

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

**DIRECT ELECTION AND ITS IMPACT ON
PEACEBUILDING IN SOMALIA**

Master Thesis

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Istanbul – 2025

THESIS INTRODUCTION FORM

Name and Surname : Zakariye Hassan HUSSEIN

Language of the Thesis : English

Name of the Thesis : Direct Election and Its Impact on Peacebuilding in Somalia

Institute : Istanbul Gelisim University Institute of Graduate Studies

Department : Political Science and Public Administration

Thesis Type : Master

Date of the Thesis : 16.07.2025

Page Number : 90

Thesis Supervisor : Asst. Prof. Dr. Mohammad Bashir DIOP

Index Terms : Somali Peacebuilding, Election, Direct Election, Indirect Election, Local Government Election

Turkish Abstract : 2021'de, Somali'nin Puntland eyaleti, ilk kez, sözde dolaylı seçimi sonlandırdı ve her zamanki gibi yerel yönetim seçimlerini düzenledi. Geçmişteki dolaylı seçimlerin aksine, 2021 doğrudan seçimleri masum sivillerin ölümü ve özel ve kamu mallarının tahribatı olmadan barışçıl bir şekilde gerçekleşti. Bu nedenle, bu tez (ampirik veriler ve istatistikler kullanarak) Puntland'ın 2021 doğrudan seçimlerinin Somali barış inşası sürecini olumlu yönde etkileyip etkilemediğini araştırmaya çalışmaktadır.

Distribution List : 1. To the Institute of Graduate Studies of Istanbul Gelisim University
2. To the National Thesis Center of YÖK (Higher Education Council)

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DECLARATION

I hereby confirm that in the work of this master's thesis, all rules, regulations, norms, and ethics were observed. The intellectual properties of other people were acknowledged accordingly, where applicable. To the best of my knowledge, there is no manipulation of data. Any part or whole of this thesis was not submitted to this university or any other university in any form.

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SUMMARY

Somalia came into existence in 1960 when the northern and southern parts (known as British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, respectively) united and declared the Republic of Somalia. Since then, like the rest of the world, there were, more or less, national and local elections until 1991 when armed opposition groups overthrew the Somali government led by military ruler, President Mohamed Siyad Barre. Opposition groups failed to form a Somali government. Because of this, a full-scale civil war erupted, which caused widespread destruction and the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians.

For the first time since 1991, an internationally recognized functioning Somali government and parliament were re-established in 2000 after the Djibouti Somali peace conference, using a unique kind of election known as “doorasho dadban” in the Somali language, which literally means “indirect election.” Under indirect election, Somali citizens, unlike the rest of the world, are denied their basic right to go to the polling stations in order to elect the candidates of their choice. Instead, clan elders appoint members of city councils. Then, city councilors, using secret ballot paper, elect mayors and district commissioners like the rest of the world. Clan elders also appoint members of the Somali parliament. The MPs, in turn, elect the Somali president by casting their votes secretly, like some countries in the world.

In 2021, the Puntland state of Somalia, for the first time, terminated the so-called indirect election and held local government elections as usual. Citizens went to the polling stations and cast their ballots secretly by choosing the candidates they wanted. Unlike the indirect elections in the past, the 2021 direct elections happened peacefully without the deaths of innocent civilians and the destruction of private and public properties. Therefore, this thesis attempts (using empirical data and statistics) to investigate if the 2021 direct elections of Puntland positively affected the Somali peacebuilding process.

As chapter 4 presents in detail, the introduction of direct elections in the 2021 local government elections of Puntland state of Somalia positively contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process. The introduction of direct elections also discouraged Somali election malpractices experienced in the past under indirect elections. Finally,

this study highlighted some of the challenges that could obstruct the introduction of direct elections in Somalia.

First, the results of the study are presented using descriptive statistics in the form of figures and tables. Then, using both parametric and nonparametric inferential statistics, the answers of the respondents of this study, gathered through a questionnaire, are analyzed using a t-test followed by a Mann-Whitney U test. The tests are statistically significant at 5% level of significance. The statistical tests suggested a positive effect of direct election on the Somali peacebuilding process. The tests also suggested a negative effect of direct election on Somali election malpractices.

Key Words: Somali peacebuilding, Somali indirect elections, Somali direct elections, Puntland elections, Qardho local government elections, Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC), Somali 4.5 power sharing system

ÖZET

Somali, kuzey ve güney kısımlarının (sırasıyla İngiliz Somaliland ve İtalyan Somaliland olarak bilinmektedir) birleşerek Somali Cumhuriyeti'ni ilan etmesiyle 1960 yılında ortaya çıkmaktadır. O zamandan beri, dünyanın geri kalanında olduğu gibi, silahlı muhalif grupların askeri yönetici Cumhurbaşkanı Mohamed Siyad Barre liderliğindeki Somali hükümetini devirdiği 1991 yılına kadar az çok ulusal ve yerel seçimler yapıldı. Muhalefet grupları Somali hükümetini kurmayı başaramadı. Bu nedenle, yaygın yıkıma ve binlerce masum sivilin ölümüne neden olan tam ölçekli bir iç savaş patlak verdi.

1991'den bu yana ilk kez, uluslararası alanda tanınan işleyen Somali hükümeti ve parlamentosu, Somali dilinde "dolaylı seçim" anlamına gelen "doorasho dadban" olarak bilinen benzersiz bir seçim türü kullanılarak Cibuti Somali barış konferansından sonra 2000 yılında yeniden kuruldu. Dolaylı seçim kapsamında, Somali vatandaşları, dünyanın geri kalanından farklı olarak, seçtikleri adayları seçmek için sandık başına gitme temel haklarından mahrum bırakılıyor. Bunun yerine, klan büyükleri şehir meclisi üyelerini atar. Daha sonra, şehir meclis üyeleri, gizli oy pusulası kullanarak, dünyanın geri kalanı gibi belediye başkanlarını ve ilçe komiserlerini seçer. Klan büyükleri ayrıca Somali parlamentosu üyelerini atar. Milletvekilleri de, dünyadaki bazı ülkeler gibi gizlice oylarını kullanarak Somali başkanını seçerler.

2021'de, Somali'nin Puntland eyaleti, ilk kez, sözde dolaylı seçimi sonlandırdı ve her zamanki gibi yerel yönetim seçimlerini düzenledi. Vatandaşlar sandık merkezlerine gitti ve istedikleri adayları seçerek gizlice oylarını kullandılar. Geçmişteki dolaylı seçimlerin aksine, 2021 doğrudan seçimleri masum sivilin ölümü ve özel ve kamu mallarının tahribatı olmadan barışçıl bir şekilde gerçekleşti. Bu nedenle, bu tez (ampirik veriler ve istatistikler kullanarak) Puntland'ın 2021 doğrudan seçimlerinin Somali barış inşası sürecini olumlu yönde etkileyip etkilemediğini araştırmaya çalışmaktadır. Bölüm 4'te ayrıntılı olarak sunulduğu gibi, Somali'nin Puntland eyaletinde 2021 yerel yönetim seçimlerinde doğrudan seçimlerin getirilmesi Somali barış inşası sürecine olumlu katkıda bulunmuştur. Doğrudan seçimlerin getirilmesi, aynı zamanda, dolaylı seçimler altında geçmişte yaşanan Somali seçim usulsüzlüklerini de caydırmıştır. Son olarak, bu çalışma Somali'de

doğrudan seçimlerin getirilmesini engelleyebilecek zorluklardan bazılarını vurgulamıştır.

Öncelikle, çalışmanın sonuçları şekil ve tablolar şeklinde tanımlayıcı istatistikler kullanılarak sunulmuştur. Daha sonra, hem parametrik hem de parametrik olmayan çıkarımsal istatistikler kullanılarak, anket yoluyla toplanan bu çalışmanın katılımcılarının cevapları, t-testi ve ardından Mann-Whitney U testi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Testler %5 anlamlılık düzeyinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlıdır. İstatistiksel testler, doğrudan seçimin Somali barış inşası süreci üzerinde olumlu bir etkisi olduğunu ileri sürmüştür. Testler ayrıca, doğrudan seçimin Somali seçim usulsüzlükleri üzerinde olumsuz bir etkisi olduğunu ileri sürmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Somali barış inşası, Somali dolaylı seçimleri, Somali doğrudan seçimleri, Puntland seçimleri, Qardho yerel yönetim seçimleri, Geçiş Dönemi Puntland Seçim Komisyonu (TPEC), Somali 4.5 güç paylaşımı sistemi

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARS	:	Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia
DAC	:	Development Assistance Committee
FGS	:	Federal Government of Somalia
FMS	:	Federal Member States of Somalia
IDP	:	Internally Displaced Person
NLF	:	National Leadership Forum of Somalia
OECD	:	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TFG	:	Transitional Federal Government of Somalia
TFP	:	Transitional Federal Parliament of Somalia
TNG	:	Transitional National Government of Somalia
TPEC	:	Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission
UNSSC	:	United Nations System Staff College
YÖK	:	Higher Education Council of the Turkish Republic
ZIF	:	Center for International Peace Operations in Berlin

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PREFACE

There are several people to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude. Deep appreciation is owed to my supervisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Mohammad Bashir DIOP, whose guidance and helpful suggestions greatly improved and contributed to the quality of this thesis. I am also thankful to the Director of the Institute of Social Sciences

I also want to express my thanks to my late father (may Allah rest his soul in peace), my mother, and all those who supported me morally and financially during my studies.



INTRODUCTION

Somalia, as a country, is located in East Africa. Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti share land borders with Somalia. To the east, there is the Indian Ocean. On the north, near the Djibouti border, the Red Sea borders. Politically, there is a decentralized federal government. Five provincial governments exist, namely: Puntland, Hirshabele, Galmudug, Koonfour-Galbeed, and Jubaland. These five regional governments are collectively called 'Federal Member States.' Somaliland, in the north of Somalia, considers itself an independent country, although the international community recognizes Somaliland as part of the Federal Republic of Somalia. Somalia, officially known as the Federal Republic of Somalia, is a unique country in terms of elections. At the federal and provincial levels, its citizens do not actually exercise their right to vote for the political candidates of their choice, who then hold public positions.

Since 2000, unusual elections have taken place every four years in which members of parliament of the federal and provincial governments were elected. Eligible voters do not go to the polling stations in order to cast their votes as the rest of the world does. Instead, clan elders nominate members of parliament from their own bloodlines separately. Furthermore, there is an officially approved caste system based on tribe at the federal level. This local caste system is known as '4.5 formula of power sharing' and the type of election it proposes is known as 'doorasho dadban' in the Somali language, which, when translated into English, means 'indirect election'.

For the first time since the collapse of the military regime of General Mohamed Siyad Barre in early 1991, local people of Puntland state of Somalia got the chance to go to the polling stations so that they could elect members of city councils who, in turn, elected city mayors secretly. This marked the beginning of the departure from the so-called indirect elections. For the last 30 years, indirect elections have been characterized by election malpractice, murder, destruction of private and public properties, political instability, and so on.

So many conferences were held for Somali politicians, clan elders, civil society members, women, youth, businessmen, and religious leaders just in order to achieve a lasting peace and reconciliation among Somalis. Unfortunately, the peacebuilding conferences did not yield fruitful results, but civil wars prevailed, followed by the spread of Islamic militants such as Al-Shabaab. The primary goal of this postgraduate

thesis is to find out if Somali people can achieve lasting peace through free and fair elections at both federal and local levels instead of so-called indirect elections.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Somalia (officially known as the Federal Republic of Somalia) is a country in the Horn of Africa, bordered by Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, the Gulf of Yemen, and the Indian Ocean. Northern parts of Somalia (known as Somaliland) were colonized by the UK while southern parts were colonized by Italy. The southern and northern parts of Somalia merged in 1960 to form the Republic of Somalia. Since independence, Somalia experienced democratic civilian governments that handed over power from government to government after peaceful elections until 1969.

From 1969 until 1991, military rule led by General Mohamed Siyad Barre governed Somalia, holding periodic local and national-level elections which were perceived as sham elections. Siyad Barre's rule collapsed in 1991 after armed opposition groups overthrew him. Civil war soon began, which lasted until 2000 when the Somali transitional government was formed in Djibouti. In Djibouti, members of the Somali parliament were hand-picked and appointed by clan elders. Then, members of the parliament elected Abdiqasim Salad Hassan to be the next president of Somalia for a four-year term.

Since the civil war began in 1991, many peacebuilding conferences have been held for Somali political leaders, members of civil society, clan elders, and scholars. The main objective of these conferences was to reconcile warring factions and clan militias in order Somali people to get a lasting peace through direct elections at both local and national levels, where Somali citizens can go to the polling stations in order to elect the candidates of their choice. This dream never materialized until 2021.

1.2. Problem of the Study

After the central government of Somalia had collapsed in 1991, the Somali civil war started. It caused hundreds of thousands of people to flee within the country, and many others to go abroad, particularly to the neighboring countries. Different armed groups (Islamic militants, warlords, and clan militias) began to compete for influence in the power vacuum and political turmoil that followed, especially in south and central Somalia for decades. In 2000, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia

was established as Somalia's new interim government (based on the so-called '4.5 clan power sharing system' which dictates 4 major tribes having an equal number of seats at Somali parliament plus a half that represents all other Somali tribes left who are considered collectively minority). The TFG was formed in Arte-Djibouti with Abdiqasim Salad Hassan elected as president.

Despite successive governments since then, the Somali government still remains fragile as of today with no elected president or members of parliament by the people directly. The indirect parliamentary-presidential elections of Somalia held from 2000 to the last one in 2022 are all characterized by clan elders and a few people (no more than 100 persons) electing each member of the parliament consisting of 275 MPs from Somali population estimated to be 10 million plus. These indirect elections were marred by all forms of evil: nepotism, personal preference, bribe, murder, socio-political instability, internal displacement, political setback, violence, and much more.

Many attempts have been made to hold direct elections at local and national levels since 2000 along with peacebuilding conferences for lasting peace in Somalia. Unfortunately, all attempts failed. It was 2021 local government elections held in Puntland state of Somalia the first time Somali citizens exercised their basic right to go to the polling stations so that they could elect members of city/district councils. Therefore, this study attempts to investigate if the introduction of direct election positively contributed to Somali peacebuilding process using 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. It also tries to find out if the introduction of direct election, more or less, lowered Somali election malpractices experienced in the past.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The target or objective of this thesis is essentially to uncover if the introduction of direct elections of Somalia in 2021 positively affected Somali peacebuilding process using 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as a sample. In the past before 2021 in Puntland state and the rest of Somalia, there were so called 'indirect elections' where more or less clan elders used to appoint city council members, members of both provincial and federal parliaments. Somali citizens, unlike the rest of the world, did not have the basic right to go to the polling stations in order to cast their votes so that they can choose their leaders both at local

and national levels. In the past, indirect election always caused violence that resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians. This study will also investigate whether the introduction of direct election reduced the rate of election malpractices and irregularities; and helped enhance credibility of Somali elections in terms of fairness, efficiency, transparency, and so on.

