

Dhaqaalaha ku baxa Doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand

*Maal-galinta axsaabta siyaasadda
iyo musharixiinta*



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QORAAYADA

Aly Verjee waa cilmi-baadhe sare oo ka tirsan Machadka Dooxada Rift. Waxa uu goob-jooge ka noqday in ka badan 20 doorasho, oo ay ku jirto doorashooyinkii 2005, 2010 iyo 2012 kii ka dhacay Soomaalilaand. Aadan Abokor waxa uu isku dubba riday wufuud goob-joogayaal caalami ah oo ka qayb galay dhawr doorasho oo ka dhacay Soomaalilaand, waxana uu ka mid ahaa Guddidii la Socodka Doorashooyinka (*Electoral Monitoring Board of Somaliland*) sanadihii 2003 ilaa 2012. Haaruun Yuusuf waa maareeyaha mashaariicda ee ururka Nagaad, kaas oo ka shaqeeya xuquuqda dumarka, habka dimuqraadiyadda iyo doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand. Aamina Warsame waxay ka mid ahayd dumarkii ugu horreeyay ee ka qayb gala tartanka doorashadii 2005, iyada oo u tartamaysay xubin ka tirsan Baarlamaanka Soomaalilaand. Waa guddoomiyihii hore ee Nagaad waxana ay hadda tahay aasaasaha ururka cilmi-baadhista iyo wax-qabadka haweenka (*Somaliland Women's Research and Action Group*, SOWRAG). Maxamed Faarax waa cilmi-baadhe sare iyo macallin wax ka dhiga barnaamijka shahaadada koowaad (*Undergraduate Tutor*) ee Jaamacadda Burco. Maxamed Xirsi waa Agaasimaha Akadamiyada Nabadda iyo Horumarinta (APD) ee ku taalla Hargeysa.

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XUQUUQAHA

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Mahadnaq

Warbixintan waxa lagu soo bandhigaysaa daraasad madax bannaan oo laga sameeyay dhaqaalaha doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand. Daraasadda waxa sameeyay koox cilmi-baadheyaal ah oo ka tirsan Machadka Dooxada Rift (RVI), iyaga oo la kaashanaya Akadamiyadda Nabadda iyo Horumarinta (APD), waxana xog-ururinta laga sameeyayay Soomaalilaand iyo Kiiniya sanadkii 2013kii iyo dabayaaqadii 2014kii. Isu-duwaha cilmi-baadhistu wuxuu ahaa Aly Verjee. Daraasaddani waxay ka mid tahay barnaamijyada cilmi-baadhista ee Madasha Nayroobi ee lagu lafor guro Daraasaddaha, Siyaasadda iyo Aqoonta Maxalliga ah, waxana maal-galiyay Hay'adda Iskaashiga Caalamiga ee Dawladda Ingiriiska.

Kooxda cilmi-baadhistan samaysay waxay u mahadnaqayaan muwaadiniintii, musharixiintii, ururadii siyaasadda iyo xisbiyadii sida laabta furan uga warramay waayo-aragnimadii ay ka heleen doorashooyinkii 2005tii iyo 2012kii ka dhacay Soomaalilaand. Waxa sidoo kale aannu ka mahadcelinaynaa taageeradii iyo furfurraantii aannu ka helnay Guddida Doorashooyinka Qaranka, Guddida Diiwaangalinta iyo Ansixinta, iyo Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha. Mahadnaq gaar ah ayaannu u diraynaa Akadamiyada Nabadda iyo Horumarka, kuwaas oo la'aantood aanay suurto gasheen cilmi-baadhistani. Waxaannu Caasha Xasan Maxamed oo joogta Hargeysa uga mahadcelinaynaa gacan-qabadkeegii. Nayroobi, waxaannu taageero maamul iyo hawl-fududayn ah ka helnay shaqaalaha xafiiska RVI: Charles Kyale, Ndanu Mung'ala iyo Sylvia Kitema oo taageero ka gaystay fulinta xog-ururinta, iyo Mark Bradbury, Agaasimaha Geeska iyo Bariga Afrika, oo curiyay fikradda cilmi-baadhistan kaddib markii uu dhagaystay cabashooyin ka imanayay xubnaha Guddiga Doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand, musharixiinta iyo ururadii siyaasadeed ee ka qayb galay doorashooyinkii 2012kii.

Taariikhdu markay ahayd 28 kii Noofambar, sannadkii 2012ka, Soomaalilaand, tan iyo markii ay xornimada la soo noqotay bishii May 1991 kii, waxa ay markii labaad qabatay doorashooyinka golaha degaanka. Xildhibaanadu – kuwa degmooyinka iyo dawladaha hoose – waa heerka ugu hooseeya ee shaqaalaha dawladda ee laga doorto Soomaalilaand. Tani waxa ay ahayd doorashadii shanaad ee la qabto tan iyo 2002dii, markii la qabtay doorashadii ugu horaysay ee Golayaasha Degaanka. Doorashooyin Madaxweyne ayaa la qabtay sanadihii 2003 iyo 2010, doorashadii baarlamaankuna waxa ay qabsoontay 2005tii. Doorashooyinka xiga ee heer Madaxweyne iyo heer Baarlamaan waxa la qorsheeyay in ay dhacaan sanadka 2015ka balse waxaa dib loogu dhigay sandaka 2017ka.¹ Doorashooyinkii 2012kii waxa soo maray tiradii ugu badnayd ee tartamayaal ah iyo tiradii ugu sarraysay ee cod-bixiye yaal u soo baxa doorasho ka dhacda Soomaalilaand.

Xeerka Doorashooyinka ee Soomaalilaand waxa uu ogolyahay in ururo siyaasadeed oo cusub la sameeyo tobankii sannaba mar, halka dastuurka Soomaalilaand uu ku xadeeyo xisbiyada siyaasadda sharciga ah ee diiwaan gashan saddex markiiba. Ururadaas ayaa markaa ku tartama doorashada degaanka sidii ay u noqon lahaayeen xisbiyo siyaasadeed.² Doorashadii 2002dii waxa ku guulaystay Ururka Dimuqraadiga Umadda Bahawday (UDUB), Ururka Cadaaladda iyo Daryeelka (UCID) iyo Kulmiye, kaddib markay ku guulaysteen codadkii ugu badnaa ee doorashada iyaga oo sidaana ku noqday axsaab qaran.³

Sidaa darteed, doorashadii 2012kii waxa ay lahayd laba natiijo: codadku waxa uu go'aaminayay musharixiinta guulaysanaya iyo ururada siyaasadeed ee noqonaya axsaab qaran, ama kuwa hore usii jiray ee ku guulaystay inay kaalintoodii sharci ilaashadaan. Haddii la doorto musharax ka tirsan ururada aan soo bixin, waxa uu ku biirayay mid ka mid ah xisbiyada soo baxay.⁴ Shuruudan ah in musharaxii ururkiisu hadhay ku biiro xisbi soo baxay waxa ay hor taalay dhammaan heerarka kala duwan ee dawladda; fikir

1 East African Globe. 'Somaliland upper parliament postpones the 2015 elections for 22 months', 11 May 2015.

2 Qodobka 6aad, Dastuurka Jamhuuriyadda Somaliland (2000): http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Distoorka_oo_Dhan.htm.

3 Qodobka 6aad(5), Xeerka nidaamka ururada iyo axaabta siyaasada (2011): http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Xeerka_Ururada_Xisbiyada_2011_iyo_Wax_Ka_Bedellkiisi_22102011.pdf.

4 Qodobka 24aad, Xeerka nidaamka ururada iyo axaabta siyaasada (2011); Eeg sidoo kale Ibrahim Hashi Jama, 'Consolidation of the Regulation of Political Associations and Parties Law 2011 and its Ammendments', Somalilandlaw, 2012.

5 Tani maaha soo jeedin ah inaan Darren laga muujin arrinka intii ka horaysay doorashadi 2012; SONSAF ayaa warbixintoodi ka horeysay doorashada si gaar ah uugu fiirsatay: 'Political parties generally spend huge amounts of money to create and re-create supporters': Somaliland Non State Actors Forum (SONSAF), 'Citizens' Dialogue: Pre-Election Consultation Forums on Upcoming Local Council Elections', Hargeysa, 2012.

ahaan, haddii Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand aanu xisbigii uu ka tirsanaa soo bixi lahayn, waxa waajib ku noqon lahayd in uu ku biiro mid kale oo ka mid ah Xisbiyada guulaystay, ama waxa uu xilka u sii hayn lahaa isaga oo madax bannaan.

Shan iyo toban xisbi ayaa gudbiyay codsigoodii ay ku dalbanaayeen in loo ogolaado inay la tartamaan Kulmiye (oo ahaa xisbiga muxaafidka tan iyo 2010kii), iyo UDUB (oo ahaa xisbiga muxaafidka sanadihii 2002 ilaa 2010), iyo UCID. Lix ka mid ah 15kii urur ayaa buuxiyay shuruudihii looga baahnaa, ugu dambayntiina shan ayaa ka qayb galay tartanka. UDUB kamay qayb galin doorashada, sidaas ayaanay ku wayday sharciyadeedii xisbi qarannimo.

Ka sokow hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda ee dalka, nidaamka doorashooyinka wadanku waxa uu god-daloolooyin ku leeyahay dhawr meelood. Ka dib doorashooyinkii 2012kii, cabashooyin la xidhiidha sida nidaamku u shaqaynayo—oo ay ku jirto sida loo maal-galiyo doorashooyinka—ayaa si isku mid ah uga yimid codeeyeyaasha, siyaasiyiinta iyo xisbiyadaba. Marka loo eego doorashooyinkii hore, doorashadii 2012 ka waxa xoog u kordhay kharashka ku baxa ololaha musharixiintu galeen, sida ay sheegeen musharixiinta, axsaabta iyo ururada siyaasadduba.

Illaa hadda, fiiri dheer lama siin kaalinta uu ku leeyahay kharashka ololuhu hannaanka doorashooyinka ee Soomaalilaand. Ujeedada daraasadan in ay qayb ahaan buuxiso kaalintan aqooneed ee bannaan iyada oo la qiyaasayo lana baadi-goobayo halka uu kharashku ka soo galay iyo meelaha ugu muhiimsan ee ay ku bixiyeen musharixiintii ka qayb galay doorashooyinkii baarlamaanka ee 2005 iyo kuwii dawladaha hoose ee 2012.⁵

Daraasaddan waxa lagu ogaaday in ay dhici karto in doorashooyinkii golayaasha degaanka ee 2012 loo ururiyay kharashkii ololaha ku baxay oo ahaa lacag gaadhaysa 50 milyan oo doolarka Maraykanka ah. Lacagtaasi waxa ay aad uga badan tahay kharashka ku baxa abaabulidda doorashooyinka, waxana ay gaadhaysaa kala badh miisaaniyaddii dalka ee 2012ka.

Kharashkan kordhay sanadkii 2012 waxa qayb ahaan loo aanayn karaa ahamiyadda dheeraadka ah ee ay doorashadu u lahayd kala saaridda ururada siyaasadda; kuwa hore u jiray ee haysanaya kaalintoodii xisbi qaran tobanka sanno ee soo socda iyo kuwa meesha u banaynaya ururada cusub ee siyaasadda kusoo

biiraya. Sanadkii 2011kii, Baarlamanka Soomaalilaand waxa uu hirgaliyay ‘nidaam liis furan ah’ (*open list system*) kaas oo loogu tolo galay in doorashooyinka dawlada hoose in ay noqdaan kuwo ku dhisan saamiga codbixiyayaasha. Marka la raacayo nidaamka furan, cod-bixiyayaashu waxa ay dooran karaan musharaxa ay rabaan iyada oo aan loo eegayn halka uu musharaxu kaga jiro liiska ururka ama xisbiga. Taa ka soo horjeedkeeda, haddii la raaco waa ‘nidaamka liiska xidhan’ (*closed list system*), oo cod-bixiyuhu waxa keliya ee uu doortaa ay tahay xisbi ama urur, musharixiintana waxa lagu soo xushaa oo qudha iyada oo la eegayo halka ay kaga jiraan liiska.

Qaadashada nidaamka furan waxa uu dhiirri galiyay tartan xoogan oo dhex mara musharixiinta, taasina waxa ay keentay in kharashku uu kordho maadaama oo musharaxu uu ku qasbanaa inuu la tartamo musharixiinta ay tartanka ku wada jiraan ee ka socda xisbiyada kale iyo kuwa ay isku xisbiga yihiinba. Laakiin nidaamka siyaasadeed waa qayb ka mid ah uun sababaha lagu shariixi karo korodhka kharashka ololaha. Sababaha kale waxa ka mid ahaa tirada—sida tirada musharixiinta tartamayay oo aad uga badnaa kuwii doorashooyinkii hore—iyo tartanka doorashooyinka golayaasha degaanka oo xooganaa, sababta tartankaas badan keentayna waxay ahayd siyaasado hoose iyo kuwo qaranba; arrimaha siyaasadeed iyo kuwa dhaqaale ee miiska saarnaa (ee loo tartamayayna) way ka miisaan badnaayeen sidii hore, sababta oo ah dawladdii oo sal-dhigtay, dhaqaalihii oo kobcay, iyo ilo cusub oo dhaqaale sida soo saaridda shidaalka oo soo korodhay; waxa intaa dheer maalgashiga qurbejoogga Soomaalilaandna oo kobcay tan iyo 2002kii. Waxa intaas dheer, doorashooyinka oo u muuqday in ay ka ciyaaraan kaalin muhiim ah wareejinta dhaqaalaha (economic redistribution) bulshada Soomaalilaand maadaama oo in ay kharashka kordhiyaan ay ku qasbeen musharixiinta arimo ay ka mid ahaayeen dhaqanka iyo bulshadu waxay ka filaysay musharixiinta, culays kaga yimi tartamayaasha dhiggooda ah, iyo waliba hoggaansanaanta cod-bixiyayaasha oo hoosaysay.

Baahida iyo awoodda ay u leeyihiin inay heli karaan kharash ay doorashada ku galaan waxa ay xoog u badashay hab-dhaqanka musharixiinta iyo cod-bixiyayaasha, taasi oo keentay hal-haysyo cusub oo la xidhiidha doorashayoonka (Jaantuska 7). Sanadkii

2012, iyada oo la hayay xogo tilmaamaya kharashka ololaha kaga baxay musharixiinta oo aad uga badnaa mushaharka ama gunnada ay xubnaha la doortay heli doonaan marka ay xafiiska fadhiistaan, xubnihii guulaystay waxa ay sheegeen inay ku mashquuleen sidii ay dib ugula soo noqon lahaayeen kharashkii ka baxay (taasina ay tilmaamayso inay sameeyaan falal sharci-darro ah). Tiro badan oo ka mid ah xubnihii ku guul darraystay doorashooyinkii 2005 iyo 2012 ayaa waxa ay sheegeen in daymo badan lagu leeyahay, oo ay bixin kari waayeen.

Badanka musharaxiinta iyo wakiillada xisbiyada siyaasadda iyo ururada siyaasadda wareysigoodu waxa uu sheegay in ay rumaysan yihiin kharashka kordhay ee ku baxay doorashooyinka uu yahay arrin taban oo ku soo korodhay Soomaalilaand. Musharaxiinta badankoodu may filayn in ololaha doorshadu uu sidaas oo kale u kharash batto, waxana ay sheegeen in ay waayo-aragnimo xun ka dhaxleen tartankii. Markii la waydiiyey badankooda waxa ay yidhaahdeen mar danbe isma soo shariixi doonno. Musharaxiinta dumarka gaar ahaan waxaa ku adkaatey in ay u helaan maalgalin tartankooda doorshada; caadooyinkii bulshada ayaa ka horyimid kartidoodii ay ku ururin lahaayeen hanti taasina waxa ay keentay in dumar tiro yar la doorto.

