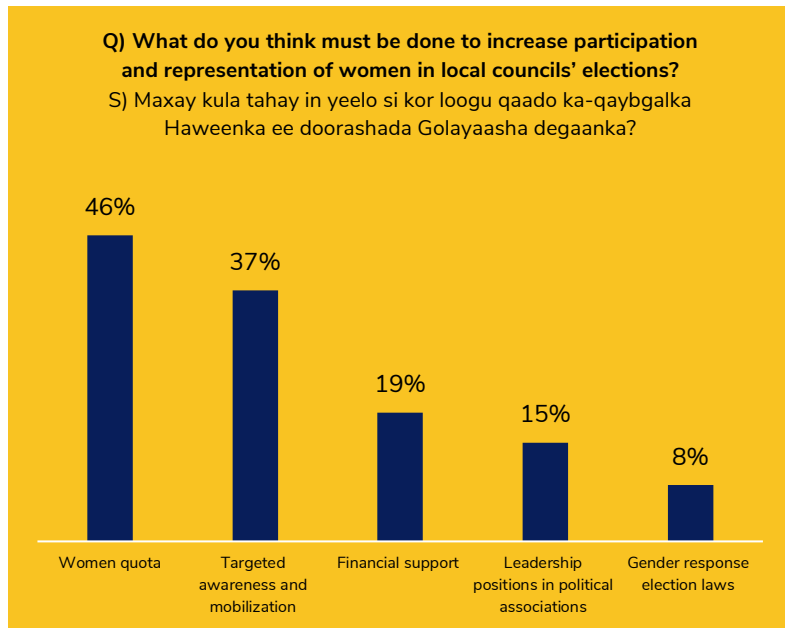


diimeed, 10% waxa ay yiraahdeen iyaga oo ku saleynaya warbaahinta iyo baraha bulshada, 4% waxa ay sheegeen inay ku saleynayaan qabiil ama saaxiibtinimo, halka inta kale (20%) sheegeen sababo kale. Su'aashan waxa ay ahayd mid furan (open-ended), iyada oo wareystuhu duubayey jawaabaha, jawaabahana la qorayey. Natijada ka soo baxday su'aashan waxa ay muujineysaa rabitaan xoog leh iyo doonis in laga gudbo siyaasadda ku dhisan qabiilka oo loo hayaamo hab siyaasadeed iyo nidaam dawladeed dimuqraaddi ah. Iyada oo ay Puntland ku cusub yihiin fikirka dimuqraadiyeynta iyo sameynta ururro siyaasadeed, ka qayb-galayaashu waxa ay xuseen in taageerayaasha maxalliga iyo mutadawiciinta aan loo sameyn abaabul ku saleysan fikradaha siyaasadeed iyo mabaadi'da ururrada siyaasadda, sidaa darteedna ayan ku koobneyn urur siyaasadeed gaar ah.

2.10 Kor u qaadista Ka qayb-galka iyo Matalaadda Dumarka ee Doorashooyinka Golayaasha Degaanka

In kasta oo ay jiraan shuruuc ^[1] lagu xoojinayo ka qaybgalka iyo matalaadda haweenka, haweenka Puntland illaa iyo hadda waa ku takooran yihiin siyaasadda, isla markaana si buuxda ugama muuqdaan talada ama hannaanka go'aan gaarista. Wakhtiga hadda ah, 66-da xildhibaan ee baarlamaanka Puntland

waxa ku jira laba dumar ah, halka qiyaas ahaan haween dhan 17% xubno ka yihiin golayaasha degaanka ee Puntland^[2].