Specific objectives of this research are:

1. To find out if the introduction of direct elections favorably contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as a case study.
2. To find out if the introduction of direct elections deterred election malpractices and violence characterized Somali elections in the past.
3. To find out the challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections in Somalia as part of the Somali peacebuilding process of democratization.

1.4. Research Questions of the Study

1. Has the introduction of direct election actually affected positively the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia?
2. To what extent has the introduction of direct election discouraged election malpractices experienced in Somalia previously?
3. What are the challenges that might limit the introduction of direct elections in Somalia?

1.5. Research Hypotheses of the Study

This thesis makes three assumptions that are fundamental:

1. Ho1: The introduction of direct election has not positively contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process, using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia.

2. Ho2: The introduction of direct election has not improved the rate of deterrence of election malpractices characterized by Somali elections in the past.

3. Ho3: There are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct election in Somalia.

1.6. Importance of the Study

This research will be important to TPEC staff, eligible voters, potential candidates, political leaders, researchers, academics, and the general public. It will help TPEC see the challenges that ought to be dealt with if the introduction of direct elections in 2021 is to be implemented and expanded firmly in future Somali elections, both at the local and national levels. It will also make the voters understand why their voices are important by going to the polling stations.

This study shall also make politicians come up with policies and legislation that will enhance the Somali peacebuilding process and democratization via direct elections. It will attract the attention of the academics and the media by exposing the fruits of the recent introduction of direct election using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia.

1.7. Scope of the Study

Geographically, this thesis will focus on only the electoral constituents of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. The areas will be the biggest five electoral constituents of Qardho namely: Xingood, Kaambo, Xorgoble, Xin Suuqa, and Qardho IDP camp. In terms of scope composition, this research will fundamentally attempt to investigate the recent introduction of direct elections in Somalia in 2021 and the positive role it might play in the Somali peacebuilding process and democratization. It will also try to investigate how the introduction of direct elections could lower election malpractices and irregularities and enhance Somali elections credibility. Finally, this study will pinpoint the possible challenges that could obstruct the implementation of direct elections in Somalia.

1.8. Limitations of the Study

This research is expected to face some challenges. Number one, in Somalia, like some countries in Africa, there is a security problem that will limit the movements of

the research assistants (enumerators) and the respondents (the participants of both the questionnaire and interview). Second, there is deep-rooted tribalism and mistrust among Somalis. Because of this, people will initially welcome you with caution the first time you approach them for an interview request and questionnaire filling. Third, financial constraints might limit how far you could reach the members of the population target of interest. Finally, for some audience, they are illiterate. Time and patience are required to make them understand the contents of the questionnaire and the structured interview before they answer. Although these limitations can be real challenges when the actual research work starts, it is hoped they can be managed and minimized with utmost care and endurance

1.9. Operational Definitions of the Study

1.9.1. Election:

In simple language, an election is a time with or without an interval in which individuals exercise their rights by voting in order to elect officials for public positions or official jobs. Free and fair

1.9.2. Free and fair election:

An election is regarded as 'free' when people can determine whether or not to cast their ballots and elect freely for the candidates or parties of their choice without fear. 'Free' means that all those entitled to vote have the right to be registered and to vote and must be free to make their choice. 'Fair', on the other hand, simply means that competing political parties are all equal to participate in the elections, campaign for voter support, and hold gatherings and rallies under equal rights.

1.9.3. Indirect election:

In the context of Somali politics, an 'indirect election' simply means city council members and members of both state and federal parliaments are directly and indirectly appointed by clan elders. Then, city council members, in turn, vote for the mayor or district commissioner by casting their votes in the ballot box. Similarly, members of the federal parliament, in turn, vote for the president of the Federal Republic of Somalia by casting their votes in the ballot box.

Under indirect election, Somali citizens both at local and national levels are denied their basic right to go to the polling stations in order to cast their votes by electing government officials of their choice such as member of federal and state parliaments, city council members, prime minister or president of the federal republic of Somalia.

1.9.4. Direct election:

In the context of Somali politics, a ‘direct election’ is the opposite of an indirect election. Under direct election, Somali citizens exercise their basic right by casting their votes in the ballot boxes so that they elect government officials both at the state and federal levels, including city council members, members of state and federal parliaments.

1.9.5. Peacebuilding:

Peacebuilding is simply the process of forming and upholding a peaceful and calm society by avoiding all means of violence. Peacebuilding attempts to resolve, in a peaceful approach, what is seen as unjust. It includes conflict deterrence, conflict management, and post-conflict resolution.

1.9.6. Local government election:

Local government election is an election whereby citizens elect office-holders of a locality, such as city council members, mayors, district commissioners, etc.

1.9.7. Election malpractice:

Election malpractice is simply any election misconduct committed by a voter, candidate, supporter, or electoral body officer that is done before, during, or after an election. Vote buying, result manipulation, intimidation, rigging, proxy voting, minor voting, double voting, increasing the vote count of a particular candidate/party, decreasing the vote count of a particular candidate/party, and so on are examples of election malpractices.

1.10. Findings of the Study

This study attempted to find out how the introduction of direct elections in the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district of Puntland state of Somalia

contributed positively to the Somali peacebuilding process. The study argues that direct election (as opposed to indirect election) has more or less lowered pre- and post-election violence that resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians in the past. The introduction of direct elections led Somali local government elections in 2021 happening peacefully. The introduction of direct elections also, to some extent, discouraged Somali election malpractices experienced in the past. Finally, this study highlighted some of the challenges that could obstruct Somali direct elections.

First, the results of the study were presented using descriptive statistics in the form of figures and tables. Then, using both parametric and nonparametric inferential statistics, the answers of the respondents of this study, gathered through a questionnaire, were analyzed using a t-test followed by a Mann-Whitney U test. The tests were statistically significant at 5% level of significance. The statistical tests suggested a positive effect of direct election on the Somali peacebuilding process. The tests also suggested a negative effect of direct election on Somali election malpractices.

1.11. Organization of the Study

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 (Introduction) summarizes the main points of the thesis. It covers: background of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, research hypotheses, significance of the study, scope of the study, and main findings of the study.

Chapter 2 (literature review) attempts to go through theoretical and empirical existing knowledge about elections and peacebuilding. Topics briefly discussed include: definition of election, competing election and peacebuilding theories, history of Somali peacebuilding process, Somali elections at the federal level, Puntland state of Somalia, Puntland electoral body, Puntland local government elections, etc.

Chapter 3 (research method) gives the reader of this thesis the chance to understand what are the rules, measures, formulas, equations, statistical definitions, and tests used in order to derive the results of the thesis. They include: research design, study scope, definition of population and sample, sampling technique, data collection, data analysis approach, and others.

Chapter 4 (presentation and discussion of results) shows the reader the responses of 255 individuals who participated in the questionnaire and structured interview

interns including demographic and ordinal data. They are: demographic information, answers to research questions, hypothesis testing using both parametric and nonparametric inferential statistics, interviews, and a summary.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Elections

Udu et al. (2015) pointed out election might be defined as a broadly and globally recognized means through which, by voting, persons are willingly and systematically selected to represent a group or society in a greater. Mohammed (2015) described election as a competitive method of choosing government officials who will control authority and become answerable to the community. An election is a proper collective decision-making process whereby people elect a person or several persons to assume public positions. election is the official process of choosing an individual for public position or accepting or rejecting a public office by voting. An election is a representative process throughout which one or many people are elected as officials in particular organizations. People who had voting rights vote in a prearranged way to elect public positions holders for a specific period.

An election must be free and fair. There are four key attributes on which the notion of free and fair election is based (Diamond, 2008, as cited in Udu et al., 2015). These are:

1. The political parties
2. The individual voters
3. The voting process and
4. The election outcome

Beginning with the political parties, for an election to be regarded as free and fair, the parties must be free to contest, hold rallies, enlist followers, announce policies, stage election campaigns in order to lobby votes. Similarly, for an election to be free and fair, the eligible voters should be free to partake in the election process by joining the political party of their preference and campaign for it. On the voting process, every individual must have one and only one vote, and every person must be tallied equally so that no eligible voter should be denied registration and no registered voter should be prohibited from voting, nor should anybody be permitted to vote more than once. For the election outcome, Udu et al. (2015) pointed an election would be free and fair if the results are accurately reported without manipulation. When all four conditions

are met, an election is said to be free and fair. In real life, it is very hard to observe a free and fair election in Somalia for a number of reasons.

When free and fair elections cannot take place, election malpractices occur. An election malpractice might be defined as any irregularity before, during, and after the election that is committed by the voters, candidates, or election staff that is against the standard rules and regulations of a reliable process of choosing representatives. Examples of election malpractices include: modification of election outcomes, proxy voting, double voting, vote buying, intimidation of voters, election staff or candidates, ballot box snatching, and so on. Where free and fair elections are not attainable, their opposite is sure, and is often a breakdown of law and order, including murder, coup, revolt, civil war, in order to seize power and rule (Ejue & Ekanem, 2011). In Somalia, election malpractice led to a military coup in 1969, followed by armed opposition groups in 70s and 80s, then the collapse of the Somali government in 1991, and finally full-scale civil war that lasted until 2000.

Elections have been the customary instrument by which contemporary representative democracy has functioned since the 17th century. Elections might fill offices in the parliament, occasionally in the government and judiciary, and for provincial and local governments. This process is also employed in numerous other private organizations. The universal usage of elections as an instrument for choosing representatives in modern-day representative democracies is different from its practice in the democratic model, ancient Athens, where the elections were regarded an oligarchic establishment and many political offices were occupied using sortition, also known as allotment, by which officials were elected by lot.

The first documented general elections of representatives to public positions, by majority vote, where every citizen was eligible equally to vote and to hold public position, trace back to the Ephors of Sparta in 754 BC, under the hybrid administration of the Spartan Constitution. Athenian democratic elections, where every citizen can grasp public position, were not initiated for additional 247 years, till the restructurings of Cleisthenes. In the initial Solonian Constitution (c. 574 BC), all Athenian people were qualified to vote in the popular legislatures, on issues of rule and policy, and as judges, but only the three supreme groups of citizens might cast their ballots in elections. Nor were the lowermost of the four groups of Athenian citizens qualified to grasp public positions, via the restructurings of Solon.

Elections happen in many political, organizational, and business settings. Numerous nations have elections to elect persons to work in their governments. For instance, numerous companies have elections amongst stockholders to elect a board of directors, and the elections might be required by corporate law. In numerous locations, an election to the government is mostly a contest between individuals who had previously won an initial election in a political party.

It is vital to differentiate between the form and the substance of elections. In certain situations, election methods exist; however, the substance of an election is absent, as at what time electorates do not have a free and real selection among at least two substitutes. Many nations have elections in at least the official sense; however, in a lot of them, the elections are not competitive (e.g., all but one party may be prohibited from competing) or the election condition is, in other matters, extremely diluted.

The plurality system is the easiest way of deciding the result of an election. To win, a candidate requires only to gain more votes than any other single challenger; he does not have, as necessitated by the majority rule, to gain more votes than the joint opposition. The more candidates competing for an electoral seat, the greater the likelihood that the succeeding candidate will obtain only a smaller portion of the votes cast. Nations using the plurality method for countrywide parliamentary elections comprise Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States.

Under the majority scheme, the party or candidate receiving more than 50 percent of the vote in an electorate is given the challenged seat. An inconveniency in schemes with the absolute-majority principle is that it might not be fulfilled in competitions in which there are more than two candidates. Numerous alternatives to the majority method have been established to tackle this drawback. In Australia, the substitute, or special, vote is used in lower-house elections.

Voters grade the candidates on an alternative-preference vote. If a majority is not attained by first-preference votes, the weakest candidate is eradicated, and that candidate's share is redistributed to the other candidates according to the second preference on the ballot. This redistributive process is reiterated till one candidate has amassed a majority of the votes. In France, a double-ballot method is used for National legislative elections. If no candidate obtains a majority in the first round of elections, another round is obligatory. In the second runoff, only the candidates obtaining the votes of at least one-eighth of the registered voters in the first round might contest, and

the candidate obtaining a plurality of the popular vote in the second round is announced the victor. Several candidates eligible for the second round withdraw their candidacy and approve one of the foremost candidates.

Elections are the most significant way of political participation in a representative system. Throughout elections, the political leadership decides the political option for the parliamentary period. Also, elections are the most efficient means electorates have to certify the accountability of their heads, as electorates are capable of changing authority to other parties or candidates as they are disappointed with the political leadership.

2.2. Peacebuilding

The word "peacebuilding" came into use in peace studies theories in the year 1975. It was first used by Galtung (1975) in his groundbreaking work "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding." Peacebuilding attempts to deal with the fundamental roots of conflict, facilitating people to solve their disagreements peacefully and set the foundations to preclude potential violence in the future.

Violence touches everybody. It prevents societies from developing, children from attending schools. It makes it difficult for communities to get a better healthcare system. It also leads to poverty. The cycle of violence renews itself. Peacebuilding is a long-term concept of inspiring people to speak, heal relationships, and remodel establishments. For constructive change to exist, everybody touched by a damaging conflict must be engaged in the development of building peace. Peacebuilding is the procedure of settling conflict and forming lasting peace in a way that increases or maximizes justice (what seems righteous), impartiality, and coherence within societies, individuals, and nations. It is significant to remember that peacebuilding goes beyond the avoidance of violence.

University of Notre Dame [UND] (2024) suggested peacebuilding is the development of positive individual, faction, and political relations through racial, spiritual, class, nationwide, and ethnic borderlines. Peacebuilding tries to reconcile in a peaceful way what is perceived as unfair or an injustice. It covers conflict avoidance, conflict management, conflict readdressing, as well as post-conflict resolution. The diagram below visualizes the term peacebuilding in detail.

In the context of peace, violence is classified as direct or structural. Direct violence relates to the conflict among persons that impairs societies. On the other hand, structural violence is articulated via political and economic methods and repressions within a community. Either direct or structural conflicts may have a harmful impact on individual well-being. The underlying causes of direct violence are likely to be associated with physiological processes of growth. Circumstantial roots of direct violence comprise financial destitution, communal discrimination, and overcrowding, as well as forceful deeds being overlooked or left unsolved by the household, society, or government. The underlying causes of structural violence cover persistent dispossession, unjust political structures, and formidable, unfair societal classes or castes.