Cilmi-baadhista waxa ay daaha ka rogaysaa in doorshada dimoqraadiga ah ee Soomaalilaand ay la wadaagto astaamo dalalka kale ee dimoqraadiyaddoodu soo korayso, laakiin waxaa kale oo ay muujinaysaa in ay jiraan qodobbo ay kaga duwan tahay kuwa kale. Hal meel oo ay la wadaagto dimuqraadiyadaha kale ee ka jira Afrika ka hoosaysa Saxaaraha ayaa ah in hantida qofka iyo qoyskiisu ay tahay isha dhaqaale ee ugu muhiimsan ololaha musharixiinta. Hal meel oo ay kaga duwantahay waa iibinta qaadka, oo ah meesha kharashka ugu badani kaga baxo musharixiinta.⁶ Xadiga kharashka ah ee ku baxa qaadku waxa uu u muuqdaa in uu aad uga badan yahay kharashaadka lala barbardhigi karo ee laga sameeyo dalalka Afrika ee Saxaaraha ka hooseeya marka laga eego dhanka lacagta ama faa'iidooyinka tooska ah ee uu ka helayo codeeyuhu. Qaadka oo ay beertaan beeralayda dhulka joogga sare ee ku yaalla inta badan Itoobiya, Yeman iyo Kiiniya, diyaarado ayaa loogu qaadaa, dhulkana waa loo sii mariyaa macaamiishiisa degta magaaloooyinka iyo deegaamada ku yaalla dhulka hooseeyaha ah. In badan oo ka

mid ah bulshada Soomalida ahna cunista qaadku way la dhaaftay in qaadku ahaado hiwaayad bulsheed oo xafladaha uun loo isticmaalo, waxaana ay ka noqotay balwad maalin kasta la isticmaalo oo dhaqaale badanina ku baxo.

Inkasta oo baaxadda iyo badnida kharashka ku baxaya qaadku ay tilmaamayso in uu lagama maarmaan u yahay ololaha doorashada, musharaxiintu waxa ay ku kala qaybsameen in kharash ku bixinta qaadku tahay hab wanaagsan oo lagu kasbado codadka iyo in kale. Qaar codeeyayaasha ka mid ahi waxa ay sheegeen in aanay marwalba ahayn farsamo shaqaysa—dadku waxa ay inta badan qiranayeen in ay qaataan qaadka la siiyo laakiin taasi aanay codkooda saameyn ku yeelanin. Waxaa ku jiray kharashaad kale hawsha musharaxiinta taasi oo ay ka mid tahay gaadiidka, shidaalka, isu soo baxyada xisbiga iyo naadiyada codbixiyayaasha—oo ahaa goobo la isigu yimaad oo ay ku kulmaan taageerayaashu—iyo lacagta lagu bixinayo dilaaliinta doorashada, kuwaas oo noqday hab muhiim ah oo taageerayaal loogu soo ururiyo musharaxiinta.

Daraasaddu waxa ay muujinaysaa in maalgalinta xisbiyada siyaasadda iyo musharaxiintuba ay kala duwan yihiin kana yimaadaan meelo kala duwan. Maalgalinta ka timi dadka qurbe-joogga ah, in kasta oo ay qireen qaar ka mid ah musharaxiintu, hadana ma aanay ahayn mid muhiim u ah musharaxiinta badankooda. Dadka Qurbe-joogga ah taageeradoodu waxay muhiim u ahayd xisbiyada siyaasadda iyo ururada, laakiin qaadhaankooda xaddi aad u yar ayuunbaa gaadhayay musharaxiinta. Xisbiyada siyaasaddu waxa ay sidoo kale taageero laxaad leh ka heleen ganacsatada, laakiin xidhiidhkaasi waa mid mugdi ku jiro, mana cadda in ay taageeradani ku salaysantahay wax filasho ah, iyo waxa ay tahay filashadaasi haddii ay jirto.

Codka in la kala iibsado ayaa ahayd arrin caadi ah oo la soo tabiyay, waxa aanay aad uga badatay intii markii hore loo haystay. Waxa ay caddeeyeen codeeyayaashu in lacag la siiyey si ay dhawr jeer u codeeyaan, waxaa kale oo ay sheegeen in ku celcelintaas codayntu ay u suurto galisay inay gutaan waajibaadyo bulsho oo kala duwan: qofku waxa uu u codeyn karayay musharaxii uu isagu doorbidayay iyo kii ka soo horjeeday ama la tartamaayey ee wax siiyay. Waxaa jirta tilmaamo muujinaya in xakameyntii bulshada ee xadidi lahayd is-daba mariska codaynta iyo si xun u adeegsiga

7 SONSAF, 'Press Statement: Local Council Election Held on Nov. 28, 2012', Hargeysa, 2012.
Michael Walls and Steve Kibble, 'Somaliland: Change and Continuity. Report by International Election Observers on the June 2010 Presidential Elections in Somaliland', Progressio, London, 2011; Steve Kibble and Michael Walls, 'Swerves on the Road: Report by International Election Observers on the 2012 Local Elections in Somaliland', Progressio, London, 2013.

doorashadu ay daciifeen muddooyinkan danbe; doorashada marba markii ka danbaysay sii lacagoobaysay ayaa sii xumaysay dhiba- atada is-daba mariska codaynta. Taa waxan ka akhrisan karnaa tirade codeeyayaasha isku soo baxay oo gaadhay heerkaa ugu sarreeyay in ay tahay arrin bogaadin mudan, taas oo isla markaana ah libin shaki badani ku jiro.

In kasata oo doorashooyinkii Soomaalilaand ay qabatey sanadkii 2012kii si guul ah u qabsoomeen, illaa haddana qaranka Soomaalilaand uu kaga soocan yahay qaybaha kale ee Geeska Afrika, wali haddana waxa hor taagan caqabado waaweyn. Kor joogayaal madax bannaan oo waddani iyo caalamiba iskugu jira ayaa qiray in ay doorashadu ahayd mid guulaysatey—sida ay ku tilmaameen doorashooyinkii hore—laakiin waxa ay xuseen walaacooga ku saabsan diiwaangelinta codbixiyayaasha iyo codka lagu ce celinayo maalinta codaynta.⁷ Arrimo kale, ayaa sidoo kale muhiimad gaar ah u leh doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand, jaarkeeda Puntland iyo Soomaaliyaba. Xeerar lagu xakamaynayo maal-ge- linta ololaha doorashooyinku way jiraan laakiin ma aha kuwo lagu dhaqmo, dadaal kasta oo wax lagaga qabanayo arrimaha la xidhiidha maal-gelinta doorashooyinka waa in loo arkaa qayb ka mid ah dib u habaynta nidaamka doorashooyinka, maadaama oo ay doorashooyinkii madaxwaynaha iyo kuwii baarlamaankuba ay qorshaysan yihiin muddo dhaw.

1. Dul-marka Guud ee Cilmi baadhista

Toban sanno oo doorasho ah

Ka dib markii Siyaad Barre xukunkii Soomaaliya laga tuuray bilowgii sanadkii 1991kii, dadka ku nool woqooyiga Soomaaliya waxa ay aas-aaseen dawladda madaxa bannaan ee Soomaalilaand. Hayeeshee Soomaalilaand iyada oo leh calan, hees qaran, hay'ado dawladeed oo shaqeynaya, lacagteeda, ciidan boolis, oo sidoo kalena qabatay doorashooyin joogto ah, madax-banaanineeda may aqoonsan dawlad qudha ama urur caalami ahiba; inta badanna waxa ay ula dhaqmaan sidii gobol ka mid ah Soomaaliya, in kasta oo uu yahay mid gaarkii u taagan.

Aftidii dastuurka Soomaalilaand waxaa la qabtay sanadkii 2001dii. Tanna waxa ay abuurtey habka xisbiyada badan iyo dawlad doorasho ku timaada, taasi oo ku ekaysay tirada xisbiyada siyaasadda ee rasmiga ah sadex xisbi oo kaliya. Sanadkii ku xigay waxa la qabtay doorashadii ugu horeysay ee laga hirgaliyo wadanka oo dhan ee degmooyinka iyo golayaasha deegaanka. Doorashooyinka waxaa ku tartamay ururo siyaasadeed oo badan, sadexdii helay codadka ugu badan ayaana noqday xisbiyada rasmiga ah: kuwaas oo kala ahaa UDUB, Kulmiye iyo UCID. Tan iyo markii la qabtay doorashooyinkii golaha deegaanka ee ugu horeeyay, waxa qabsoomayay doorashada madaxtooyada Soomaalilaand (sanadihii 2003, 2010) iyo ta Baarlamaanka (sanadkii 2005). Doorashadii madaxtooyada (2003) waxaa codad tiro yar ku guulaystey Daahir Riyaale Kaahin oo UDUB ahaa xilkana hayay toddoba sanadood. Waxaa ku xigay oo buuxiyey halkiisii madaxweynaha xilka hadda haye ee Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud “Siilaanyo”—ruug-caddaa wasiir hore uga soo noqday Soomaaliya iyo Soomaalilaandba - kaas oo la dooratay 2010kii. Doorashada madaxtooyada ee xigtaa waxa ay ku beegantahay sanadka 2015ka balse waxaa dib loogu dhigay sandaka 2017ka.

Baarlamaanka Soomaalilaand waxa uu ka kooban yahay laba Aqal: Golaha Wakiilada oo ah (82 xubnood) iyo Golaha Guurtida (oo isna ah 82 xubnood oo ka kooban odayaal dhaqameed). Doorashadii ugu danbaysay ee 2005tii xisbiga UDUB waxa u helay 33 kursi, Kulmiyena 28 Kursi halka UCID oo galay kaalinta sadexaad uu ka helay 21 kursi. Doorashada Baarlamaanka ee tan ku xigta waxaa la qorsheeyay 2017ka iyada oo qayb ka ah doorashooyinka guud.

Iyaga oo ah heerka ugu hooseeya ee doorasho maamul dawladeed loo qabto, doorashadii golaha deegaanka ee 2012kii—oo ah ta ay dulucda qormadani khusayso—waxay ahayd doorashadii ugu horraysay ee la qabto tobankii sanno ee u danbeeyay. Iyada oo qabsoontay 28 Noofambar sannadkii 2012kii, doorashadaa golaha deegaanka waxa ka qaybqaatay tartamayaashii ugu tirada badnaa iyo isusoo bixitaankii cod-bixiyeyaasha ee ugu tirada badnaa ee soo mara doorasho ka dhacda Soomaalilaand.

Habka Cilmi Baadhista

Cilmi-baadhayaashu waxa ay istcimaaleen wareysiyo ay ashkhaas la yeeshen iyo wada tashiga kooxo ay u qabteen doodo oo la isku dhafay. Daraasadda waxa aragtidooda laga soo ururiyay 93 musharax, oo 29 ka mid ahi ay ahayeen kuwii doorashada baarlamaanka 2005tii ka qayb galay (kuwaas oo ka noqonaya 11.8 boqolkiiba tirada guud ee musharaxiinta doorashadaas oo ahaa 246), iyo 64 ka tirsan musharaxiintii doorshada golaha degaanka ee 2012kii (kuwaas oo noqonaya 2.7 boqolkiiba tirada guud ee musharaxiinta doorashadaas ka qayb galay oo ahaa 2,368). Xubnahaa la waraystay, boqolkiiba 66 waxa ay ahaayeen musharaxiintii la doortay 2005tii, halka boqolkiiba 56 aya ahaayeen musharaxiintii la doortay 2012kii.

Inta badan dadka la waraystay waxa ay ka tirsanaayeen xisbiyada siyaasadeed ee kala ah Kulmiye, UCID iyo Wadani, kuwaas oo ku loolamay doorashadii 2012kii, iyo waliba xisbigii hore ee siyaasadeed ee UDUB iyo afartii urur siyaasadeed ee kale ee loo ogolaaday in ay tartamaan (eeg Jaantuska 1). Musharaxiinta la wareysatey waxa ay ka kala socdeen shan ka mid ah lixda gobol ee Soomaalilaand kuwaas oo kala ah: Maroodi jeex, Saaxil, Togdheer, Awdal iyo Sanaag.⁸

SHAXDA 1. TIRADA MUSHARAXIINTA LA WARAYSATAY OO KU SALAYSAN XISBIGA AMA URUR SIYAASADEEDKA AY KA TIRSAN YIHIIN

<i>Xisbiga/ ururka</i>	<i>Musharaxa la doortey</i>	<i>Musharaxa aan la dooran</i>	<i>Wadarta guud</i>
UDUB	7	2	9
Kulmiye	12	9	21
UCID	13	9	22
Waddani	6	3	9
Ummada	6	7	13
Rays	5	4	9
Xaqsoor	3	2	5
Dalsan	3	2	5
	55	38	93

Ka sokow waraysiga lala yeeshay musharaxiintii la doortay iyo kuwii aan la dooran, waxa la waraystay xubno sar sare oo ka mid ah xisbiyada iyo ururada siyaasadda kuwaas oo aaraa'doodu naga caawisay caddeynta meelaha ay xisbiyada siyaasaddu ka helaan dhaqaalaha iyo in la eego meelaha kala duwan ee kharashku kaga baxo xisbiyada, iyo in sidoo kale la fahmo taageerada xisbiyada iyo ururadu ay siiyeen musharaxiintooda.

Kooxda cilmi baadhista sameysay waxa kale oo ay wareysteen codeeyayaashii, dilaaliinta codka (vote brokers), dad ganacsato ah iyo xubno ka mid ah qurba-joogga, sidoo kale wakiilada Gudiga Doorashooyinka Qaranka (*National Electoral Commission, NEC*), Gudiga Diiwaangalinta iyo Ansixinta Xisbiyada (*Registration and Approval Committee, RAC*) oo iyagu go'aaminayay in ururada siyaasaddu buux-buuxin karaan shuruudaha lagu noqonayo xisbi siyaasadeed qaran, iyo Wasaarada Arrimaha Gudaha.

Isbar bar dhiga Kharashka doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand
Xisbiyada siyaasadda iyo ururada, shakhsiyaadka tartamaya, beelaha, qurbe-joogga iyo ganacsatadu dhammaan waxa ay ururiyaan oo ay bixiyaan qadar lacag ah oo aad u badan waqtiga ka horreeya iyo marka lagu jiro doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand, waxa intaasi dheer kharashka ku baxa agaasimidda doorashada.

- 9 Shari Bryan and Denise Baer (eds.), 'Money in Politics: A Study of Party Financing Practices in 22 Countries', National Democratic Institute of International Affairs, Washington, D.C., 2005; John Ishiyama, Anne Batta, and Angela Sortor, 'Political Parties, Independents and the Electoral Market in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Party Politics* 19/5 (2011): 695-712.
- 10 Jeff Conroy-Krutz and Carolyn Logan, 'Museveni and the 2011 Ugandan Election: Did the Money Matter?', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50/4 (2012): 625-55; Michael Bratton, 'Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns', *Electoral Studies* 27 (2008): 621-38; Paul Collier and Pedro Vicente, 'Violence, Bribery, and Fraud: The Political Economy of Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Public Choice* 153/2 (2011): 117-47; Nubia Evertsson, 'Political Corruption and Electoral Funding: A Cross-National Analysis', *International Criminal Justice Review* 23/1 (2013): 75-94; Staffan Lindberg, "'It's Our Time To Chop": Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counteract it?', *Democratization* 10/2 (2003): 121-40.