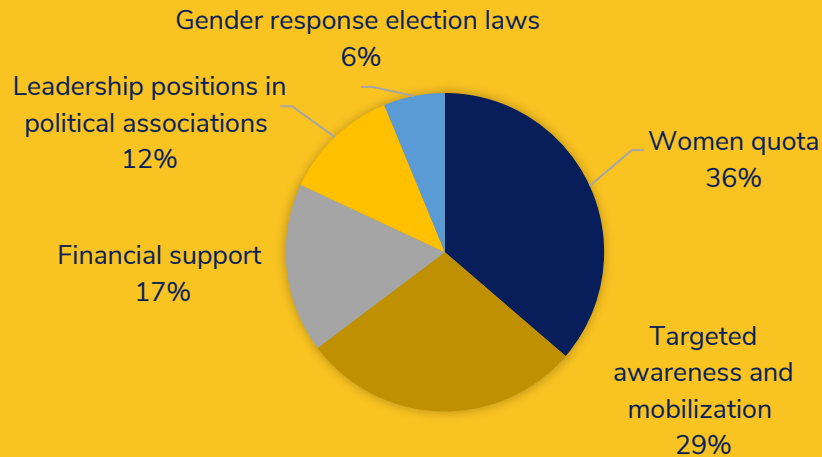
Iyada oo taasi jirto, daraasaddu waxa ay baadi-goob ku sameysay istiraatiijiyadaha lagu xoojin karo ka qaybgalka iyo matalaadda haweenka ee doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka. Dadka la wareystay waxa ay soo jeediyeen arrimaha ay ka mid yihiin qoondada haweenka (46%), wacyigalin iyo abaabul (37%), taakuleyn dhaqaale la siiyo haweenka musharxiinta ah (19%) iyo in dumarku ka mid noqdaan xilalka hoggaamin ee ururrada siyaasadda (15%) ay wax ka beddeli karaan xoojinta ka-qaybgalka iyo matalaadda haweenka ee golayaasha degaanka.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, natijada daraasaddan waa ka duwan tahay istiraatiijiyadihii ay ku talo-bixiyeen dadkii ka qayb-galay daraasaddii 2014, iyaga oo soo jeediyay wacyigelinta bulshada (32%), abaabulka haweenka (22%) iyo doorashooyinka hal-qof iyo hal cod (18%) ay yihiin istiraatiijiyadaha ugu wanaagsan ee lagu horumarin karo ka qaybgalka iyo matalaadda siyaasadeed ee haweenka. Isbarbardhigga labada natiijo waxa uu muujineysa in dadka intiisa badan doorbidayo qaabka saamiga loo gaar yeelo dumarka, iyaga oo ay jiraan arrimo dhaqaale iyo kuwo bulsho.

Waxa la yaab leh, aragtiyada dumarka la wareystay in badan kama duwana aragtiga dadka ay daraasaddu guud ahaan wax su'aashay sida ka muuqata jaantuska hoose.

Q) What do you think must be done to increase participation and representation of women in local councils' elections?*

S) Maxay kula tahay in la samayo si loo kordhiyo ka-qaybgalka haweenka ee doorshada Golayaasha Degmooyinka?



*These are the responses given by female respondents only. Waa jawaabaha ay bixiyeen dumarka oo keliya

Ka qaybgalayaasha dood-kooxeedyadu waxa ay isku waafaqeen in loo baahan yahay shuruuc la dhaqan-gelin karo iyo hawl-gelin iyo u-qareemis dumarka dhanka ururrada siyaasadda, xubnaha baarlamaanka, odayaasha dhaqanka, iyo dhammaan daneeyayaasha saamaynta leh si dumarku u helaan taageero. Iyada oo sharxaysa sida xaaladdu hadda tahay iyo baahida loo qabo in la sharciyeeyo qoondada haweenka, gabar ka mid ah dadkii lagula kulmay degmada Uffeyn ayaa tiri sidan “marka la eego dhaqanka Soomaalida, raggu waa kuwa martigaliya nidaamka dawladnimo, halka haweenku marti u yihiin ragga, una hoos fadhiyaan ragga qaybinta iyo cunaqabataynta!”