The word "peacebuilding" originated in the discipline of peace studies more than 60 years back. In 1975, Galtung (1975) created the word in his ground-breaking work "3 Methods to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding." In his piece, he theorized that "peace has a make-up distinctive from, possibly over and above, peacekeeping and unplanned peacemaking. The approaches that peace is grounded on must be constructed into the configuration and be existent as a pool for the technique itself to portray. More precisely, structures should be discovered that eliminate roots of wars and bid choices to war in conditions where wars could occur. The inspections establish the intelligent predecessors of today's conception of peacebuilding: an effort targeting to form maintainable peace by talking about the "root causes" of forceful conflict and stimulating local dimensions for peaceful supervision and resolution of conflict.

Lederach (1997), competing prominent academic in the discipline of peace studies, asked for enlarging our knowledge of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding, in his view, is more than post-pact reestablishment and is comprehended as an all-inclusive notion that includes, makes, and withstands the complete collection of procedures, methodologies, and phases desired to change conflict into more supportable, peaceful relations. The word therefore comprises a varied choice of actions that equally lead and keep on proper peace agreements. Figuratively, peace is understood not simply as a period in time or a situation. It is an energetic communal concept. Lederach (1997) addressed conflict conversion as a complete and multi-approach to handling forceful conflict in altogether its stages. The word indicates a continuing approach of

transformation from undesirable to optimistic relationships, conduct, mindsets, and organizations. The unified method to peacebuilding should consider the multifaceted and multi-dimensional environment of the social understanding and be based on comprehensive social involvement. "A maintainable transformative way proposes that the key is in the connection of the concerned parties, with all that the word incorporates at the emotional, mystical, communal, financial, political, and military levels. Fostering an "approach for peacebuilding" implies that "we are not just concerned with 'finishing' an object that is not wanted. We are concerned with the construction of relations that, in their entirety, make new designs, methods, and structures.

Some intellectuals had been running study along parallel approaches from the time the 1980s. By the way, through the globe, renowned intercontinental NGOs, as well as national NGOs and civic parts were operating to support persons, societies, and associations change the way they see and cope conflicts - an essential element of peacebuilding. Nevertheless, as the "peacebuilding industry" has not still advanced, these investigations and technical works are regarded incidental to global dealings, considerable like schemes in people's rights, NGOs, and countryside advancement that are commenced by UN and joint developmental organizations. Nowadays each and every of these streams should be regarded an important aspect that comprises whole works wanted to safeguard a supportable peace.

In reality, more understanding of, and dependence upon, peacebuilding methods have a lot to do with the transforming views of stakeholders and researchers about modern conflicts. These contrast basically with the perceptions of "traditional" conflicts and years of manic depression order. While several researchers have revealed the resemblances among so-called "ancient" and "contemporary" conflicts, part of some studies have been concentrating on the shifting nature of forceful conflicts. Current wars are occasionally interpreted as being further violent and stretched, more damaging to communal, political, and economic groundwork, causing more civilian than military deaths.

Researchers dealt with widespread ground investigation, and epidemiological studies have revealed that such examinations were extensively and frequently grounded on thoughts rather than on observed data. The release of the initial Human Security Report in 2005 had similarly set fire to the problem. Opposing established knowledge, the writers have recorded an intense, but mostly unidentified, drop in the

number of combats, killings, and human rights abuses for the past couple of years. They had likewise debated that, from the time when the Korean War in 1953, there had been a well-defined, nevertheless rough drop in war deaths around the globe. The sheer presence of such discussions demonstrates a much greater awareness of the civilian cost of combat and of their numerous effects on communities and nations, an analysis at the foundation of peacebuilding efforts.

The latest advances in the usage of the peacebuilding notion are furthermore connected to the concept of "human security." Although a comparatively novel idea, human security is today extensively thought to explain the complex of interconnected dangers linked with civil war, civilian killings, and the dislocation of residents. Every one of the advocates of human security agrees that its main objective is the defense of human beings. However, consensus breaks down around what hazards people must be shielded from.

Supporters of the "narrow" concept of human security, that supports the Human Security Report, concentrate on forceful risks to individuals, whilst acknowledging that these threats are powerfully related to destitution, absence of state capability and different forms of social, economic and political inequality. Supporters of the "broad" idea of human security expressed in the UN Development Program of 1994, Human Development Report, and the Commission on Human Security in 2003 testimony, Human Security today, claim that the threat program must be enlarged to incorporate starvation, illness and natural tragedies because these destroy extremely more individuals than war, civilian killings and extremism merged together.

Though yet subject to energetic discussion inside the academic society, the two methodologies of human security are in balance. Jointly, they produce a redefinition of conventional thoughts of security and peace to one of a constructive situation of being and sensing "secure." This description has told the development of peacebuilding philosophy. While ongoing to work thoroughly with administrations and their usual "top-down" method, numerous two-sided and many-sided collaboration organizations have similarly established a balancing "bottom-up" policy, or a "human security" program, targeting at safeguarding the defense and empowerment of people at every phase.

2.3. Election and Peacebuilding

Elections are important for nurturing peace and stability in provisional scenarios and are frequently, as the outcomes. One of the essential features of peace agreements and temporary political treaties. For instance, the United Nations Security Council [UNSC] (2015), which had been adopted as the key foundation for the Syrian peace negotiations from 2016, articulated its backing, not only for non-religious administration and a fresh constitution, but also for all-inclusive and impartial elections. The significance of the timing of nations' earliest provisional elections and the setting in which they happen has furthermore been recognized by the United Nations more often, and is stated in the newest report of the former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (United Nations Secretary-General, 2018).

Objectives and roles of elections in the setting of peacebuilding and post-conflict elections are regarded as an activity essential for a political resolution to forceful conflict and a base for a lasting peace. Help to political parties and associations in elections can similarly be perceived as deterrent measures, in particular as they simplify a peaceful transformation from a totalitarian government to a democratic government. In these instances, nevertheless, elections may also encourage violence and undermine states, in precise if the circumstances or outcomes of elections are challenged, which is an extra motivation to help their association.

More commonly, the systematic and reasonable association of elections is assumed to contribute to a steady and genuine outline that supports negotiations about the preferred political arrangements for the state. In a ground-breaking report on the matter in 2000, the UN secretary-general reports that "democracy, or lack thereof, is fundamental to the root reasons of numerous present-day forceful conflicts, most of which are domestic.

Democratization is fundamental to state formation and development and peacebuilding implementation, provided that peace is to develop into bearable and post-conflict rebuilding and growth is to prosper." This declaration underlines the degree to which democracy has been progressively assumed as a skeleton for peacebuilding. In republics arising from war, elections are thought to work a double objective: to lay in place a lawful and democratic authority, and to strengthen peace structured by an enduring democratic system.

To the initial topic, in the early 1990s, the conducting of elections was usually an official component of peace agreements, delivering a peaceful way to decide who would take over power in a post-conflict regime. The political conversion of ex-warring parts into political parties was similarly commonly part of the treaty. Throughout this period, in most situations, the governing regime was responsible for arranging these elections.

Meanwhile, elections inspire the strengthening of peace structured by a long-lasting democratic scheme. From that view, global election support not only targets at assisting arrange one election or succession of elections but also at erecting or re-erecting a bearable democratic government that can work without direct global participation.

Elections play an important role in peace processes because they are broadly regarded to be the core way of attaining a peaceful solution to political disagreements. An election process is a way of tracking or keeping political authority in which communal dissimilarities are addressed by contenders and parties campaigning for common help. This process could add to peace, but it may also deliver entrance for instability and conflicts because of the competitive designs implanted in the “winner-loser” separation. Such volatility can disrupt the peace process and hinder both short-run revival efforts and long-run growth. Thus, the confronts connected with election processes are subjects that directly influence peace processes.

The latest UNSSC-ZIF report proposes a window for contemplation on the “prototypical demonstration of political rivalry”, i.e., the electoral process. In post-conflict communities, the initial election succeeding a peace resolution could be regularly regarded as the ‘ultimate deed of combat’ as it mirrors numerous wartime dynamics and happens in nations destroyed by civil war and physical destruction. Still, a cautious inspection of later electoral competitions shows several fascinating designs and contests that the UN procedure and its associates are beginning to tackle in a more refined and efficient way. In the last ten years or so, the UN has had to deal with a growing number of circumstances of undecided elections where losers reject the election outcomes and ex-militia and non-state stakeholders become the unanticipated victors, and where the truthfulness of the competition is dominated by an authoritarian ruler’s effort to mentor a heir among his own family.

Peacebuilding was described as a process of consolidating the systemic capabilities of communities to handle their own clashes without resorting to violence or intimidation. Thus, elections must be comprehended as chances to improve these capabilities. If state building is expressed, using the OECD (2012) definition, it is as a “process of fortification of the capability, organizations and lawfulness of the government, motivated by state-civil society relationships”, then political processes and relationships between the state and the public are at the center of state building. Peacebuilding is usually perceived as state-building when, as a matter of fact, it is the channels towards peace that should be constructed.

McNamee and Muyangwa (2021) viewed the role of elections in peacebuilding to be acknowledged internationally. Instead of seeing them as ends in themselves, they are considered as one (vital) instrument in wider energies to stimulate peace and stability. Elections are a part of local political transformations and are important throughout the execution of peace pacts. Post-conflict elections could significantly improve the durability of peace accord, specifically, peace deals that allow insurgent and regime parties to partake in elections (Matanock, 2017). Consequently, global support for peacebuilding plans, incorporating deployments by the United Nations (UN) and its associated organizations, consistently has an election element.

This is predominantly correct for post-conflict and/or provisional situations, which are normal in Africa. Post-conflict or temporary elections generate the chance for all interested parties to add to building lawful and constitutional agendas; likewise, democratic establishments that advocate a supportable peacebuilding program. Furthermore, as election times offer a pathway for numerous people, the sole way to political involvement, they produce a sense of belonging, thus promoting inclusion and harmony that, in turn, stimulates peace. Put in another way, the election imperative, the chance for residents to occasionally engage in leadership modification across a reliable and reasonable process, delivers the pledge of peace and stability in communities. Essentially, the connection between elections and peacebuilding is based on the principle that routine and reliable elections deliver the most encouraging tool for tackling and handling social anxieties and disagreements without the use of violence.

2.4. Somali Elections

A. Elmi (2021) observed elections were held in Somalia during the final years of colonial rule. The earliest of these elections took place in 1954 across 35 districts in Italian Somaliland (colony). Then, in 1959, nationwide elections for the Somali parliament were conducted for the first time, with 90 deputies representing 30 administrative districts participating. In the British Somaliland Protectorate, 33 deputies were elected in February 1960. On July 1, 1960, the two national assemblies of Somali Italian and British Somaliland united to form the unified republic of Somalia. During the civilian governments from 1960 to 1969, the Somali Republic adopted a joint election law based on a closed-list system. It expanded political divisions to 42 and successfully held two additional municipal and national elections in 1964 and 1969, respectively. In 1968, the national parliament ratified a single election law that governed both city council and national assembly elections.

In 1969, the army ousted the elected civilian government and governed the Republic of Somalia for 21 years until 1991. It was followed by nearly a ten-year lawless stateless civil war from 1991 to 2000. Upon the restoration and formation of the third republic of Somalia in 2000, dozens of Somalis gathered in Djibouti and established so so-called '4.5' clan-based power-sharing formula. According to the 4.5 formula, four equal tribes and a half-tribe representing all other tribes left in Somalia form the newly agreed Somali national parliament. The so-called superpower four clans are: Darod, Digil-Mirifle, Dir, and Hawiye. Each one received an equal cut of 61 seats, while the rest got 31 seats.

Tahir (2022) found before the collapse of the Somali government in January 1991, the Republic of Somalia had 'direct elections at national and local levels' like the rest of the world, starting from pre-independence (before July 1960 when the Republic of Somalia was formed). But since the 2000 Arto Somali Peace Conference in Djibouti, Somalia adopted a new system of elections so so-called 'indirect elections.' Since 2000 to 2022, six Somali presidents were elected through indirect elections namely: Abdiqasim Salad Hassan (2000), Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed (2004), Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed (2009), Hassan Sheikh Mohamud (2012), Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo (2017), and Hassan Sheikh Mohamud (2022) -the current President of Somalia as of 2024.

In Somalia, indirect elections refer to electoral processes where a number of people representing a sub-clan elect a legislator to the lower house of parliament. This form of election was constituted as a temporary arrangement until such time as the federal authorities are able to implement a conventional election. Indirect elections created hope for the warring elites in Somalia to pursue power in a non-violent manner. On the other hand, they resulted in inherently alienating power relations and political culture where politicians from certain clans tend to gravitate toward competition for particular seats over others.

For instance, all eight men who ran for the lower house's leadership were from the Digil and Mirifle clans except one. Equally, all four candidates who ran for the Senate leadership were from the Dir clan. On a similar footing, most people who ran for the presidential office were from the Hawiye and Darod clans. Outliers or those who defied this logic got few or no votes.

2.4.1. 2000 Election:

M. Elmi (2021) reported, in 2000, hundreds of Somalis assembled in Djibouti and decided to establish clan-based power-sharing rule. (equation: 4.5) for political settlement. Though this formula was not founded on a registration (tally), justice, or equity, it seemed the possible solution for that time. According to 4.5 formula, four equal tribes and a half representing all other tribes left of Somalia form the newly agreed Somali national parliament. The so called super power four clans are: Darod, Digil & Mirifle, Dir, and Hawiye. Each one received an equal cut of 61 seats while the rest got 31 seats. On August 13, 2000 a provisional national assembly for Somalia, the first one since 1991 when Somali government led by Siyad Barre was overthrown by armed opposition factions, was formed. 275 new MPs of Somali parliament were hand-picked and appointed by clan elders in accordance with the so called 5.4 formula.

On August 26, 2000, Mr. Abdiqasim Salad Hassan was elected as the President of the Somali Transitional National Government (TNG) by the 275 MPs of the transitional national parliament. He secured the votes of 145 MPs in favor, while Somali ex-ambassador to the USA, Mr. Abdullahi Ahmed Addow, received 92 ballots on the third round of the election. President Abdiqasim took an oath and assumed office on the following day.

2.4.2. 2004 Election:

Somali presidential election was conducted for Somalis in Nairobi, Kenya on 10 October 2004. President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was elected by the Transitional Federal Parliament of Somalia. The election had three rounds of voting among several candidates competing for the head of state. In the final round, Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed came out as the president of Somali Federal Government.