Hase yeeshee, tiro kooban oo daraasado ah ayaa isku dayey in ay gorfeeyaan maalgalinta ololaha doorashooyinka ka dhaca dalalka leh hab dimuqraadiyadeed oo ugub ah, gaar ahaan Afrikada ka hoosaysa Saxaaraha.⁹ Aqoonta kooban ee arrinkaa la xidhiidhaa waxa ay xoogga saareysaa is-daba mariska iyo musuqa doorashooyinka.¹⁰ Sidaas awgeed, daraasaddan laga sameeyey Soomaalilaand waxay ku qotontaa waayo-aragnimo is-bar bar dhig ah oo kooban, oo gaar ahaan la xidhiidha Geeska Afrika.

Caddaymaha aanay sugnayn xaqiiqadoodu ee ku saabsan doorashadii golyaasha deeganka ee sanadkii 2012ku waxa ay tilmaamayaan in arrimaha la xidhiidha maalgalintu ololayaashu ay la yimaadeen walaac sii kordhaya, marka la barbar dhigo doorashooyinkii hore.¹¹ In kasta oo la bilaabay ururinta arrimaha siyaasadda ee la xidhiidha doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand, haddana aad looma baadhin arrimaha dhaqaalaha ee la xidhiidha doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand.¹² Waa arrin muhiim ah oo ay tahay in dad kasta oo dimuqraadi ahi ay fahmaan, maxaa yeelay baahida loo qabo in hanti la ururiyo waxa ay si gaar ugu hiilin kartaa ururo, beelo iyo ashkhaas gaar ah ka qayb-galkooda, halka ay qaar kalana ka reebayso. Qodobkan danbe waxa uu muhiimad gaar ah u leeyahay dumarka.

Kor u kaca Kharashka Doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand

Qiiimaha lagu agaasimayo doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand waxa uu ahaa mid qunyar kor ugu sii kaca tan iyo doorshadii ugu horaysay ee golaha degaanka ee la qabtay sanadkii 2002dii.¹³ Jaantuska 2 waxa uu muujinayaa kharashkan oo kor u sii socda ilaa sanadkii 2012kii, kaas oo ay ka muuqato korodhka xoogga ah ee ku yimi kharashka ku baxa cod-bixiye kasta marka la bar bar dhigo doorashadii madaxtinimada ee sanadkii 2010kii.

Qayb waxaa ka ahaa kor u kaca qiimaha doorashadii 2012kii, taas ayaana loo aanayn karaa dib u dhicii dheeraa ee saameeyey doorashooyinka.¹⁴ Codaynta waxaa la qorsheeyey rasmi ahaan sanadkii 2011kii, waqiyada doorashadaas oo mudadeedii dhaaftay ayaa waxa ay ka dhigtay kharashka joogtada ah ee hawlaha mid aad u kordhay oo aad uga durugsan wixii la filayay marka lagu qiyaaso doorashayoonkii hore.¹⁵

SHAXDA 2. IS BAR BAR DHIGA KHARASHKII AGAASINKA EE
AFARTII DOORASHO EE SOOMAALILAAND KA DHACAY, 2002-2012
KII (DOLLARKA MARAYKANKA)

<i>Nooca hantida la bixiyey</i>	<i>Doorashadii Golaha degaanka</i>	<i>Doorashadii Baarlamaanka</i>	<i>Doorashadii Madaxtooyada</i>	<i>Doorashadii Golaha degaanka 2012</i>
	2002	2005	2010	
Hantida Deeq Bixiyaha	750,000	1,672,705	3,070,113	8,826,480
Dawladdu inta ay	346,982	500,000	1,145,000	2,200,000
Isku geynta Kharashka	1,096,982	2,172,705	4,215,113	11,026,480
Isku geynta Codadka	440,067	670,328	538,246	820,160
Qjima halkan	2.49	3.24	7.83	13.44

11 Social Research and Development Institute (SORADI), 'Reflections and Lessons of Somaliland's Two Decades of Sustained Peace, Statebuilding and Democratization'. SORADI, Hargeysa, 2012.

12 Mark Bradbury, Adan Yussuf Abokor, and Haroon Yusuf, 'Somaliland: Choosing Politics over Violence', *Review Of African Political Economy* 30/97 (2003): 455-78; Adan Yussuf Abokor et al., 'Further Steps to Democracy: The Somaliland Parliamentary Elections, September 2005', Progressio, London, 2006; Mark Bradbury, *Becoming Somaliland*. Oxford: James Currey/Progressio, 2008; Walls and Kibble, 'Somaliland: Change and Continuity. Report by International Election Observers on the June 2010 Presidential Elections in Somaliland'.

13 Mark Bradbury et al., 'An Evaluation of Donor Assistance to the Somaliland Democratization Process'. Rift Valley Institute, London, 2011.

14 Kibble and Walls, 'Swerves on the Road: Report by International Election Observers.

15 Department for International Development (DFID), 'Business Case: 18 month Cost Extension of the Somaliland Election Programme (SEP)', London, 2012.

2. Hantida ku Baxda Ololaha Doorshada Soomaalilaand

16 Xildhibaanada hargeysa, oo ah Kuwa uugu wanagsan wadanka, ayaa waxaa lagu waramay in ay helaan gunooyin ah sadex Milyan oo Soomaalilaand shilling ah bishiiba (qiyaasti 400 Doolarka Maraykanka). Gunooyinka xildhibaanada kale ayaa ka hooseeya iyaga Marka loo eego.

Kharashka ku baxay agaasinka doorashooyinka, ayaa hase ahaatee waxa uu shiiqiyay xadiga lacagta ah ee uu musharruxu ku bixiyay ololaha doorashada, gaar ahaan sanadkii 2012kii. Sida Jaantuska 3 muujinayo musharaxiintu waxa ay bixiyeen xaddi kharash lacag ah oo aad u badan 2012 kii iyaga oo isku dayaya in loo doorto xilal dawladeed oo aan lahayn mushahar buuran oo la taaban karo, mararka qaarkoodna bilaa mushaharo ah.¹⁶

Haddii celceliska kharashka ku baxay doorashadii 2012kii uu yahay mid laga arki karo dhamaan musharaxiintii Hargeysa oo tiradoodu ahayd 175, oo lagu sii daray 2,193 musharax oo wadanka intiisa kale iska sharaxay, markaa isu geynta ay musharaxiintaasi ku kharash gareeyeen ololaha kaliya waxaa laga yabaa in ay noqoto mid ka badan 50 milyan oo Doolarka Maraykanka ah.

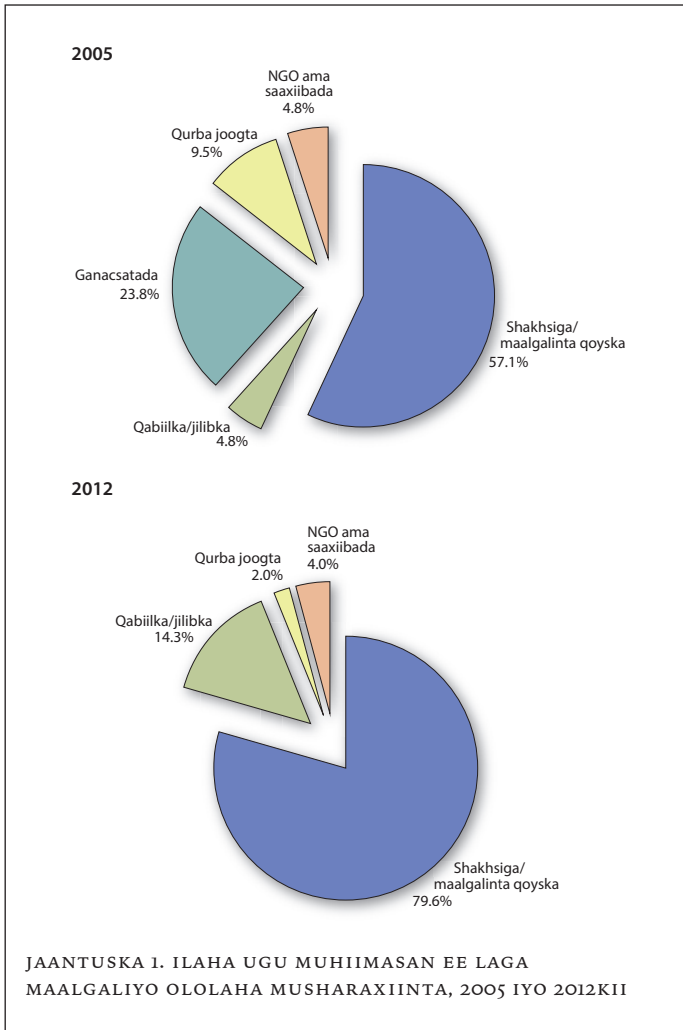
SHAXDA 3. IS BAR BAR DHIGA KHARASHKA KU BAXAY OLOLAHA DOORASHADA MUSHARAXIINTA GOLAHA DEEGAANKA 2012, (DOLLARKA MARAYKANKA)

Goobta	<i>Celceliska kharashka la sheegay in uu ku baxay musharaxiinta guuleystey</i>	<i>Kharashkii ugu badnaa ee ku baxay musharaxiinta guuleystey</i>	<i>Cel celiska kharashka la sheegay in uu ku baxay musharaxiinta aan guulaysan</i>	<i>Kharashkii ugu badnaa ee ku baxay musharaxiinta aan guulaysan</i>
Hargeysa	58,750	120,000	29,714	73,000
Wadanka intiisa kale	24,817	68,000	16,078	29,000

Tirooyinkani waxa ay keenayaan su'aalo dhawr ah: halkeebay lacagtaasi ka timi? Maxaa lagu bixiyay? Iyo sababta ay musharaxiintu u bixinayaan lacagta intaa le'eg? Qaybta soo socota ee warbixintan waxa lagu baadhayaa su'aalahan iyo faallo ku saabsan hababka ololaynta iyo waayo aragnimada musharaxiinta.

Qiimeynta Xogta: Halka laga helo Maalgalinta

Musharaxiinta Soomaalilaand waxa ay sheegayaan in ay inta badan iyagu maal-galiyeen ololhooda. Sida uu Jaantuska 1 muujinayo ilaa hadda ilaha maalgalintu ka timaaddo ee ugu muhiimsan ee badanka musharaxiintu waa hanti dhaqaale oo shaqsi iyo mid qoys. Musharaxiinta badankoodu waxa ay sheegayaan inay ku talo jireen inay sameeyaan olole wax ku ool ah iyaga oo isticmaalaya maalgalintooda gaarka ah iyo taageerada



ay ka helayeen qoysaskooda, saaxiibadood iyo xubno ka mid ah jilibadooda hoose.

Muhiimadda ay leedahay hantida shakhsigu—hadday tahay mid qofku dhigtay iyo mid hanti qoys ahba—waa mid aad uga muuqatay doorashadii 2012ka, sababtuna waxa laga yaabaa in ay ahayd tirada musharxiinta tartamaya oo aad u badnaa iyo doorashada oo ahayd mid lagu tartamayo deegaanno hoose, taas oo u dhaxaysay qoysas bulsho ka soo wada jeeda.

Tani waxa ay tilmaamaysaa in, ha yeeshee, kharashka ku baxaya ololaha doorshadu in uu sare u sii kacaayey in muddo ahba.

Inkasta oo ay xubnaha beelaha iyo jilibyada, ganacsato iyo xubno qurba joogga ka mid ahi dhammaan ay ka qayb qaateen maalgalinta, hadana may ahayn ilaha maalgalinta ee ugu muhiimsan. Sidoo kalena may ahayn ururada iyo xisbiyada siyaasaddu, in kasta oo ay marmarka qaar ka gaysteen kaalin taageero ah, hadana may ahayn kaalintii koobaad ee ay ku lahaayeen dhaqaale u ururinta musharxiinta.

Maadaama oo ay musharxiintu is maal-galinayaan, dadka la waraystay waxa ay walaac ka muujiyeen in doorashooyinka marba marka ka danbaysa ay gacanta ku sii dhigayaan saddex nooc oo siyaasiyiin ah: dadka hantiilayaasha ah oo raba in danahooda ganacsi ee gaarka ah ku ilaashadaan xafiiska bulsho; shakhsiyaad ay maalgaliyeen maalgabeenno kuwaas oo ay u sandullaysnaan doonaan ; iyo shakhsiyaad laga yaabo in ay deyn galeen, taas oo ay ka soo qaateen ganacsato, si ay ugu bixiyaan kharashka ololohooda. Waxa soo noq-noqonayay sheekooyin ku saabsan dad u tartamay xil, kuwaas oo iibinaya dhulkoodii, oo ganacsigoodi ka baaba'ayo ama uu kacayba.

SHAXDA 4. SAAMIGA MUSHARAXIINTA LA WARIYEEY IN AY DEYN QAATEEN SI AY U MAALGALIYAAN OLOLAHOODA DOORASHADA SANADIHII 2005 IYO 2012 KII

2005 Doorshadii Baarlamaanka	42.9%
2012 Doorashaadii Golaha Deegaanka	71.4%

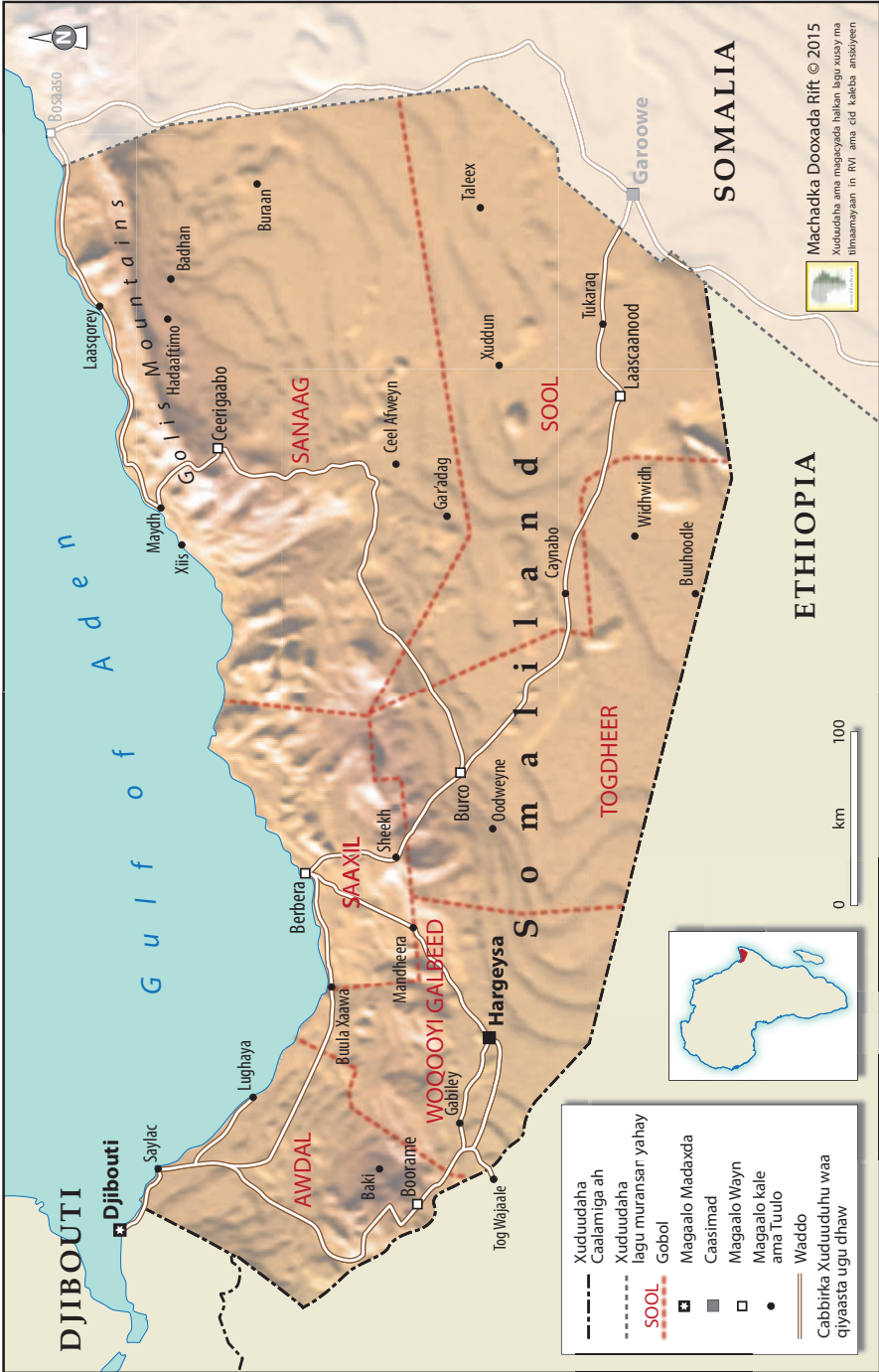
Shaxda 4 waxa ka muuqda in deyn u qaadashada maalgalinta ololaha doorshadu uu noqday mid aad u baahsan laga soo bilaabo doorshadii sanadkii 2005tii ee Baarlamaanka. Inkasta oo