Ka qaybgalayaasha kale ee dood-kooxeedyada waxa ay hoosta ka xarriiqen in haweenku aanay lahayn abaabul, isla markaana ayan dan ka lahayn inay u tartamaan xilalka siyaasadeed, in kasta oo ay jiraan caqabado. Waxa ay soo jeediyeen in wacyigalin ballaaran iyo abaabul haween loo baahan yahay si ay ugu suurta gasho inay si macno leh uga qayb-galaan hawlaha doorashada. Intaa waxa dheer, ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay soo jeediyeen in haween badan ay iska diiwaan-gashaan ururrada siyaasadda, una tartamaan kuraasta doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka.

Iyada oo ka hadlaysa istaraatiijiyadaha suuragalka ah ee lagu xoojin karo haweenka, gabar ka mid ah dadkii ka qayb-galay dood-kooxeedka Badhan ayaa tiri “haweenku waa inay u ololeeyaan isbeddelka siyaasadeed, isla markaana dhaqaale u helaan ololayaasha si ay horey ugu socodsiiyaan ajandahooda iyo mudnaanahooda. Sidoo kale, waa inay iskaashi sameeyaan oo ay u midoobaan kor

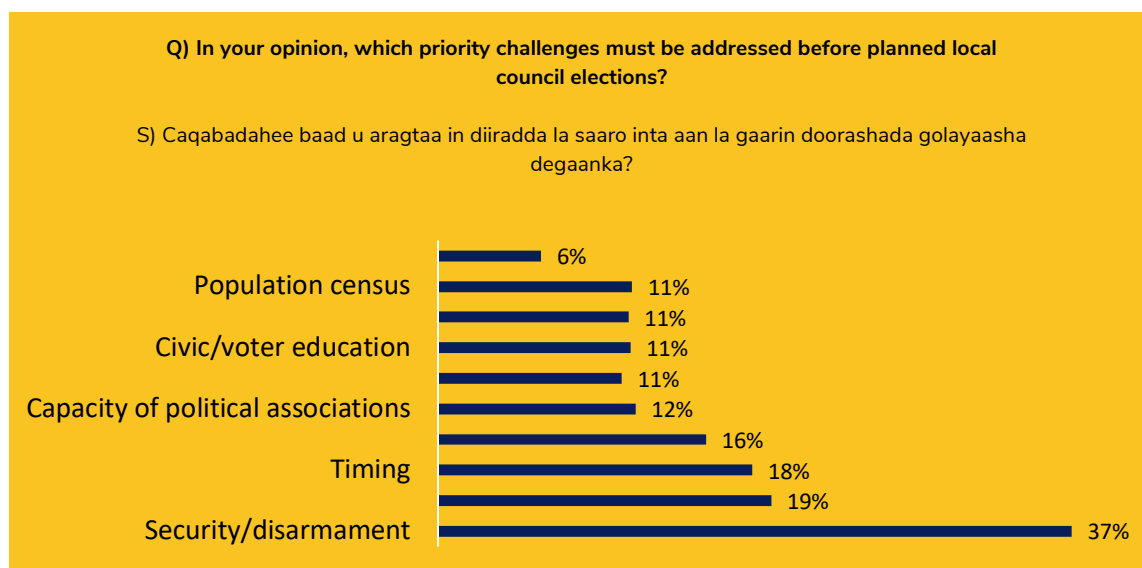
u qaadista qaddiyadooda oo ay ku soo biiraan hannaanka goor hore, maadaama ay inta badan dib u dhacaan sidaan darteedna ay lumiyaan fursadaha.”

Istaraatiijiyad kale oo shaqeyn karta oo ay soo jeediyeen ka qayb-galayaasha doodaha ayaa ah in dumarka loo abaabulo madal, si loo ballaariyo saameyntooda, iyaga oo weliba isbahaysi adag la sameysanaya dadka kale, oo ay ku jiraan ragga taageersan in dumarku ka qaybgalo hoggaanka. Waxaa xusid mudan in ururrada siyaasadda qaarkood ay durbaba bilaabeen inay wax ka qabtaan caqabada la xiriirta xoojinta ka qaybgalka haweenka si gaar gaar ah iyaga oo dumarka ku daray hoggaanka ururka.