In the first round, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed appeared as the leading candidate with 80 MPs or 29.30% of the total votes. In the second round, his share increased by securing 147 votes against Abdullahi Ahmed Addow who received 83 votes. In the third and final round, Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed received a majority of 189 votes out of 275 votes that were cast.

2.4.3. 2009 Election:

The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia was formed in October 2004 in Nairobi, Kenya with a 5-year term led by President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed. Its mandate included the transformation of TFG into permanent government when its mandate expired in 2009. However, Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf resigned earlier before 2009.

In January 26 2009, the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) extended its mandate an extra two years up to 2011. The parliament also expanded itself to include 200 new members of the Transitional Federal Parliament (MPs). These 200 new MPs hailed from the opposition Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia and 75 new MPs from civil society and other groups, doubling the size of the TFP to 550 MPs.

The presidential election was conducted for Somalis on 30 January 2009 in Djibouti. President Sharif Sheikh Ahmed emerged as the victor out of several competing candidates in the election. Like the 2004 election, there were three rounds of voting. Round 1 of the vote decreased the number of candidates to just six. In the second round, only two competing candidates, Mr. Sheikh Sharif Ahmed and Maslah Mohamed Siyad, remained. As soon as round 1 of the vote started, some presidential hopeful candidates renounced their candidacy. In round 1, Mr. Sharif Sheikh Ahmed received the votes of 215 MPs while Mr. Maslah Mohamed Siyad secured 60 votes. Every candidate but Mr. Maslah Mohamed Siyad and Mr. Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed departed after round 1 of the election. President Sheikh Sharif became the victor with 293 votes in the final and third round.

2.4.4. 2012 Election:

A presidential election was held in Somalia for the first time since the collapse of the Siyad Barre regime in 1991, on September 10, 2012. The recently elected Federal Parliament of Somalia, chosen by Somali tribal elders, voted for Mr. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud to become the next Somali president for a four-year term after the end of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The election was initially scheduled for August 20, the same day the TFG's term ended, but it was suspended to a later date.

MPs of Somali national assembly cast their ballots secretly under curtain before putting them in a transparent glass box before international and national dignitaries and dozens of ordinary Somali guests with the election being transmitted and watched online on big screens. When round 1 of the vote ended, the then incumbent President Sheikh Sharif came out number one, receiving the confidence of 64 MPs. Candidate Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was number two with a total of 60 votes. The then premier Abdiweli secured the third place with 32 counts of vote. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud continued on to be the victor in the round 2 after beating the ongoing president Sheikh Sharif by 190 votes.

2.4.5. 2017 Election:

The truth is that, like in 2012, the Federal Republic of Somalia again chose its members of the lower chamber of the parliament, House of the People, through so called 'indirect election' in 2016 (Menkhaus, 2017). The 2016 electoral process was not a universal suffrage election. It was also not free and fair. Many electoral malpractices were observed. Nevertheless, the results of the elections were accepted by the international community and Somali leaders at the federal and state levels.

In April 2016, the National Leadership Forum (NLF), which comprised the presidents of the federal member states and the Federal Government of Somalia leaders: the president, prime minister, and speaker of the Parliament agreed on an indirect election unique in design and still copied from 2012 electoral process whose base or decision making body was 'the 135 clan elders.' Unlike the 2012, each clan elder hand-picked 51 people from his clan lineage. These 51 members in turn elected the member or members of the parliament representing their clan. In this way, each of the 275 members of the lower chamber of the Somali Federal Parliament was elected

indirectly by the people of Somalia (Menkhaus, 2017). The 275 members election needed 51x275 or 14,025 electoral colleges. The elections were held in the provisional capitals of the 5 federal member states: Garowe (Puntland state), Adado (Galmudug State), Baydhabo (Southwest State), Jowhar (Hirshabele State), Kismayo (Jubaland State). Somali clans who are from Somaliland held their election in Mogadishu since Hargeisa (the capital city of Somaliland) is not under the jurisdiction or control of the Federal Government of Somalia. Similarly, Banadiri tribes who only live in Mogadishu had their election in Mogadishu.

Unlike the 2012 election, for the first time upper chamber of the Somali Federal Parliament, called 'Upper House', was formed, whose members are 54 in number. The distribution of its members is based on the 5 federal member states plus Somaliland. Puntland and Somaliland each nominate 11 members. Hirshabele, Southwest, Galmudug, and Jubaland, each have 8 members in the Upper House. Banadir Regional Administration of the capital, Mogadishu, does not have any presentative in the Upper House. These 54 members are elected by the regional parliaments of the 5 federal member states. The regional president proposes at least two candidates for each seat of the upper house of the federal parliament of Somalia. Then the members of the regional parliament of the state elect one by vote.

From a legal perspective, the Upper House of the federal parliament of Somalia was to be introduced in the 2012 parliamentary election as agreed by the National Leadership Forum in Gorawe 2012 (Menkhaus, 2017) . However, for technical reasons, it could not be formed. The upper house is mandated by article 61(3) and article 71 of the Somali Provisional Constitution, adopted in August 2012. The lower chamber of the Somali federal parliament, according to article 138(2), acted as both the lower house and upper house at the same time of the Somali federal parliament. Once the indirect elections of the Somali federal parliament ended in 2016, the next step was to elect the president of the Federal Republic of Somalia by both chambers of the Somali Federal Parliament (275+54=329).

This happened in February 08, 2017, and the venue was a hangar located inside Mogadishu International Airport. In the first round of the election, no candidate secured the two-thirds threshold to win. The top four candidates were eligible for the second round, namely: Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo, Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, and Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke.

However, Omar Abdirashid dropped out. The remaining three candidates contested in round 2. Again, no candidate secured two-thirds of the votes. Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo got 184 votes while Hassan Sheikh (the incumbent president) secured 97 votes. The top two candidates, namely Hassan Sheikh and Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo, were eligible to compete in the third round as per rules. However, Hassan Sheikh conceded defeat before going to the third final round. This made Mohamed Abudllahi Farmajo the winner and newly elected Somali president for the coming four years from February 2017 to February 2021.

Once the indirect elections for the upper and lower house were completed, the next balloting to be carried out was a closed-vote, multiple round election in Parliament to choose one among 21 candidates to become president. This was a far more straightforward process, though the backroom deals were no doubt intense. What was significant about this final phase of the election was the outcome, not the process. For the second straight election, a heavily favored incumbent lost to a candidate who had seemingly come from nowhere. Mohamed Abdullahi “Farmajo” came on strong in the second round, which featured the top four vote-getters. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud then conceded defeat, obviating the need for a third and final round between the top finishers.

2.4.6. 2022 Election:

Sunday, 15 May 2022, was a historic day for the Somali presidential elections. Former president of Somalia Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was re-elected for the second time, becoming the first democratically elected Somali president twice. The Somali federal national assembly voted for President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud after a long run of voting and re-voting on election night that took place in the capital, Mogadishu. The election happened in the extremely protected Mogadishu international airport with African Union peacekeeping troops guarding the venue. In a combined sitting of the two chambers of the Somali federal parliament (i.e., the Upper and Lower chambers), more than 300 MPs cast their votes for more than 30 presidential hopeful candidates.

The incumbent President, Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo, and former president Hassan Sheikh Mohamud contested in the third and ultimate round. Actually, it was a replay of the 2017 presidential election in which the outgoing president, Farmaajo, won against Hassan Sheikh Mohamud for the presidency. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud

secured the confidence of 214 MPs, whereas Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo received 110 votes. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was declared president of the Somali federal republic for the next 4 years from 2022 to 2026.

2.5. Puntland Elections

Puntland is one of the several autonomous regional states in Somalia collectively known as Federal Member States (FMS) of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). Although Somaliland is an autonomous regional state of Somalia, Somaliland considers itself as an independent country separate from the rest of Somalia, having its own government, currency, judiciary system, military, police, borders, etc. Other FMS States are Jubaland, South West, Hirshabele, and Galmudug.

Puntland came into existence on August 1st 1998, after a three-month conference (Garowe Conference) attended by traditional elders, politicians, ex-military leaders, women, youth, and others (Mire, 2024). The aim of the conference was to establish a regional government in the North-East Somalia part of the Federal Government of Somalia. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, an ex-colonel, was elected as the first president of Puntland. He was given a three-year mandate to transform Puntland from a clan-based administration into a democratic region where free and fair elections dictate who Puntland society elects as its leaders.

Unfortunately, when the three-year term of Abdullahi Yusuf's presidency ended, he failed to hold an election in which a new president of Puntland was chosen by the people of Puntland. This resulted in an internal conflict that led to the election of Mr. Jama Ali Jama in November 2001 by clan elders and local political leaders who were critics of Abdullahi's Government. With the help of Ethiopian soldiers and Abdullahi's own sub-clan militiamen, He managed to overthrow Jama Ali Jama's government and rule Puntland as its legitimate president until he was elected as President of the Federal Government of Somalia in October 2004.

On January 8th, 2005, clan elders of Puntland unanimously opted Mohamud Muse Hersi, known as Adde Muse, to be the next president of Puntland State of Somalia. His government lasted for four years from January 2005 to January 2009. Adde Muse tried its best to draft the Puntland constitution and the formation of the Puntland Electoral Commission in order to hold free and fair elections of the Puntland president and local councils of Puntland districts/cities. However, the presidency of

Adde Muse was overshadowed by Somali piracy, having its main bases in Puntland coastal cities, particularly the city of Eyl on the Indian Ocean. Somali Piracy not only threatens the rule of law and order, but it also disturbs international maritime security.

In January 8th 2009, In January 2008, Puntland welcomed a new government headed by President Abdirahman Farole. During his term, the presidency embarked on placing the bases of a democratic structure, targeting to establishment of democratic institutions within the province. Attempts were also made to let Puntland people cast their votes and form political parties, aiming to endorse political heterogeneity and civil society participation. But, despite these proposals, the formation of a fully practical democratic system encountered obstacles that finally led it to collapse (Mire, 2024). Farole's tenure of five years ended in 2014.

In January 2014, Puntland held a new presidential election in which Abdiweli Gas became president for a five-year term from January 2014 to January 2019. During his mandate, Puntland continued its effort on socio-economic development, beginning plans directed at energizing growth and drawing investment. The government highlighted promoting commerce, fostering entrepreneurship, and capitalizing on the region's strategic location along the Gulf of Aden to boost its status as a key business and venture hub. Moreover, Puntland embarked on striving infrastructure developments, capitalizing on the construction of highways, seaports, and communications networks. These developmental targets were meant to enhance networking within the region as well as beyond, thus simplifying commerce. Furthermore, enhancements in transport and telecommunication infrastructure added to improved access to vital services for the people, aiming significant progress in Puntland's economic and social developments under the helm of President Abdiweli Gas (Mire, 2024).

In January 2019, Saed Abdullahi Deni assumed the presidency for a five-year term after being picked to head Puntland by the Puntland parliament. Conversely, the beginning of his term was marked with many challenges, mainly the global COVID-19 crisis. Like the rest of the world, the Government of Puntland coped with the difficulties created by the pandemic. The government of Deni promptly employed actions to limit the spread of the virus, lessen its impact on people's health and business, and take measures to better react to the crisis. Besides the hardships caused by the pandemic, Puntland unrelentingly confronted longstanding security risks,

involving rebellion and radicalism, which posed significant obstacles to its peace and progress. Additionally, the region encountered complexities resulting from tribal infighting, obscuring efforts to uphold good governance and political stability, and unity (Mire, 2024).

In the administrative division of Puntland, there are a total of 51 districts. Of these 51, 21 districts follow to borders founded prior to 1991, which designates their historical importance preexisting the Somali Civil War. The other districts (30 in number) make up newly delineated zones formed by the Puntland provincial government itself to house developing demographics, socio-economic events, and developmental requirements within the region. Primarily, before the arrival of Puntland's city council elections, administration in the area was arranged such that 27 of the districts already had local government administrations. These 27 city councils were formed through a traditional clan-based nomination system, where appointees were chosen by local clan elders. This structure, profoundly embedded in Somali tradition and customary practices, is intended to safeguard communal representation and inclusive-building within the skeleton of tribe attachments.

Nevertheless, an essential revolution happened with the launch of democratic procedures throughout district-level elections. After these local elections, a substantial majority of these districts—namely, 33 out of the 51—transformed into a further democratic system by choosing their city council members with the help of a multi-party electoral representation. This change represented a major deviation from the customary tribe-based selection process and denoted a noticeable move towards better inclusivity, transparency, and liability in local administrations and elections.

Although an improvement was attained through democratic local elections, difficulties continue in the accomplishment of the electoral process in all the districts. Numerous elements contribute to the postponement or failure to hold elections in some parts, such as logistical limitations, security problems, and institutional competence restrictions. Because of these constraints, a percentage of the districts up to now await the chance to elect their city/district council members or representatives through a democratic process, highlighting the continuing complications inherent in the democratization process within Puntland.

In the latest move from customary tribe-based nominations to a more democratic electoral method in Puntland, the landscape of local government representation has

undergone significant changes. The study has revealed that this development in the electoral process has not only altered the composition of municipal councils but has also had a deep impact on the representation of numerous tribes. Traditionally, the recommendation of representatives by clan leaders, based on a pre-arranged number of seats for every tribe, functioned as a power-sharing gentlemen's agreement. Unfortunately, this scheme frequently did not mirror the real population sizes of tribes in certain districts, leading to inequalities and frustration about impartial representation.

The introduction of elections has primarily changed these dynamics, centering city council make-ups on election involvement and the number of contenders put forward by each tribe. In the Bossaso district/city, for example, one tribe observed its representation has risen up to four times compared to the distribution under the former clan-based scheme. This large rise in seats not only shows a move towards a more proportional representation based on democratic voting support but also underlines the likelihood of the polling system to adjust historical disparities and react to demographic variations. Moreover, four other tribes in the same district held one to two more seats each, while a new tribe got entry into the city council of Bossaso for the first time, stressing the inclusivity and variability initiated by the election process.

Miserably, the movement to electoral representation has not been without its hardships. 10 tribes faced a total loss of their seats, demonstrating a radical move away from their formerly ensured representation. This development highlights a substantial shift from the past, historically, where representation was to some extent guaranteed, to a new reality where electoral victory is indefinite. In Badhan district, comparable outlines arose, with 5 tribes acquiring extra seats, 4 upholding their past seat tally, and 7 tribes missing their representation completely. This defeat of seats for some tribes emphasizes the competitive nature of the election procedure and its effect on traditional established power makeups within Puntland's political dynamics.

The shift from an organization of pre-known tribe submissions to one based on election results exposes a multifarious interaction of aspects affecting tribe representation. The boosted representation for some tribes, the introduction of new tribes into the city council, and the whole defeat of representation for others echoes the dynamism and probable for more inclusivity that the electoral system conveys. Yet, it also points out the tests inherent in shifting away from customary power-sharing

systems, especially for tribes that discover themselves without representation under the new structure.

