

# Women's Political Participation in Puntland- Prospects for Progress



Research Study carried out by  
Somali Institute for Development  
and Research Analysis (SIDRA)

In partnership with  
UNDP Somalia

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### LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrim. against Women
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
FAWESOM	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
GEWE	Gender Equality and Women Empowerment
GECPD	Galkayo Education Centre for Peace and Development
GII	Gender Inequality Index
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
JPLG	Joint Program on Local Government
KWDO	Karkaar Women Development Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoWDAFA	Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PWCN	Puntland Women Councilors Network
SCS	South Central Somalia
SIDRA	Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SWSC	Somali Women's Studies Centre
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
UNWOMEN	United Nations Women Organization
WAWA	We Are Women Activists



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Gulled Salah Barre

Executive Director, SIDRA



## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This research study was conducted by the Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis (SIDRA) in partnership with UNDP Somalia. SIDRA Institute is a knowledge-policy interface established to fill the strategic gaps of shaping and dialoguing a wide range of policy agendas and in generating and communicating relevant research findings to policy actors in Somalia. The study aimed at assessing and documenting women's political participation in Puntland, focusing on the recent political processes while drawing lessons from historical trends and broader societal issues surrounding women's political participation. The study aimed to provide policy recommendations so as to influence future interventions.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative research methods and was conducted in four regions namely Nugaal, Karkaar, Bari and Mudug, covering a city in each region and targeting a sample of (600) six hundred respondents (Bosaaso-200, Garowe-150, Galkayo-150 and Gardo-100). Sixty percent (60%) of the respondents were women. Data was collected through public questionnaires, as well as through interviews with civil society organizations and Key Informants. The study also used Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) to thoroughly discuss issues related to women's political participation in Puntland and was attended each time by both men and women. Given that there is little documented on women's participation in politics in Puntland, the selection of the respondents focused on those working directly on issues that address women's participation in politics in Puntland. In this study SIDRA interviewed seventeen Key Informants from UNDP, UNWOMEN, JPLG, MoCFAD, MoWDAFA, The Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN), former and current ministers as well as six CSOs- 3 in Nugaal and 1 each region such as in Bari, Mudug and Karkaar.

The study assessed the level of Somali women's participation in politics in Puntland and this was found to be very low. Some of the major findings of this research study include the lack of clear policy and legal frameworks that support and promote women's political participation in Puntland. Although some elders feel that it is against the Somali tradition for women to participate in politics and public decision-making, the analyses of the results suggest something different. About 74% of the people the team interviewed spoke positively about women's participation in politics in Puntland whereas 23% did not. Of the 74.2% 51.2 are women, 22.9 are men and for the ones against 25.8%; 14.3 women, 11.6 are men. The other 7% were of the opinion that women can participate in some selected political positions.

Culture plays a significant role in influencing people's attitudes and perceptions towards women's participation in politics. Another major finding was the effect of the clan based system on women's political participation and women's status in general. The clan based system in Puntland is under the control of the traditional clan elders who determine who is selected and who is appointed into office and positions of power. Women in Puntland have done quite well in getting elected into local councils with 62 women currently (making 25 % of 250 total) but at parliament and in cabinet, the numbers are dismal with only 2 women parliamentarians out of the 66 total and 1 woman Minister out of 18 ministries while 3 women Vice-Ministers make up out of 19 total Vice-Ministers



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and 1 Director General (DG) out of 18 DGs in Puntland. The table below gives an overview of the figures:

**Table showing number of women in local politics in Puntland including local council**

POSITION	TOTAL	WOMEN
Ministers	26	1
Vice-Ministers	19	3
Parliament	66	2
DGs	29	1
District Councils	250	62
		<b>Total women: 69</b>

Even though the current participation of women in politics in Puntland is low compared to for example neighboring countries such as Kenya or Uganda, women in Puntland are now more than ever before politically active and engaged. Women in Puntland are organizing themselves in networks and forums and collaborating closely across geographic divides. They are also organizing themselves in NGOs and political and social movements in Puntland and throughout Somalia. In the FGDs it was concluded that women in Puntland and Somali women as a whole are today in more positions of authority and have greater access to information and technology. Despite women's enthusiasms for political office, women entering or already in politics in Puntland face many challenges that range from economic, social, political and institutional. Other challenges arise from tradition and culture, lack of enabling legal frameworks, lack of political will, weak government institutions, economic disenfranchisement, limited access to education and lack of "women for women" mindset. To support and promote women's political participation, the study has made several recommendations with a central theme of institutions and stakeholders working together to improve the level of women participation in politics in Puntland and Somalia in general.

The government should be supported to establish legal and policy frameworks that promote and support women's political participation to establish more diverse options for women such as affirmative bases on lessons learned from successful countries. The government should also reach out to the public and engage in dialogue. Civil Society Organization should upscale sensitization, awareness creation and community mobilization to drum up support for women participation in politics. They should also educate the communities on the importance and significance of women's participation in politics. Awareness creation and education should be specifically directed towards religious and traditional leaders, who should be engaged continuously as they are the influencers and gate keepers of society. It should be noted that these recommendations cannot bear fruits overnight. Significant change will only be seen through concerted efforts and collaboration among all the stakeholders. In the short term, affirmative action is needed to increase the number of women in leadership positions and as well as capacity enhancement of potential and current women leaders to enable them effectively engage in politics. This is necessary to propel the work forward.

The study identified a number of knowledge gaps that need to be addressed: (a) Analyze in details the contribution made by the civil society organizations in the promotion of women's political



participation and human rights, (b) Assess the policy gaps on gender equity in governance and politics for women empowerment, and (c) Assess the implications of culture on women's decision making and political participation.

This study therefore fills a critical knowledge gap in understanding the factors that are influencing the success of women's participation in politics and its recommendations will play a key role in improving people's welfare and governance in Puntland and Somalia as a whole. The study will be an important reference for policy makers, researchers, students, NGOs and others who have a close interest on development and related topics.

*Key words: Somali women, participation, politics, gender, Puntland, Somalia*

# 1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

## 1.1 Establishment of Puntland State

Following the outbreak of the Somali Civil War in 1991, a homegrown constitutional conference was held in Garoowe in 1998 over a period of three months. Attended by the area's political elite, traditional elders (Issims), members of the business community, intellectuals and other civil society representatives, the autonomous Puntland State of Somalia was established to deliver services to the population, offer security, facilitate trade, and interact with domestic and international partners. As stipulated in Article 1 of the Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic, Puntland is a part of the Federal State of Somalia. As such, the region seeks the unity of the Somalis and adheres to a federal system of government. Unlike the secessionist region of Somaliland to its west, Puntland is not trying to obtain international recognition as a separate nation. However, both regions have one thing in common: they base their support upon clan elders and their organizational structure along lines based on clan relationships and kinship. Since 1998, Puntland has also been in territorial disputes with Somaliland over the Sool and Sanaag regions.

## 1.2 Women's roles In Puntland

Advancing women's political participation in post-conflict countries requires determined efforts not only by women themselves, but also by Governments, the international community and indeed civil society. Action by political parties is particularly important. From the analysis made in this study, a number of recommendations are made.

Since the establishment of Puntland State of Somalia, now some 18 years ago, Somali women have been marginalized in political life. From 2004 onwards, a woman Minister has been allowed the 'typical' position of Minister for Women Affairs. Although there are now more women Vice-Ministers (3 out of 18) they don't have much influence to bring about tangible change. . In addition, female politicians bear the brunt of ad hoc leadership in Somalia, they bear the burden of dealing with their clan members who oppose the gender aspect of their political representatives and are often required to deal with a volatile elder and others male clan leaders who undermine, constantly attack and create barriers that confuse and mislead the females in power, all of this because there should be no women representing male led societies.

Gender inequality in Somalia is estimated at 0.4594 out of 1.0, with the country ranking fourth lowest globally in the Gender Inequality Index (GII) on internationally comparable indices (Source: OECD, 2014). There has been some effort to enhance the participation of women in politics in Somalia, through, among others invoking international human rights and gender equality principles and agreements to advocate for the inclusion of women.

## 1.3 International gender equality principles and agreements

Even though the extent to which international human rights and gender equality principles and agreements on advancing Somali women's political participation is not well known, some gains can be made traceable to international normative standards such as, for example the UNSC Resolution 1325 which addresses the impact of war on women and the pivotal role women could play in conflict resolution and peace building processes. UNSC Resolution 1325 has four pillars a) the participation of





women in leadership and conflict resolution, b) the protection of women and girls from SGBV) The prevention of violence against women; d) Relief and recovery measures.

The Somali government also supports the enactment of policies that support the implementation of Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960 which identify concrete areas and additional obligations for the implementation Resolution 1325. Furthermore, although Somalia has not ratified the International Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Somali civil society, and especially women's organizations are heavily engaged in global dialogues on its implementation. Furthermore, the International Convention on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR) universal declaration of human rights (UDHR), which in its Article 21 recognized the right of every one including both women and men, to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representative.

Proactive activities of Somali women's groups and activists, as well as international support and solidarity for women in Somalia have also played a key role. However, the involvement of women in decision making alongside the peace building process has been marginal (UN Women, 2012). Nevertheless, Somali women are organizing themselves in various ways; through networking and collaborations across geographic and political divides. Finally all these international instruments combined could help women in Puntland and indeed in Somalia as they remain the only principles that women can enjoy and also mention during their activism for advocacy and lobbying campaigns for social equality political participation.

#### **1.4 The Somali Constitution versus the Puntland Constitution**

The Provisional Somali Constitution was adopted in Mogadishu on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2012 and under Article 3 on the founding Principles subsection 5, it is stated that: "Women must be included, in an effective way, in all national institutions, in particular all elected and appointed positions across the three branches of government and in national independent commissions." In the same document Articles 15:2 and 11:1-2 both address the issue of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and the non-discrimination of any citizen in terms of gender, towards exercising their political or economic rights. Additionally article 22 gives every citizen the right to political participation.

In Article 35 of the Puntland Constitution, it says the following about women's rights:

1. The government's duty is to protect and promote the rights of women in accordance with Islam.
2. Women have equal rights to men, except by distinctions made by Allah. Additionally in Article 41 gives rights to every citizen in terms of political participation

The Puntland Decentralization Policy says the following: "MoI will ensure full inclusiveness of all sections of society the Government of Puntland and work to increase the role of women and marginalized sections of society in the decision-making process." This will be done through affirmative action processes and by ensuring that the planning process provides mandatory resource allocations according to the needs of women and marginalized groups. The MoI will pilot such



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initiatives to be rolled out over the years.<sup>1</sup> The two constitutions do not disagree on many points. They need to be harmonized to exclude divergences.

The Beijing Platform for Action, Paragraph 181 emphasized that “women’s equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for justice or democracy, but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women’s interests to be taken into account. Without the perspective of women at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved” (UN, 1995). In Somalia, a lot of focus has been put on addressing women’s access to health, justice, education, employment and economic opportunities. This focus has made gender equity a crosscutting theme in the international community’s engagement with Somalia. International organizations in Puntland in partnership with the Puntland Government aim to empower Somali men and women to be able to determine and lead their own agendas, as well as inspire others through leadership training and mentoring services provided to men and women active in government, civil society and the private sector. International organizations such as ADESO, UNDP, UNHABITATA, UNFPA, UNWOMEN, UNSOM, DIAKONIA, USAID, NDI, DAI are all working on women, leadership and governance issues in Puntland. Through direct and indirect funding, these organizations provide technical and financial support. However further research would be required as to what exactly, how long and how beneficial this support has been for women’s political empowerment.

Furthermore, UNDP works with ministries responsible for women’s development to increase women’s representation in political institutions and to provide advice and technical support to draft, enact and enforce policies and laws that ensure women’s political representation, equal access to economic resources, and protection against violence. The Gender Inequality Index for Somalia is 0.4594 (with a maximum of 1 denoting complete inequality), placing Somalia at the fourth highest position globally (OECD, 2014). Somalia has extremely high maternal mortality, rape, female genital mutilation and child marriage rates, and violence against women and girls is common.<sup>2</sup>

Across the country, traditional or customary law is applied more frequently than the state judicial system, and sexual and gender based violence often goes unpunished, particularly as traditional Somali society does not openly discuss these issues. Somali women’s participation in wage employment in the non- agricultural sector is the highest in Puntland at 40%, followed by Somaliland at 36%, and 33% in South Central.<sup>3</sup> However, women are employed mostly at the ‘lower’ levels of the civil service and other employment services. Women’s access to health services is limited, and Somalia’s maternal mortality rates are amongst the highest in the world, at 1,600 per 100,000 live births. According to the World Health Organization (UNFPA, 2007), approximately 98% of women in Somalia undergo Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), performed on girls between the ages 4 to 11 years. Its most severe form, infibulation is reported to be practiced in 80% of cases. According to the 2006 Somalia Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, the adult literacy rate for women is estimated to be

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.moipuntland.com/about-the-ministry/>

<sup>2</sup><http://www.trustlaw.org/trustlaw/news/factsheet-the-worlds-most-dangerous-countries-for-women>

<sup>3</sup><http://www.so.undp.org/index.php/Millennium-Development-Goals.html>



26%, compared to 36% for men. These rates have increased from 19% for women and 25% for men in 2001(UNDP, 2012a).