2.11 Caqabadaha Muuqda ee Hortaagan Doorashooyinka Golayaasha Degaanka

Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa wax laga su’aalay arrimaha mudnaanta koowaad leh iyo caqabadaha u baahan in diiradda la saaro inta aan la gaarin doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee qorshaysan. Marka la eego jawaabihii la bixiyey, amniga ayaa u muuqday caqabadda ugu weyn (10kii qofba 4 qof ayaa sidan sheegtey ama 37%), waxaana ku xigey dawladda oo aan hannaanka ka dhaa-dhicin shacabka (5tii qofba 1 qof ayaa sidan yiri ama 19%), wakhtiga oo yar (5tii qofba 1 qof baa sidan yiri ama 18%), awoodda waxqabad ee TPEC (5tii qofba 1 qof baa yiri ama 16%) iyo awoodda ururrada siyaasadeed (oo 10kii qofba uu 1 qof yiri ama 12%).

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, natijadan waxa ay la mid tahay natijada daraasaddii 2014, taas oo ku tilmaantay amniga (24%), wacyiga bulshada oo hooseeya (21%), tirakoob la'aan dadweynaha (9%) iyo wakhtiga oo aan ku filneyn (8%) inay yihiin caqabadaha ugu waaweyn ee carqaladeyn karay geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland.



Intaa waxa dheer, ka qayb-galayaasha doodaha waxa ay xuseen dhowr caqabado oo ay ka mid yihiin cudurka Covid-19, hubka ku jira gacanta shacabka, hooseyn wacyiga dadweynaha, jiritaan la'aan tirakoob dadweyne iyo xadaynta soohdimaha degmooyinka, koobnaan dhaqaale iyo helitaanka xogta iyo macluumaadka oo kooban, sidaa darteedna ay ka dhalato faafinta fikrado badan oo aan sax ahayn. Ka qayb-galayaasha doodaha waxa ay si kulul uga doodeen degmooyinka faraha badan ee cusub, laga bilaabo 21-ka degmo ee jiray 1998 ilaa 50 degmo ee hadda jira 2021, waxa ayna ku tilmaameen inay tahay dhuxul dambas huwan oo halis ku ah amniga muddada doorashadu socoto iyo weliba midnimada ummadda Puntland.

Qaar ka mid ah ka qayb-galayaasha doodaha ayaa sidoo kale welwel ka muujiyey in nidaamka cusub [nidaamka doorashada] uu u eexdo beelaha qaarkood, taas oo fogeyn iyo faquuq ku keenta beelaha la hayb sooco. Ka qaybgale dood-kooxeed magaalada Eyl ayaa yiri "ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay ka dhowrsadaan arrimaha qabiilka, ayna ogaadaan halista ay leedahay haddii dheellitir la'aan noocaas ah ay ka dhex dhacdo qabiillada". Waxa kale oo uu raaciyay in la sameeyo qaab lagu xalliyo khilaafka si loo xakameeyo arrimaha noocaas ah si ayan u dhaafin degaanka.

Ka qayb-galayaasha dooddu waxa kale oo ay tilmaameen is-mariwaaga siyaasadeed ee daba-dheeraday ee ka dhax aloosan Puntland iyo Dawladda Federaalka Soomaaliya iyo in haddii hoggaan Puntland uu tartan u galo doorashooyinka federaalka ee soo socda, ay saameyn aan fiicneyn ku yeelan karto hannaanka dimuqraaddiyadda Puntland, isaga oo la wareegi kara dareenka, xiisaha iyo u-heellanaanta dardargelinta doorashooyinka maxalliga muddada loogu talagalay.