korodhkaa mar kale loo tirin karo tirada badan ee musharaxiin ah ee u tartamay doorashada—iyo dhaqaalaha xadidan ee ay heli karaan—arrintani oo kali ahi ma sharraxayso korodhka aadka u sarreeya ee ku yimid qaadashada deynta, waxaa laga yaabaa in tirada badan ee dhalinyarada ah ee ka qayb gashay tartanka doorashadu in ay sharraxdo arrinkan, maadaama oo aanay dhalinyartaasi lahayn hanti shakhsi oo ay adeegsadaan. Mar kale ololaha doorashadu waxa uu noqonayaa mid aad usii qaaliyoo-baya. Musharaxiin badan oo ku guul darestey codayntii waxa ay sheegeen in aanay iska bixin karaynin dayntii ay qaateen ama/iyo in aanay ku talo jirin in ay dib u bixiyaan. Musharaxiinta guulaystay waxa ay sheegeen oo ay u malaynayeen in ay ku bixiyaan dayntii ay galeen iyaga oo adeegsanaya galaan-galka ay u leeyihiin hantida dadweynaha ee xafiiska loo doortay u suuro galinayo.

Dhaqanka ah in lagu tiirsado hantida qofka iyo qoysku ma aha mid ku gaar ah Soomaalilaand, laakiin muhiimadda ay leedahay ishan dhaqaale ayaa ah mid aad u sarraysa marka loo barbardhigo doorashooyinka ka dhaca Dimuqraadiyadaha kalee dalalka Afrikada Saxaaraha ka hooseysa. Shaxda 5 waxa ay ku salaysantahay cilmi-baadhis la sameeyey 2005 tii, waxana ay muujinaysaa

SHAXDA 5. SAAMIGA MUSHARAXIINTA SHEEGAY IN MAALGALITA AY BIXIYAAN IYAGA IYO QOYSKODU TAHAY ISHA UGU MUHIIMSAN MAALGALINTA OLOLAHA LAGU BIXIYO EE TOBAN DAL OO AFRIKAAN AH

..... <i>Soomaalilaand (2012)</i>	80%
Neyjeeriya	65%
Yugaandha	63%
Beniin	63%
Tansaaniya	58%
..... <i>Soomaalilaand (2005)</i>	57%
Kiiniya	55%
Sinigaal	53%
Saambiya	52%
Malaawi	51%
Gaana	41%
.....	



Khariradda 2. Soomaalilaand

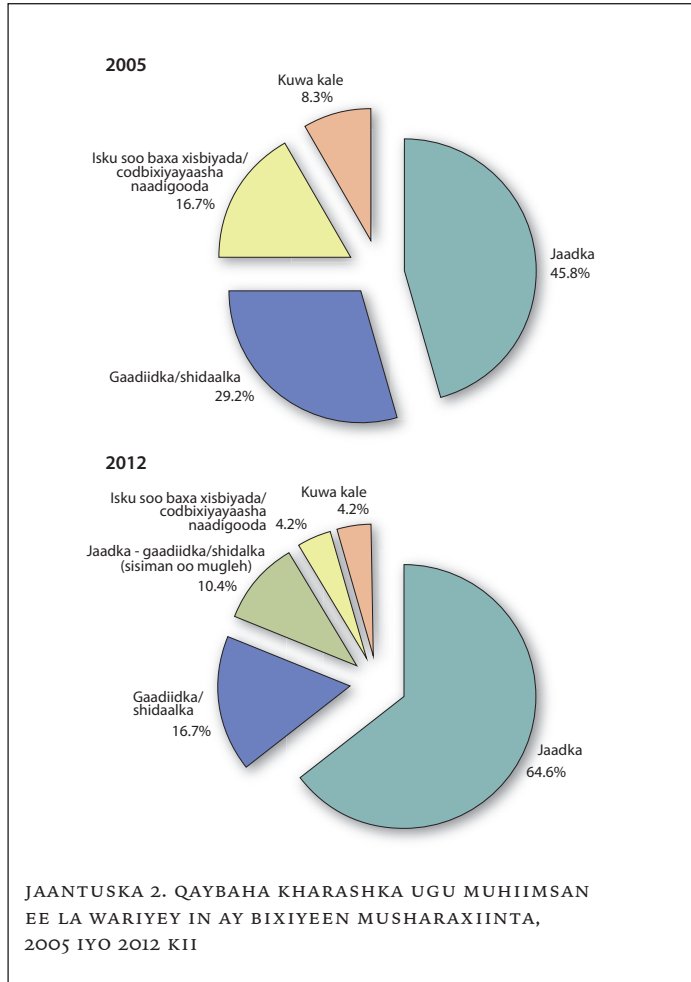
in sannadkii 2012 kii ay Soomaalilaand kaalinta ugu sarraysa ka gashay marka la eegayo muhiimada ay u leedahay hantida shakhsi iyo ta qoysku maal-galinta ololaha doorashada.¹⁷

17 Waxaa laga soo Qaatay Bryan and Baer, 'Money in Politics': 32-140.

Qiimeynta Xogta: Qaybaha Kharashka

Jawaab bixiyayaasha badankoodu waxa ay cadeeyeen in badanaa maalgalinta ololhooda lagu kharash gareeyey guud ahaan arimo la xidhiidha, qaybna ka ah ololaha siyaasadda Soomaalilaand oo sharci/sax ah kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin bixinta Qaadka, gaadiidka iyo in cuntada la siiyo cod-bixiyayaasha, agabka ololaha sida boodhadhka iyo waraaqaha yar yar ee baabuurta iyo gidaarada lagu dhajiyo, xidhiidhka tooska ah ee cod bixiyayaasha ay la lahaayeen iyada oo loo samaynayo golyaasha cod bixiyayaasha iyo qabashada isku soo baxyada iyo dhacdooyinka kale ee siyaasadeed. Kharashka ololaha ee ku baxa qaadku waa mid tixgalin gaar ah leh. Qaadka, oo ah geed ka baxa dhulka sarreeya ee Itoobiya, Yeman iyo Kiiniya, waxaana lagu soo qaadaa diyaarado ama dhulka ayaa loo soo mariyaa dadka isticmaala ee Soomaalida ah, kaas oo cunistiisu kolkii hore ahaan jirtay mid xilliyo gaar ah la isticmaalo hadda se waxa uu isku badalay balwad bulsheed qaali ah oo maalin kasta ay cunto bulshada Soomaalidu. Labadadii sanno ee 2005tii iyo 2012kiiba musharaxiintu waxa ay wariyeen in iibsashada qaadku si loogu qaybiyo cod bixiyayaashu ay ahayd mid aad u muhiim ah waxaanay u muuqatay in uu lagama maar maan u yahay kharashka ku baxaya ololaha. Jaantuska 2 waxa uu muujinayaa in ku dhawaad boqolkiiba 65 musharaxiintii doorashadii 2012ku ay ku qiyaaseen qaadku inuu ahaa shayga ugu kharashka badnaa.

Musharaxiintu badanaa waxa ay dareensanayeen in iibinta qaadku ahayd caddaynta ugu wayn ee tilmaamaysa sida ay uga go'antahay musharraxa doorashadu, xitaa haddii aanu si toos ah u hubin codeeyayaashu in ay daacad u yihiin. Musharaxii aan qaad iibin isaga ayay ka go'nayd. Musharaxiinta badankoodu waxa ay qaadka u arkayeen in uu yahay wax ay ku xisaabtamayaan cod-bixiyayaashu, oo uu u yahay lagama maarmaan in ay helaan codkooda. Musharax baarlamaan oo guulaystay ayaa waxa uu soo bandhigay dareen dad badan wadaagaan: 'Ma jirin cod bilaash ah maadaama oo uu jiray kharash badan oo aan toos ahayn oo



galaayay cod-bixiyayaasha, gaar ahaan in qaad loo iibinayo ragga codaynaya.’

Kharashka qaadka lagu bixinayay waxa uu hadheeyay hawlihii kale ee ololaha. Musharaxiinta kiraysta goobo looga ololeeyo oo xafiis ah waxay ay xaqiiqdii lacagtoodu ku baxaysay mafrashyo (oo ah goobo qaadka lagu cuno). Badanaa tiro rag ah oo ku dhaw 12 ayaa todobaadka oo dhan fadhiyay oo ku cunaya qaad, una muujinya musharaxa in uu haysto taageero. Musharaxa waxa laga filayaa inuu qaadka u iibiyo, waxaanu siinayaa cunto,

cabitaan, sidoo kalana waxa uu bixinayaa wixii kale ee kharash ah ee soo baxa.

Qaadka waxa kale oo lacag lagu bixiyaa xiliyada isku soo baxyada, marka la muujinayo sida loo jecel yahay musharraxa. Hababka lagu raalli galiyo codeeyayaasha waxa ka mid ah in la kireeyo basas lagana soo buuxiyo dad dhalinyaro ah kuwaas oo ku dhawaaqaya heeso iyo hadalo lagu taageerayo xisbiga iyo musharraxa. Xaaladan oo kale qaadka waxa loo isticmaalaa soo jiidasho iyo dhiirgalin: markasta oo ay taageerayaashu sii bataan, waxa sidoo kale bata qaadka la qaybinayo marka uu dhamaado isku soo baxu.

Iyada oo ay tani jirto, hadana musharaxiintu way ku kala aragti duwanaayeen kaalinta uu qaadku ka qaato iyo sida uu u suuro galiyo in la xasiliyo codadka. Halka ay qaar badani ka sheegeen in ay rumaysanyihiin in bixinta qaadku ay ahayd hab wax ku ool ah oo ay ku heleen codad, haddana aragtidani aad ayay uga fogayd mid la isku wada raacsan yahay. Musharaxiinta qaar ka mid ahi waxa ay qabeen in ay khasaare ahayd lacagta lagu bixinayo qaadku, haddii ay imika dib ugu laaban kari lahaayeen ama wax ka badali kari lahaayeen qorshoodii ololaha, kharash aad uga yar intii hore ayay ku bixin lahaayeen Qaadka. 'Inkasta oo lacag aad u badan aan ku bixiyey qaad, waxa markii danbe aan ogaaday in aanay taasi wax codad ah ii keenin,' sidaas ayuu yidhi mid ka mid ah musharaxiintii aan guulaysanin; 'qaad cunayaashu waligood daacad ma aha.'

Haddana, sida uu tilmaamay Staffan Lindberg, shacabka codka laga doonayo ee danyarta ah waxa laga yaabaa inay u arkaan doorashada fursad dib wax loogu qaybsado ama lagu macaasho.¹⁸ Filashada cod-bixiyayaasha Soomaalilaand ee ah inay qaad helaan mar walba, xitaa haddii aanu arrinkaasi ku dhalin in ay cod-kooda daacad ka noqdaan, meeshaas ayay ka cadayd oo laga arki karayaa. Ugu yaraan, marka lagu jiro ololaha doorashada, qaadku waxa uu u muuqdaa in uu ciyaarayo kaalin bulsho oo muhiim ah oo la xidhiidha muujinta kalsoonida lagu qabi karo musharaxa, ka jawaabidda waajibaadka bulshada, iyo in loo adeegsado hab lagu dhiirrigaliyo codeeyayaasha.

Kharashaadka qaadka ku baxa marka ololaha doorashada lagu jiro Soomaalilaand dhexdeeda waxa uu ka badan yahay marka la

19 Waxaa laga soo Qaatay Bryan and Baer, 'Money in Politics': 32-140.

20 Kibble and Walls, 'Swerves on the Road': 26.

bar bar dhigo xadiga waxa toos loogu bixiyey ee la siiyey cod bixiyaayaasha ee laga faa'iidey wadamo Afrikaan ah oo kale. Shaxda 6 Waxa ay muujinaysaa in doorashadii golaha deegaanka ee 2012kii ee Soomaalilaand uu liiska halka ugu sarreeya kaga jiray—aadna uga badnaa—wadamada musharaxiintoodu yidhaahdeen wixii ugu balaadhdnaa ee ay ololaha ku bixiyeen in uu ahaa lacag ay toos u siiyeen cod bixiyayaasha. Boqolkiiba inta la bixiyey doorashadii 2012kii ee qaad lagu cunay waxa ay ka badan tahay oo ay ka sarreysaa xaddigii kharashkii ku baxay doorshadii baarlamaanka ee 2005tii.

SHAXDA 6. KHARASHKII UGU MUHIIMSANAA EE KU BAXAY OLOLAHA TOBAN DAL OO AFRIKAAN AH¹⁹

.....		
<i>Soomaalilaand (2012)</i>	<i>Faa'iido toos ah/qaad</i>	(75%)
.....		
Neyjeeriya	Lacag iyo Faa'iido toos ah	(50%)
.....		
<i>Soomaalilaand (2005)</i>	<i>Faa'iido toos ah/qaad</i>	(46%)
.....		
Kiiniya	Lacag iyo faa'iido toos ah	(43%)
Biniin	Lacag iyo Faa'iido toos ah	(42%)
Yugaandha	Socdaal	(38%)
Taansaaniya	Isku soo bax iyo Dhacdooyin	(38%)
Sinigaal	Socdaal Lacag iyo Faa'iido toos ah	(36%)
Malaawi	Lacag iyo Faa'iido toos ah	(36%)
Gaana	Isku soo Bax iyo dhacdooyin	(33%)
Saambiya	Socdaal	(30%)
.....		

Socdaalka iyo kharashaadka la xidhiidha (shidaalka, baabuurta la kireeyo iyo kharashka ku baxa dirawalada) ayaa ahaa kharashka labaad ee ugu sarreeya ee ku baxa ee ay sheegeen musharaxiintu labadii doorasho ee 2005tii iyo 2012 kiiba. Kharashaadkaa waxa la galaa maalinta doorashada iyo ka horba. Maalinta doorashada laf ahaanteedda kharashka ugu weyni waxa uu ku baxaa gaadiid lagu guro cod bixiyayaasha oo lagu geeyo goobta codaynta, taasi oo ah dhacdo ay goob-joogayaashu si joogto ah usoo wariyaan, laakiin jabinaysa xeerka doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand.²⁰

Dalkan oo aan lahayn kaabayaal waddooyin oo dalka oo dhan ku baahsan oo la isku halayn karo, musharaxiinta waxa ay kaga

baxa kharash badan sidii ay u gaadhi lahaayeen cod bixiyayaashu iyo in ay u qaadaan degan miyiga dagan oo ay geeyaan xarumaha cod dhiibashada, inkasta oo aanay iyagu qiranayn in gaadiidka ay kharashkiisa bixiyeen uu fududeeyay in qofku codeeyo hal mar in ka badan.