Education and increasing women's political participation would allow for more empowerment and contribute to a decrease in all of the injustices mentioned above. Puntland presidential elections were held on 8 January 2014 in Garowe. At least five women managed to feature in the new cabinet of President Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, whereby two of them were full ministers, the other three being vice ministers. This number has come down after Honorable Minister Zahra Nuur resigned from the Ministry of The Constitution, Federalism and Democracy (MOCFAD). Only two women were among the 66 newly selected legislators to the Puntland Parliament in December 2013.

### **1.5 Gender and the 5-Year Puntland Development Plan**

A new five year development plan (Puntland State of Somalia, 2013) has been developed from 2014 to 2018, and the thematic areas for the plan include the establishment and strengthening of economic foundations for sustainable growth; effective and responsive service delivery; accountability in governance; ruling justly; and maintaining peace and stability. Gender is a cross-cutting issue, and the Core Technical Team, responsible for overseeing sector working groups, have been trained on gender mainstreaming. Somali women face multiple challenges when accessing participation in politics. Somali society is patriarchal and women are seen to be weak, emotional and unable to make decisions.

Though there has been an increase in the number of civil society organizations pushing for the involvement of women in politics, little has been done by the Government in supporting or passing laws that grant women a say on how they are governed. There are a few women ministers but the political playing field is too antagonistic to women. The political context in Puntland is constantly evolving. Since the Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MOWDAFA) was formed in 2004, some progress has been made though much remains to be done. According to interviews the researchers have had with MOWDAFA the Puntland National Gender Policy is awaiting alignment with the SDGs. The Ministry has made progressive efforts in the finalization and adoption of the Gender Policy. The Gender Policy has passed several successive stages of completion.

In the last years, the Puntland government has achieved some success in advancing women's participation in the districts and local councils. A 2007 Presidential Decree<sup>4</sup> required all public institutions to adhere to 30% representation of women. As result, women secured 17% of the local councils and were able to form the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN). The Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MoWDAFA) as well as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Somali women activists are actively engaged in programs aimed at advancing Somali women's political participation. These programs include civic education programs and campaigns, raising awareness of women's potential to participate in politics and advocacy for adherence to the 30% quota and participation of women in political associations (parties).

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<sup>4</sup><http://ussfs.org/sfs/timeline-for-puntland-constitutional-and-democratization-process/>



## 1.6 Political parties

In June of 2009, the Puntland government passed a new regional draft constitution, representing a significant step toward the eventual introduction of a multi-party political system to the region for the first time. On 15 April 2012, the Puntland government opened a four-day constitutional convention officially inaugurating the new constitution of Puntland. Overseen by the Puntland Electoral Commission (PEC), the constitution represented the final step in the extant regional democratization process and was scheduled to be by the formation of political parties. On 12 September 2012, the Puntland Electoral Commission announced that the registration process for political parties in Puntland was now open. This came after the passing of the Political Association Law, the Referendum Act, the District Elections Law and the inauguration of the state constitution. They will also be challengers in the next elections, scheduled for January 2014.

On 14 November 2012, President Faroole announced the launching of his new political party, Horseed. The association counts over 200 members and represents the incumbent Puntland government, including Vice President Abdisamad Ali Shire and the state Ministers. It is the first prospective party to register for an application with the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC). According to Faroole, the general public will be eligible for membership in the organization once it is selected as an official political party. Three other political associations were established, including the Union of the People of the Regions (Ururka Dadka iyo Dalka - UDAD), The Development and Justice Party or DJP (Xisbiga Horumarintaiyo Cadaalada or Hor-Cad) and Midnimo.

The Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) could play an important role in facilitating women's participation in politics. However, the Puntland Electoral Commission was disbanded by President Abdirahman Faroole in 2013 and the former Chair could not respond to any of the questions addressed to him during this research. On Monday 25<sup>th</sup> April 2016, a new Electoral Commission was sworn into office by the Vice-President of Puntland. It's elected Chair Axmed Mohamed Ali (Ahmed Kismaayo).<sup>5</sup> One of the major tasks awaiting TPEC is to oversee, implement the rules and regulations based on the law as they relate to multi-party system and the political parties which are soon expected in Puntland. In this research, recommendations are given about how these TPEC and political parties could work together with women in the areas of political participation in Puntland.

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<sup>5</sup><https://horseedmedia.net/2016/04/25/guddiga-doorashooyinka-puntland-oo-door-tey-guddoomiye-iyo-ku-xigeen>



## **2. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY**

This chapter explains the justification for the study from which the objectives will be drawn. Women's participation in politics in Puntland has been dismal and there is very little to report on about in the previous years. It is clear that in Puntland women have continually been marginalized in all aspects of decision making and governance. In cabinet there are few women and fewer in parliament and often women who are dismissed or are forced to resigned and often replaced by men. There is much talk about democracy and women's rights. Several cases such as the stepping down of former Minister Zahra Said Nuur and the pain loss of Mayoral candidate Zuhur in local elections have brought into new focus, questions about the factors hindering women's political participation in Puntland.

Since the establishment of a democratic administration in Puntland in 1998, women have remained at the side-line of Puntland's politics. Women's political participation is very much linked to peace and state building in Puntland. Hence the need to undertake a study of factors women's involvement in the mainstream of politics in Puntland. This therefore makes the study both timely and significant. A detailed analysis of this phenomenon will help contribute to the sparse knowledge in this area. The research will equally be beneficial to INGOs, donors, research institutions and government agencies as well as the civil society and the community at large in Puntland that work on gender related issues such. In addition, the suggestions and recommendations that will be proffered in this study will help improve the level of political participation of women in Puntland. Finally, this work will be useful to scholars who wish to carry out further research on women and political participation in Puntland as the materials of the study will be of great importance for their enquiries.

## **3. STUDY GOAL AND OBJECTIVES**

The main goal of this research study was to analyze the factors that facilitate or hinder women's participation in politics in Puntland State of Somalia. To reach this goal, the study has the following specific objectives:

- To understand people's perception of politics, elections and the role of Somali women in leadership
- To assess the effectiveness of the legal and policy frameworks regulating women's political participation in Puntland,
- To assess the factors that contributed to women's representation in municipal or districts positions, and to determine on the other hand, the barriers or challenges that prevent women from aspiring and achieving political leadership,
- To provide policy recommendations to MoWDAFA, Government institutions, civil society organizations and other stakeholders on how to increase the participation of women in politics, specifically in the anticipated elections in 2016, and



- To help better understand local women's organizing and advocacy capacity for better women's political participation taking into account the gains made, challenges and constraints and how this capacity can be enhanced.

## 4. MATERIALS AND METHODS

### 4.1 Field Data collection

Data was collected in January 2016 in four cities (Bosaaso, Garowe, Galkayo and Qardho) representing four regions (Nugaal, Karkaar, Bari and Mudug) of Puntland. The data was collected through public interviews, interviews with Civil Society Organizations and Key Informants as well as through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Characteristics of the study respondents are presented in box 1a while the study materials and methods used for the interviews and the FGDs are elaborated in Box 1b.

<b>Box 1a: Characteristics of the Study Respondents</b>				
	<b>Gender (%)</b>		<b>Occupation (%)</b>	
Men	34.4	Students		35.5
Women	65.6	Business Person		24.0
		Teacher		14.4
	<b>Age (%)</b>	Others Specify		10.1
20-29 Years	52.9	Government Worker		7.1
30-39 Years	25.7	Private Employee		5.2
40-49 Years	13.7	Manager		3.7
50 Years and above	7.7			
<b>Box 1b: Methods used for Interviews and FGDs</b>				
Public Interviews	A total of 600 respondents were surveyed in four cities, one in each of the four regions studied. The size of the sample taken in each city was determined using the proportionate to population sizes framework. 200 respondents were interviewed in Bosaaso, 150 in Garowe and Galkayo and 100 in Qardho.			
	The age classes of the respondents included 20-29 years (52%), 30-39 years (25%), 40-49 years (18%) and over 50 years (7%). 39% of the respondents were Men where as 61% were women .			
Key Informants and CSOs Interviews	26 Key Informants and CSOs were interviewed. CSOs and Key Informants selected were those with firsthand information and actively involved with women participation in politics. The other factors considered when selecting respondents included occupation, academic background, knowledge and role played and understanding of the study context.			
Focus Group	Four FGDs were organized, one in each of the four cities representing the four			



Discussions (FGDs) regions. The participants selected for the Focus group discussions were identified in collaboration with the Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MoWDAFA). The FGDs were organized and attended by the MoWDAFA regional coordinators.

#### 4.2 Online Discussions

An online discussion was initiated by the research team in order to hear from the Diaspora Puntlanders and Somalis. The online debate was based on the following question (framed in both English and Somali language):

*“Is it important for Somali women to be in political leadership? Why and how is it important?” “Miyay muhiim u tahay dumarka Soomaaliyeed in ay qabtaan xil hoggaamiyeed? Maxay tahay sababtu iyo sida ayay muhiim u tahay?”*

250 people engaged in the online discussion with close to 100 people contributing to the discussion and 12 people shared the post with others.

#### 4.3 Data processing and Analysis

Data was processed in line with the objectives of the study. First, the paper field responses were converted into digital format using CSPro.6 and Microsoft Excel. The data was then first analyzed descriptively in Excel where means and frequencies were determined for the different issues being investigated. Such statistics were calculated for factors such as level of women's political participation, factors that facilitate or hinder the participation of women in politics, etc. Following this basic analysis, content analysis was then undertaken for the data coming from the FGDs, Key informants and Civil Society (CSOs) interviews. This involved first clustering the data according to specific thematic areas and then developing meanings and patterns of responses from which conclusions were drawn.

#### 4.4 Ethical Considerations

The respondents were informed appropriately about the purpose of the study, its duration and potential use of the research results. The questions in the questionnaires were translated into Somali and the researchers, who were Somali, asked the questions in the Somali language. The informants were also assured of their anonymity during publication of the findings. Issues such as safety of female respondents were critical and where necessary, free transport was provided to and from the FGD locations for women for security purpose. Research permits and authorization were also obtained from the relevant institutions.

#### 4.5 Research Questions

This study was guided by a number of research questions as enumerated below:



- What are the current levels of women participation in decision making positions in Puntland (both elected and appointed positions)?
- What are the attitudes towards women's political participation in Puntland? (Views held about women's involvement in politics and decision-making by the wider public, clerks, traditional leaders and politicians)? How are these attitudes influenced by Islam and Somali culture?
- What are the key challenges to women's participation in politics and decision-making in Puntland?
- What strategies, if any, have Puntland used to ensure women's inclusion in local councils?
- What obstacles and barriers are there to women's equal participation in political institutions, operations and processes?
- What were the strategies or the barriers towards the passing of 30% quota for women in local councils and what are the challenges preventing the adoption of women's quota in parliament? What laws or decrees available or need to be passed to ensure this happens?
- What role does traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or stifling women's political participation in Puntland?
- What factors (personal, political, institutional) and strategies made it possible for the successful 44 women candidates (out of 250) to be included in the local councils and what are the current standing of women local councilors in Puntland?
- What are civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working? Did advocacy strategies succeed in building constituency within the wider community particularly women electorates? What advocacy strategies can CSOs further implement to support women's participation in future elections?
- What are the People's understanding and perception of elections?
- What recommendations can be made to the different institutions and political players in Puntland in order to enhance women's political participation in the wake of 2016 elections?

These research questions framed the structure of the study both in terms of the public and CSOs interviews and the FGDs. The results of the study were also presented along aggregation of these research questions.

#### **4.6 Study Limitations**

The study faced three main limitations which are listed below:

- One of the main limitations of the study was the lack of study material on women's political participation in Puntland and Somalia in general. Most of the available material deals with women empowerment in the socio-economic spheres and the progress made in these fronts.