The modification in the power struggles and the representation of tribes within municipal councils through the electoral system speaks for itself to wider inferences for governance, public consistency, and the political dynamics in Puntland. While the transference towards electoral representation proposes chances for further justifiable and representative governance. It similarly bestows hardships, particularly for tribes adapting to a new reality where their authority and representation are not safeguarded. The investigation underlines the need for constant monitoring and examination of these transformations to comprehend their effect on social consistency, governance efficiency, and the general political landscape. As Puntland crosses this evolution, the results underline the significance of developing dynamics to cope with possible clashes and guarantee a charming adjustment to the developing process of political representation.

Though we concentrated on two districts as instances, the reflections hold true for all districts where elections have happened in Puntland. The polling stations have deeply altered tribe representation across all district municipal councils, demonstrating the fluctuating and dynamic feature of democratic electoral systems. The modifications in tribe representation, marked by additions, losses, and unaffected positions among several tribes, are not directly tied to the real population sizes of the tribes within those districts. But these changes are suggestive of the changing levels of electoral involvement and the strategic voting behaviors that more or less helped or hampered particular tribes.

2.6. Puntland Electoral Body

Puntland is considered the first regional state among the five Federal Member States (FMSs) of the Federal Republic of Somalia. It has performed a pioneering role in the process of democratization in Somalia after Somaliland (although Somaliland does not recognize itself as a Federal Member State), specifically through the formation of local district governments (or city councils). In the past in Puntland, city councils and members of provincial parliament were hand-picked by tribal or clan elders. Under this scheme, members were always selected by clan chieftains to represent their respective tribes for one term.

The birth of democratic governance through selection and elections in Puntland dates back to its formation in 1998 and after a pledge of democratic governance had been made by the first president, Abdullahi Yusuf. A significant step towards this started with the second president, Adde Muse, who was elected in 2005. Throughout this milestone event, tribal leaders were tasked with hand-picking sixty-six members of provincial parliament who later partook in the election of President Adde Muse. His government manifested a crucial milestone in Puntland's politics, piloting in an era of constitutional reform and institutional improvement that led to the formation of an independent electoral commission tasked with holding free and fair elections in Puntland.

It was in 2012 that the first time Puntland state of Somalia got its own electoral body, attaining a historic landmark, the first Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC I). The legal framework for TPEC was founded with the endorsement of the Puntland Electoral Commission Law in 2011. This legislation validated the formation of Puntland's initial electoral commission. In January 2011, the Parliament of Puntland approved the Puntland Electoral Commission Law, setting the foundation for TPEC's right to conduct and oversee electoral processes across the region.

The inauguration of the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission marked an important move towards altering the region's political arena. TPEC was planned as a provincial governmental organization trusted with managing the transition from clan-based nomination of members of parliament and city council members to multi-party elections in Puntland, where the people directly elect their representatives in parliament and city councils as well as the president by going to the polling stations. The establishment of TPEC mirrored a promise to democratization and the advancement of inclusive and participatory governance practices. By fluctuating from a clan-based electoral system to a multi-party system, Puntland aimed to widen political involvement, improve free and fair electoral transparency.

TPEC's responsibilities included a variety of responsibilities, including voter registration, election administration, and the settlement of electoral disagreements, among others. Within its efforts, TPEC sought to simplify free, fair, and credible elections that reflected the will of the people of Puntland. The creation of TPEC signified a major departure from previous electoral practices and implied a new page

of democratic governance in Puntland. By institutionalizing ways for multi-party elections, Puntland achieved a critical step towards strengthening democratic values and nurturing a multi-party political system within the region.

Following a break of four years, the democratization process in Puntland formally restarted with the introduction of the second Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC II) in April 2016. This marked a major landmark in the region's political establishment, indicating the resumption of actions to spread democratic elections.

The members of the commission were appointed and subsequently approved by the parliament on 24 April 2016, announcing the long-awaited resumption of the Puntland electoral process. The endorsement of TPEC II members was greeted with expectation and hopefulness, as shareholders wished for a revival of democratic accomplishments in the region. Notwithstanding the nomination of TPEC II, democratization activities in Puntland remained inactive for nearly three years. During this time, the electoral body failed to work successfully, resulting in a lengthy pause in the electoral process. This delay underscored the difficulties and problems opposing efforts to nurture good governance in the region. Despite preliminary hopefulness surrounding the formation of TPEC II, the fact of administrative inadequacies and political instability within Puntland hindered the effective working of the electoral body.

In November 2019, an important milestone in the political process of Puntland was marked by the reorganization of the third Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC III), awarded with a crucial permission to oversee and administer the electoral system within the province. This progress showed a renewed promise to develop the democratization attempts that were set in motion. By December of 2019, TPEC III had already taken important steps forward by creating a thorough and planned roadmap. This process was premeditated to pilot the journey towards the recognition of local government elections, an important element in the larger dream of energizing the democratic system in Puntland.

For the years 2019 and 2020, the Puntland Electoral Body was engrossed in laying the vital basis for holding Puntland's elections. This preliminary stage involved the founding of primary laws and rules that would administer the electoral process, guaranteeing a fair, transparent, and smooth implementation of future elections. It was

a time of deep preparation and organization, putting the phase for a milestone event in Puntland's political history. 2021 arose as a breakpoint instant for TPEC III and Puntland society, with the fruitful holding of pilot elections at the district level in Eyl, Ufayn, and Qardho cities. This occasion marked the first time the people of Puntland went to the polling stations in order to cast their votes for city councils (local government elections), a momentous accomplishment that showed a substantial jump forward in the region's democratization landscape. The elections showed the registration of over 48,300 people eligible to vote in the three pilot districts, a sign of the prevalent interest and excitement among the public to take part in the democratic process.

Stimulated by the victory of the three pilot districts, TPEC III continued its hardworking job into 2022 and 2023, intensifying its efforts to hold provincial-wide municipal elections across 30 districts. This aspiring attempt consisted of the broad registration of voters, concluding in the fruitful completion of the Puntland Local Government Elections. The declaration and giving of certificates to the winning political parties marked the conclusion of this large voting exercise, representing a major landmark in Puntland's continuing democratization voyage. The electoral body's persistent chase of democratic governance has not only intensified the roots of democracy in Puntland but has also made an inspirational example for the rest of Somalia.

2.7. Somali Peacebuilding Process

Somalia has made significant steps towards peace and state building and yet faces recurring nationwide political, security as well and humanitarian difficulties. Elections in 2017 and 2022 for the presidency were preceded by serious political disputes but finally produced a peaceful transition of power from one president to another. A series of reforms has generated better outcomes in fine-tuning public financial management and attaining important debt relief milestones in line with the 'Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC)', which was started in 2020. The normalization of Somalia's ties with the world monetary agencies means important potential for a constructive growth trajectory. Furthermore, there has been visible development on the management of the security issue, emphasizing institutional capacity building changes focused on increasing civilian supervision, transparency, and accountability in agreement with the so-called "National Security Architecture."

Two decades and more of violence and lack of central government having the legitimacy to execute international agreements on behalf of the people of the Somali Republic, a new federal government was formed in Mogadishu in 2012. The country has made significant developments towards security since then, like a peaceful transition of power after indirect elections in 2017. Nevertheless, a lot of challenges remain unsolved. These obstacles vary at different levels across the country, such as communal disintegration and nonexclusive politics; economic disparity and serious food insecurity due to internal conflicts as well as drought; and highly unstable security as a result of al-Shabaab insurgency.

Important factors that still affect peace prospects comprise chronological clan-based wounds (grievances) that weaken the formation of a functioning federal state that stretches its powers all over Somalia; poor authority; lack of justice; and economic hardships and lack of basic services.

2.7.1. 1991 Djibouti peace conference:

The Somali military regime led by General Siyad Barre collapsed in January 1991 after ruling the country for 21 years. Six Somali opposition parties met in Djibouti in June 1991 for reconciliation and the formation of a new government. The Djibouti government, with the help of the international community, facilitated the peace process meeting. After a series of talks in July 1991, the Somali leaders agreed on the formation of a new Somali government headed by President Ali Mahdi. Unfortunately, General Muhammad Farah Aidid, chairman of the United Somali Congress (USC), who drove Siyad Barre out of the capital, Mogadishu, opposed Ali Mahdi's government. This resulted in the bloody civil war in Mogadishu between Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid that transformed into a clan-based fighting between Habargidir and Abgal tribes, the two men hail from.

2.7.2. 1993 Addis Ababa national reconciliation conference:

In March 1993, the warring factions of the Somali civil war and other political leaders signed two pacts for full national reconciliation and the disarmament of the militiamen. Although a peace agreement was signed by Somali political leaders in Addis Ababa, it did not succeed in ending the war. The agreement later fell apart, and the fighting continued. It spread to other areas outside the capital, Mogadishu.

2.7.3. 1997 Sodere peace process:

The Sodere national reconciliation conference, organized by the Ethiopian government, lasted almost one year. At the end, the Somali leaders formed the 'National Salvation Council which comprised 41 members tasked with the duty to form the Somali interim government. However, the Sodere conference faced resistance from a block of Somali political factions led by Hussein Farah Aidid, who succeeded his father, General Aidid, after his death. Similarly, the self-declared Republic of Somaliland in the northern part of Somalia also opposed the Sodere conference.

2.7.4. 1997 Cairo declaration:

After the failures of the Djibouti, Addis Ababa, and Sodere peace conferences for Somali National reconciliation attended by Somali political leaders and warring factions, a new peace conference for Somalis, hosted by the government of Egypt, was held in Cairo. Unlike previous peace conferences, this time most Somali political stakeholders attended, including Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed and Mr. Hussein Farah Aidid. One group of 15 political factions under the umbrella 'Somali Salvation Alliance, SSA' was led by Ali Mahdi. Mr. Hussein Aidid headed another political coalition named 'Somali National Alliance, SNA', which represented 13 factions (Elmi & Barise, 2006).

Twenty-eight Somali political leaders signed the 'Cairo Declaration', including the archrivals: Ali Mahdi and Hussein Aidid. The declaration created a 13-person Somali transitional authority, which consisted of the president, the first minister, and the parliament. Like other conferences, the Cairo Declaration failed to work on the ground in Somalia, specially the capital, Mogadishu.

2.7.5. 2000 Arte peace conference:

Arte Conference started in April 2000 and ended in August after the election of President Abdiqasim as head of the Republic of Somalia. One can argue that the Somali National Peace Conference in Arte, Djibouti, was the first of its kind. It gave birth to an interim Somali government recognized by the international community, which represented the Somali people in world conferences. It also created a new formula called the 4.5 power-sharing equation for Somalis, based on 4 powerful clans of equal shares and half representing the rest of the tribes. Hawiye, Darod, Dir, and

Digil-Mirifle are the 4 superpower Somali clans, and the rest are under the 0.5 share. Unlike other conferences, the Arte conference invited Somali stakeholders of civil society members, clan elders, women representatives, academics, and unarmed political leaders. More than one thousand delegates participated in the Arte Conference, which began in May.

It ended with Arte's declaration for the formation of the 'Somali Transitional National Government, TNG.' On August 26, the members of the conference elected Mr. Abdiqasim Salad Hassan as President of TNG (Dagne, 2011). The delegates of the conference also elected 225 members of the Somali parliament based on the 4.5 Somali tribes 'sharing system discussed earlier. The delegates also approved the Somali Transitional National Charter for the interim government led by Mr. Abdiqasim.

Nationally, the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, the Puntland state of Somalia, and Mogadishu-based Somali warlords, including Hussein Aidid and Ali Mahdi, unanimously opposed the TNG of President Abdiqasim Salad Hassan. Internationally, the United Nations, the USA, neighboring countries, the African Union, Arab League, and many other international organizations welcomed the Arte Peace Conference and President Abdiqasim Salad Hassan.

2.7.6. 2002 Eldoret peace process:

Mulugeta (2010) viewed the Eldoret Peace Process was the longest peace conference held for Somali leaders to form an interim government and charter. It lasted more than two years from 2002 to 2004. It was initially planned to continue for six to nine months. Unlike the Arte TNG of President Abdiqasim, the type of government adopted in the Eldoret conference was a federal government with member states at the regional level (Mulugeta, 2010). The venue of the conference was Eldoret town in Kenya, which started in 2002 and ended in 2004. It was hosted by the Government of Kenya on behalf of the IGAD bloc of East African states: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. It brought together TNG of President Abdiqasim and SRRC, as well as Puntland president Abdullahi Yusuf, plus other Somali stakeholders who boycotted the Arte peace conference. The Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) was basically an alliance of

Mogadishu warlords founded in April 2001 in Ethiopia in order to defeat the TNG of President Abidqasim.

The Eldoret Somali reconciliation conference had three rounds: in phase one, it hosted about 300 Somali delegates (elders, civil society members, political leaders, warlords, women representatives) in order to make the conference more inclusive than the Arte conference. It was to create an atmosphere in which every sector of the Somali people feels they are part of the peace process. In phase two, the primary objective was to discuss in detail the best ways for national reconciliation and the formation of an interim government recognized by the international community, as well as all neighboring countries of Somalia. There were six committees among the 300 delegates working on: drafting the federal constitution, disarmament of militiamen, land and property disputes resolution, economic recovery plan, internal conflicts peaceful end, demobilization and reintegration of armed fighters. In phase three, the reports and findings of the committees were presented to all members of the 300 delegates in order to discuss and reach a final agreement so that the federal interim constitution, parliament, and government (president) were rectified (Mulugeta, 2010).

After many days of discussion, the conference announced 'The Eldoret Declaration' in October 2002. The Declaration was a cessation of hostilities, a new federal interim constitution (charter), from the central government of the federal government system of governance, to recognize and establish a new federal interim government, and ways of ensuring the enforcement of the declaration. Although 300 delegates were planned to represent all Somali stakeholders, it was increased to 1,000 so that independent Somali intellectuals and others would have seats in the Eldoret conference. In January 20th 2003, Eldoret Conference was transferred from Eldoret town to Mbagathi, a suburb of Nairobi. On January 29, 2004. The Somali leaders agreed on the name of the government and charter, the size of the parliament, and the duration of the transitional period (Mulugeta, 2010).

Finally, in August 2004, a new interim federal parliament of Somalia was sworn in Kenya with 275 members. At the Arte conference, the so-called 4.5 formula was followed to divide the 267 MPs among Somalis based on 61 seats for each clan, Hawiye, Darod, Dir, and Digil-Mirifle, while other clans shared 31 seats among themselves. The transitional charter, like the Arte charter, considered Islamic Sharia as the basis. In October 2004, the new parliament voted Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed

to become President of the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG), replacing President Abdiqasim for the next five years (Dagne, 2011).