Waxaa ku baxa warbaahinta iyo xayeyesiiska guud ahaan ma ah kharash sidaas ugu sii badan musharaxiinta Soomaalilaand, marka laga reebo kuwa ka sharraxan caasimadda Hargeysa. Wacyi galinta warbaahintu u sameyso waa mid aad muhiim ugu ah marka lagu jiro ololaha doorshada qaranka, gaar ahaan xisbiyada siyaasada iyo musharaxiinta madaxwaynaha u tartamaya. laakiin marka musharaxu u taratamayo xafiis golaha deegaanka ah ama degmooyin kuwaasi oo hal qof laga dhax dooranayo koox dhan oo tartamaysa, awoodooda waxa ay iskugu geeyaan oo ay xoogga saaraan meelaha ay adag tahay in ay warbaahintu gaadho, kuwaas oo sida ugu fudud ee lagu gaadhi karaa tahay in si toos ah loola xidhiidho cod bixiyayaasha.

Guud ahaan, Soomaalilaand shakhsiyaadka musharaxiinta ahi iyaga ayaa garbaha u rita culayska helitaanka lacagta ay ugu baahan yihiin in ay ku maalgaliyaan ololayaashooda. Sida uu sheegaay xubin baarlamaan oo ka soo jeeda Hargaysa:

Si qofka loogu magacaabo in uu musharax noqdo boqolkiiba 90 waxa ay ka imanaysaa lacagtiisa gaarka ah. Si xoog ah oo saameyn leh haddii aad rabto in aad u ololeyso waa in aad u hurtaa dhaqaalaha aad urursatay noloshaada oo dhan, iibisaa hantidaadii, sidoo kale aad daynna qaadataa...hadii aad ku guul darraysato magacaabista musharaxnimada, muddo dheer ayaad cidhiidhi ku jiri doontaa Musharaxiinta waxa ay gaadhaan in ay iibiyaan guryahooga, baabuurtooda iyo hantida kale ee ay leeyihiin, si ay iskaga bixiyaan dayntii badnayd ee lagu laha waqtigii uu socday ololahu.

3. Codka Musharraxa: Waayo-aragnimadii laga Dhaxlay Doorshada

Inta badan musharixiinta la waraystay waxa ay sheegeen in arrimaha ku kalifay in xafiis ay u tartamaani ku haysso salka han shaqsi oo siyaasadeed, ama gudashada waajibka ugu yar ama aasaasiga ah ee xilka ay doonaayaan in loo doorto, taas oo badanka ay la xidhiidho inay rabaan in ay matalaan qabiilka ama jufada ay ka soo jeedaan iyo inay ilaaliyaan danaha gaarka ah ee qabiilkooda. Tiro ka mid ah dadka la waraystay waxa ay sheegeen in sababta ku dhiirri galisay in ay doorashada ka qayb-qaataan ay tahay in ay helaan awood oo ay isla markaana xoolo ka uruursadaan, iyaga oo fadhataysanaya faa'idadu ku jirta xafiiska dawladeed ee ay xilkiisa qabanayaan. Musharrixiin kale oo maal-qabeeno ah ayaa iyaguna sheegay inay u tartamayaan sidii ay u ilaashan lahaayeen dana-hooda ganacsi. Oday reer Ceerigaabo ah ayaa dareenkiisa sidan u cabbiray “Dawlada Iyo xafiisyadeedaba waxa loo arkaa sidii neef irmaan”.

Marka laga yimaado lacagta sida tooska ah loogu bixinayo codbixiyayaasha si codkooda meel loogu habsado, musharrixiintu qadar lacag ah oo aad u badan ayay ku bixiyaan siday u heli lahaayeen taageerada oday-dhaqameedka awoodda leh ee jufadooda, sida odayaasha leh awood ay ku saameeyaan cidda ay dooranayaan codeeyayaashu. Arrintan waxa ay inta badan dhacdaa marka ay dhawr musharrax ay hal jilib ka wada sharraxan yihiin. Waxana ay oday-dhaqameedka beeluhu sheegeen in marka xaalku sidan noqdo arrinka ay ku doortaan musharaxa ay rabaan in ay taageeraan uu yahay sida uu musharraxu diyaar ugu yahay iyo sida uu u awoodo in uu dhaqaale bixiyo.

Marka ay timaado codbixintu, waxa ay musharixiintu u arkaan codbixiyayaasha kuwo aan daacad ahayn oo khiyaamo badan. Waxana ay aaminsan yihiin in cidda ugu badan ee ay cod ka helayaan ama u codaynaysaa ay tahay codbixiyayaasha qabiilkooda, waxana ay awoodooda ololaynta saaraan meelaha ay beelahoodu degen yihiin. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, u hogaansanaanta

qabiilka oo kali ahi kumay filnayn, waxa ay musharxiintu ka cabsi qabeen in dadka u codaynayaa ka raacaan musharxiinta kale ee la tartamaysa, sidaas awgeedna waxay ku qasbanaayeen in ay xejistaan codbixiyayaasha iyaga oo siinaya wax dhiirri galiya, wuxuu doono ha ahaadee.

Arrimahan kor aan ku soo xusnay, waxa uu gun-dhiggoodu noqday in xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya Codbixiyayaasha iyo Musharxiinta doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand uu ahaa (maantana-yahay) mid ay astaan u tahay is aaminid la'aan. Xubin baarlamaanka ka tirsan ayaa tidhi “Marka Musharxiinta loo doorto Baarlamaanka ama Golayaasha Degaanka, waxa ay siyaasiyiintaasi ogsoon yihiin in aanay wax waajib ahi ka saarnayn dadkii doortay, waxana ay u dhaqmaan iyaga oo aan tix-gelinayn daryeelkooda”. Xildhibaan ka tirsan Golaha Degaanka ee Hargaysa ayaa sharaxay sida markasta oo deegaankii uu ka soo jeeday ay wax soo weydiistaanba uu maalin walba lacag iyo deeqo kaleba u bixinayay. Waxa uu sheegay in uu ‘ku dhex dhintay’ rabitaankiisii ahaa inuu dadkiisa wax u qabto iyo awoodda kooban ee hantidiisa.

Walaac ay si joogta ah u muujiyeen dadka la waraystay ayaa wuxuu ahaa in culayska dhaqaale ee saaran musharxiintu uu ku hagay wareegtada musuqmaasuqa, sidoo kalena xagal-daaciyay musharxiintii kartida lahaa, ama noqon lahaa hogaamiye isbedel keena. Waxana loo arkayay in kharashaadka badan ee sii kordhaya ee ololaha doorashada ku baxaa uu arrimaha uga sii daray.

Ugu dambayntii, iyada oo aan la eegayn hababka kharashku kaga baxay ama ay ku raadinayeenba, badanka musharxiinta ayaa isku raacsan ama aaminsan in kor u kac wayn uu ku yimaaddoo dhaqdhaqaaqa dhaqaalaha Soomaalilaand, iyagoo ku tagrifalaya hantida marka horeba ku yar Soomaalilaand, waxana ay tani keentay isku dheelitirnaan-la'aan ka jirta dhinaca dhaqaalaha, iyadoo lacag badani u qulqulayso dhinaca dalka dibaddiisa, lacagtaas oo waqtiga doorashada lagu soo iibsado qaad ka badan kii awal iman jiray.

Arrimahan midna ma sharraxayso sababaha ay musharxiintu kaydii noloshooda ugu bixinayeen ololaha doorasho oo ay natiijadeedu tahay wax aan la hubin. Waxana ay badanka musharxiintu sheegeen in, iyaga oo eegaya sababo dhaqaale iyo kuwo siyaasadeedba, in tartankii ay galeen iyaga oo musharxiin ah uu

**BOX 1. DHACDO: MUSHARRAX GUULDARAYSTAY-
TOGDHEER**

Iyada oo ahayd markii iigu horaysay ee aan is sharraxo, waxa aan ahaa layli aan waayo-arag u ahayn geeddi-socodka. Bilawgii caqabado dhawr ah ayaan si fudud u xalliyay, balse waxa jiray caqabado kale oo xallintoodu ay aad iigu adkaatay. Caqabadaha iigu waawaynaa ee isoo maray waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo la xidhiidha dhaqaale, qabiilka iyo daacadnimo la'aanta codeeyeyaasha.

Ilahayga dhaqaale ee aan lacagta ka helayay sidan ayay u kala muhiimsanaayeen: qaadhaanka tolka, jeebkayga, qurbe-joogga (lacag ay ii soo diraan saaxiibaday) iyo qaadhaanka xisbiga. Waxaan urursaday kharash dhan \$20,000 oo aan anigu ku lahaa \$4,000, waxana ololahii doorashada igaga baxday \$29,000, waxa aan dayn ahaan ku bixiyay \$9,000. Maan filaynin in aan helayo lacag dhan \$20,000; sida caadiga ah, qofna ima siiyeen ama iiguma deeqeen lacagta intan dhan, haddii aanan musharrax ahaan lahayn. [Lacagta la iigu deeqay] way ka badnayn intii aan filayay.

Lacagtaas badankeedu waxa ay igaga baxday qaad iyo kiraynta baabuurtii ololaha, waxana ay ahayd sida ugu haboon ee aan cod ku heli karayay. Waxa aan doorashadii ku waayay 200 oo cod, balse haddii aan 50 codbixiye maalintii doorashada baabuur ku qaadi lahaa oo aan gayn lahaa 4 goob-codayneed waan heli lahaa doorashada. Sidaas awgeed, waxay ay ahayd in aan kharash badan galiyo guridda codbixiyayaasha goobaha miyiga ah jooga si looga qaado goob codeyneed oo loo geeyo kolba goob kale.

ahaa mid taban (ama qasaare ah). Iyaga oo dib u gocanaya, waxa ay musharraxiin badani cabbireen sida ay uga qoomamaynayaan lacagtii badnayd ee ay doorashada ku bixiyeen. Run ahaantii, waxay badankoodii sheegeen in haddii go'aankii doorashada kale hor yimaad, in aanay u tartamayn mar danbe. Hal xiiso badan oo ay sheegeen, kana muuqda xogta hoose, ayaase ah in badanka kharashaadka ay bixiyeen aanu si toos ah xidhiidh ula lahayn natiijada codbixinta, balse ay sababtu ay ahayd dhaqanka

bulshada, saamaynta musharrixiinta kale, loollan jilibka dhexdiisa ah, abaabulidda kooxaha ama dhalinyarada, iya kaabidda daacadnimada yar ee codeeyayaasha.

Caqabadaha ay la Kulmeen Musharrixiintu

Caqabadaha laga xog-warramay ee ay la kulmeen musharrixiintu waxa aan u kala saaraynaa laba qaybood oo kala ah: qayb khuseysa dhinaca nidaamka doorashooyinka & kharashka iyo qayb kale oo khusaysa aragtida ay ka qabaan dabciga iyo afkaarta codbixiyayaasha.

Qiimaha sii kordhaya ee kharashka ololaha doorashada ayaa ahaa arrinka ugu welwelka badan, wuxuuna si gaar ah ugu badnaa musharrixiintii u istaagtay inay ka qayb galaan tartankii doorashooyinka Dawladaha Hoose ee sanadkii 2012. Waxana arrinta sii murjiyay musharrixiinta oo aaminsanaa in codbixiyayaadhu ay filanayeen in la siiyo lacago dhiirigalin ama abaal-marin ah. Musharrixiinta ayaa sidoo kale sheegay, bulshada oo qabiilku saamayn wayn ku leeyahay dareemen, may jirin isku san bannaani iyo is aaminid u dhexeysa musharrixiinta iyo codbixiyayaasha; sidoo kalena muwaadiniin badankoodu aan xog hayn, iyo muwaadiniin heerkooda aqooneed hooseeyo in aanay fahan badan u lahayn mabaadii' da dimuquraadiyadda; sidoo kalana waxay sheegeen in ololohoogu u guul darraystay kadib markii ay soo food saareen dhaqaale iyo shaqaale yaraan ay ka mid tahay khibrad la'aan dhinaca agaasinka iyo xirfadda.

Musharrixiin badani waxa ay dareensanayeen codbixiyashaashu in aanay fahansanayn siyaasadda xisbiyadu ku salaysanyahiin iyo in xisbiyadu aanay ahayn kuwa haysta kalsoonida bulshada, mar haddii ay ku guul darraysteen in ay dadka u sharraxaan kana dhaadhiciyaan siyaasadaha iyo axsaabtu siday isku xidhnaayeen—oo aan ahayn reer wada ahaanshaha—kuwaas oo ka turjumaya dareenka bulshada. Saboolnimada aadka u sarraysa ee dalka ka jirta ayaa waxa ay sababtay in codbixiyayaashu ay fishaan in siyaasiyiintu ay ku taageeraan dhaqaale ama wax kale. Musharrixiinta ayaa sidoo kale sheegay in codbixiyayaashu ay qabeen in siyaasiyiintu ay u yimaadaan oo kaliya marka ay cod ka rabaan.

Farsamooyinka Musharaxiinta: Isku-soo-Baxyada Siyaasadda

Marka laga yimaado bixinta qaadka, waxa ay inta badan musharixiintu isku raaceen in kharashka ku baxa qaban-qaabada isku soo baxyadu uu yahay kharash aad u badan. Wakhtiyadaas musharixiintu waxa ay kiraystaan basas ay ku dhajiyaan sawiradooda, astaantooda doorasho (ama lambarka) waxana ay isku dayaan in ay basaskaas ka buuxiyaan taageerayaal. Sidoo kale waxa taageerayaashaas loo qaybiyaa calamo, koofiyado iyo asataamo kale, si ay u luxaan.

Musharixiintu waxa ay ka war-qabeen in dadka isu-soobaxa ka qayb qaataa aanay qasab ahayn inay yihiin taageereyaashoodii. Dadka dhalinyarada ahi way ka qayb qaadanayeen isu-soobaxyada maalin walba dhaca iyaga oo sacabka u tumaya musharax walba iyo xisbi kastaba, iyaga oo ka dhiganaya madadaalo, taasina waxa ay keentay halku dhaga ah ‘waan ka xaraabaysanayaa’. Shaxda 7aad ee soo socota ayaan muujinaysa hal-haysyo lagu sameeyay Soomaalilaand kuwaas oo la xidhiidha hawlaha iyo habdhaqanka doorashooyinka, kuwaas oo laga soo ururiyay waraysiyadii loo sameeyay cilmi-baadhistan. Waxana xogtaas la ururiyay markii ay baadhistani socotay. In hal-haysyo aad u badan oo la xidhiidha doorashadu ay soo baxeen waxa ay muujinaysaa sida doorashooyinku u noqdeen kuwo ku dhex xididaysatay bulshada. badankoodu waxa ay soo shaacbaxeen waqtigii ololaha doorashada waxana ay si cad u sheegayaan xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya isku-soo-baxyada doorashooyinka iyo muuqaalka gundhiga doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand. In halhaysayadaa badankoodu ay leeyihiin macno taban ayaa waxa ay tilmaamaysaa in fikirka ah in arinka la aaminsan yahay ee ah in hab-dhaqanka dimuqraadiyaddu yahay mid wanaagsani uu xaqiiqada aad uga fog yahay.