- The numbers of CSOs implementing programs that focus on women's political participation specifically are few and mostly located in the major cities in Puntland.

## 5. STUDY RESULTS

### 5.1 People's perception of politics, elections and role of women

People in Puntland have a good understanding of politics and elections. Of the 51.5% public interviews with respondents, 33.5% were women and 17.5% were men. Respondents related elections with voting 51.5%; with rights 32%; and with freedom 14.8% (Figure 1). Furthermore, a large proportion of these respondents (74.2%) 51.2% were women whereas 22.9% were men who said that they would vote for a woman to represent them in local council, parliament or in presidency.

However, results of the FGDs clearly demonstrated gender difference in politics with women experiencing a high degree of political exclusion. The respondents mainly attributed this to Somali cultural values that expect women to take a back seat in public affairs. However all respondents agreed that over the years, this has been changing and there is now a growing awareness that women can participate to some extent in politics.

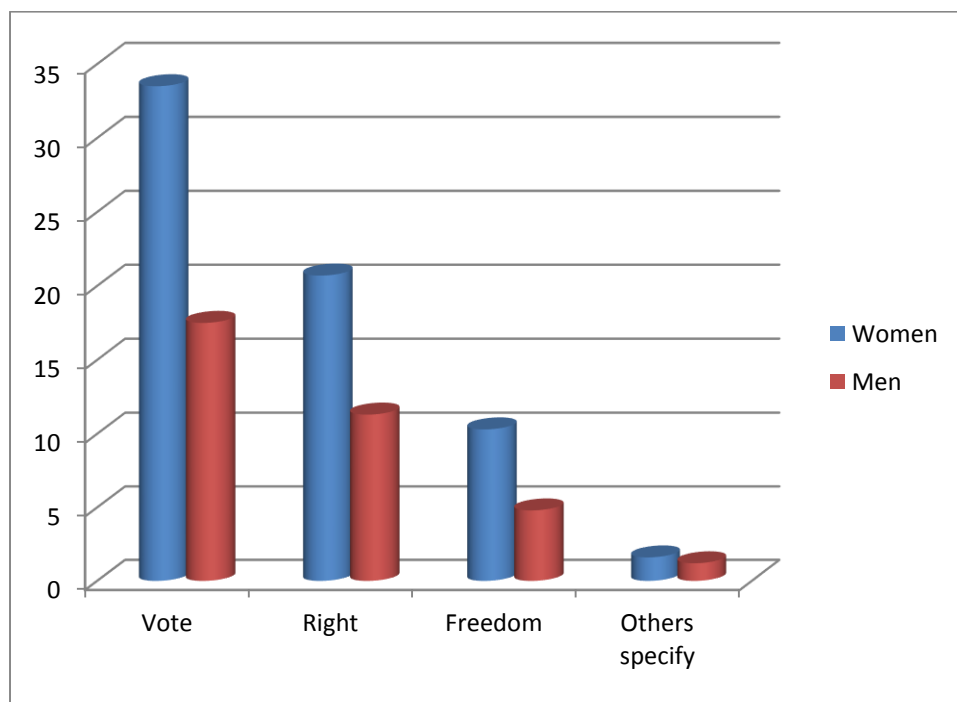


Figure 1: People's Perception of Elections

Some of the FGDs debated cultural attitudes towards acceptance of women's participation in politics. The results showed a divide with some participants expressing that male leaders continue to



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exclude women while the other participants argued that altitudes were changing even in the most traditional areas of Puntland.

This second opinion was backed by public interviews where women respondents observed that women can now speak out in ways that they could not before, although they often face resistance and harassment, mainly from elders, for taking part in politics. Although some elders feel that it is against the Somali tradition for women to participate in politics and public decision-making, the analyses of the results suggest something different. About 74% of the people the team interviewed spoke positively about women's participation in politics in Puntland whereas 23% did not. Of the 74.2% 51.2 are women, 22.9 are men and for the ones against 25.8%; 14.3 women, 11.6 are men. The other 7% were of the opinion that women can participate in some selected political positions. The large proportion of the respondents observed that they could vote a woman into any office – councilor, MP or president.

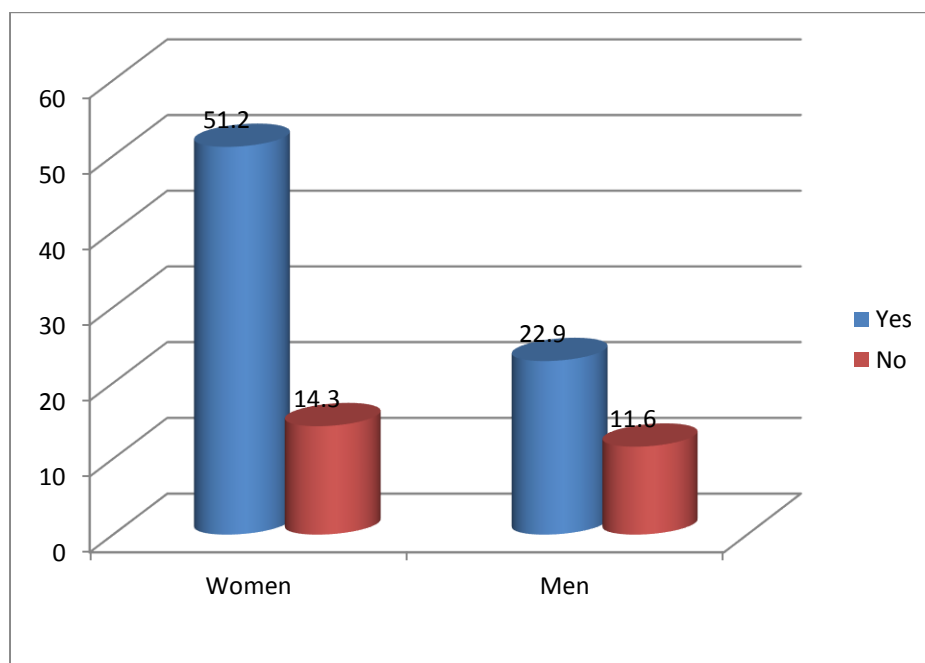
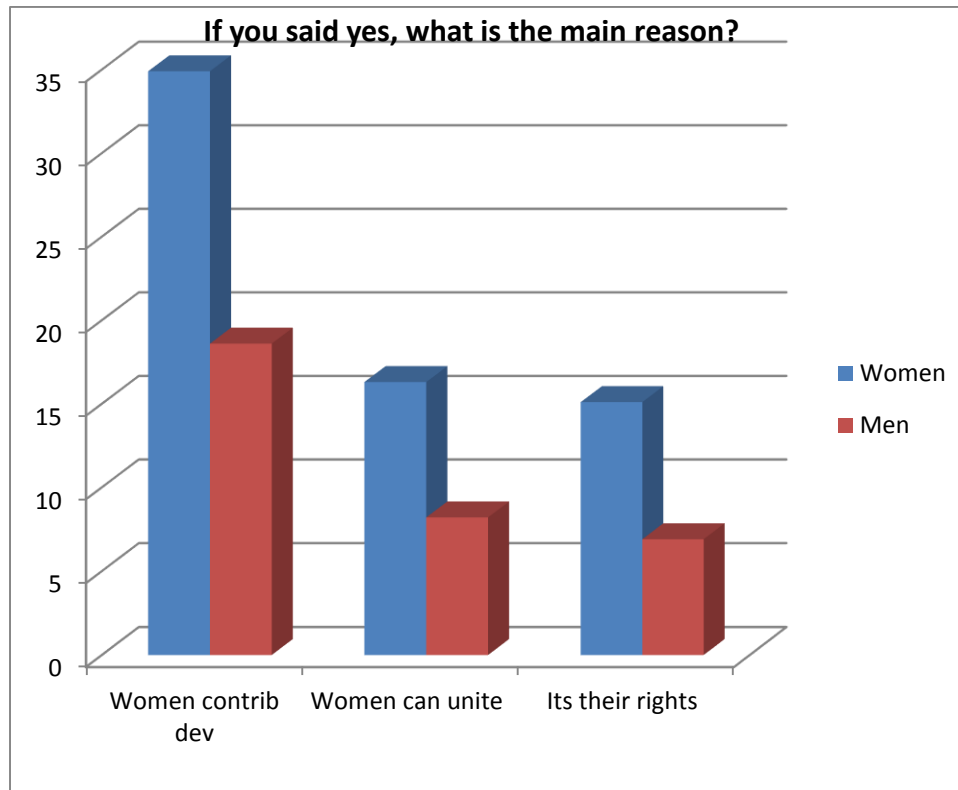


Figure 2: Proportion that can vote woman to any office

Results of the study revealed that people's attitudes towards women participation in politics was mainly driven by culture and religion, both of which are largely dictated by the traditional leaders. This attitude was different among the educated and urbanized respondent who had a different view and therefore were more supportive to women participation in politics. Women roles as defined in tradition do not provide a place for women in politics and women may feel out of place in politics (FGDs). Majority of the respondents do not fully appreciate and understand the importance of women's participation in politics and leadership and it will require continuous advocacy and awareness creation to change this situation.



Respondents were asked why they would vote a woman to office and close to 60% chose as a reason that women contribute effectively to development. 39% of the 60 were women whereas 21% were men. Another reason was that women have the ability to unite people (22%; 15% women and 7% men). A last group argued that it is the right of women to run for elections (19%, 13% women and 6% men). It is clear that ongoing advocacy for women's participation in politics had raised awareness and created acceptance within communities of women's right to participate in public life and politics. On the other hand, women in elected positions at district, municipality and national levels have played an important role in changing people's attitudes and perceptions about women participation in politics in a positive way therefore opening the way for more women to be involved in politics in the future.

#### 4.2 Legal & policy frameworks regulating women political participation

Interviews and FGDs as well as literature review on the legal and policy frameworks regulating women participation in politics in Puntland reveal a large gap that needs urgent attention. First, the constitution mentions equity and fairness but is silent on the specific laws to bring about equity and fairness and to deal with women representation in political matters. Also, there is no mention of 'equality' in the constitution and this poses a serious limitation as the constitution is the basic and fundamental reference for any legal or policy to be developed. It could also be an impediment to the adoption of the National Gender Policy. Additionally, the Garowe II declaration that recommended 30% quota for women in elected and appointed positions is supported verbally by the President in a decree that specified women's representation in politics but has not been adopted into the



constitution. Respondents shared that this declaration should be adopted as a law and included in the Puntland constitution.

Moreover, a Puntland National Gender Policy has been under development with support from UNDP and is expected to be adopted soon according to MoWDFAFA. This policy will be instrumental in providing formal legislation in addressing barriers to women inclusion in politics and other areas of development. Furthermore, respondents felt that the clan based systems puts women in a political disadvantage and should be replaced with a democratic “one man one vote system” to remove the political control of the clan elders. In the absence of a “one man one vote system”, a law should be passed that will require clan elders to reserve some seats for women for a fair representation. The 30% quota for women's representation at all levels is a key instrument for women's inclusion in politics. The majority of the respondents said that CSOs have strongly advocated for the implementation of this declaration but it is not clear to what extent this advocacy will impact government policy.

Leaders of CSOs revealed that their action has limited impact on government policy citing government rejection of their push for a 30% women representation in parliament. CSOs push for women participation in politics has been supported by development agencies including UNDP, UNSOM and UN Women but the support is limited by donor concerns about being seen to interfere with national policy agenda. This was a concern shared by some of the key Informants. Key informants interviews revealed that the ministries of Justice, Education, Health and Women have gender units to advise the ministries on gender issues and support and ensure gender balance is enforced in government departments. These units however cannot achieve much in the absence of a legal framework to support their work. These Gender Units within these Ministries could be the machinery which could address the issue of women's leadership and political participation.

Despite government working hard to sensitize the public on gender issues and challenges, there seems to be no clear agenda to support women's political participation and no bill has been introduced in parliament to for the support of women participation in politics. Interviews with CSOs revealed that when women went to the parliament demanding the implementation of the 30% quota, they received a hostile reception from the parliamentarians, though the speaker advised the women to write a formal petition to the parliament and also invited them to organize to address a special session of parliament on their issues. It was not clear to this study if this was realized and what was the outcome. The Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) could play an important role in facilitating women's participation in Politics. However, the Puntland Electoral Commission was disbanded by President Abdirahman Faroole in mid-2013. The former chair could not respond to any of the questions addressed to him during this research. On Monday 25<sup>th</sup> April 2016, a new Electoral Commission was sworn into office by the Vice-President of Puntland its elected Chair Axmed Mohamed Ali (Ahmed Kismaayo).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup><https://horseedmedia.net/2016/04/25/guddiga-doorashooyinka-puntland-oo-door-tey-guddoomiye-iyu-ku-xigeen>



**Box 2: District Councils and the work of the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN)**

One of the key successes often mentioned in relation to women's political participation in Puntland rests in the local municipal councils. In Puntland Local or District Councils were established in June of 2005 during former president Adde's time and the councils have been active ever since.