3

GUNAANAD

Guud ahaan, daraasaddu waxay iftiimisay in dadka la wareystay ay aragti wanaagsan ka qabaan amba-qaadka hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta Puntland. Arrintan waxa ay u badan tahay inay ka dhalatay ka go'naanshaha maamulka talada haya ee uu hoggaaminayo Madaxweyne Siciid Cabdullaahi Deni iyo habsami u socodka hawlaha doorashooyinka ee ay hormuudka ka yahay guddiga TPEC. Diiwaangelinta codbixiyaasha ee dhawaan ka dhacday degmooyinka Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn ee loogu diyaar-garoobayo doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka ee la qorsheynayo inay ka dhacaan degmooyinkan bilaha Juun/Luulyo 2021, ayaa ah tilmaan wanaagsan, oo soo nooleynaysa rajadii muddada dheer la qabay ee ahayd in doorasho hal-qof-hal-cod ay ka dhacdo Puntland. Hoos waxa ku qoran qaar ka mid ah natiijooyinka waaweyn ee ka soo baxay daraasaddan:

- ▶ 62% dadka la wareystay waxa ay sheegeen inay rajo ka qabaan in doorashooyinka hal qof iyo hal cod ah ay dhacaan inta lagu jiro muddada xilka dawladda hadda jirta, oo dhamaanaya Janaayo 2024. Intaas waxa dheer, waxa jira diidmo xooggan oo looga soo horjeedo nidaamka siyaasadeed ee ku dhisan qabiilka, kaas oo la sheegay sida keliya ee looga gudbi karo inay tahay nidaamka siyaasadeed ee hadda socda
- ▶ Jawaab-bixiyayaasha ku sugan Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn intooda badan waa la socdaan doorashada hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka ee qorsheysan inay ka dhacdo degmooyinkooda (85%), halka 90% jawaabayaashu doorashada u arkaan inay muhiim tahay si loo cabbiro sida dadweynuhu ugu diyaarsan yahay u-guurista hab dimuqraaddi ah
- ▶ Dadka ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa ay soo jeediyeen talooyin iyo mudnaano ay tahay in diiradda la saaro si loo hubiyo in doorasho dhab ah ay ka dhacdo Puntland. Marka loo eego aragtiddooda, ahmiyadda waxa leh qodobbada ay ka mid yihiin; aqbalaadda ama rabitaanka dadweynaha iyo ka-dhaadhicinta hannaanka (37%), dhaqaale maaliyadeed (36%) iyo dhismaha maxkamad dastuuri (35%).

- ▶ In kasta oo heerka ka-qaybgalka siyaasadeed iyo kan doorashooyinka aan lagu qiyaasi karin oo keliya heerka xubinnimada ururrada siyaasadda, haddana inta badan jawaabayaasha (74%) xubno kama aha urur siyaasadeed. Tani waxa ay caddeyn u tahay in dadka intiisa badan aysan ka qaybgalin hannaanka siyaasadeed iyo doorashooyinka. Tani waxa kale oo ay muujineysaa baahida loo qabo in la xoojiyo hawlaha si loo badiyo ka-hawlgalka ururrada siyaasadeed ee degaannada oo idil iyo waxqabadkooda, iyada oo tixgelin gaar ah la siinayo degaannada durugsan.
- ▶ Daraasaddu waxa ay ogaatay dadka da'doodu u dhaxeeyso 18-24 iyo 25-44 inay si wanaagsan ula socdaan doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka (celcelis dhan 87%), marka loo eego dadka ka da' weyn ee 65+ sano (62%). Intaas waxa dheer, dhallinyarada (18-24) aad ayay u doonaysaa, wayna hubaan inay codeynayaan, 82% iyo 78% siday u kala horreeyaan, marka loo barbardhigo dadka waayeelka ah ee ka weyn 65+ sano, oo qiyaastii 63% doonaya inay codeeyaan iyo 55% iyaguna huba inay codeyn doonaan. Intaa waxa dheer, dhallinyarada (16-24) waxa ay si aad ah uga muuqdaan ururrada siyaasadda ee hadda jira (24%) marka loo eego dadka da'doodu tahay 65+ sano (14%).
- ▶ Aqlabiyadda (inta badan) jawaabeyaasha (77%) waxa u qorsheysan inay codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda, hase yeeshe waxa jira hoos u dhac marka la eego daraasaddii 2014 (14 dhibcood ayay hoos u dhacday). Waxa ay u muuqataa in muwaadiniin badan ay lumiyeen rajadii ama xiisihii ay u qabeen inay ka qayb-qaataan haddii doorasho dhacdo. Hase yeeshee, rabitaanka codeyntu waa ku baahsan yahay dhamaan dadka ay daraasaddu booqatay oo isugu jira xeeb, miyi, iyo magaalooyin badan (86%, 80% iyo 74% siday u kala horreeyaan) marka loo eego reer guuraaga (59%) oo doonaya inay codeeyaan doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda. Daraasadda waxa kale oo ay ogaatay in rabitaanka codeyntu ku badan yahay gobollada Sool, Sanaag iyo Cayn marka loo eego gobolka Mudug. Daraasadda iyo dood-kooxeedyada midkoodna ma qeexi karo sababta uu u hooseeyo heerka rabitaanka codeynta ee gobolka Mudug, waana arrin lagu baari karo daraasado kale oo mustaqbalka la qabto.
- ▶ Natijjo kale ee ka soo baxday daraasadda waa shuruudaha ay dadku ku dooranayaan ama ku xulanayaan urur siyaasadeed. Dadka la wareystay waxa ay sheegeen inay wax ku dooran doonaan fikirka siyaasadeed (72%), halka dadka sheegay inay qabiil wax ku dooranayaan ay dhamaayeen (4%), in kasta oo aanay jirin barnaamijyo siyaasadeed ay dadku wadaagaan ama baaq ay sameeyeen ururrada siyaasaddu. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, tani waxa