2.7.7. 2008 Djibouti peace process:

The Djibouti peace conference of Somalis in 2008 produced the signing of an agreement between the then Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia and the opposition, ‘Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS)’, that was destined to pave the way for ending all armed fighting in the country. ARS was founded in Asmara-Eritrea in September 2007 by Somalis who viewed Ethiopian incursion into Somali soil at the request of the then Somali president, Abdullahi Yusuf. Members of ARS included the Somali diaspora, civil society, former MPs, and other opposition groups (Dagne, 2011).

After several rounds of talks, TFG and ARS signed an eleven-point accord that included expansion of the size of the transitional federal parliament and election of a new Somali president. The expansion of the parliament allowed new seats for representatives of ARS and civil society. The Djibouti peace agreement allowed the formation of a new Transitional Federal Government at the beginning of 2009, headed by President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed after members of the newly federal parliament voted for him. The Somali federal Parliament increased from 275 to 550 members (Mulugeta, 2010). The ministerial council of the government was also expanded. The signed agreement also asked the United Nations to send an international peace-keeping force from “nations that had good ties with Somalia” other than the neighboring countries, and the departure of Ethiopian forces from Somalia.

The Djibouti peace process had the backing of the world community, such as the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, and the United States of America. The Djibouti conference was the latest of a series of reconciliation talks aimed at reaching a lasting political settlement and peacemaking in Somalia, which began in 1991, almost immediately after the outbreak of the Somali civil wars, because of the collapse of the central government in January. It strengthened the achievements of the past peace processes. The main task, as always, was to enforce the achievements that have been attained and to include others in a positive talk.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3 reviews mainly statistical aspects of our study before we test our hypotheses and research questions in Chapter 4. Research techniques covered in this chapter include:

1. Research design
2. Study area
3. Population target
4. Sampling technique
5. Instrument for data collection
6. Validation of the instrument
7. Reliability of the instrument,
8. Data collection method
9. Data analysis approach

3.1. Research Design

The design of our research is a cross-sectional survey. A cross-sectional survey design uses data collected from multiple persons or subjects at the same time period (for example same year) in order to discuss their characteristics without modifying them. In a cross-sectional study, we have the option of taking data from a sample of participants of the whole population across the same year, month, etc. A cross-sectional study is often regarded as a country-wide survey in which we use a suitable sample of the population with different attributes in order to gather data for a study at the same period simultaneously (Martin, 2018). This design is appropriate for this thesis because the study is planned to collect information about the effectiveness of direct election in Somalia on the peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections in Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia, from several chosen representatives of the whole population, which cannot be reached by the researcher.

3.2. Study Area

The study is carried out in Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. Qardho is one of several districts in the Karkaar region of Puntland state of Somalia. It is the

provincial capital of the Karkaar region. It is comprised of 25 polling stations (constituents) having 33 seats up for elections in the Qardho district city council. The biggest five constituents in Qardho are: Xingood, Kaambo, Xorgoble, Xin Suuqa, and Qardho IDP camp. Total registered voters were 26,285, of which 25,405 were valid. On the election day on October 25th, 2021, those who cast their votes were 16,722, of which only 15,343 were valid. Qardho is bordered by Waaciye district at its Western part, with Rako district at its Southern part, and Bandarbeyle at its Northern and Eastern parts. Qardho district is selected because of the prevalence of electoral fraud and violence witnessed in the district before the introduction of direct elections of local governments to verify if direct elections had any effect on the Somali peacebuilding process in the area and discourage electoral fraud.

3.3. Population

The population of this research will consist of all the 25,405 voters of Qardho district that were registered for the 2021 local government elections in Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia (Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission [TPEC], 2022).

3.4. Sample and Sampling Technique

This research will take a total of 255 participants as a sample from the study area, Qardho district. This will represent 51 respondents from each of the five biggest constituents mentioned previously of the Qardho district local government election. The thesis will adopt a multi-stage sampling technique to collect data from these respondents. At the initial stage, the study will apply a purposive sampling technique to choose only the respondents (voters) who were at least 18 years old in 2021. This is done in order to gather information only from such a group of adults who took part in the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. Then, the study will apply an accidental sampling technique to select the respondents.

This is done because the respondents may not be able to come together at a specified area at once in order to share the questionnaire. Therefore, whoever the research assistants encounter, they will give the questionnaire to that individual if the individual meets the required conditions mentioned earlier. In case the respondent is unable to comprehend the questionnaire, the research assistants will help him/her with

it is including translation or any other assistance relating to the context of the questionnaire.

3.5. Instrument for Data Collection

Two instruments were employed for data gathering in our research. These are a structured questionnaire and a structured interview. The questionnaire has two sections. Section A attempts to collect the demographic details of the participants, like sex, age, and job type. Section B is divided into three subsections (clusters) that attempt to capture the research questions and hypotheses. Cluster 1 has 8 items that will investigate if the introduction of direct election positively contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections in Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. Cluster 2 has 8 items that will investigate the extent to which direct election helped to lower election malpractices experienced in the past elections in Somalia. Cluster 3 has 10 items that attempt to find out the challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections in Somalia.

The questionnaire will be ranked on four-point Likert scale rating from Strongly Agree (SA)/Very high extent (VHE) =4, Agree (A)/High extent (HE) =3, Disagree (D)/Low extent (LE) =2, and to Strongly Disagree (SD)/Very low Extent (VLE) =1. Hence, the total items in the questionnaire is 26 items (=8+8+10).

3.6. Validation of the Instrument

The instrument for data gathering is validated by the thesis supervisor and one lecturer from the department, the Institute for Post Graduate Studies. A pilot test of 30 respondents was also used as a validation.

3.7. Reliability of the Instrument

The instrument for the study (questionnaire) was tested using trial and error to decide the degree of its internal consistency or integrity. To achieve this, the researcher distributed the questionnaire to thirty (30) voters in Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. Their answers were subjected to trial testing using the Cronbach Alpha Reliability Test. The reliability coefficient obtained from the three clusters was 0.81 for cluster one, 0.80 for cluster two, and 0.82 for cluster three. The total reliability coefficient for the 26 items was 0.93. These figures are above the 0.70 threshold. Therefore, it is concluded that the instrument is reliable for the thesis.

3.8. Data Collection Technique

The research will apply a mixed-methods research approach. It will employ primary and secondary data. The primary data are quantitative data from the questionnaire and interviews. The secondary data are from journals, articles, bulletins, newspapers, social media, etc. In the meantime, for the quantitative data, the researcher will hire research assistants who will visit the five biggest electoral constituencies in Qardho district in order to hand over the questionnaires to the respondents. A total of 255 questionnaires will be handed over to the participants by the research helpers. The questionnaires will be filled out and delivered back to the research assistant as soon as it is filled out for review by the researcher.

3.9. Method of Data Analysis

Mean (i.e. arithmetic mean) analysis will be employed to study the collected data according to the three research questions introduced in Chapter 1. The ranking of the data will be on a four-point Likert rating scale as mentioned previously: Strongly Agree (SA)/Very high extent (VHE) =4, Agree (A)/High extent (HE) =3, Disagree (D)/Low extent (LE) =2, and Strongly Disagree (SD)/Very low Extent (VLE) =1.

The ordinal data from the Likert scale of the questionnaire are transformed into interval data as shown below:

$$0.50 - 1.49 = \text{SD/VLE}$$

$$1.50 - 2.49 = \text{D/LE}$$

$$2.50 - 3.49 = \text{A/HE and}$$

$$3.50 - 4.00 = \text{SA/VHE}$$

Using the mean ratings, the three null hypotheses are tested using a t-test analysis at a 0.05 level of significance. Any P-value less than 0.05 means reject the null hypothesis. Any P-value greater than 0.05 means do not reject the null hypothesis. After the t-test analysis, the results of this study are again tested using Median ratings instead of mean ratings using the Mann-Whitney U test in place of the t-test.

You can reject a null hypothesis when a p-value is less than or equal to your significance level. The p-value represents the measure of the probability that a certain event would have occurred by random chance. You can calculate p-values based on

your data by using the assumption that the null hypothesis is true. If the p-value is above your level of significance, you fail to reject the null hypothesis.

$P < \alpha$ (remember alpha and level of significance are two words for the same thing) means statistically significant and rejects the null hypothesis because the deviation from the null hypothesis is not due to chance occurrence. $P > \alpha$ means statistically insignificant and do not reject the null hypothesis because the deviation from the null hypothesis is due to by chance occurrence. In general, when we reject the null hypothesis, we accept the alternative hypothesis. But this does not necessarily mean the alternative hypothesis is 100% true to accept.

Is a 0.05 P-value significant? A p-value less than 0.05 is typically considered to be statistically significant, in which case the null hypothesis should be rejected. A p-value greater than 0.05 means that the deviation from the null hypothesis is not statistically significant, and the null hypothesis is not rejected.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter 4 presents and discusses the findings of this research. The findings of this thesis are shown in figures and tables according to the research questions and hypotheses first highlighted in the introductory chapter 1.

4.1. Demographic Details of Participants

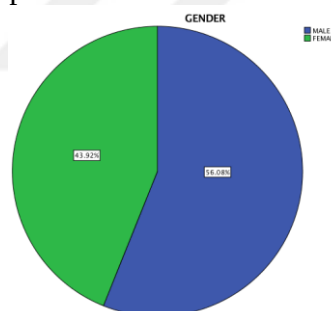
Figure 1 and Table 1 show the sex of the respondents. According to Figure 1 and Table 1, there are 255 respondents. 143 of them are male, representing 56.10%. The remaining 112, are female, capturing 43.90%.

Table 1. Gender of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Valid	Male	143	56.1	56.1	56.1
	Female	112	43.9	43.9	100.0
	Total	255	100.0	100.0	

Source: SPSS Statistics¹

Figure 1. Gender of the respondents



Source: SPSS Statistics

Figure 2 and Table 2 show the age distribution of the participants. The majority of them are young people between 18-25 years old. They represent 35.30% of the total. Those 45 years and above represent the least number, 41 persons or 16.10%.

Table 2. Age distribution of the participants

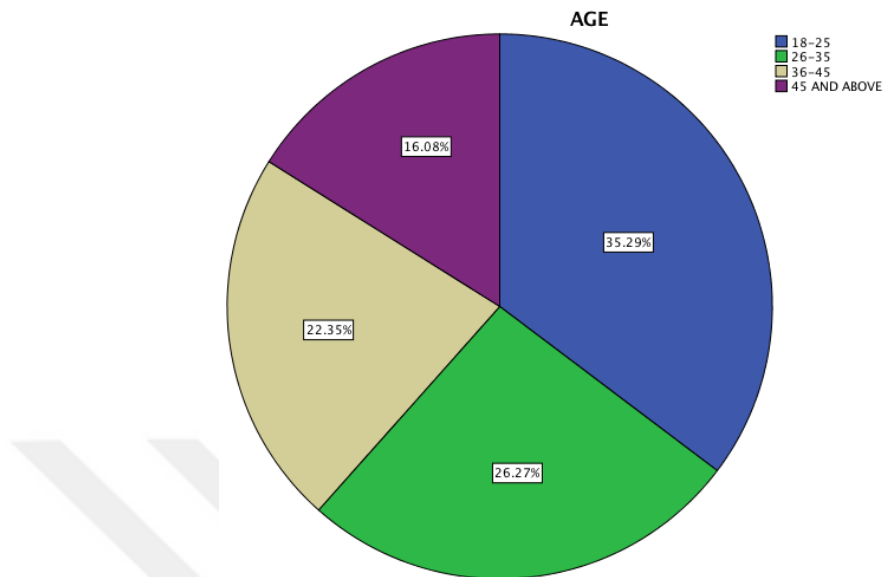
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Valid	18-25	90	35.3	35.3	35.3
	26-35	67	26.3	26.3	61.6
	36-45	57	22.4	22.4	83.9
	45 and above	41	16.1	16.1	100.0

¹ All tables and figures in Chapter 4 of this thesis are SPSS Statistics version 23 software generated output tables/figures from the 255 respondents' input data of the administered questionnaire. For more information, see the SPSS output file of the thesis available separately.

Total	255	100.0	100.0	
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Source: SPSS Statistics

Figure 2. Age distribution of the participants



Source: SPSS Statistics

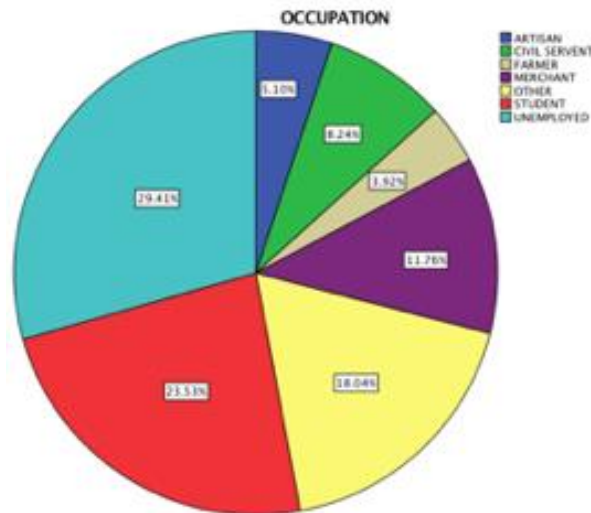
Figure 3 and Table 3 present the participants of the questionnaire according to their profession: artisan, civil servant, farmer, merchant, student, unemployed, and others. Most of them, 75 people, are unemployed. This supports the prevailing high unemployment among youth in Somalia. Those who are students follow. They represent 60 respondents or 23.50%.

Table 3. Occupation of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Valid	Artisan	13	5.1	5.1	5.1
	Civil Servant	21	8.2	8.2	13.3
	Farmer	10	3.9	3.9	17.3
	Merchant	30	11.8	11.8	29.0
	Other	46	18.0	18.0	47.1
	Student	60	23.5	23.5	70.6
	Unemployed	75	29.4	29.4	100.0
	Total	255	100.0	100.0	

Source: SPSS Statistics

Figure 3. Occupation of the respondents



Source: SPSS Statistics

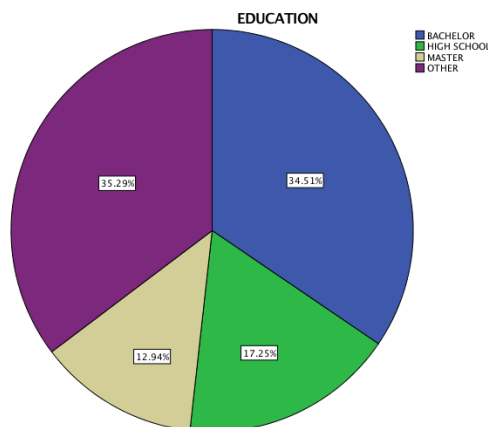
Figure 4 and Table 4 show the level of education of the 255 respondents who filled out the questionnaire. 90 individuals fall under the category 'other', meaning they do not hold a high school leaving certificate, bachelor's degree, or master's degree. They represent 35.30% of the 255 respondents. 88 participants, corresponding to 34.50% hold bachelor's degrees. Holders of master's degrees are the least in number, 33 persons or 12.90%.