There are currently 27 District Councils in Puntland and together they total 250 members. 62 of these are women. Each District in Puntland is represented by a District Council. Some District Councils have just been formed in Puntland and are currently in early stages of formation while others are about to be formed. These District Councils have self-administration powers and this means that district authorities have administrative powers to:

- Levy and collect taxes
- Provide services
- Lead district development undertakings
- Plan for their economic and social affairs
- Enact local by-laws



**Figure 1 Lead Researcher Sahro Ahmed Koshin (SIDRA) with the Chair of the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN) during an interview in Garowe.**

The District Council in Garowe has 7 different departments each catering for a different theme or social need such as education, social affairs etc. In Garowe a total of 27 men and women are selected every 5 years by traditional clansmen. Of the 27 members 5 are women. Some of the mechanisms that ensure the foundations of this success include LawNr7 of the Puntland District Councils Law which says that 25% of Council members should be women. The law defines the powers and functions of the Local Councils, including administrative, financial management, planning and legislative powers. It also defines the duties, roles and responsibilities of Local Councils and individuals. Each district is divided into villages, which have their own Village Committees. The Village Committee has an important role in the planning and implementation of local development activities

PWCN was established in December of 2013 in Bosaaso by a group of Somali women Local Council members with the support of UNDP. Their biggest goal is to promote women's political participation through lobby and training. Interviews with key informants revealed that the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN) formed through the support of UNDP has played an important role in creating awareness on the role of women in politics and advocating for women participation in politics. PWCN has facilitated capacity building of women politicians through training on networking, community mobilization and communication. The work of the network has been significant in



changing community perception that was originally against women participation in politics. PWCN is an important vehicle that can enable women to actively participate in the forthcoming election. Interviews with relevant government ministries indicated that gender issue sensitization by government and development agencies have led to the public understanding the role of women in public life and politics and reduction in gender inequality.

So far PWCN has conducted 5 regional leadership trainings workshops in Bosaaso, Garowe, Galkayo, Badhan and Qardho. Another one is currently been planned in Dhahar and Laasanood. A implemented number of advocacy campaigns have also been implemented since the existence of PWCN. Nevertheless, the PWCN also faces some challenges. According to the Chair of PWCN, Mrs Asha Abdi Hussein the organization lack funding, it doesn't have an office and there is a need for an office with equipment. Source: Asha Abdi Hussein, Chair of PWCN.

During the time of this research the Chair of Mrs Asha Abdi Hussein invited SIDRA as a civil society organization to participate in the 20<sup>th</sup> Session of the Garowe District Council held at the Puntland Development and Research Centre (PDRC) in Garowe. SIDRA staff was fortunate to be present and to participate in this meeting and to inquire and gather data related to gender issues in the District Councils of Puntland. The various departments of the District Council of Garowe presented their work of the past 6 months to a number of invited civil society and government officials. PWCN Chair who is also the Head of the Social Affairs Department of the District Council spoke about gender issues and the need to include and retain more women in the District.

### **4.3 Factors contributing to women's participation in municipal councils**

Respondents cited four factors as important contributors to women participation in municipal and district political positions. These includes advocacy and lobbying by women's organizations, formation of the Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN), capacity development of women politicians and leaders by development agencies and support by the current president. Particularly, the support by UNDP in capacity development is severally cited.

The Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MoWDAFA) is involved in creating strong women networks in the regions that advocate and support women candidates with strong leadership aspirations. MoWDAFA is also lobbying for the approval of the Puntland Gender Policy, which could facilitate the empowerment of women. The adoption of the women's quota mentioned in various agreements such as the Garowe 11 and could support increase the inclusion of women in cabinet and the judiciary assembly. Finally MoWDAFA is undertaking civic education ensuring that citizens including women comprehend the constitution's general provisions and the basic citizens' rights and responsibilities.

The Ministry of the Constitution, Federal Affairs and Democratization (MoCFAD) has also put in place strategies to promote women's participation in local councils and other political positions and is currently drafting a democratization policy which would ensure women and marginalized group's play greater roles in elections and appointed positions. This is part of the democratization road map which was approved by the president in September of 2014 which gives representation quota between 26 and 29 per cent specification for women and minority groups. Interview with



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MoCFAD senior officers revealed that the ministry is putting in place strategies for closer collaboration with MoWDAFA to push for constitutional amendment to accommodate women's quota for political representation and participation in politics and decision making processes. Additionally, MoCFAD has planned advocacy campaigns to create an enabling and stable political environment for equally participation by woman. Leadership trainings are planned and the ministry aims to reach 21 Districts in Puntland to hold workshops and consultation meetings for women's equal participation in politics.





**Box 3 : Case Study- Zuhur Hashi Hambo- Women's Political Participation in Puntland**

In August of 2015 in Garowe, the capital of Puntland, a young woman by the name of Zuhur Hashi Hambo took Garowe and indeed the entire State by storm when she stood in a public meeting and announced that she was also running for the Mayor's Post of Garowe. Although she didn't achieve success, Zuhur became very popular in the community and especially among the youth. Some of the factors that contributed to Zuhur's popularity included the use of technology. Zuhur used materials such as posters, banners and flyers and was popular on Social Media. Her fame reached many people in Somalia and indeed abroad. She was often on the radio being interviewed about why she was running as a



mayor and how the whole affair impacted her. What was remarkable about this young woman is not only the medium which she used in her campaign but also the support she gained from the general public in Puntland. Fans and sympathizers put large posters of Zuhur on the front and back of their vehicles. Zuhur's Facebook<sup>7</sup> totaled way over 5000 fans and was forced to open another page for her fans which also reached above 5000. Most of her followers are young men and women who admire her courage and aspired to be like her. In an interview with the researcher, Zuhur explained what compelled her to run for Mayor of Garowe.

"Many people claim that I lost. I don't think I lost, she said. I think I won and very much so. I showed a society dominated by Men that it is indeed possible that a young women can have ambition, talent and plan to run to be elected Mayor of a city in Puntland." she answered in the interview. Zuhur has since established a young women's political movement, whose members are mostly students and young professionals whom Zuhur has inspired to speak publicly about their concerns in their communities. A number of advocacy and lobby oriented activities as well as some courses on political trainings are planned to educate young women about their rights and about politics in general in Somalia. Their focus is local council participation but will eventually grow to seek higher political office. Zuhur received only one vote and this was her won. In other words non one voted for Zuhur. Since Zuhur ran for Mayoral Seat in Garowe, more Somali women have come up to run for mayoral positions. Zuhur has inspired another young Somali woman candidate to do the same and run for Mayor of Qardho in September of 2015. Zuhur faced Economic, political, cultural and institutional challenges during her time as a Mayor Candidate. In Puntland, the 30% quota is not implemented practically. Furthermore, traditional leaders are reluctant to involve women into the politics. The success of women in the social fields is not replicated in the political front but rather women are relegated to the side. This prevents the majority of women candidates from succeeding. There is also disunity among the women as they lack a common denominator to bring them together so as to support each other. It is frequently said that "Women are their own enemies." When a woman decides that she will seek a leadership position, she becomes the target of jealousy and

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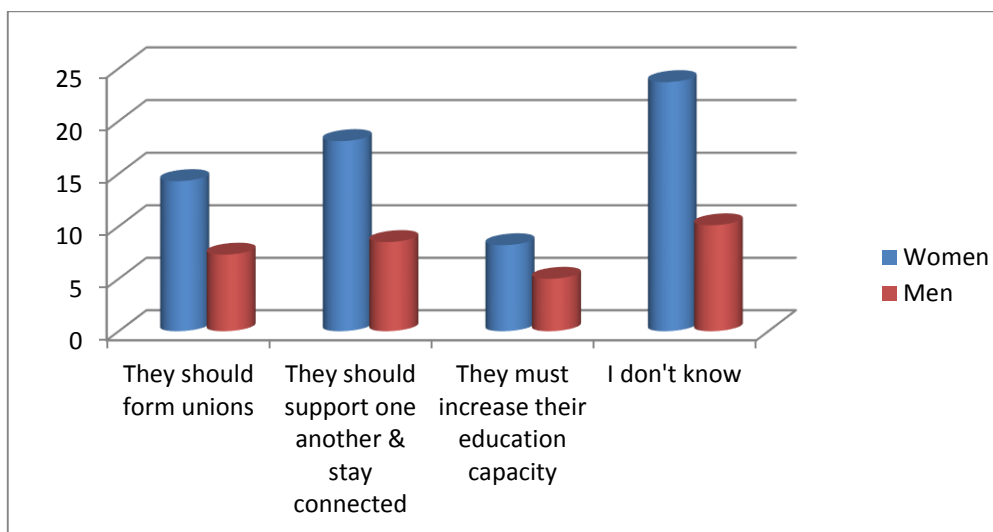
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faces hostility and opposition from fellow women. The women rarely vote for their own as was expressed by Zuhur and many other women who were interviewed in this study.

Personal motivation has also played an important role in increasing the number Somali women elected in local councils, which has increased from 44 to 59. Women have realized that they are the largest tax payers since they run operate small business in major towns and villages. According to the people interviewed in the FGDs and as Key Informants, personal factors that were mentioned include will power, political ambition, self-esteem, leadership skills and personal conviction. Support from the family and community, relationship with the community, good speaking skills and education were also mentioned as success factor.

The majority of the respondents noted that although the number of women in the local councils has increased, the positions women are given in the councils have little or no political influence. For example, of the 59 women currently in the councils in Puntland, none is a mayor and only one has been elected as deputy mayor in Badhan council in Sanaag region. When asked what women should do to increase their numbers and influence (Figure 3), respondents observed that women should support each other (27.8%), an issue of great concern raised by policy makers and the key informants as being a hindrance to increasing the number of women in politics; form unions or networks (22.9%), to engage in activities and implement interventions that promote and support women political participation; intensify the efforts to acquire education (14.2%), by encouraging young girls to go to school in large numbers to ensure substantial number of educated women to take up political positions.

A large number of the respondents (35%) did not have an answer indicating that the society has not yet fully appreciated the importance of women's participation in politics and revealing the fact that the importance of women's participation in politics has not been embraced by the community. This could be attributed to the ikelihood that the respondents are not aware of global development goals such as the MDGs and SGDs that propose gender equality and involvement of women in politics and governance. A lot of sensitization and awareness rising is therefore needs to address this scenario.





*Figure 3: How can women increase their influence?*

The majority of the respondents in the public interviews and FGDs expressed the opinion that women led civil society organizations have played a significant role in supporting women's political participation through their awareness creation, sensitization and advocacy work in the community. This has resulted in changes in attitudes and perceptions towards a more supportive stand. In particular it was reported that civil society organizations have created awareness of women's rights and challenged human rights violations as well as build social acceptance for women's participation in politics. They have also supported women candidates to participate in elections. Although the pace of change is slow, CSOs that have made significant process in changing gender norms and creating space for women to participate in public life and to some extent changing the cultural practices.

**Box 4: FAWESOM- Showcasing a CSO active in Women's Political Participation in Puntland**

FAWE Somalia (FAWESOM) is a member of a growing number of forums for African women educationalists (FAWE) across Africa. The forum for African women educationalists- Somali national chapter (FAWESOM) was registered in Puntland State of Somalia in 2006.



The majority of the respondents with whom we spoke in this research expressed the opinion that women led civil society organizations have played a significant role in supporting women's political participation through their awareness creation, sensitization and advocacy work in the community.

Since its establishment in 2006, FAWESOM has significantly contributed to promoting women's leadership and public policy-making skills within education through targeted capacity building programs and community conversation debates.

FAWESOM is working, especially in Sool, Nugaal and Mudug regions on increasing self sufficiency among women through income generating projects and skills development so as to improve the living condition of marginalized groups of women through civic education, awareness creation, and empowerment of women through their basic and fundamental rights and through the promotion of democracy, gender equality and human rights in the region.