ay caddeyn u tahay sida dadku uga soo horjeedo nidaamka siyaasadeed ee ku dhisan qabiilka.

- ▶ Intaa waxa dheer, daraasaddu waxa ay sahmisay fursadaha iyo xeeladaha lagu wanaajin karo ka qaybgalka haweenka iyo matalaaddooda doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka. Dadkii ka qayb-galay daraasadda waxa ay sheegeen xeeladaha ugu wanaagsan ee lagu xoojin karo ka qaybgalka iyo matalaadda haweenka ee golayaasha degaanka inay yihiin qoondada haweenka (46%) wacyigelin iyo abaabul (37%), taageero dhaqaale in la siiyo haweenka musharrixiinta ah (19%) iyo in haweenku ka mid noqdaan xilalka hoggaamin ee ururrada siyaasadda (15%). Arragtida waxa kale oo qabay dumarka wax la su'aalay. Intaa waxa dheer, daraasadda waxa lagu ogaaday in dumarka doonaya inay codeeyaan ay tiro ahaan waxyar ka yar yihiin ragga (72% iyo 81%), in kasta oo ay tiro xubno is le'eg ku leeyihiin ururrada siyaasadeed ee hadda jira (25%). Waxa kale oo xusid mudan in ku dhowaad tiro is le'eg oo cod-bixiyayaal rag iyo dumar ah (49.5% iyo 50.5% siday u kala horreeyaan) ay is diiwaan-gasheen muddadii uu socday ololaha diiwaangelinta codbixiyayaasha ee ka dhacay degmooyinka Qardho, Eyl iyo Uffeyn taas oo loogu diyaar-garoobayo doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka ee saddexdaas degmo⁴.
- ▶ Ugu dambeyn, daraasaddu waxa ay ogaatay inay jiraan caqabado dhowr ah oo khal-khal gelin kara habsami u socodka hawlaha doorashada haddii aan si sax ah wax looga qaban ama horay wax looga qaban. Marka loo eego aragtida dadka, amniga (37%), ka dhaa-dhacin siyaasadeed ama kasbasho dhanka dawladda (19%), wakhti yaraanta (18%) iyo awoodda waxqabad ee TPEC oo hooseysa (16%) iyo ururrada siyaasadda (12%) ayaa ah caqabadaha ugu waaweyn ee ka hor iman kara doorashada goleyaasha degaanka ee Puntland.