Table 4. Education level of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Valid	Bachelor	88	34.5	34.5	34.5
	High School	44	17.3	17.3	51.8
	Master	33	12.9	12.9	64.7
	Other	90	35.3	35.3	100.0
	Total	255	100.0	100.0	

Source: SPSS Statistics

Figure 4. Education level of the respondents



Source: SPSS Statistics

4.2. Findings of Research Questions

4.2.1. Research question 1:

Has the introduction of direct election actually affected positively the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia?

Table 5. Mean rating of the participants if the introduction of ‘direct election’ positively contributed to Somali peacebuilding process

Q.	Statement	Mean	S.D.	Remarks
1	The introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections made the election of Somalia internet based.	2.78	1.09	Accept
2	The introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections made the TPEC (electoral commission) to be perceived as an advanced technology-based electoral commission instead of an unsophistication based electoral commission.	2.68	1.10	Accept
3	The direct election made the election activity a lot easier because of the digitalized information about the voters.	2.98	1.02	Accept
4	The direct election made TPEC to be perceived as a world-class electoral body in Somalia.	2.58	1.11	Accept
5	The introduction of direct election is a good indication of the well-preparedness of Somalia towards launching online voting.	2.49	1.11	Reject
6	The introduction of direct election made the 2021 local government elections to be considered as an internet-based election.	3.09	0.94	Accept
7	The introduction of direct election proved that peacebuilding through digital social media has become stronger in Somalia	2.82	0.97	Accept
8	The introduction of direct election made the 2021 local government elections to be perceived as meeting international standards criteria and promoting peacebuilding process in Somalia.	3.52	0.79	Accept
0.5-1.49 strongly disagree; 1.5-2.49 disagree; 2.5-3.49 agree; 3.5-4.00 strongly agree				

Source: SPSS Statistics

Table 5 shows the mean rating of participants (255 individuals) if the introduction of ‘direct election’ in the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia, positively contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process. Respondents were asked to rate 8 questions/statements (strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree) in order to capture their options concerning research question 1. The 255 participants all agreed with statement 1, with a mean rating of

2.78. As Table 5 indicates, respondents agreed to all statements except statement number 5, with a mean rating of 2.49, which means disagreement/rejection. Any mean rating of 2.49 or less simply means rejection. Any mean rating of 2.5 or more simply means acceptance.

Overall, the 255 respondents' answer to research question 1 was 'YES' (yes to 7 statements out of 8). This means the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district of Puntland state of Somalia supported the Somali peacebuilding process and the digitalization of Somali elections and its electoral body performance as compared to previous indirect elections. The Somali indirect election is characterized by the nomination of city council members, members of provincial and federal parliament, by clan elders. This denies Somali citizens, unlike the rest of the world, their right to go to the polling stations in order to cast their votes and choose the candidates of their choice. Somali indirect elections stand for the use of violence as a means to achieve election victory. Somali direct elections stand for a peaceful means to achieve election victory.

4.2.2. Research question 2:

To what extent has the introduction of direct election discouraged election malpractices experienced in Somalia previously?

Table 6. Mean rating of the participants on the extent at which the introduction of direct election made possible the level of electoral malpractices to fall down ab initio

Q.	Statement	Mean	S.D.	Remarks
1	The introduction of direct election decreased the incidents of double registration in the election.	2.68	1.10	Accept
2	The introduction of direct election reduced the cases of more than one accreditation of the voters on the election day.	2.80	1.11	Accept
3	The introduction of direct election minimized the rate of multiple voting in the 2021 local government elections.	3.01	0.63	Accept
4	The use of direct election made Somali citizens vote for the candidates of their choice in the 2021 local government elections.	3.15	0.48	Accept
5	The introduction of direct election offered Somali voters more confidence in participating the 2021 local government elections actively.	3.07	1.16	Accept
6	With the introduction of direct election, there was reduced rate of ballot box snatching.	2.58	1.11	Accept

7	The direct election reduced the cases of double voting.	2.49	1.11	Reject
8	Direct election reduced the rate of manipulation of election results.	2.78	1.09	Accept
0.5-1.49 strongly disagree; 1.5-2.49 disagree; 2.5-3.49 agree; 3.5-4.00 strongly agree				

Source: SPSS Statistics

The mean ratings of Table 6 present the responses of the participants about the level of extent to which the introduction of direct election helped to decrease the electoral misconduct seen in the electoral system in Somalia before the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. As we can see, all the 8 statements formulated to capture research question number two are ‘accept’, meaning the respondents agreed, except for item 7.

Therefore, the introduction of direct election indeed reduced election malpractices and irregularities such as vote buying, result manipulation, double registration and voting, ballot box snatching, intimidation of voters, post-election violence, etc. The introduction of direct election also improved the credibility of Somali elections in general and that of Puntland in particular, such as fairness, transparency, efficiency, and commitment.

4.2.3. Research question 3:

What are the challenges that might limit the introduction of direct elections in Somalia?

Table 7. Mean ratings of the participants on the challenges that might hinder Somali electoral process under the introduction of direct elections

Q.	Statement	Mean	S.D.	Remarks
1	Internet problem.	3.11	0.98	Accept
2	Incompatibility of direct election and Somalis’ deep-rooted tribalism.	2.86	1.10	Accept
3	Lack of technical know-how by TPEC (electoral body) ad-hoc staff.	3.13	0.99	Accept
4	Lack of enough digital devices.	2.84	1.06	Accept
5	Lack of mobile devices for internet access.	2.81	1.14	Accept
6	Lack of preparedness by TPEC staff.	2.90	1.18	Accept
7	Malfunctioning of smart card readers and other electronic devices at election day.	2.48	0.94	Reject
8	Digital illiteracy among the voters.	3.40	0.79	Accept
9	Illegal reconfigurations of the electoral machines by TPEC ad-hoc staff.	2.44	1.04	Reject
10	Non-accreditations of eligible voters due to factors relating to faded permanent voters’ card.	3.18	1.13	Accept

0.5-1.49 strongly disagree; 1.5-2.49 disagree; 2.5-3.49 agree; 3.5-4.00 strongly agree

Source: SPSS Statistics

Table 7 displays the answers of the 255 respondents to research question number three. There are 10 statements that the participants of the research questionnaire are asked to rate in order to capture their opinion. All mean ratings are ‘yes (accept)’ except statements 7 and 9. This means there are challenges that obstruct Somali elections under the introduction of direct elections. These challenges include: internet connectivity problems, malfunction of electoral machines, incompatibility of free and fair direct elections, and Somalis’ deep-rooted tribal loyalty, lack of experience and proper training of TPEC staff, non-accreditation of eligible voters, and so on. There are also some national-level challenges relating to supply chain, geography, and human capital of the country.

4.3. Hypothesis Testing Results

4.3.1. Hypothesis 1 (Ho1):

The introduction of direct election has not positively contributed to the Somali peacebuilding process, using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia.

Table 8. T-test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the mean rating of male and female voters whether the introduction of direct election affected positively Somali peacebuilding process

T-Test							
Group	Number	Mean	S.D.	T	DF	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	2.972	.915				
Female	112	2.736	.856				
T-Test Result				2.098	253	.037	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

Table 8 summarizes the output of the t-test for two independent samples. Under this test, we are testing the null hypothesis: there is no statistically significant difference between the mean ratings of male and female groups under direct election. In other words, we are testing the null hypothesis assumption: there is no statistically significant effect of direct election on the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as a case study. Failing to reject the null hypothesis means “from a statistical point of view, direct election does not affect Somali peacebuilding at all.” Rejecting the null

hypothesis means “direct election does indeed affect positively the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections as a sample.”

As usual, we are considering a 5% or 0.05 level of significance against the P-value of the T-test analysis. As Table 8 shows, the P-value is equal to 0.037. This means the P-value (=0.037) is less than the significance level (=0.05). Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis. As we have mentioned in the previous paragraph, rejecting the null hypothesis simply means “direct election does indeed affect positively the Somali peacebuilding process using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as a case study.”

For the T-test of two 2-independent samples, there are two scenarios: scenario 1 (equal variances of the two samples) and scenario 2 (not equal variances of the two samples). The Levene test is used to differentiate the two cases. ‘Equal variances’ means homogeneity across the two samples. Homogeneity is a prerequisite for the T-test analysis if the sample size is very small. The null hypothesis of the Levene test assumes “equal variances.” The alternative hypothesis assumes “not equal variances”. In our case, the P-value of the Levene test is equal to 0.586. Since $P\text{-value} > \text{significant level}$, we cannot reject the null hypothesis, which implies homogeneity of the variances across male and female groups.

Table 9. Mann-Whitney U Test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the median ratings of male and female voters whether the introduction of direct election affected positively Somali peacebuilding process

Mann-Whitney U Test					
Group	Number	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	139.18	19903.00		
Female	112	113.72	12737.00		
Mann-Whitney U Test Result				0.005	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

For our questionnaire of the 255 respondents, we are actually using a Likert scale rating (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) to capture our primary data. Likert scale data, by nature, is an ordinal scale of data. Ordinal scale data cannot be, for example, added or subtracted like continuous or interval data. Strictly from a statistical standpoint, nonparametric tests like the Mann-Whitney U test should be used instead of the T-test 2-independent samples, and the median should be used instead of the arithmetic mean. Mann-Whitney U test, like the T-test, assumes “there is no statistically significant difference between the median ratings of male and female

groups under direct election, positively contributing to the Somali peacebuilding process.” Under the null hypothesis. From table 9, our P-value of Mann Mann-Whitney U test is 0.005, which is less than the level of significance ($=0.05$). Therefore, our test is significant and we reject the null hypothesis.

Both the T-test and Mann-Whitney U test support our inference of research hypothesis 1: the introduction of direct election did affect the Somali peacebuilding process positively, using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as empirical evidence.

4.3.2. Hypothesis 2 (Ho2):

The introduction of direct election has not improved the rate of deterrence of election malpractices characterized by Somali elections in the past.

Table 10. T-test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the mean ratings of male and female voters if the introduction of direct election lowered election malpractices

T-Test							
Group	Number	Mean	S.D.	T	DF	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	2.914	.804				
Female	112	2.700	.726				
T-Test Result				2.206	253	.028	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

Table 10 presents the result of the t-test analysis for two independent samples (male and female groups). Under this test, we are testing the null hypothesis: there is no statistically significant difference between the mean ratings of male and female groups if the introduction of direct election lowered election malpractices using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia, as evidence. As usual, we are considering a 5% or 0.05 level of significance against the P-value of the T-test analysis, which is 0.028.

Since the P-value is less, it is statistically significant. Thus, our null hypothesis is rejected. This means “the introduction of direct election actually did curtail election malpractices using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia.”

Table 11. Mann-Whitney U test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the median ratings of male and female voters if the introduction of direct election lowered election malpractices

Mann-Whitney U Test

Group	Number	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	140.46	20085.50		
Female	112	112.09	12554.50		
Mann-Whitney U Test Result				0.002	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

In Table 10, we tested our research hypothesis 2 using the T-test analysis, considering the mean ratings of male and female voters. In Table 11, we again test our null hypothesis, but using the median ratings of male and female voters under the Mann-Whitney U test analysis. The null hypothesis is “there is no statistically significant difference in the median ratings of male and female voters, whether the introduction of direct election lowered election malpractices using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia, as evidence.” As Table 11 shows, our P-value is 0.002, which is less than 0.05. We reject the null hypothesis again under the Mann-Whitney U test for our research hypothesis 2.

Under both the T-test and Mann-Whitney U test analysis, we conclude that the introduction of direct election has reduced election malpractices using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as evidence.

4.3.3. Hypothesis 3 (Ho3):

There are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct election in Somalia.

Table 12. T-test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the mean ratings of male and female voters whether there are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections

T-Test							
Group	Number	Mean	S.D.	T	DF	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	2.813	.710				
Female	112	3.044	.745				
T-Test Result				-2.516	253	.012	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

The numbers in Table 12 represent our t-test analysis of no statistically significant difference between the mean ratings of male and female voters on whether there are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections in Somalia, using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia. As usual, we reject our null hypothesis if our test is significant (i.e., P-value is less than the level of significance).

As shown in Table 12, our P-value is 0.012, which is less than 0.05. This means reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, our conclusion is “there are still challenges that could obstruct Somali elections since the introduction of direct elections using the 2021 local government elections as a case study.”

Table 13. Mann-Whitney U test analysis of no statistically significant difference in the median ratings of male and female voters whether there are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections

Mann-Whitney U Test					
Group	Number	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	P-Value (2-T)	Remarks
Male	143	121.52	17377.50		
Female	112	136.27	15262.50		
Mann-Whitney U Test Result				0.010	Significant

Source: SPSS Statistics

In Table 12, we tested our research hypothesis 3 using the T-test analysis, considering the mean ratings of male and female voters. In Table 13, we again test our null hypothesis, but using the median ratings of male and female voters under the Mann-Whitney U test analysis. The null hypothesis is “there is no statistically significant difference in the median ratings of male and female voters, whether there are no challenges that might hinder the introduction of direct elections in Somalia, using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia.” As Table 13 shows, our P-value is 0.010, which is less than 0.05. We reject the null hypothesis again under the Mann-Whitney U test for our research hypothesis 3.

Under both the T-test and the Mann-Whitney U test analysis, we conclude that there are still challenges in Somali elections since the introduction of direct election using the 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia as evidence.

4.4. Presentation of Interviews

The structured interview proposed questions:

1. What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

2. What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

3. What is your response to TPEC's performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

4. What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

5. What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

6. Do you believe 'the introduction of direct election' is a game-changer in Somali elections?

7. What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in 'direct election' when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Five different knowledgeable persons were questioned in the five biggest constituents of the Qardho district local government election 2021. These areas are: Xingood, Kaambo, Xorgoble, Xin Suuqa, and Qardho IDP camp. The interviewees were an engineer, a business owner, a police officer, a teacher, and an ophthalmologist (an eye doctor).