FAWESOM in partnership with UNDP have worked to increase the knowledge of local



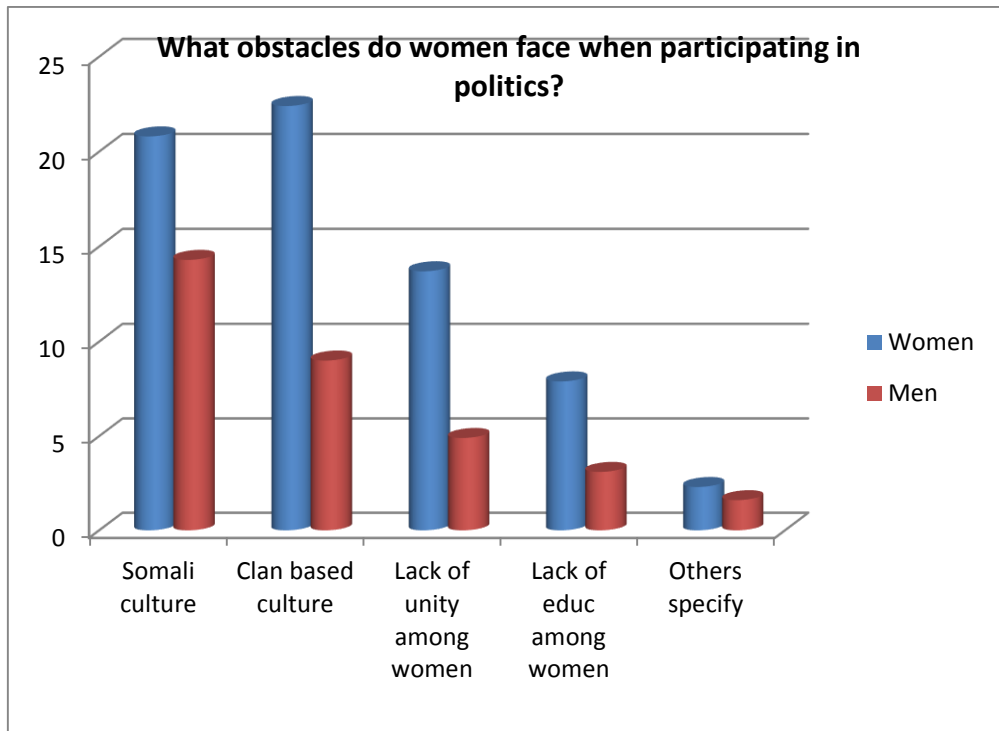
communities on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, with special attention given to the protection of women and girls from gender-based-violence in Somalia and their effort to continue with their voluntary communal work to eliminate GBV.

FAWESOM has organized a number of discussions about women's political participation and leadership in Puntland. It has promoted women leaders. FAWESOM continues to provide equal access to their programs for women and girls from all walks of life. They make an effort to listen to the youth they serve, including young women in organizational leadership, and continually reshape their curriculum based upon women's needs and feedback Partner with government and non-government organizations to offer young women access to education.

#### **4.4 Barriers and challenges preventing women from achieving political leadership**

Majority of the respondents mentioned traditional leaders as the biggest impediment to women's political participation. In Puntland, the traditional leaders are the gate keepers of culture; they have a lot of influence and play an important role in determining who gets selected for political positions. The leaders are conservative and are unwilling to support the idea of women being leaders as they believe women are not allowed to address men culturally. This reinforces the belief that women should not lead and therefore should not be selected to be clan representatives. On the other hand, religious leaders have not done much to promote Somali women's participation in politics. Some religious leaders misinterpret the teachings of Islam or focus on specific teachings that support their view point. Other religious leaders however are of the opinion that women can participate in politics and be selected or elected to any political position apart from the presidency. Overall, more than half of the respondents (53.6%) felt that traditional and religious leaders have negative opinion on women participation in politics.

Despite the efforts made by CSOs and donor organizations to support women's participation in politics and decision-making in Puntland, respondents agreed that there are many challenges that need to be addressed to increase the level and scope of women's involvement in politics. Women in politics in Puntland have an uphill task to get fair representation mainly due to the unequal playing ground that is created by culture, tradition and religion.



**Figure 4: Barriers to women equal participation in politics**

The greatest barriers to women equal participation in politics (Figure 4) were identified culture (35%); clan based voting system (32%), lack of unity among women (18.9%) and low level of education (10.8%). Other barriers identified included lack of financial resources, lack of leadership skills and family upbringing.

Combining the results Interviews, FGDs and KIIs, these barriers are grouped into four categories

(Cultural, Social, Economic and Institutional) as discussed below:

- The Somali cultural system where power is vested on men has relegated women to the periphery and does not support them to participate in politics. Cultural practices that reinforce this inequality in Somalia include practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and Polygamy emphasize that women have no control over their life and cannot be involved in leadership. Traditionally, women are regarded as home makers and are not expected to participate in political systems and decisions. Girls are also socialized to accept this as the cultural norm.
- In the social sphere, women have limited access to social resources. For example, in education, the Somali culture focuses on the boy and very few girls go to school. Even where they attend school, they are expected to do household chores in addition to their school work. This leads to very few women who are well educated which leads to lack of good number of women in leadership and politics.
- Financially, women have little or no financial muscle to fund their political interests compared to men. According to the respondents, this is because men have solid



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networks which they use to support their political interests while women have few or no networks. Additionally, women access to employment and finance is limited due to cultural beliefs.

- Institutionally, Somali women in leadership positions have not made much progress in advancing women's empowerment. It seems the women have no authority even when in power. Women are considered representatives of the clan and she cannot push women issues since they mainly focus on the clan agenda. Women appointed as Ministers or Vice ministers rarely make significant statements or support activities for women's political participation. It is important to clarify what compels these women to do so. The respondents expressed the opinion that even those women who are very focal outside the government, when they get elected, their voices are rarely heard.

Culture also plays a significant role in influencing people's attitudes and perceptions towards women's participation in politics. Another major finding was the effect of the clan based system on women's political participation and women's status in general. The clan based system in Puntland is under the control of the traditional clan elders who determine who is selected and who is appointed into office and positions of power. Women in Puntland have done quite well in getting elected into local councils with 62 women currently (making 26.4% of 250 total) but at parliament and in cabinet, the numbers are dismal with only 2 women parliamentarians out of the 66 total and 1 woman Minister out of 18 ministries while 3 women Vice-Ministers make up out of 19 total Vice-Ministers and 1 Director General (DG) out of 18 DGs in Puntland. The table below gives an overview of the figures;

**Table showing number of women in local politics in Puntland including local council**

POSITION	TOTAL	WOMEN
Ministers	26	1
Vice-Ministers	19	3
Parliament	66	2
DGs	29	1
District Councils	250	62
		<b>Total women: 69</b>



**Box 3 : Case Study- Zahra SaidNuur- Women's Political Participation in Puntland**

Zahra Said Nuur is the founder of the Puntland Chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWESOM), an organization that advocates for girls education. She is also one of the founders of Talowadaag Somali women's political movement based in Garowe but with a national network covering all over Puntland. In 2014 she was appointed the Minister of the Constitution, Federal Affairs and Democratization (MoCFAD) where she was able to accomplish a lot in a short span of time. Former Minister Zahra Nuur's was not able to complete her term in office as a Minister and she resigned only after 1 year in office. We don't what the cause of her stepping down.



This example of case study underlines 3 major issues that women face in Puntland when it comes to political participation. First of all is the issue of access which inhibits women from accessing political power. The second challenge that this case study underscores is that Somali women are subject to tribal control even in power. The third challenge is that when a Woman politician is dismissed she is not replaced by another woman but by a man to represent the clan.

“We are part of the solution, not part of the problem and our vision is to visualize Somali women's equal access to decision making and political Participation in Puntland”. We want to see drastic changes in Puntland and these changes can only come about if we fight drastically for them. We want more women to be in politics all over Somalia. We want more women in Parliament. We want more Ministers and more Vice-Ministers, more members in the local council and Local governance”. Former Minister Zahra Nuur.

Throughout the interviews and the FGDs, one issue that kept coming up was that women are their own enemies. Respondents felt that women lacked a common denominator to bring them together to support each other. When a woman decides to seek a leadership position, she becomes the target of jealousy, hatred and opposition from fellow women. The women rarely voted fellow women. Cases were cited where men vote for women seeking positions where fellow women could not vote for them.

Achievement of political leadership for women is further complicated by relations with the clan and family. When a woman is appointed to any position, she needs continuous approval of the traditional elders who wield the power and influence. Additionally, women political activities are interpreted in the light of their family and clan positions. Women are perceived to represent their husband families or their own families, thereby giving advantage to their male political counterparts. Even in cases where they are either appointed or selected for positions, they are expected to serve the interest of their clans and not women's issues or rights. A woman political leader's actions are viewed as being not her own and anything she does or says is considered to be what the clan wants.



#### **4.5 Challenges in implementing the 30% quota for women**

The Garowe I and II Principles were a set of agreements between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia and various Somali stakeholders outlining a framework for the interim administration's scheduled political transition in August 2012 to a permanent, representative government. The agreements were signed during the Somali National Consultative Constitutional Conference held in Garowe. The conference was attended by representatives from the TFG, Puntland, Galmudug, AhluSunaWaljamea, and civil society groups from various parts of the country. In these Garowe declarations the recommendations were given for the adoption of a 30% quota for women in all spheres of representation. The Garowe Principles are not enforceable in legal terms or not which is why it was not implemented.

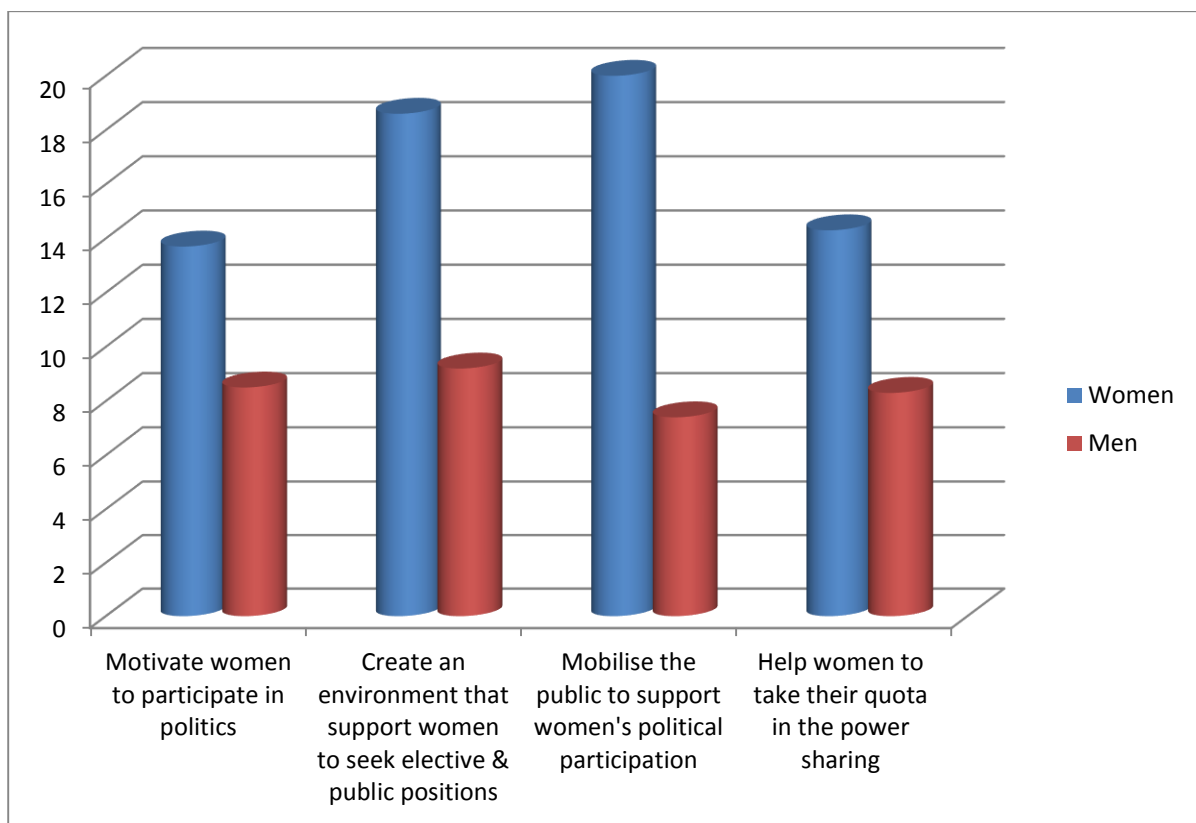
Respondents cited many challenges in implementing this decree as discussed below:

- The clan based election system where clan elders have the responsibility for selecting who should contest or participate in elections. The traditional elders are conservative and customary and in almost all cases select men. The respondents were of the opinion that traditional leaders should be compelled by the government to support and ensure that the 30% quota is achieved in the selection process otherwise they should set aside specific seats exclusively for women.
- There is no quota specified in the Puntland Constitution which talks about women's participation in formal office and so some religious leaders' sometimes misinterpret the religion for their own interests.
- Culturally, politics is seen as a man's field that is not open for women. The society perception that politics in a man's responsibility not fit for women was considered a challenge by many respondents who felt that women cannot really engage in politics as it so physically demanding.
- Lack of a binding legal framework and relevant policies to support the quota to improve women's political participation makes it the adoption and implementation of the quota difficult.
- Lack of a political will to support and implement the quota by the government and politicians was seen as a challenge. Respondent observed that the government showed not commitment to realize the decree but only focused on empty talks.
- Most of the respondents said that due to the limited number of women political leaders, the support for the adoption of the quota system lacks the momentum and lobbying required for its implementation.
- Limited awareness on the importance of participation of women in politics at the community level was cited as another barrier to the implementation of the quota. This is compounded by the lack of well educated women in the community necessary to change community perception.