⁴Sida laga soo xigtey Warbixin Saxaafadeedka TPEC oo ku taariikhaysan 28/06/2021, wadar guud oo codbixiyayaal dhan 46,187 (49.5% rag iyo 50.5% dumar) ayaa isu diiwaangashay doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee golayaasha degaanka ee qorsheysan inay ka dhacaan Qardho, Eyl and Uffeyn.

4

TALOBIXIN

Iyadoo lagu saleynayo natiijooyinka iyo falanqaynta ka soo baxay daraasadda iyo dood-kooxeedyada, PDRC waxa ay talooyinka soo socda u jeedineysaa daneeyayaasha ku lugta leh doorashooyinka, oo ay ugu horreeyaan dawladda Puntland, TPEC, ururrada siyaasadda, bulshada rayidka iyo beesha caalamka:

- ▶ Dawladdu waa inay gudato dowlkeeda hoggaamin, kasbasho dadweyne, ka dhaadhicin iyo u-heellanaan hannaanka dimuqraadiyeynta, iyada oo dhaqan-gelineysa wacyigelin joogto ah iyo ka qaybgalin odayaasha dhaqanka, culimada diinta, iyo jilayaasha siyaasadda, bulshooyinka ku nool degaannada durugsan, iyo guud ahaan dadweynaha. Haddii lagu guuldareysto qabashada doorashooyin muddada maamulka hadda jira, waxa ay gebi ahaanba meesha ka saari doontaa himilladii ay muddada dheer sugayeen reer Puntland si loo gaaro doorasho laga wada qayb-galo.
- ▶ Dawladdu waa inay soo bandhigto qorshe amni oo dhammaystiran inta aan la gaarin doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka ee soo socda. Qorshuhu waa inuu diiradda saaro caqabadaha hor istaagi kara amniga, sida isku-dhac ka dhasha xuduudaha degmooyinka iyo tallaabooyin wax looga qabanayo cabashooyinka beelaha, gaar ahaan gobollada Sool iyo Cayn.
- ▶ Dawladda, TPEC (Guddiga Doorshooyinka) iyo daneeyayaasha ay khusayso - ugu horrayn bulshada rayidka ah iyo warbaahinta - waa in ay hirgeliyaan olole wacyigelinta cod-bixiyaha iyo wacyigalin ballaaran oo isku-dhacan si dadweynaha loo baro dowlkooda/Kaalintooda iyo waajibaadka ka saaran doorashada. Waxa sidoo kale muhiim ah in la helo wacyigelin lala beegsanayo haweenka, dadka reer guuraaga ah iyo dadka waayeelka ah si ay si buuxda uga qayb-galaan hannaanka. Warbaahinta, oo ay ku jirto tan ay dawladdu maamusho, waa inay ilaaliso anshaxa tebinta iyo cadaaladda muddada ay doorashooyinku socdaan.
- ▶ Dawladdu waa inay mudnaanta siiso wax ka qabashada caqabadaha waaweyn ee ka hor iman kara doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka, sida amni-darrada iyo rabshadaha, koobnaanta dhaqaalaha maaliyadeed, kasbashada shacabka ee hooseysa iyo taageerada hannaanka, dhismaha

maxkamadda dastuuriga iyo xoojinta awoodda waxqabad ee TPEC. Sidoo kale waa in mudnaanta la siiyo awoodda ururrada siyaasadda iyo ku baahsanaantooda degaannada iyo wax-ku-oolnimadooda.