4.4.1. An interview with an engineer in Xingod constituent:

Question 1: What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

Answer: It was a milestone. For the first time in 25 years, the people had the chance to elect who they see as good leaders. It also brought peace and stability among the people without resorting to violence as a means of achieving one's own objective

Question 2: What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: Although TPEC did a wonderful job. It is not fully ready for direct election in place of the so-called indirect election because of resistance from clan elders.

Question 3: What is your response to TPEC's performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

Answer: With minimal resources and expertise, nevertheless, TPEC performed very well. The peaceful announcement of the results augmented the peacebuilding process among the different competing tribes in the region.

Question 4: What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

Answer: In the future, TPEC will implement online voting like the one in the USA. Because it began with online verification and approval of the voters, and in the near future, it will gradually apply online voting.

Question 5: What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

Answer: The answer is simple and straight. It dramatically decreased malpractice but gave birth to what we call 'vote buying' instead.

Question 6: Do you believe 'the introduction of direct election' is a game-changer in Somali elections?

Answer: It goes without saying, the introduction of direct election, for the first time in 25 years, did change the rules of the game. Politicians and clan elders no longer could use violence and armed conflict as a means of winning the election.

Question 7: What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in 'direct election' when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: Well, there are many. Internet connectivity, electricity problems, and cybersecurity threats are among the common obstacles to TPEC's function properly in order to support the peacebuilding process of Somalia.

4.4.2. An interview with a business owner in the Kaambo constituent:

Question: What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

Answer: The introduction of direct election shows that TPEC is transforming into a more technology-oriented election commission.

Question 2: What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: I think TPEC is still an infant right now. But in the near future, it has the potential.

Question 3: What is your response to TPEC's performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

Answer: In my constituency, everything seemed OK.

Question 4: What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

Answer: The introduction of direct election is a good beginning that highlights the dream of TPEC towards appealing to diaspora persons to vote online.

Question 5: What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

Answer: With the introduction of direct election, we can trust in the credibility of TPEC in running free and fair elections.

Question 6: Do you believe 'the introduction of direct election' is a game-changer in Somali elections?

Answer: Yes, of course. More or less, it deterred the more frequent cases of ballot box snatching.

Question 7: What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in 'direct election' when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: Mostly, a lack of trust in TPEC staff to 'direct election' successfully as well as the issue of internet connectivity problems.

4.4.3. An interview with a police officer in Xorgoble constituent

Question 1: What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

Answer: Direct election is common in the world. But in Somalia, it is penetrating slowly.

Question 2: What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: Not yet. It will do more in the coming days.

Question 3: What is your response to TPEC's performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

Answer: The introduction of direct election sped up the result tallying process.

Question 4: What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

Answer: Today, no. But tomorrow it is more likely to happen.

Question 5: What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

Answer: It reduced rigging to some extent.

Question 6: Do you believe 'the introduction of direct election' is a game-changer in Somali elections?

Answer: It strengthened the voting process more than ever.

Question 7: What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in 'direct election' when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: Some TPEC officers did not have proper training to operate the electronic machines, such as the smart card readers. There were also electricity problems and management efficiency.

4.4.4. An interview with an ophthalmologist in Xin Suuqa constituent

Question 1: What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

Answer: The introduction of direct election indeed promoted and advanced the peacebuilding process of Somalia by preventing the violence experienced in the past under indirect election.

Question 2: What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: TPEC at the moment can do little. In the coming elections, with the help of direct election, it will contribute a lot to the peacebuilding process of Somalia.

Question 3: What is your response to TPEC's performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

Answer: I believe TPEC staff performed more than expected.

Question 4: What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

Answer: With the help of direct election, TPEC is heading towards transforming into online voting very soon.

Question 5: What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

Answer: Everyone agrees that the introduction of direct election lowered fraud and malpractice in the 2021 local government elections of Puntland state of Somalia.

Question 6: Do you believe 'the introduction of direct election' is a game-changer in Somali elections?

Answer: More or less everyone believes 'the introduction of direct election' changed everything. Those who used violence as a means of winning lost, and those who campaigned peacefully won many seats. They were perceived as peacebuilding advocates.

Question 7: What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in ‘direct election’ when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: It is natural to face obstacles when applying something new for the first time. Because of this, the introduction of direct election had problems. Some voters faced confusion on election day. Staff of TPEC were not all well prepared.

4.4.5. An interview with a teacher in the Qardho IDP camp constituent

Question 1: What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government election in Somalia, particularly in Puntland state?

Answer: The introduction of direct election was a positive step, which encouraged the people to campaign peacefully.

Question 2: What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to the peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: TPEC did a good start. Very soon, it will use digital online voting like other countries because of the introduction of direct election, which supports the peacebuilding process in Somalia.

Question 3: What is your response to TPEC’s performance and result announcement in the 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?

Answer: I agree with the rest Qardho residents. TPEC did a great job. The results were announced peacefully because of the introduction of direct election.

Question 4: What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes an online voting experience in other countries?

Answer: direct election compounded with Somalia’s modern telecommunication, online voting will be practical very soon.

Question 5: What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to the 2021 local government elections?

Answer: direct election vs indirect election in Somalia, election malpractice was much less under direct election.

Question 6: Do you believe ‘the introduction of direct election’ is a game-changer in Somali elections?

Answer: Somali people were tired of the so-called ‘indirect election’. The introduction of direct election opened a new page for Somali elections.

Question 7: What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in ‘direct election’ when it becomes a peacebuilding process in Somalia?

Answer: TPEC staff had no adequate resources and training. I can say this was the biggest problem in the 2021 local government elections in Puntland state of Somalia.

4.5. Summary of Findings

The summary of the findings of the study is as follows:

1. The introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections pushed Somalia towards an internet-based one. It also made the election easier and more efficient.
2. The introduction of direct election prepared TPEC to be perceived as a world-oriented electoral body in Somalia that is prepared to accept online voting.
3. The introduction of direct elections made the 2021 election to be considered an internet-based election.
4. The introduction of direct election revealed that digital election and peacebuilding advocacy have become greater in Somalia, unlike previous elections before 2021.
5. The introduction of direct elections lowered the cases of double registration in the election.
6. With the introduction of direct elections, there was a lower rate of ballot box snatching. It also lowered the manipulation of election results.
7. Problems that impact the introduction of direct elections in Somalia include internet connectivity challenges, lack of experience, undertrained staff, lack of commitment, etc.

4.6. Discussion of Findings

The election developments in Somalia faced many challenges. These challenges included technological problems, election malpractices, particularly rigging, ballot box snatching, manipulation of election results, lack of transparency, violence resulting in deaths, social media misinformation, vote buying, etc.

These problems are not new in 21st-century Somalia. They existed since the birth of the Republic of Somalia in 1960, but they exploded since the collapse of the Somali central government in 1991. Therefore, attempts have been made towards improving the election system of Somalia from a basic to a more sophisticated technological one. For this purpose, the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) has initiated numerous actions towards curbing these electoral irregularities.

Nevertheless, the results of this research showed that the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections helped Somalia into the international trend of the digital peacebuilding process. This is obviously revealed in the answers and comments of the interviewees and questionnaire participants, both male and female registered voters equally who stated that the introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections made the election of Somalia more internet-based and easier, which in turn contributed positively to the peacebuilding process of Somalia. Furthermore, all (male and female registered voters) had the same opinion and verdict for the digital peacebuilding process of Somalia with the help of direct election.

Finally, from a statistical point of view, this study ruled out or rejected the notion that “direct election does not affect the peacebuilding process in Somalia.” In other words, more or less, direct election contributes positively to the Somali peacebuilding process, as shown by the 2021 local government elections of Puntland state of Somalia, taking Qardho district as an example. This research also statistically showed that the 2021 local government elections did not lack electoral challenges or problems.

4.7. Limitations of Study

Some of the limitations of this study included financial and time barriers that made this research sample only 255 registered voters out of more than 25,000. It was a huge task for the research enumerators to access the respondents because of geographical and security concerns. Additionally, the research assistants could find a

few knowledgeable respondents who were ready to participate in the questionnaire and interview. In some instances, the use of English as a medium of communication for this research made some respondents unable to answer without translators who could convert the questionnaire into the Somali language.



CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Findings

This research evaluated how direct election in Somalia could impact the Somali peacebuilding process positively, taking the 2021 local government election of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia, as a case study. Since the birth of the Puntland state of Somalia in 1998, there have been no direct elections where the people voted for the candidates of their choice. Instead, there were so-called ‘indirect elections’ where clan elders nominated city council members, members of both provincial and federal parliaments. The citizens were denied the right to choose their leaders at the local and national levels by casting their votes. The 2021 local government elections of Puntland state of Somalia marked the first time the people of Puntland, in particular, and Somalia in general had the chance to go to the polls.

Using descriptive and inferential statistics, this thesis showed the positive effect of direct election on the peacebuilding process in Somalia. It also showed how direct election reduced election malpractices and improved election performance in terms of election confidence, efficiency, fairness, transparency, voter turnout, etc. The study also suggested some challenges that might hinder holding direct elections in Somalia. These include: internet connectivity problems, digital illiteracy of the voters, malfunction of electoral machines, the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) staff’s lack of proper training and preparedness, and others.

5.2. Recommendations

Some recommendations for future researchers and stakeholders are:

1. The Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) ought to expand its arms in the digital process of Puntland state of Somalia’s direct elections by including online voting.
2. The use of direct elections should be stimulated in later elections by TPEC for the digitalization of the election system.
3. Puntland state of Somalia must implement other ways of digital direct elections and peacebuilding process, like listening and collecting citizens’ views through social media.

4. TPEC should continue the digital status quo it had in 2021 for subsequent elections to guarantee that digital direct election is disseminated appropriately in the election process of the Puntland state of Somalia.

5. The implementation of direct election must be rigorously observed in the following elections in the Puntland state of Somalia, especially in the 2026 election, owing to the future electoral laws endorsed.

6. The Puntland state of Somalia must confirm that future election laws explicitly mention the use of direct elections in the conduct of elections.

7. The number of smart card readers and electronic devices per polling station must be increased to lessen the effect of malfunctions on election day.

8. TPEC must train its staff on the best ways to operate electoral machines in the conduct of direct elections to prevent improper usage of them as the outcome of digital ignorance.

9. Better internet connectivity must be delivered in all polling stations if it necessitates offering local area networks (LAN) and 5G mobile internet within the polling stations.

10. TPEC must offer additional mobile devices for internet connectivity in polling stations.

11. TPEC has to provide every polling station with extra batteries of the smart card readers and other electronic devices in order to prevent excluding some registered voters because of dead batteries.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

(TO BE FILLED BY A REGISTERED VOTER)

QARDHO DISTRICT

PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA

**DIRECT ELECTION AND ITS IMPACT ON
PEACEBUILDING IN SOMALIA**

Dear participant,

Thank you for your patience and response. This questionnaire is intended to collect primary data from 2021 registered voters of Qardho electoral constituents (the biggest five): Xingood, Kaambo, Xorgoble, Xin Suuqa, and Qardho IDP camp.

Kindly, fill the questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Please check (✓) in the column against each statement to express your opinion: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD)

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age: 18-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46 and above ☐

Occupation: Student ☐ Civil Servant ☐ Artisan ☐ Farmer ☐

Unemployed ☐ Merchant ☐ Other ☐

Education: High School ☐ Bachelor ☐ Master ☐ Other ☐

SECTION B: LIKERT SCALE RATING

Cluster 1: Has the introduction of direct election actually affected positively Somali peacebuilding process using 2021 local government elections of Qardho district, Puntland state of Somalia?

S/N	STATEMENT	SA	A	D	SD
1	The introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections made the election of Somalia internet based.				
2	The introduction of direct election in the 2021 local government elections made the TPEC (electoral commission) to be perceived as an advanced technology-based electoral commission instead of an unsophistication based electoral commission.				
3	The direct election made the election activity a lot easier because of the digitalized information about the voters.				
4	The direct election made TPEC to be perceived as a world-class electoral body in Somalia.				
5	The introduction of direct election is a good indication of the well-preparedness of Somalia towards launching online voting.				
6	The introduction of direct election made the 2021 local government elections to be considered as an internet-based election.				
7	The introduction of direct election proved that peacebuilding through digital social media has become stronger in Somalia				
8	The introduction of direct election made the 2021 local government elections to be perceived				

	as meeting international standards criteria and promoting peacebuilding process in Somalia.				
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Cluster 2: To what extent, has the introduction of direct election discouraged election malpractices experienced in Somalia previously?

S/N	STATEMENT	SA	A	D	SD
1	The introduction of direct election decreased the incidents of double registration in the election.				
2	The introduction of direct election reduced the cases of more than one accreditation of the voters on the election day.				
3	The introduction of direct election minimized the rate of multiple voting in the 2021 local government elections.				
4	The use of direct election made Somali citizens vote for the candidates of their choice in the 2021 local government elections.				
5	The introduction of direct election offered Somali voters more confidence in participating the 2021 local government elections actively.				
6	With the introduction of direct election, there was reduced rate of ballot box snatching.				
7	The direct election reduced the cases of double voting.				
8	Direct election reduced the rate of manipulation of election results.				

Cluster 3: What are the challenges that might limit the introduction of direct elections in Somalia?

S/N	STATEMENT	SA	A	D	SD
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1	Internet problem.				
2	Incompatibility of direct election and Somalis' deep-rooted tribalism.				
3	Lack of technical know-how by TPEC (electoral body) ad-hoc staff.				
4	Lack of enough digital devices.				
5	Lack of mobile devices for internet access.				
6	Lack of preparedness by TPEC staff.				
7	Malfunctioning of smart card readers and other electronic devices at election day.				
8	Digital illiteracy among the voters.				
9	Illegal reconfigurations of the electoral machines by TPEC ad-hoc staff.				
10	Non-accreditations of eligible voters due to factors relating to faded permanent voters' card.				

APPENDIX B

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The structured interview proposed questions:

1. What are your comments about peacebuilding and the introduction of direct election in 2021 local government election in Somalia particularly Puntland state?
2. What do you say about the readiness of TPEC to use digital direct election in its election activities with regard to peacebuilding process in Somalia?
3. What is your response about TPECs performance and result announcement in 2021 local government elections with regard to its reflection of peacebuilding in Somalia?
4. What future does the introduction of direct election hold for Somalia when it becomes online voting experienced in other countries?
5. What do you think about the role of direct election in election fraud and malpractice in relation to 2021 local government elections?
6. Do you believe ‘the introduction of direct election’ as a game changer in Somali elections?
7. What are the drawbacks (weak points) you can point out in ‘direct election’ when it becomes peacebuilding process in Somalia?