Inta badan, dad isku mid ah ayaa isugu yimaada isu-soo-baxyada la qabanayo maalmo kala duwan, iyada oo aan loo kala eegayn musharaxa, ururka ama xisbiga soo qaban-qaabiyay, iyo waxa ay soo bandhigayaanba. Waxa xitaa mar dhacday in ka qayb-galayaasha (isku-soobaxayaashu) ay kala badashaan astaamaha iyo calamada xisbiyada, taasi oo keentay xaalad uu wadihii gaadhigu garan waayo musharaxa uu lacagta ka qaadan doono.

BOX 2. DHACDADA NIN MUSHARAX AH OO LAGA
SOO DOORTAY BARIGA SOOMAALILAA

Taraageerayaasha miyiga—gaar ahaan raggu—waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo damac iyo baahi badan. Lacagta aan haystayna aad bay u koobnayd. Sidaa awgeed, labadaa ujeedo ee iska hor imanaya—oo kala ah in aan taageerayaashaas miyiga ee ragga ah xajisto oo aan wax siiyo si ay iigu codeeyaan iyo in aan kharashaadka iga baxaya hoos u dhigo - waxa ay ahaayeen caqabaddaha ugu waawayn ee i hor yaalay.

Isha dakhli ee ugu muhiimsan ee aan isku hallaynayay waxa ay ahayd lacagtayda dhigaalka ah, lacag uu tolku ii qaadhaamay, iyo waxoogaa lacag ah oo ay i siiyeen siyaasiyiinta doonaysay in aan gobolka doorashada ka dhacday ka soo baxo. Waxa aan helay lacag dhan \$9,000 (oo aanay ku jirin lacagta aan amaahday) waxana igu baxday lacag dhan \$12,000, waxana amaah igu ahayd lacag gaadhaysa \$3,000.

Haddii aan wax ka badali lahaa habkii aan kharashka u bixiyay, marka danbe waxa aan hoos u dhigi lahaa kharashka aan ku bixiyay codbixiyaasha miyiga, sababta oo ah codbixiyayaasha reer miyiga ahi uma adkaysan karaan in ay muddo dheer ku jiraan safafka dhaadheer iyada oo ay ugu wacantahay baylahda badan ee u taala, sidaa awgeed lagama yaabo inay codeeyaan.

*Qorshaha Musharixiinta: Soo if-bixii dillaaliinta
codbixinta*

Doorashooyinkii 2012 kii waxa soo if-baxay nooc cusub oo xirfad-layaal ah: *dillaal doorasho*. Dadkaasi waxa ay qabtaan shaqooyin kala duwan. Waxa uu takhasuskoodu ahaa inay dhexdhexaadiyaan, isu-soo dhaweeyaan, gooyaan qiimaha badeecooyinka ay kala iibsanaayan kuwa wax iibsanaya iyo kuwa wax iibinaya, oo halkaan ah codbixiyaasha iyo musharixiinta. Markaana waxa ay khidmad ku qaataan shaqada ay qabtaan. Dillaaliintu waxa ay sidoo kale ka dhex dillaaleen musharixiinta iyo dadka miisaanka leh, sida odayaasha beelaha, ganacsatada, iyo waliba musharixiinta tartamaysa ururada iyo xisbiyada iyo wakiiladoodaba.

Dillaaliintu waxa ay badanaa ahaayeen odayaal, dadka haga fikirka dadweynaha ama kuwa wax abaabula. Inta badan, waxa

Odhaah-Murtieed

Waxa loo Isticmaalo

Ka cun oo ka codee

Hadii uu musharrax wax ku siiyo ka cun, una codee musharaxa aad rabto. Sidoo kale waxa uu halhayskani muujinayaa in musharrixiintu ay taageero u fidiyaan codbixiyaha ay is leeyihiin wuu idin taageerayaa.

*Jeeb iyo Calool baa
mabda' lagu Jeheeyaa*

*Footkuna waa meel, codkuna
waa meel.*

Daaqadda ayuu iga dalacday

Codbixiyeyaashii ayaa sharaxaya habdhaqanka musharraxa kadib markii uu helay taageerada codeeyeyaasha.

*Buur ahow ama buur ku
tiirsanow*

Ama ka dhalo qabiil wayn oo hayso taageeradooda ama lahaw maal badan oo aad ku kasbato taageerada qabiilada kale.

Waa bilaa caano

Wax laga faa'iidayo ma jirto taageeridiisa.

Daawaha ayuu kuwadaa

Waxa ay tilmaamaysaa marka aanu musharraxu maal-galin karayn ololahiisa lacag la'aan awgeed.

*Doorasho daar lagama dhiso,
daarse way dumisaa*

Ma jirto faa'iido dhaqaale oo ku jirta tartanka doorashooyinka, si guudna dhaqaale ahaan waad ku qasaaraysaa.

*Dadka kale riig ayay wax
ku waraabinayeen aniguna
dawlis yar ayaan wax ku
waraabinayay*

Waan ka xaraabaysanayaa

*Jeebkaaga la sug maalmaha
danbe*

Xayraan

Qof aan waxba haysan; musharrax wax lacag ah aan haysan, murugaysan, cadhaysan, cidna aan wax ka helayn.

Waraabe u taag

Musharrax aan miisaan lahayn lahayn laakiin u galay tartanka isagoo u arkaya fursad uu ku helo lacag.

*Faro dufan leh ayaa wax
duugaa*

BOX 3. SHEEKADII DILLAALKA

Sanadkii 2012kii, nin aan isku jilib nahay oo doonayay inuu u tartamo doorashadii Golayaasha Deegaanka ayaa iga codsaday in aan ka caawiyo sidii uu taageero uga heli lahaa laamaha kala duwan ee jilibka. Waxana aan waydiiyay inta ay gaadhayso lacagta ku baxi karta ee uu ku kasban karo taageerada dadkaas. Ugu dambayntii waxa noo soo baxday lacag dhan \$6,000 oo doolar. Lacagtii ayuu ii dhiibay, waxana aan bilaabay inaan uga ololeeyo odayaasha beesha ee muhiimka ah iyo looga-qaateenada kale ee beesha dhexdeeda ah. Waxa aan lacagtii u qaybiyay sagaal qof; waxa lacagta aan bixinayay u dhaxaysay \$300 oo aan siinayay odayaasha aan muhiimka badan lahayn, iyo \$2,000 oo aan siinayay odayaasha muhiimka ah ee saamaynta wayn leh. Dadkaasi waxa aan ka rabay inay sexeexaan waraaqo qoran oo lagu taageerayo musharraxa, ay goob fagaare ahna ka sheegaan inay na taageersan yihiin, oo si fir-fircoonna ugu ololeeyaan. Ugu dambayntii, musharaxaygii wuu guuldaraystay dhawr sababood awgood, kuwaas oo laga yaabo in ay ka mid ahayd musharrax ama dillaal kale oo haysta hanti taayada ka badan inuu noo daba maray oo uu masaxayayna wixii aannu ku heshiinay.

ay si wanaagsan u kala yaqaaneen beelaha iyo sida ay u kala bax-baxaan, waxana ay ahaayeen kuwo hadal yaqaan ah oo wax qanciya. Waxana ay aalaaba u muuqdeen kuwo ka faaiidayanaya nuglaanshaha musharrixiinta iyo jufo-beeleedyada, mararka qaarna waxa ay iska dhigayeen inay ka wakiil yihiin jufo-beeleed iyada oo aan loo igman. Qaar badan oo ka mid ah dillaaliintaasi iyaga ayaa doonan jiray oo raadsan jiray musharraxa ay u shaqaynayaan, xitaa iyaga oo aan la dalban shaqadooda. Tanina waxa ay badanaa dhici jirtay marka ay jufo-beeleedka ka sharraxan yihiin laba musharrax iyo wax kabadan. Sidaasi ayaanay ku noqotay il-dakhli oo ay ka faaiidaystaan koox-yar oo bulshada ka mid ah, ama koox dhalinyaro ah, ama dadka aan-shaqayn.

21 *Jilib* ayaa ah xubinta uugu yar ee ka mid ah gabiil wadaagana dhaqansiyaasadeed isku mid ah, waxa uu ka koobanyahay tiro qoysas ah iyagoo isgaashanburaysigoodu ku salaysanyahay Bahida Amniga qoysaska xubnaha ka ah. Side kale loo yaqaan mag oo ah 'dhiig' tilmaamaysana magdhawga laga bixiyo muranada. Eeg Ken Menkhaus, 'Traditional conflict management in contemporary Somalia'. In *Traditional Cures for Modern African Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine"*. Ed. W.I. Zartman. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

Haweenka isku Sharaxay Doorashooyinkii 2012kii iyo Caqabadihii ay la Kulmeen

Tartankii Doorashadii Baarlamaanka ee Sanadkii 2005tii waxa ka qaybgalay tiro haween ah oo aad u yar. Tan badalkeeda, Doorashooyinkii Golayaasha Degaanka ee 2012kii waxa tartanka isu taagay tiradii ugu badnayd, oo ahayd 140 haween; 10 ka mid ah ayaana la doortay. Hadaba dhammaan haweenka la waraystay waxa ay isku raaceen in waayo aragnimadii ay kala kulmeen tartanka doorashadu xumayd, iyada oo ay ugu wacnayd culayska dhinaca dhaqaalaha ah ee ku dhacay. Haween badan ayaa ku cawday in ay haysteen hanti aad u yar, marka la barbardhigo ragga tartamayay.

Haweenka da'da yar ee sharraxnaa way ku adkayd in ay dhaqaale iyo lacag u helaan ololahooda doorasho, marka la barbar dhigo haweenka da'doodu wayn tahay ee iyaguna doorashooyinkaas u sharraxnaa. Waxana qaar ka mid ah haweenkaas waawayni sheegeen inay ururiyeen lacag ka badan tan ay heleen ragga kula tartamayay doorashadu. Guud ahaan, si kastaba ha ahaatee, lacag yaraantu waxa ay ahayd caqabadda ugu wayn ee ay ka midaysnaayeen ee ay waayo-araga u noqdeen haweenkii doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand ku tartamay.

Miyyi iyo magaalaba haweenku waxa ay caqabad kala kulmeen sidii ay u kasban lahaayeen taageerada beelaha ay ku ab-tirsadaan. Haweenay ayaa xustay in ay kasbatay taageerada jilibka hoose ee beesheeda, balse waxa ay ka sinnaayeen colaadin ay kala kulmeen hoggaanka beesha guud.²¹ Si kasta ha noqotee, waa in si wanaagsan loo fahmo waxa ay salka ku hayaan caqabadaha ka hortaagan haweenka doorooshooyinka Soomaalilaand u tartamaa inay helaan cod iyo taageero bulsho oo ka badan taageerada Jilib kooda hoose, waxana ay mudan tahay in daraasado ama cilmi-baadhis dheeraad ah laga sameeyo.

Sida musharxiinta ragga ah oo kale ayaa musharxiinta haweenka ahna ay ilohooda-dakhli ee ugu muhiimsan ay u yihiin lacagta jeebkooda iyo lacago kale oo ay ka heleen qoyskooda ama saaxiibadood. (Waxa taasi ka duwanayd haweenay ku sheegtay odayga jilibkoogu inuu ahaa kii u soo ururiyay kharashka). Qaar ka mid ah haweenka doorashada ku guulaystay ayaa sidoo kale guushooda u aaneeyay taageero ay ka heleen ururrada aan dawlga ahayn ee haweenka, sida Dallada Nagaad oo dadaal badan ku bixisay

BOX 4. SHEEKADA HAWWEENAY KA SHARRAXNAYD MAROODI-JEEX.

Musharraxnimadayda waxa ku kala jabay beeshayada, waayo waxa jiray dhallinyaro taageeraysay musharrax kale oo aan isku beel nahay. Dhalintaasi waxa ay yidhaahdeen beesha ayay sumcad-xumo ku tahay in ay haweenay u sharraxnaato.

Si aan u maalgaliyo ololahayga doorasho, waxa aan iibiyay dhul aan ku lahaa Hargaysa. Qaar ka mid ah qoyskayguna waxa ay i siiyeen lacag. Sidoo kale waxa aan lacag ka helay laba qof oo aanu saaxiibo nahay oo qurbaha joogay.

Waxa aan filayay in ay igaga bixi doonto lacag gaadhaysa \$10,000 oo doolar, laakiin waxa iga baxday ugu danbayntii saddex laab. Taasi waxa ay aad uga duwanayd wixii aan filayay. Waxa ay ahayd goor aad u danbaysa oo aanan ka noqon karaynin ololaha markii aan garawsaday kharashka aadka u badan ee doorashadu.

Kharashka ugu badan waxa aan ku bixiyay qaad iyo shidaal. Qiyaastii in ku dhaw 60% ayaan ku bixiyay qaad, kaas oo aan u arkayay kharashkii uugu faa'iidada badnaa. Haddii ay waayuhu dib isku soo celinayaan, lacag intan dhan ma aan bixiyeen, waanay wacnaan lahayd in aan is casilo todobaadkii ugu dambeeyay ee ololaha doorashada.

Da'du waa muhiim; da'waynida ayaa keenaysa in aad taqaanno dad badan, waxana aad haysataa fursado badan. Marka aad haweenay tahayna, xaaladuhu way kala duwan yihiin—qaar ka mid ah dumarka ayaa ka fursad badan kuwa kale. Hase yeeshee, marka la joogo beesha dhexdeeda waxa loo taageero badan yahay ragga.

Si kastaba ha haatee, korodhka dhaqaale ee waqtiga doorashada la dareemo waxa aan u arkaa mid aan fiicnayn. Way wanaagsanaan lahaydaa in aanay musharrixiintu lacagta intan le'eg ku bixin ololaha doorashada. Mushkiladu waxa ay tahay in musaharrixiintu ay lacagtan oo dhan ku kharash gareeyaan codbixiyayaasha. Musharrax kasta waxa uu dareemayaa in haddii aanu isagu bixin lacagtan, in ay bixinayaan musharrixiinta kale, markaa maxaad adigu ku dayn?

taageeridda iyo tabo-barka haweenkii u sharaxnaa doorashooyinkii 2012. Waxana ay haween kale sheegeen in ay dahabkooda u iibiyeen sidii ay u maalgalin lahaayeen olalahooda doorashada.

Guud ahaan, dumarka ka-hor-imaadka kaga yimi beelohooda ayaa mijo-xaabisay awooddii ay ku heli lahaayeen qaadhaan. Waxa la isku raacsan yahay in cadaadiska haweenka kaga imanayay dhinaca beelahu uu wiiqay, hoosna u dhigay awooddii haweenka ee dhinaca qaadhaan ururinta waqtiga doorashada. Waxana ay haweenkii musharrixiinta ahaa ka cawdeen in ay taageero la'aan kala kulmeen beelihii ay ka dhasheen, arrintaasina waxa ay ku qasabtay in ay aad ugu sii tiirsanaadaan hantida ay gaarka u leeyihiin.