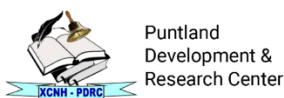
- ▶ TPEC, oo taageero ka heleysa dawladda, waa in ay dhaqan-geliso tallaabooyin looga hortagayo wax walba oo wax u dhimaya hufnaanta doorashooyinka, oo ay ku jiraan siyaasadda lidka ku ah ama looga hortagayo is-daba-marinta doorashada iyo kormeerka ama dul-jootaynta bulshada rayidka ee hawlaha doorashooyinka. Waa in la dhaqan-gesho qaabab adag oo si caddaalad ah oo daah-furan wax looga qabanayo cabashooyinka la xiriira doorashooyinka.
- ▶ TPEC, oo gacan ka heleysa dawladda, waa inay u qareento, soona saarto shuruuc iyo xeerar u nugul jinsiga iyo qoondada haweenka ee xubinnimada ururrada siyaasadda. Dawladdu waa inay la shaqayso daneeyayaasha ay khusayso - gaar ahaan bulshada rayidka ah iyo kooxaha haweenka - si loo bilaabo wacyigelin iyo abaabul, iyo barnaamijyo lagu beegsanayo haweenka oo lagu xoojinayo awooddooda waxqabad. Halka ay suuragal tahay, waa in la abaabulo dhaqaale lagu taageerayo haweenka leh hammi siyaasadeed iyo ololeyaasha.
- ▶ Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay dhiirrigeliyaan mabaadii'da siyaasadeed ee waxtarka leh iyo doodaha siyaasadda, waana inay la yimaadaan aragti siyaasadeed oo ay si wanaagsan ugu qeexayaan barnaamijyadooda. Halka looga baahdo, ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay raadsadaan taageero lagu dhisayo awoodda ay u leeyihiin inay dejiyaan aragtidooda, una horumariyaan ururradooda.
- ▶ Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay la yimaadaan istiraatiijiyado la xiriira ka qayb-gelinta haweenka, isla markaana u suuragalinaya haweenku inay ku biiraan ururrada siyaasadda, una tartamaan doorashooyinka golyaasha degaanka iyo baarlamaanka
- ▶ Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay ballaariyaan barnaamijkooda siyaasadeed iyo wacyigalinta iyaga oo ka hawlgalaya, isla markaana wax ka qabanaya, mudnaanta bulshooyinka reer guuraaga iyo kuwa reer miyiga oo ah qaybaha ugu faraha badan bulshada reer Puntland, sidoo kalena waa inay wacyigelin iyo waxbarashada cod-bixiyaha ka fuliyaan dhammaan degaannada.

- ▶ Hoggaamiyeyaasha dhaqanku waa inay danaha beelaha ay matalaan ka fogeeyaan hannaanka doorashada, waana inay dhiirrigeliyaan sidii looga gudbi lahaa nidaamka siyaasadeed ee ku dhisan qabiilka, loona gaari lahaa nidaam siyaasadeed ku dhisan habka axsaabta badan. Waa in la joogteeyo abaabulka hoggaamiyeyaasha dhaqanka, iyo weliba barnaamij wacyigelin lagu beegsanayo odayaasha si loo kasbado, isla markaana loo dar-dargeliyo hannaanka.
- ▶ Dhallinyarada, haweenka, iyo dadka la hayb sooco, waa inay is abaabulaan oo dhiirrigeliyaan hannaanka doorashooyinka loo dhan yahay, iyaga oo dhexda u xiranaya inay si macno leh uga qayb-galaan hannaanka doorashada. Bulshada rayidka ah, isla markaana barnaamijyada kale ee bulshadu waa inay sare u qaadaan ka qaybgalka dumarka iyo dhallinyarada ee hannaanka doorashada.

Ku Saabsan PDRC

Xarunta Horumarinta & Cilmi baarista Puntland (PDRC) waa hay'ad beddeshay mashruucii 'War-torn Societies Project International (WSPI)', oo ka hawl gashay Puntland muddadii u dhaxeysay 1997- 1999.

Bishii Oktoobar 30, 1999, xarunta waxaa loo aasaasay inay tahay hay'ad cilmi baaris madax bannaan, aan siyaasi ahayn isla markaana aan anfac doon ahayn, oo ka shaqeysa dhismaha nabadda, dhiirrigelinta dimuqraadiyadda, iyo ixtiraamka xuquuqda aadanaha.



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