#### 4.6 How are women organizing themselves for participation in politics?

Respondents were asked the question how could organizations support women’s participation in politics and they answered with the following. At least 27.5% of the respondents, who took part in this research study on women’s political participation in Puntland, felt that more CSOs should focus on addressing the political environment in Puntland and work towards making it more conducive for women to participate in politics. Of these at least 9.2% were men and 18.6% were women. Another group thought that the best way to do so was through engaging the public (27.8%; 7% men and 20.8% women). While others said that CSOs should focus on supporting women to obtain their quota in power sharing (22.4%; 14.3 women, 8.3 men)



*Figure 5: How organizations can support women participation*

The Ministry of Interior and Local Governments stipulated<sup>8</sup> that each city should include a minimum of 5 women councilors but most of the districts fail to meet this number. In some districts, this has had some significant impact. Involvement of social institutions need to be broad based (family, education, religion, economic, and political) for the benefit of women’s political participation. It was evident from the interviews that women can’t take up politics if access to education, employment, health care and justice is not incorporated into the political agenda.

<sup>8</sup><http://www.moipuntland.com/about-the-ministry/>





## **5. CONCLUSIONS**

Some progress has been made in increasing women's presence within formal politics in Puntland, although significant obstacles remain for women who wish to enter politics. The analysis made in this study does not show significant transformation of politics in Puntland to become more responsive or accountable to women. This is, of course, partly due to the small numbers of women who have made it into politics and positions of power, but also to a large extent on the structural and cultural constraints that prevent women from exercising political influence from inside or outside of the political system. Some of these specific progress factors made include the emergence of women's political and social movements; the fact that a Gender Policy is almost in sight and adopted; much talk to review legal and policy frameworks especially by MOCFAD; MOCFAD's plans to advocate for the inclusion of more women in formal politics; the fact that there is a gender mainstreaming technical working groups in place led by MOWDAFA and many others.

Further, it seems as though actors concerned with promoting women's involvement in politics, such as donors and CSOs, have mainly focused on the target of getting women elected to formal political institutions as opposed to helping ensure that women stay in power and that the women get the knowledge and training to make lasting impact. Donors and CSOs could help with analyzing the underlying issues which women face once in politics; what are women able to do once they are there? How can political institutions be made more accountable to women? How can women participate and exercise influence within non-formal political domains such as civic education, voluntarism and women's social movements which have received limited attention. While having significant numbers of women in politics is important, both for gender justice and for genuine democracy, this alone will not create a political system that is responsive and accountable to women. What is needed to genuinely "engender" politics in Puntland is a holistic and long term approach that goes beyond elections focusing on developing the system in which:

- Women can be influential political actors
- Both male and female political actors are accountable and held accountable for women's rights and gender equality, and
- Political institutions within the formal and informal sector provide space for women to participate in, influence and lead.

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

Considering the conditions above, it is necessary to explore the strategies that women employ to access the public sphere in the context of a patriarchal socio-political system. Advancing women's political participation in post-conflict countries requires determined efforts not only by women themselves, but also by Governments, the international community and indeed civil society. Action by political parties is particularly important. From the analysis made in this study, a number of recommendations are made.



## **6.1 Recommendations to the Government**

To ensure women have equal access and full participation in politics and decision making in Puntland, the government should:

- Develop and adopt all the necessary policy, legislation and legal framework that will promote and support women active and equal participate in politics in Puntland. Among the policy and legislation that need to be urgently developed and adopted are the National Gender Policy and the 30% quota for women to be placed in broader affirmative action discussion. This could be achieved through a constitutional review process which could be done with the support of The Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC).
- Ensure political party laws and other election-related legislation do not indirectly put women in a disadvantage position.
- Develop and adopt legislation that will require political parties to adopt democratic procedures for their internal operations.
- Implement temporary special measures or in other words affirmative action requiring political parties to.
- Provide incentives for political parties that develop and promote women candidates. These incentives can be provided in form financial resources, training resources and increased access to broadcast time among others. Providing increased airtime for women in politics between elections could also advance women's participation by enabling voters to make informed assessments at election time of the overall performance of political parties, including their support of women who have been elected as representatives.

## **6.2 Recommendations to International Actors**

The international development actors should:

- Provide support to the government on legislation, electoral systems and best practices that can advance women's participation in the electoral process.
- Provide facility and support for training and capacity building of women candidates and active women's organizations. The training should also be extended to political parties, journalists, security forces and others to convey the importance of women's political participation and gender sensitivity. The training should also include Somali women who have been elected to office to enable them to function more effectively in their new political roles.
- Support establishment of cross-party cooperation of women in politics to forge common agenda among the women candidates.
- Provide regular financial and technical support to women's political movements such as Talowadaag and women's organizations who work and support leadership, governance and women's political participation.



### **6.3 Recommendations to Civil Society Organizations**

To increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership, Civil Society Organization should:

- Continue to advocate to government and other institutions and coordinate all stakeholders for legislative development and changes to advance women's empowerment. Also lobby party platforms to ensure issues of special concern to women candidates and politicians are addressed.
- Regularly provide training and other support for all women willing to run for office and for women already in politics to improve their performance. Develop cross-party networks of women and develop and disseminate gender-sensitive messages to the public and voter through coordinate civic education.
- Work with together with women's organizations and groups to advocate for improved media coverage of women's issues and women candidates and engage international agencies and donors to support projects aimed at advancing women's political participation. Support political movements such as Talowadaag to reach out to more women in all regions of Puntland and through other forums such as universities.
- Upscale across Puntland programs such as the GEWE which provides full scholarship packages to young girls to access tertiary education and which systematically builds the capacity and leadership skills of women students.
- Academic institutions also need to be brought in to advance programs and messages that promote and support women's desire for political participation.
- Religious leaders need sensitization on the role of Islam on contemporary issues and made aware of the significant role they can play. Further, the whole community needs to be made to appreciate the significance of women engagement in leadership and decision making process. This can be done through media campaigns, awareness creation, and mobilization.
- Respondents were in agreement that a lot has to be done to improve and hence the capacity of women organization in advocating for women political participation. A number of suggestions were made that CSOs can further implement including policy monitoring and public accountability, policy dialogue to mainstream gender in development, policy change campaigns, advocacy capacity development and legislation advocacy programs targeting parliament, the executive and the judiciary.

### **6.4 Recommendations to Media Houses**

To promote women participation in politics in Puntland, media houses should:



- Provide gender-sensitive coverage of elections, avoiding negative stereotypes and presenting positive images of women as leaders. The media should provide women candidates with at least as much airtime and print space as that given to men.
- Focus attention on issues of special concern to women in news programming and undertake voter and civic education programs aimed specifically at women. through example by working closely with Talowadaag women's movement.

### **6.5 Recommendation to the Upcoming Political Parties and Associations**

To promote women participation in politics in Puntland, political parties and associations should:

- Adopt women friendly internal democratic structures and proportionally place women contenders high enough on the candidate lists to ensure they will be elected, including through such mechanisms as “zippered” lists, and consider voluntary quotas or targets for women candidates.
- In majority systems, establish voluntary targets or quotas to ensure a specified minimum number of women are put forward as candidates.
- Provide support and resources to ensure that women candidates have good opportunity to be elected.
- Make certain that women are fully represented in party leadership and policy committees. Also, clearly identify issues of special concern to women and prioritize and advance them in the parties and associations.

### **6.6 Recommendations to Women in Puntland**

Women are in terms of numbers usually more than men and if they come together, they can drastically improve the chances of fellow women candidates being elected. Women in Puntland should therefore

- Talowadaag should bring women together to form a Puntland Women Politicians Network that will make it easy for women to lobby and advocate with one voice as women. Women must support and campaign for fellow women seeking leadership positions and having political ambitions.
- Talowadaag Women's Movement and other women's movements based in Puntland should continue the sensitization of women to aim for higher office in politics and in governance.
- Women already in politics such as Ministers, Vice Ministers, Director Generals, parliamentarians and members from the local council could act as role models to younger girls.
- Education is a powerful tool which can massively influence someone's future and activism in society. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education must make available to women and young girls about 300 higher education scholarships every year. The more highly educated women are the bigger the chances that they seek more leadership roles and responsibilities.



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- Use population statistics to maintain the professional tone of the report.



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## ANNEXES

### Annex 1 – Key Informants Interview Responses

**Location: Garowe, January 2016**

**Participants: UN Women; UNDP; SAMAFAL; FAWESOM; Talowadaag**

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>1. What policies or strategies, does Puntland have to put in place to ensure representation in elected and appointed positions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Garowe II declaration that requires a 30% quota for women in elective and appointee position in Politics and Government should be constitutionalized;</li> <li>• Finalize and adopt the gender Policy;</li> <li>• Identify champions of gender equality to help raise awareness on women's political participation;</li> <li>• Pass bills and laws that support women's political participation;</li> <li>• In the interim- use affirmative action to set aside positions/seats that are specifically for women;</li> <li>• Review legal frameworks to ensure that these are gender sensitive and responsive;</li> <li>• Use advocacy and dialogue with the government;</li> <li>• Open windows for dialogue in the community to create a greater understanding of the import of women's political participation;</li> <li>• Engage in community mobilization, awareness and sensitization especially to the religious and traditional leaders on the import of women's political participation;</li> <li>• Enhance and promote the education of women and girls;</li> <li>• Lobby the Diaspora community to adopt a pro-women stance.</li> </ul>
<p>2. What strategies has Puntland used to promote women participation in local council s and how can this replicated to promote women participation in other spheres of politics (e.g. parliament and cabinet)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women CSOs with support from donor agencies have single-handedly through their advocacy and tenacity without support from the Government engaged in advocacy and mobilization of the community towards the promotion of women's participation in politics leading to the election of 59 women councilors;</li> <li>• UNDP has in the past supported potential Women candidates;</li> <li>• Mapping and training of women councilors that lead to the formations of PWCN which has been involved in advocacy women quotas to be adopted at the local and national government level;</li> <li>• Building the capacity of women leaders so that they can vie for positions'</li> <li>• The same can be replicated but with support from the Government and doing awareness campaigns to involve the public.</li> </ul>
<p>3. What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in politics and process?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The biggest barrier is the clan based system of selecting representatives commonly known as 4.5;</li> <li>• Culture and tradition- Somali is a patriarchal society that has relegated the women to the periphery and offers little or no support for their empowerment;</li> <li>• Misinterpretation of the Religion by some religious leaders who preach messages that do not support women's participation in politics;</li> <li>• Lack of a binding legal framework and polices that support women's political participation;</li> <li>• Perception that politics in a masculine responsibility not fit for women;</li> <li>• Conflict always leads to a reverse of the gains made towards women's</li> </ul>