4. Dhaqaalaha Cod-iibsashada iyo Is-dabamarinta Doorashooyinka

In kasta oo in badan oo ka mid ah dadka la waraystay ay ku bixiyeen qayb laxaad lex oo ka mid ah kharashkoodii ololaha si ay “hab sharci darro ah saamayn ugu yeeshaan” codeeyeyaasha ama iibsiga codadka, tiro yar oo dadka la waraystay ka mid ah ayaa sheegay in hawlo sharci darro ah ama musuq ahi ay qayb wayn ka ahaayeen kharaashaadkooda ololaha doorashadda. Marka la eego jawaabaha ay bixiyeen dadka la waraystay, khiyaamada nidaamka doorashooyinka (inkasta oo aysan ogaanin NEC iyo kormeer-ayaashuba) waxay astaan u ahayd doorashooyinkii dhawaaantan ka qabsoomay Soomaalilaand. Sahankan waxa uu inna tusayaa farsamooyin kala duwan, oo isugu jira isticmaalidda lacag cad oo si toos ah loo siinayay codbixiyayaasha iyo musuqmaasuq xafiis oo ka imanayay dhanka maamulka doorashada marka la joogo goobaha doorashada.²²

Waxa ka mid ahaa dabciyada iyo habdhaqanka faraha badan ee qaldan ee lagu xusay daraasadda ee ay tilmaameen musharixiinta in ay dhaceen, ama lagu eedeeyay inay ogaayeen in la sameeyay:

- Siinta cod-bixiyeyaasha lacag dhan 5 ilaa 30 Doolarka Maraykanka, gaar ahaan habeenka ka horreeya maalinta ay cod bixintu dhacayso;
- ‘Iibsiga’ hadhaaga waraaqaha cododka ee aan la isticmaalin, iyadoo dhaqaala la siinayo horjoogayaasha goobahaas;
- In dhaqaale la siiyo dillaaliin si ay u soo diyaariyaan cod-bixiyeyaal oo ay isla mar ahaantaana u bixiyaan tiro cayiman oo codad ah, taas oo badanaa u dhaxaysa 40 ilaa 100 cod goobtiiba;
- In la abaabulo koox codxiyeyaal ah oo iskumida, oo badanaa dhalinyar ah, si ay codookooda uga dhiibtaan goobo kala duwan iyaga oo isla markaana loo qaadayo kolba goob kale si ay cod uga dhiibtaan.

²² Fiiro falaaqayn qoto dheer oo laxidhiidha cod iibsiga Jeff Conroy-Krutz, ‘The Price of a Vote’, research prospectus prepared for Midwest Working Group in African Political Economy, 2011.

BOX 5. MURRASHAXIINTU WAXAY QIRANAYAAAN IIBSIGA CODODKA

S. Dadka lacag ma ku siisay si ay kuugu codeeayaan/kuugu iibiyaaan codad doorashada gudaheed?

J. 'Haa, waxaan ku bixiyay 400 Doolarka Maraykanka iibsigu codadka, waxa aanan helay in aan ka badnayn saddex cod-bixiyayaal.'

'Marar fara badan, ayaan sidaa yeelay, haa dabcan waxay ahayd in kabadan mar ama laba jeer.'

'Boqolkiiba kontan (50%) dadku waxa uu ku noolyahay faqri aad u ba'an iyaga oon haysan waxay cuni lahaayeen. Macna badan ma samaynayso si kasta oo aad u tahay qof mabda' leh; waxaa waajib ah inaad codadka iibsato, qiimana kuma fadhido inaad gorfaysid siyaasado.

'Haa, dadka ii ololaynayay ayaa sidaa yeelay. Taasi waa dhab. Kharash baa la siiyay si ay u codeeayaan inta goor ee ay karaan inay ku noq noqdaan codaynta. Ma hubo in cidkasta ay ii codaysay inka badan mar laakiin waxaan hubaa in ugu yaraan qaar ka mid ah cod bixiyayaashu ay sidaa yeeleen.

'Way adagtahay in la iibsado codadka shakhsiyaadka laakiin waxaa jira habab kale oo lacag lagu samayn karo...Tusaale ahaan, abaabule iskii isku magacaabay ayaa waxaa uu ka soo uruurinayaa tiro cod bixiyayaal magaalooyinka fog fog. Intaa kadib waxa uu u tagayaa xisbiyada ama murashaxiinta si uu ugu iibiyo codadka goobtaa. Hab kale oo codadka lagu iibsado waxaa weeye in la iibsado dhammaan sanduuyuqada codadka ee goobaha fog fog ee cod bixinta.

Sida lagu ogaaday daraasad laga sameeyay doorashooyinka Afrika sanadkii 2009, cod iibsigu waxa uu baddal u noqon karaa bixinta adeegyada danta guud, gaar ahaan marka ay xildhibaanada golaha degaanka iyo baarlamaanku ku celin karaan deegaamadii laga soo doortay wax tar yar.²³

Haseyehsee, xisbiyada iyo murashaxiintu may hubin in kharashka la siinayo cod-bixiyayaasha inay u suuro galinayso inay kasbadaan cod-koodka. Waxoogaa musharixiintu ah ayaa waxay sheegeen maadaama warqadaha doorashadu ay yihiin kuwo sir

ah, in aanay jirin waddo lagu xaqiijin karo in cod bixiyayaashu sameeyeen wixii laga dalbaday in ay sameeyaan. Waxaa laga yaabaa inay ikhtiyaarkooda ama garaadkooda ay ku codeeyaan iyaga oo meel iska dhigaya wixii la siiyay.

Habab dadban oo codadka loo iibsado ayaa iyagna la soo wariyay. Kuwani waxaa ka mida ah in lacag la siiyay dillaaliin maxaliya iyo hoogaamiyayaal jilib-hoosaadyada si ay taageero uga helaan bulsho ama tuulo gaar ah. Doodda ku saabsan is daba marinta cod bixintu halkan si fiican uma cadda, waayo dhaqamada qaar waxay la xidhiidhaan caado dhaqameedyada, taas oo ah martida doonaysa talo in laga filo inay fidiyaan casumadda, riyo qalaan iyo in ay qaad bixiyaan cuntada ka dib.

Iskasta oo baaxadda daraasaddan aynay saamixin in baadhitaan lagu sameeyo shakhsiyaadka cod bixiyayaasha, kaddib markii ay musharraxiin badan soo shaac-saareen baaxadda ay lahayd codadka lagu noq noqday doorashooyinkii ka dhacay Soomaalilaand, kooxda cilmibaadhistu waxay qaban qaabiyeen dood-kooxeedyo ay u qabteen codeeyeyaasha si ay qiimayn ugu sameeyaan fikirada codbixiyayaasha ee ku aaddan mawduucan muhiimka ah.

Inkasta oo aanay layaab ahayn, cod bixiyayaasha baadhitaanka lagu sameeyay isla markiiba may qirannin dhaqanka sharci darrada ah ee codaynta in kabadan halmar xilliga doorashada, tiro dad oo muhiim ah ayaa qirtay in ay sidaa yeeleen. Ku noqnoqoshada codayntu waxay ahayd mid ay dhiiragalisyay kharashaada loo ballan qaaday cod bixiyaha.

Kooxda cilmibaadhayaashu waxa ay filayeen in qofka qirtay ku noqnoqoshada codayntu inuu ugu riday dhammaanba codadkiisii musharrax qudha, gaar ahaan haddii cod ku noqnoqashadu ay dhiirigaliyeen faa'iido toos ah oo la siiyay codbixiyayaasha. Hase yeeshee, jawaab celiyayaal fara badan ayaa waxay sharxayeen in codaynta lagu noqnoqonayay in aan loogu danaynayn musharax qudha, laakiin loo adeegsanayay sidii looga soo bixi lahaa waajibaadka iska hor imanaya ee qofka ka saaran shakhsiyaad kala duwan. Helida dhiirrigelin ama kharash si ay ugu codeeyaan musharrax gaar ah qasab ma aha in ay ka hor istaagto in ay codkooda siiyaan musharraxa cod bixiyuhu rabo in uu soo baxo oo uu guulaysto: marka ugu horraysa ee uu booqdo

codeeyuhu goobta codbixinta u gaarka ah, waxa uu warqadda codka ugu ridayaa musharraxa uu doonayo, marka labaad ama mararka dambe waxa uu codka ugu ridayaa murashaxa uu faa'iidada ka helay.

Saxnimada adeegsiga codaynta lagu noqnoqonayo ee ka dhacda Soomaalilaand sidaa darteed waxay noqonaysaa mid ka mugdi badan sida ay marka hore u muuqato, iyo sida ay sheegayaan halbeegyada codbixintuba. Doorashooyinku kaalmo farabadan ayay kaga jiraan Soomaalilaand; in loo arko doorashooyinku inay yihiin kaliya hab dimuqraadiyadeed waxay indhaha ka leexinaysaa xaalka bulsho iyo dhaqaale ee dalka. U kuur gal iyo cilmi-baadhis dheeraad ah ayaa loo baahan yahay in lagu sameeyo dhaqanka si loo fahmo qaabka ay doorashooyinku ula fal galaan xaaladaha bulshada.

5. Maalgalinta Xisbiga ee Soomaalilaand

Khibrada Axxaabta iyo ururadda siyaasadeed

Sida musharrixiinta qudhoda oo kale, axsaabta iyo ururada siyaasadduba waxa ay ku warrameen in ay ku bixiyeen ololaha doorashada kharash aad uga badan intii ay filayeen bilowgii.

Xisbiyada siyaasadda iyo hogaamiyayaasha kale ee lagu waraystay daraasaddani waxa ay isku raaceen in kharaashaadka xisbiyadu uu si toos ah mudaba u kordhayay . Korodhka waxay ku qeexeen iyagoo farta ku fiiqaya qodobo dhawr ah, oo ay kamid yihiin sicirbarar, tirada faraha badan ee murashaxiinta u tagnaa doorashada golaha deegaanka (marka labarbardhigo doorashadii baarlamanka iyo tii madaxweynaha), iyo loolan xooggan oo u dhaxeeyay murashaxiinta, axsaabta siyaasadda iyo ururada siyaasiga ah.

Sidoo kale waxay farta ku fiiqeen korodhka iyo isbadalka waayo-aragnimada codbixiyayaasha, iyagoo ka faa'iidayanaya habka doorashada. Hal jawaabceliye ayaa waxa uu u sheegay cilmibaarayaasha sidan:

2012, dadku wax khibrad ah uma aysan lahayn nidaamka doorasho ee axsaabta faraha badan. Liiska murashaxiinta waxaa soo diyaariyay axsaabta siyaasadda, qaar musharrixiinta kamid ahina kama aanay war hayn inay kujiraan liiska. Ololaha doorasho waxaa loogalayay hab xisbi. Laakiin xisbiyadu waxay ahaayeen kuwo ku dhisan reernimo. Murashaxiintu kharash badan kumay bixin ololaha. Laakiin doorashadaasi kadib, wax badan way isbadaleen.

2012, habka nidaamka furan ee doorashada lagu galay—oo ay musharrixiintu ku tartameen xisbigooda gudihisa iyo tartan ay la galeen xisbiyada kale musharrixiintoodaba—waxa uu ahaa hab xisbi siyaasiyaasadeed oo la wiiqay. Axxaabta iyo ururada siyaasaddu sidoo kale waxay lahaayeen dhaqaale kooban oo ay ugu deeqeen musharrixiinta. Maadaama oo ay musharrixiintu

galayeen kharashka intiisa badan, danta ugu jirta inay ololhooda mideeyaan ayaa hoos u dhacday. Tani waxay dhalisay, in axsaabta siyaasaddu ay yeeshaan awood kooban oo ay kula socdaan musharixiinta xisbiyada kuwaas oo aan si xooggan ugu hoggaansanayn axsaabtooda siyaasadeed.

Sannadkii 2012, dhaqaalaha ku baxay ololaha ee ay wariyeen axsaabta siyaasaddu waxay u dhexaysay boqolaal kun oo Doolarka Maraykanka ah illaa qiyaastii 3 milyan oo Doolarka Maraykanka ah. Qolada tiradan dambe bixisay (ee kharashkoodu gaadhayay ilaa 3 milyan), urur siyaasadeedkaasi waxa uu filayay in uu kharashku noqonayo kaliya lix meelood meel inta imika ku baxday, oo noqonaysa qiyaastii 500,000 oo Doolarka Maraykanka ah. Isha ugu muhiimsan ee dhaqaalaha ayaa lagu soo warramay in ay ahayd dhaqaalah ay iska uruurinyeen xubnaha axsaabta siyaasaddu ama ururadu, ha joogeen gudaha ama qurbe joog ha ahaadeene, gaar ahaan asaasayaasha ama dad ka socda golaha dhexe ee xisbiga. ‘Gudoomiyahayagu lacagtii uu isagu iska lahaa ayuu ku kharshgarayn jiray xisbiga. Waxaan umaleenayaa inuu ugu deeqay 70% dhaqaalaha ololaha,’ waxaa sidaa yidhi qof la waraystay. Gudoomiye kale ayaa waxuu yidhi in uu ku kharashgareeyay in kabadan \$750,000 kharashaadka xisbigiisa.

Iyada oo dawladda Soomaalilaand qaadhaan siiso axsaabta qaran—kuwaas oo ka hor 2012 ahaa Kulmiye, UCID, iyo UDUB—saddexduba waxay wax aan la tilmaami karin kasoo qaadeen deeqda dawladda. Waddani, oo noqday xisbi qaran laga soo bilaabo 2012, waxa uu sheegtay in dawladdu ay dabooshay in kayar 15% kharashkii maamul, inkasta oo aysan jirin gacan kagaysi rasmi ah oo ay dawladdu u fidiso ururada siyaasiga ah. Qaar kamida dadkii lagu waraystay warbixintan waxay muujiyeen shaki ah in dawladu si aan rasmi ahayn u caawisay qaar ururada kamida ah laakiin cilmi baadhayaashayadu waxay awoodi waayeen inay sugaan xaqiiqda eedaymaha.

Sida musharaxiintooda, dhammaan dadkii laga waraystay ururada iyo axsaabta siyaasaddu waxay sheegeen in kharashka xooggan ee lagu bixiyay doorashadii golaha deegaanku ay ahayd arrin ugub ah oo waxyeello ku ah Soomaalilaand. Sida uu qof musharax ahi sheegay, ‘Ma jirto wax raad ah oo ay ka tagtay lacagtii uu qof walbaa uu isticmaalay, marka lagu daro dawladda,

deeqbixiyayaasha, musharxiinta, axsaabta iyo dadkuba. Waxay burburisay habkii dimiiraadiyadda iyo dhaqankeedii. Dadkii ayay baab'isay... Xataa kuwii aan cuni jirin qaadka, waxay bilaabeen in ay qayilaan maxaa yeelay si bilaash ah ayaa lagu siinayay.'

Kharaashaadka ay galaan axsaabta/ururada

Marka la kala saarsaaro kharashaadka ololaha, lacagta ugu badan oo ay bixiyeen axsaabta iyo ururadu waxa ay ku baxaysay sidii xidhiidh toos ah loola yeelan lahaa codbixiyayaasha iyadoo la adeegsanayo banaambaxyo, kulamo, iyo xaflado siyaasadeed. Kharashaad kuwaa la xidhiidha, sida gaadiidka, cuntada iyo jaadka, iyo samaynta agabka ololaha lagu galayo, ayaa sidoo kale la xusay. Sidoo kale muu ahayn kharashka ku baxay ololaha ee warbaahintu mid yar, sidii la moodayay in ay doorashooyinkii deegaanku noqoto. 'Waxa annu ku isticmaalnay 200,000 Doolarka Maraykanka xayaysiis TV doorashadii 2012, 50,000 Doolarka Maraykanka waxa aan ku bixinnay hal TV,' sidaa waxaa yidhi wakiil xisbi. Sannadkii 2005tii, fursadda ku ololaynta warbaahinta waxay ahayd mid aad u kooban.

Inkasta oo ay culayska maalgalinta ololuha ku dul dhacaysay intiisa badan shakhsiyaadka musharxiinta, axsaabta iyo ururada siyaasaddu waxay u muuqdeen inay kaalintooda qaateen. Dadka la waraystay waxa ay tilmaameen in awoodda ay axsaabtu u leeyihiin in ay taageeraan murrashaxa xisbigooda in ay badideedu ku dhantahay in xisbigaasu uu yahay mid talada haya. Kuwa xilka ku fadhiya, ama horay u hayay, sidda UDUB iyo Kulmiye, ayaa waxa la tilmaamay in ay aad uugu guulaystaan in ay dhaqaale ka soo ururiyaan ganacsato waawayn oo awood badan iyo shakhsiyaad, sidoo kalena waxay awood u leeyihiin in ay ka faa'idaystaan hantida dawladda, si toos ah ama sida dadban.