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	<p>empowerment and also increase their marginalization;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of Education among the women;</li> <li>• Lack of a common women's agenda;</li> <li>• Economic Power- Many women lack the financial resources required to conduct political related activities- meeting people, campaigning, moving from one area to another etc.;</li> <li>• Lack of leadership skills among majority of women;</li> <li>• Few Role models- There are very few women in positions of power and influence and even these ones face a lot of challenges thus are unable to mentor other young upcoming women leaders;</li> <li>• Family upbringing- Women who come from families whose parents treat children unequally more so favoring the male over the Women child make it difficult for the Women children to rise and participate in politics as they have learnt to live in the shadows.</li> </ul>
<p>4. What are barriers towards the adopting women's quota for women in elected bodies/parliament??</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of political will;</li> <li>• Fear of religious leaders;</li> <li>• The entrenched clan based system;</li> <li>• Lack of understanding on the import of women's political participation;</li> <li>• Governments Rhetoric;</li> <li>• Few women leaders to support the adoption of the Quota System into the constitution.</li> </ul>
<p>5. What laws or decrees need to be passed this happens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constitutionalize the Garowe II declaration that recommends the adoption of 30% quota for women and make it a law;</li> <li>• Pass electoral laws that support women's political participation;</li> <li>• Pass a local Governance law that provides guidelines on the formation of local councils and their membership;</li> <li>• Affirmative action that provides for women's nomination at both the local and national level;</li> <li>• Adopt an anti-discrimination policy;</li> <li>• Decree that all organizations should have 30% of women in their staff;</li> <li>• Finalize and implement the National Gender Policy;</li> <li>• Islamic Fatwa that advocates and supports the quota system.</li> </ul>
<p>6. What role did the traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or shifting women's participation in both nominated and elected positions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders especially the clan elders are notorious for their stifling women's political participation;</li> <li>• Religious leaders have not done much in promoting women's participation;</li> <li>• Some religious leaders misinterpret the teachings of Islam thus stifling women's political participation in both levels.</li> </ul>





<p>7. What factors (personal, political, and institutional) made it possible for the successful women in the local councils and few in the parliament? What factors prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding (including the women contested to become Garowe mayor)?</p>	<p><b>Personal Factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Self Esteem;</li><li>• Personal conviction of the candidate;</li><li>• Support from both the family and community;</li><li>• Relationship that the women have with the community;</li><li>• Good Public speaking skills;</li><li>• Level of Education;</li><li>• Leadership skills;</li><li>• Support from the family</li></ul> <p><b>Political Factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Political ambition of the women;</li><li>• Women who come from homes who fathers are actively engaged in politics tend to emulate their fathers;</li><li>• Educated women understand societal problems and have a desire to engage in politics to proffer solutions to these issues.</li></ul> <p><b>Institutional</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Support from the President as proponent of women's political participation;</li><li>• Advocacy and awareness raising by CSOs and PWCN;</li><li>• Being part of the PWCN;</li><li>• Presence of women as peace building and economic actors and civil society leaders.</li></ul> <p><b>Factors that prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding;</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Women do not elect their fellow women;</li><li>• Lack of resources to enable them reach out and create a presence for themselves even before the selection process;</li><li>• Women do not support other women candidates financially;</li><li>• Lack of a legal framework to support women candidates;</li><li>• The attitudes and perceptions that the community has towards women's political participation;</li><li>• Corruption in the selection and election process as men used money to ensure the person elected into office will safeguard their interests</li></ul>
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<p>8. What are the civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy for support for the implementation of women's quota;</li> <li>• Mapping and supporting potential women candidates;</li> <li>• Working with MoWDAFA in the development of the National Gender Policy;</li> <li>• Sensitive and create awareness for the importance of women's participation in politics;</li> <li>• Provide capacity building to women; FAWESOM, SAMOFAL –Leadership skills and public speaking and others;</li> <li>• Offer scholarships to bright and needy female students;-FAWESOM and UNDP</li> <li>• Women organizations are at the forefront of forming a women's network;</li> <li>• Implementing projects that support and advocate for women's political participation- FAWESOM in Garowe, SAMOFAL in Eyl;</li> <li>• Engaging in activities that empower women economically.</li> </ul> <p><b>Not Working</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• INGOs fund male dominated NGOs that do little or nothing to support women's political participation;</li> </ul>
<p>9. Recommendations</p>	<p><b>Recommendations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women to make statements in support of the constitutionalization of the Garowe II declaration to members of parliament;</li> <li>• Women who are nominated into office and are promoted, resign or pass way should be replaced by other women and not men;</li> <li>• INGOs to set a quota for funding women led LNGOs;</li> </ul>

**Location: Bosaaso, January 2016**

**Participants: We Are Women Activists (WAWA)**

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>10. What policies or strategies, does Puntland have to put in place to ensure representation in elected and appointed positions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Puntland ensured the provision of women 30% quota in elective and appointed positions.</li> </ul>
<p>11. What strategies has Puntland used to promote women participation in local council s and how can this replicated to promote women participation in other spheres of politics (e.g. parliament and cabinet)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government strategized that clan leaders consider women's participation in decision making</li> </ul>
<p>12. What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in politics and process?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural barriers</li> <li>• Disunity among women</li> <li>• Lack of awareness for the women about their role in the politics</li> <li>• Traditional leader are reluctant to involve women in the politics</li> <li>• Political unwillingness</li> </ul>



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<p>13. What are barriers towards the adopting women's quota for women in elected bodies/parliament??</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 30% quota is needed to be put into the Law.</li> <li>• One man one vote election is required to be adopted so that women get their rights.</li> </ul>
<p>14. What laws or decrees need to be passed this happens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 30% quota is needed to be put into the Law.</li> <li>• One man one vote election is required to be adopted so that women get their rights.</li> </ul>
<p>15. What role did the traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or shifting women's participation in both nominated and elected positions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders mostly opposed women's political participation in both nominated and elected positions. Most interviewed women stated that their traditional leaders clearly objected their involvement in the politics.</li> <li>• Religious leaders did not allow women to engage in politics.</li> </ul>
<p>16. What factors (personal, political, and institutional) made it possible for the successful women in the local councils and few in the parliament? What factors prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding (including the women contested to become Garowe mayor)?</p>	<p><b>Personal factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hardworking of some women</li> <li>• Personal qualification</li> <li>• Self-esteemed</li> <li>• Self-determined</li> </ul> <p><b>Political factors.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political will- Puntland Government strives more women to get into the politics.</li> <li>• Conditionality from executive members of the government. Ministers of government conditioned traditional leaders to get women into local council.</li> </ul> <p><b>Factors that prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding;</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disunity among the women.</li> <li>• Lack of awareness</li> <li>• Unfairness of traditional leaders</li> <li>• Economic incapability</li> <li>• Cultural barriers</li> </ul>
<p>17. What are the civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy and lobbying to their fellow candidates</li> <li>• Giving financial support to women candidates</li> <li>• Offer encouragement and moral support</li> <li>• Offer scholarships</li> <li>• Providing capacity building to enhance women's skills, competence and knowledge</li> </ul> <p><b>Not Working</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy strategies has not worked due to the cultural barriers</li> </ul>
<p>18. Recommendations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders should make justice to women and support them to be part in decision making.</li> <li>• Women should be united and work on their common goals.</li> <li>• 30% quota must be put into the constitution.</li> </ul>

**Location: Qardo January 2016**

**Participants: Karkaar Women Development Organization (KWDO)**

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>1. What policies or strategies, does Puntland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Puntland ensured the provision of 30% quota for women in elected and appointed positions.</li> </ul>



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<p>have to put in place to ensure representation in elected and appointed positions?</p>	
<p>2. What strategies has Puntland used to promote women participation in local councils and how can this replicated to promote women participation in other spheres of politics (e.g. parliament and cabinet)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government did not take any meaningful step to ensure or promote women participation in local.</li> </ul>
<p>3. What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in politics and process?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural barriers</li> <li>• Disunity among women</li> <li>• Lack of awareness for the women about their role in the politics</li> <li>• Refusal of traditional leaders to involve women in politics</li> <li>• Economic factor of Puntland women lowered the women's political participation</li> <li>• Inferiority complex. Women believe that they are not competitive with men anyhow.</li> </ul>
<p>4. What are barriers towards the adopting women's quota for women in elected bodies/parliament??</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clan based politics.</li> <li>• Political unwillingness</li> <li>• lack of leadership skills of women</li> <li>• Disunity among Puntland women.</li> </ul>
<p>5. What laws or decrees need to be passed this happens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 30% quota is needed to be put into the Law.</li> <li>• One man, one vote election is required to be adopted so that women get their rights.</li> </ul>
<p>6. What role did the traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or shifting women's participation in both nominated and elected positions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders mostly opposed women's political participation in both nominated and elected positions. Most interviewed women stated that their traditional leaders clearly objected their involvement in the politics.</li> <li>• Religious leader outlawed women's engage in politics, but there was some them allowed the representation of women in some positions.</li> </ul>
<p>7. What factors (personal, political, and institutional) made it possible for the successful women in the local councils and few in the parliament? <b>What factors prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding (including the women contested to become Garowe mayor?</b></p>	<p><b>Personal factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Level of education</li> <li>• Self-esteemed-successful women believe their ability, value and knowledge to take part in decision making.</li> <li>• Support from family</li> </ul> <p><b>Political factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political will- Puntland Government wants women to get into the politics.</li> <li>• Conditionality from executive members of the government. Ministers of government conditioned traditional leaders to get women into local council.</li> <li>• Political campaign of women led NGO.</li> <li>• Political ambition of women.</li> </ul> <p><b>Factors that prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding;</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disunity among the women.</li> <li>• Lack of awareness</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unfairness of traditional leaders</li> <li>• Clan based political system of Somalia, which is known .4.5 formula. Somali women are either from their clan not their husband's clan</li> <li>• Lack of self-esteem of the women.</li> </ul>
8. What are the civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy and lobbying for their fellow candidates</li> <li>• Fundraising for women candidates</li> <li>• Offer encouragement.</li> <li>• Offer scholarships</li> <li>• Providing capacity building to enhance women's skills, competence and knowledge in the sphere of politics.</li> <li>• <b>Not Working</b></li> <li>• Electing a number of women in local council positions did not work.</li> <li>• Fundraising policy is not working-</li> </ul>
9. Recommendations	<p><b>Recommendations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders should make justice to women and support them to be part in decision making.</li> </ul>

**Location: Galkacyo, January 2016**

**Participants: GECPD**

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
1 What policies or strategies, does Puntland have to put in place to ensure representation in elected and appointed positions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ministry of labour shall exercise to ensure women participation in all government institutions to assure gender balance.</li> <li>• The employment policy shall describe the women share in the civil servants of the government of Puntland.</li> <li>• The traditional leaders are against women's political participation.</li> </ul>
2 What strategies has Puntland used to promote women participation in local council s and how can this replicated to promote women participation in other spheres of politics (e.g. parliament and cabinet)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If we have received good number of participants in the counsels then we can have the same numbers or more than that in the parliament.</li> <li>• It is very good, and the parliament must pass laws that compile elders to select female participants.</li> <li>• There are needs for laws government women political participation</li> <li>• The traditional leaders make the major obstacle of women</li> </ul>
3 What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in politics and process?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is a fight against the women in Puntland.</li> <li>• The clans and tribalism is the main obstacle. Women are not united to achieve political goals</li> <li>• The culture is the main obstacle</li> <li>• Women can't hold the presidency of the country but they can hold the remaining vacancies in both the public and private.</li> </ul>
4 What are barriers towards the adopting women's quota for women in elected bodies/parliament??	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Injustice is the biggest barrier</li> </ul> <p>Hassan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women are not standing for their own rights</li> <li>• The reason why they can't have 20% issued in the presidential decree is that the people of Puntland are not ripe for it.</li> <li>• The culture of the people in Puntland is the main barrier. For instance, a woman living in Karkaar region has tried to join with the counsel but unfortunately the elders from her family stopped her and refused her membership into the counsel which is very terrifying</li> </ul>
5 What role did the traditional and religious leaders play in promoting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The belief of the traditional leaders that women can't perform like men in the politics.</li> <li>• Both the traditional and the religious leaders didn't do enough to push</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