Meel ay inta badan xisbiyada iyo ururadu ay sheegeen in ay ka taageereen musharxiintooda ayaa ahayd ka bixinta lacagta is-diiwaangalinta. Hal urur ayaa sheegay in ay ka bixiyeen 80% lacagtii diiwaangalinta murashaxiintooda, inkasta oo inta badan ay yidhaahdeen inay ka bixiyeen tiro intaa ka yar. Axaabta iyo ururadu waxay tilmaameen inay muhiim ahayd in ay ka bixiyaan musharxiinta lacagta is-diiwaangalinta si ay u xaqiijiyaan in aysan xisbi kale galin.

Inta badan dadka la waraystay ayaa waxay qabeen dareen ah in xisbiyo iyo ururo qaarkood ay u balanqaadeen musharrixiinta lacag dhiirrigelin ah si ay u badalaan xisbiga ay ka tirsan yihiin ama ay gabi ahaanba uga baxaan doorashada. Eedaymaha noocan oo kale ah waxa inta badan loo soo jeedinayay xisbiga taladda haya, Kulmiye, taas oo lagu eedeeyay inuu siiyaay lacag farabadan si uu usoo jiito musharrixiinta xisbiyada kale iyo/ama u wiiqo ururada kale markii ololaha lagu guda jiray. ‘Qaar musharrixiinta ka mid ah waxaa loo soo bandhigay xilal dawladeed halka qaar kalena lacag caddaan ah loo soo bandhigay,’ sidaa waxaa yidhi xubin xisbiga tartanka ku jira ah. Kulmiye waxa uu u muuqday inuu adeegsaday qaaraabada dhaw qaar ka mid ah kuwa ugu muhiimsan musharrixiinta tartanka kula jira si loo wiiqo awoodooda. ‘Nasiib wanaag, ma aanay shaqayn, laakiin istaraatiijiyadoodii waxay ahayd mid wiiqaysa codadka goobaha laga soo doorta mushar-raxiin la bartilmaameedsanayo.’

Xubnaha ururada siyaasaddu waxay ku soo warrameen inay dareemeen inay soo food saartay talo ah laba kala daran mid dooro—waxay rabeen in ay xaddidaan khashaadkooda iyagoo xaqiijinaya olole saamayn leh: ‘Waxa annu filaynay in mushar-rixiinta badankoodu ay isticmaalaan lacagtooda laakiin waxa ay nagu kaliftay in aan taageerno in badan oo ka mid ah. Waxa aan la tartamaynay xisbiga talada haya.’

Axsaabta siyaasaddu waxay cabasho ka muujiyeen in xaqiiqdii musharrixiinta iyo codbixiyayaasha labaduba ay u arkayeen il dakhli. Markii lagu guda jiray ololihii, waxaa jiray filasho ah in xisbiyada iyo ururadu in ay bixiyaan ilaalinta magaca taageerada musharrixiintooda. Sida uu xubin sare oo xisbiyada ka mid ahaa sharraxay: ‘Tani waxa ay ahayd caqabadii ugu waynayd ee xisbiga soo wajahda, mid walba iyo qofkastaaba waxa uu dalbanayay dhaqaale. Dadka qaar waxay soo uruurinayeen bahdiisa inta dhiigga ay wada bixiyaan, oo ay guri isugu keenayeen iyagoo sheeganaya inuu hayo codbixiyayaal [kuwaasoo u baaahan in lacag dhiirrigelin ah lasiiyo].’ Wakiil ka socday xisbi kale ayaa isagna xusay: ‘Dadka xisbiga u ololeeya ee jooga goboladda ayaa wali ku doodaya in uu kharash ka baxay iyaga oo anaga na matalaya, sidaas ayay walina qabaan. Shidaal, gaadiid, jaad, cunto, ayaa wali qaar sheeganayaan.’

Ururada siyaasadda ayaa sheegay in aanay u qorshayn waxba oo aanay miisaaniyadna u dajin wacyigalinta codbixiyaha, iyada oo ay inta badan ugu wacantahay dhaqaale yaridu. Dhammaan saddexda xisbi qaran, si kasta oo ay ahaatoba, waxay sheegeen in ay ku bixiyeen waqti iyo dhaqaaleba waxbaridda codbixiyaha, iyaga oo badanaa u qeexaya siday warqadaha lagu codeeyo si saxa ugu codaynlahaayeen xisbiga markaa doonaya.

Doorka ganacsiga iyo qurbujoogta

Dadka la waraystay waxay xaqiijiyeen in deeqda ganacsatada iyo qurbojoogtu ay ahayd mid muhim ah marka laga eego dhanka maalgalinta hawlgalada axsaabta iyo ururada siyaasadda, waxa aanay mudnaantoodu ku xigtay dhaqaalaha ay bixiyaan asaas-ayaasha iyo xubnaha muhimka ah ee xisbigu. Ganacsatadu inta badan way ka caga jiidayeen in ay si toos ah daaha uga qaadaan taageeradooda. Xubin sare oo urur siyaasadeed ayaa sharaxay:

Deeqda ganacsiyadu waa muhim waana arrin adaygeeda leh maxaa yeelay ma aha mid caddaan ah. Waxay inta badan ku salaysantahay jilibyo iyo juffooyin iyo danaha ganacsatada kuwaas oo filaya in ay helaan mustaqbalka baddal. Qofna ma oga inta ay le'egtahay waxay ku deeqeen maadaaama oo aan dharaar cad arrinkaa la fulin.

Xubin kale oo sare oo ka socda xisbi siyaasadeed kale ayaa isna ku daray:

Ganacsatadu intabadan ma ogeysiiyaan amaba ma shaaciyaan taageeradooda siyaasadeed, maxaa yeelay in lagula xidhiidhi-dhiyo koox siyaasadeed uma fiicna gancsiga. Sidaa darteed, gacan kagaysahshadoodu waa mid ka dhacda meel qarsoon... inkasta oo qof waliba uu ogyahay in ay maalgaliyaan mushar-rixiinta iyo axsaabta siyaasadeed labadaba.

Cilmi baadhis dheeraad ah ayaa loo baahanyahay si loo fahmo kaalinta uu ganacsigu kaga jiro maalgalinta hawlaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaalilaand. Cilmi baadhayaashayadu waxay isku dayeen in ay waraystaan wakiiladda gancsiyada ugu waawayn ee ka hawl gala Soomaalilaand laakiin way ka caga jiideen inay si toosa uga

qaybqaataan daraasaddan, iyagoo iska diiday in ay xaqiijiyaan ama dafiraan wax taageero ah oo ay bixiyeen doorashadii 2012 ama kuwii ka horreeyay.

Waxa sidoo kale adag in la cabbiro deeqaha ay bixiyeen qurbojoogtu. Axsaabta Qaran, oo ah xisbiyadii sharciyaysnaa laga soo bilaabo 2012—Kulmiye, UCID iyo Waddani—waxay sheegeen in qaadhaanka qurbojoogtu ay u lahayd muhiimad ka wayn ta ay u lahayd ururadda siyaasiga ee guuldaraystay, maadaama oo ay xisbiyadaasi lahaayeen qaab-dhismeed urur oo shaqaynaya iyo awood lagaga soo ururiyo qaadhaan dibadda. Wakiil ka mid ah xisbiga talada haya ee, Kulmiye, ayaa sharraxay:

Kulmiye waa urur aad u nidaamsan marka laga eego dhanka lacag-uruuriyaasha iyo taageerayaasha dibadda. Tusaale ahaan, Boqortooyada Ingiriiska (UK) waxaannu ku leenahay gudoomiye, guddi fulineed iyo laamo guddiyo magaalo kasta oo wayn. Laamahaasi way kulmaan si ay u lafa guraan arrimaha xisbiga. Laamahaasi sidoo kale waxay muhiim u yihiin marka la uruurinayo dhaqaalaha. Waxay bixiyeenn 60% miisaaniyadda waqtigii doorashada madaxweynaha lagu jiray iyo markii lagu gudo jiray doorashoyinkii kale si ay u siiyaan musharixiinta 50% dhaqaalihii ay bixiyeen. Taa waxaa lamidda dawladaha reer galbeedka sida Iswiidhan, Noorway, Maraykanka iyo Kanada.

6. Gabogabo

Soomaalilaand waxay ammaan badan, oo sax ah, ku heshay guulaha dimuqraadiyadeed, taas oo ku suntan doorashooyinkii xorta ahaa ee qabsoomay laga soo bilaabo 2001. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, doorashada marba marka ka danbaysa sii noqonaysa mid lacageed, iyo xaddiga dhaqaale ee aan hore loo arag ee ku baxay doorashadii golaha deegaanka sanadkii 2012, oo ka dhacay dal ka mid ah dalalka ugu faqiirsan dunidda, waxay khatar galinkartaa sumcadda ay Soomaalilaand ku heshay doorashooyinkii taarikhiga ahaa.

Doorashadii golaha deegaanka ee sanaddii 2012 waxay musharaxiin badani ku bixiyeen lacago farabadan iyaga oon ka helin wax faa'iido ah, taasina waxay tilmaamaysaa in ay qaarkood ay gargaar bidaan in ay si xun u isticmaalaan xaafiisyada dawladda si ay magdhaw ugu helaan dhaqaalihii ka baxay. Shayga kharashka ugu badan kaga baxay musharixiintu waxa uu ahaa iibinta iyo qaybinta qaadka, kaas oo dad badani u arkaan dhibaato ku soo korodhay bulshada Soomalilaand. Intaa waxaa dheer, iibsiga cododkuna waxaa uu ahaa mid aad u badan, kharashaadka musharixiinta ay bixiyeen waxay tilmaamaysaa in ahayd mid aad uga baaxad wayn sidii markii hore loo haystay. Tirada cod bixiyayaasha isku soobaxay ee doorashooyikan waa in la hubiyaa.

Daraasaddani waxay sheegaysaa in dhaqanka ku noq-noqodka codayntu Soomalilaand in ay leedahay ujeedooyin ka fog kaliya in la kordhiyo codadka uu helayo hal musharrax. Cod-bixiyayaashu waxay u dhiiban karaan cododkooda si ay ugu codeeyaan musharaxiin farabadan si ay u gutaan waajibaad iska hor imanaya. Doorashooyinku waxay ka ciyaaraan kaalmo kala duwan Soomalilaand, markaa in loo arko kaliya hawl dimuqraadi ahi waxa ay ka hor imanaysaa xaqiiqda balaadhan ee ka jirta bulshada iyo dhaqaalaha. Cilmi-baadhis kale ayaa loo bahanyahay si si fiican loogu fahmo doorka doorashooyinku ku leeyiin bulshada iyo dhaqaalaha.

Nidaam u samaynta maaliyadda ku baxaysa ololaha doorashada waxa laga yaabaa in loo arko in aanay ahayn arrin muhiimad culus u leh xoojinta nidaamka dimuqaraadiyad-kusoo-dabbaalidda Soomaalilaand. Laakiin iyada oo aan arrinkan laga hadlin, nidaamka doorashooyinka mustaqbalku waxa uu noqonayaa mid aan hagaajintiisa meel adag la iska taagin, taasina hoos bay u dhigi kartaa kalsoonida dawladaha iyo caalamkuba ku qabaan doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand.

Liiska machnaha ereyada iyo kalmadaha la soo gaabiyay

dillaal doorasho	shakhsiyaad ka dillaala wakhtiyada doorashooyinka helitaanka tageerayaal iyo ansixinta iyo taagerada odayada qabiilka musharaxu ka soo jeedo
dhiigga	dhiig, waxay tilmaamaysa magdhawga laga bixiyo muranada
jilib	xubin ka tirsan qabiilka kana kooban qoysas wadaaga dhaqan-siyaasadeed isku mid ah
mafrashyo	oo ah goobo qaadka lagu cuno
NEC	<i>National Electoral Commission</i> /Gudiga Doorashooyinka Qaranka
qaadka	waa caleen maandooriye khafiif ah (<i>catha edulis</i>)
RAC	<i>Registration and Approval Committee</i> /Gudiga Diiwaangalinta iyo Ansixinta Xisbiyada
UCID	Ururka Cadaaladda iyo Daryeelka
UDUB	Ururka Dimuqraadiga Umadda Bahawday
urur	urur siyaasadeed
xisbi	si sharciya uga diiwaangashan xisbiyada siyaasadda

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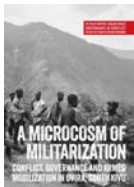
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ركز النقاش الدائر حول السودانين، الشمالي والجنوبي، علي
مسألة أين يمر خط الحدود بينهما. ويفحص التقرير موضوعاً
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When Boundaries Become Borders is also available in English.

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‘Xogta ku jirta warbixntu waa dhab iyo ‘xaqiiqo’...waxa jira wax badan oo arintan laga baranayo.’

—Sucaad Ibraahim Cabdi, Progressio, Soomaalilaand

‘Daraasaddani waa mid gaar ah sababtuna waa su’aasha laga duulayo, waxana taa kasi muhiimsan, waa jiritaanka iyo muhiimadda wixii ka soo baxay. Waxa ay si balaadhan wax uga taraysaa arimaha badankooda lala xidhiidhiyo xaaladda doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand. Waxa loo arki karaa qoraalkani in uu yahay muraayad dadka reer Soomaalilaand iska daawadaan si ay dib ugu jalleecan oo ay uga fikiraan guulihii ay gaadheen 10kii sanno ee ugu dambeeyay. Waxa aan aaminsanahay in daraasaddani ay wax ku soo kordhin doonto hanaqaadka dimuquraadiyadda iyo nidaamka xisbiyada badanba guud ahaan, iyo doorashooyinka iyo hanaanka doorashadaba gaar ahaan, sanadaha soo socda.’

—Adam Xaaji-Cali Axmed, Jaamacadda Hargeisa, Soomaalilaand

Ilaa markii dimuquraadiyadda xisbiyada badan laga bilaabay Soomaalilaand 2002, doorashooyinku waxa ay u qabsomeen hab wanaagsan oo maamul isku dhiib ah oo nabadgalyo u dhacay. Laakiin su’aalo ayaa ka yimi sida loo maalgaliyay doorashada. Waxa daraasaddu ku doodayso in Soomaalilaand dhexdeeda, sida meelaha kalaba yihiin, aan loo fahmin doorashdu tahay kaliya hannaan siyaasadeed, laakiin sidoo kale tahay dhacdo dhaqaalaha saamayn ku leh, oo xisbiyada, musharaxiinta iyo taageerayaashu ay maalgaliyaan iyaga oo aan damaanad u haysan in ay hantidoodii u soo noqonayso. Waxa daraasadda *Dhaqaalaha ku baxay Doorashooyinka Soomaalilaand* lagu ogaanayaa kharashkii ka baxay musharaxiinta iyo ilihii dakhligaasi ka soo galay doorashadii baalamaanka ee 2005 iyo tii golaha degaanka ee 2012. Waxa daraasadda lagu soo gunaanaday in haddii doorashada kaligeed loo arko in ay tahay hawlgal dimuquraadiyeed uun in ay tahay in la iska indha tirayo xaqiiqada bulsho ama dhaqaale ee dalka jirta. Jiritaan la’aanta hay’ado kaantaroola kharashka ku baxaya maalgalinta ololahu waxa ay dhaawac u keeni kartaa doorashooyinka mustaqbalka ee Soomaalilaand, waxana laga yaabaa in ay u dhigto kalsoonidda qaranka iyo beesha caalamkuba ku qabaan doorashooyinka.



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