<p>or shifting women's participation in both nominated and elected positions?</p>	<p>women to participate politics in Puntland. The tribes have hidden the political rights of the women in their families.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women are not getting good relations with the traditional leaders who are currently leading the politics in the country.</li> </ul>
<p>6 What factors (personal, political, and institutional) made it possible for the successful women in the local councils and few in the parliament? What factors prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding (including the women contested to become Garowe mayor)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Their education and competencies have pushed them to participate into the politics, they have tried to compete with men in all positions, and those who didn't achieve to attain government position will have later chances.</li> <li>• The support from the people that women participate into the politics fulfilled their wishes to jump up.</li> <li>• Their competencies have enabled for them to achieve into the politics.</li> </ul>
<p>7 What are the civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase education chances for women, and public awareness on the supports of women political participation.</li> <li>• The encouragements, education programs, trainings, and the CSO pushes that the government gives women's rights from the government.</li> <li>• The development in the education of the girls and encourage for women's employments are the major CSO roles. In addition, the women in Puntland was given 20% share in the both the parliament and the cabinet because of the efforts of the CSO.</li> <li>• The government of Puntland has achieved to formulate and apply gender policy in every ministry of the government such as the ministry of interior, ministry of education, ministry of health and ministry for the women. The gender policy has increased chances of women political participation.</li> <li>• FAWASOM is engaged in women's political participation, it looks for women rights of political participation in Puntland. FAWASOM hold interactive learning session for male and female young groups to exchange ideas and discuss possible collaboration for further women's chances development in the politics.</li> </ul>
<p>8 Recommendations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The women in Puntland need to unite their voices and unite their power so that they can achieve their political goals and vote for one another.</li> <li>• They must attend family sessions of vacancy sharing such as the counsels and parliament.</li> <li>• Women need to develop personal skills</li> <li>• Special radio for women's voices shall be formed to empower women political participation.</li> <li>• Religious forums should be arranged and held inside the country to promote women's political participation.</li> <li>• Again, in their way to the participation of the politics women need to remain under their veils.</li> <li>• Increase discussion forums on this issue and find role models for women's empowerment in political participation.</li> <li>• Increase the number of networks that belong to the women in Puntland</li> <li>• Women need to show that they can take responsibilities.</li> <li>• The women in the politics shall encourage others who have wishes to participate politics giving hints and further motivation</li> </ul>



**Women's Political Participation in Puntland –  
Prospects for Progress**

**Annex 2 – Focus Group Discussions Responses  
Garowe – SIDRA Offices - January 2016**

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>1 In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Puntland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there are only 2 women in the parliament, 4 in the cabinet (1 minister and 3 deputy ministers)? And district councils are current under formation. Why is that?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders are reluctant to involve women into the politics</li> <li>• 30% quota is have not been constitutionalized.</li> <li>• Women are not supporting their fellow candidates.</li> </ul>
<p>2 What were the main obstacles that are facing women political aspirants</p>	<p><b>Religious</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict among religious leaders on the subject with others either supporting or being against;</li> <li>• Some religious scholars misrepresent the teachings of the Quran in relation to women's participation in politics;</li> <li>• All the scholars agree that a woman cant contest for Presidency, but some are of the opinion that women can vie for any elective position as long as it's not the presidency while others flatly reject the notion that women can engage in politics completely;</li> <li>• Scholars in the UK and USA are more liberal as compared to those in East Africa and Somalia who are very conservative; they are apathetic towards women's political participation.</li> </ul> <p><b>Cultural</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural practices reinforce patriarchy in Somalia especially FGM and Polygamy, emphasizing that women have no control over their bodies or life thus can't be involved in leadership;</li> <li>• Women and girls are taught from a tender age that they should not look at someone in the eyes or expose their teeth , this makes it difficult for women to speak in public or address gatherings;</li> <li>• The restrictions placed upon women as they can't move freely or seen in public or even eat in public</li> </ul> <p><b>Social</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women are their own enemies as they do not support each other when it comes to elections;</li> <li>• Harmful traditional practices are done by the women i.e.-FGM;</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Once a women seeks an elective position she becomes a target of hatred and jealousy from their fellow women, - Zuhur Hashi failed as mayor as only one woman voted for her;</li> <li>• Lack of education or exposure that makes the women not to work together- as they have no common denominator that connects them in Politics;</li> <li>• Women lack skills on creating rapport</li> </ul> <p><b>Economic</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women do not have the economic power to engage in politics;</li> <li>• Access to employment opportunities for women are limited;</li> </ul> <p><b>Institutional</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women in leadership positions have not done any significant support for women's empowerment- It seems the women have no authority but she represents the clan and she can't talk about women issues as its nit the clan agenda;</li> <li>• The Government gives little or no support to CSOs in terms of women's political participation.</li> </ul>
<p>3 Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women's political participation or against quota advocacies proposed in Puntland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious scholars misinterpret Islamic teachings in relation women's political participation;</li> <li>• Some scholars support women to engage in politics but not seeking the Presidency;</li> <li>• Clerks in most cases focus on specific Islamic teachings that limit the involvement of women in public affairs and leadership</li> </ul>
<p>4 How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections or nominations and political processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Somalia , the religious leaders are so conservative and rarely support the election or nomination of women;</li> <li>• An individual who has the support of religious leaders can get be easily selected by clan elders;</li> </ul>
<p>5 How women's role in politics/decision- making is traditionally perceived by the society?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before Siyad Barre regime in 1969, people seemed women's participation in decision making as evil and shameful, despite the women's political participation, educating women was also perceived as a mistake. There was Somali wisdom which says "ninkii gabadhiisa iskuulgeeyowamuuridhacdayeogsonow" meaning 'If you send your doughier to school, realize, shameful is inevitable at all'</li> <li>• During Barre era, the scenario has changed. Government started sensitizing people about women's role in the politics. The people's attitude quite altered in a positive way while number of Somali women participated in decision making.</li> <li>• After the collapse of Barre administration, women organized among themselves politically and socially. Their representation in decision the making process and in elected bodies increased due to the change of people's attitude towards women's participation in decision making.</li> <li>• Women are allowed to do social things and are praised for that as their reproductive roles recognized;</li> <li>• Women's productivity in leadership is not recognized;</li> </ul>





## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditionally, patriarchy is the norm in Somalia and women are not allowed to speak in public and can't be on their own in public unless accompanied by a male relative</li> </ul>
<p>6 What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women's participation district in district elections or nominations?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders decide who is selected for what position in each clan;</li> <li>• Majority of these elders are so conservative and staunch believers in patriarchy therefore rarely select women to participate;</li> <li>• Traditional leaders have over the years allowed women to participate in district council elections as per the clans and agreements reached prior to the selection.</li> </ul>
<p>7 How did the government perform to support women's political participation in past elections or political processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since the formation of the Puntland government in 1998, women's political participation has been gradually changing. In the first election, women in the administration were very little. But Fortunately, women's involvement women' participation in politics has been increasing election after election.</li> <li>• Starting from Abdilahi Yusuf's election in 1998, women' had 3 MPs but no ministers at all.</li> <li>• During Ade Musse era women appointed one minister and two vice ministers</li> <li>• Faroole appointed 1 minister and 3 vice Ministers</li> <li>• Abdiwali Gas's era women's political participation has increased. He appointed 2 Minister and 3 vice minister. MPs are two members are only.</li> <li>• Government has been very little apart from the Presidents decree that women should have the 30% quota in public institutions;</li> <li>• Constitutionalize the quota decree</li> <li>• Women selected as ministers should seek to promote women empowerment especially in political participation;</li> <li>• Male politicians</li> </ul>

### Bosaaso - SIDRA Office – January 2016

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>1. In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Puntland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there is only 2 women in the parliament, 4 in the cabinet (1 minister and 3 deputy ministers)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders are reluctant to involve women into the politics</li> <li>• 30% quota is not implemented practically.</li> <li>• Cultural factors.</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

<p>And district councils are current under formation. Why is that?</p>	
<p>2. What were the main obstacles that are facing women political aspirants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural barriers</li> <li>• Disunity among women</li> <li>• Lack of awareness for the women about their role in the politics</li> <li>• Lack of leadership skills among the majority of women.</li> <li>• Awareness- majority of women are unaware about their rights and the role in decision making.</li> <li>• Illiteracy – illiteracy of Somali people</li> </ul>
<p>3. Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women's political participation or against quota advocacies proposed in Puntland</p>	
<p>4. How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections or nominations and political processes?</p>	
<p>5. How women's role in politics/decision-making is traditionally perceived by the society?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before Siyad Barre regime in 1969, people seemed women's participation in decision making as evil and shameful, despite the women's political participation, educating women was also perceived as a mistake.</li> <li>• During Barre era, the scenario has changed. Government started sensitizing people about women's role in the politics. The people's attitude quite altered in a positive way while number of Somali women participated in decision making.</li> <li>• After the collapse Barre administration, women organized among themselves politically and socially. Their representation in decision the making process and in elected bodies increased due to the change of people's attitude towards women's participation in decision making.</li> </ul>
<p>6. What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women's participation district in district elections or nominations?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selection on merit by not by gender. Traditional leaders should select the candidate according to their qualification regardless of their gender.</li> <li>• Advocacy and lobbying:</li> <li>• Selection on merit by not by gender. Traditional leaders should select the candidate, according to their qualification regardless of their gender.</li> <li>• Making justice among the men and women in the society</li> </ul>
<p>7. How did the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offer quote to women</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

<p>government perform to support women's political participation in past elections or political processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enforcing the existing Laws</li> <li>• Forcing traditional leaders to add more women into politics.</li> <li>• Creating enabling environment that women can compete and contest.</li> <li>• Women's empowerment</li> <li>• Advocacy and lobbying</li> </ul>
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### Qardho - East Africa University – January 2016

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>8. In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Puntland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there is only 2 women in the parliament, 4 in the cabinet (1 minister and 3 deputy ministers)? And district councils are current under formation. Why is that?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional leaders are reluctant to involve women into the politics</li> <li>• 30% quota is have not been constitutionalized.</li> <li>• Women are not supporting their fellow candidates.</li> </ul>
<p>9. What were the main obstacles that are facing women political aspirants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural barriers</li> <li>• Disunity among the women</li> <li>• Lack of awareness for the women about their role in the politics</li> <li>• Luck of leadership skills among the majority of women.</li> <li>• Awareness- majority of women are unaware about their rights and the role in decision making.</li> <li>• Illiteracy – illiteracy of Somali people</li> </ul>
<p>10. Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women's political participation or against quota advocacies proposed in Puntland</p>	
<p>11. How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections or nominations and political processes?</p>	



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

<p>12. How women's role in politics/decision-making is traditionally perceived by the society?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before Siyad Barre regime in 1969, people seemed women's participation in decision making as evil and shameful, despite the women's political participation, educating women was also perceived as a mistake.</li> <li>• During Barre era, the scenario has changed. Government started sensitizing people about women's role in the politics. The people's attitude quite altered in a positive way while number of Somali women participated in decision making.</li> <li>• After the collapse of Barre administration, women organized among themselves politically and socially. Their representation in decision the making process and in elected bodies increased due to the change of people's attitude towards women's participation in decision making.</li> </ul>
<p>13. What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women's participation district in district elections or nominations?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selection on merit by not by gender. Traditional leaders should select the candidate according to their qualification regardless of their gender.</li> <li>• Advocacy and lobbying:</li> <li>• Broaden the number of women participating in decision making.</li> <li>• Being fair among the men and women in the society</li> </ul>
<p>14. How did the government perform to support women's political participation in past elections or political processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since the formation of the Puntland government in 1998, women's political participation has been gradually changing. In the first election, women in the administration were very little. But Fortunately, women's involvement women' participation in politics has been increasing election after election.</li> <li>• Starting from Abdilahi Yusuf's election in 1998, women' had 3 MPs but no ministers at all.</li> <li>• During Ade Musse era women appointed one minister and two vice ministers</li> <li>• Faroole appointed 1 minister and 3 vice Ministers</li> <li>• Abdiwali Gas's era women's political participation has increased. He appointed 2 Minister and 3 vice minister. MPs are two members are only.</li> </ul>

### Galkayo – January 2016

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
<p>1. In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Puntland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there is only 2 women in the parliament, 4 in the cabinet (1 minister and 3 deputy ministers)? And district councils are current under formation. Why is that?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since Puntland had issued president decree to give women 20% of the parliament seats and the cabinet this has not been released since then and they don't want us to become president.</li> <li>• The Islamic religion doesn't allow women to engage in politics at all levels.</li> </ul> <p>Female</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women can engage in politics because men failed to achieve complete peace in the country and it is not a crime that the lady talks in front of the people. In the era of the prophet Muhammed (SCW), a woman talked to the prophet about public issues and the messenger (SCW), asked the crowd if they know someone who is more eloquent than this woman.</li> <li>• I don't believe that there are rights missing from the women.</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

	<p>Again there are some basic rights allowed for women such as the education and being housewife.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since we are Muslims, we don't need to follow the Western and the non Muslim people but again it is open for us to engage in education and participate in politics in our homeland.</li> <li>• Allah has divided the rights for both men and women. There are rights missing from the women and they need to find that rights. Those rights' missing from them doesn't include political participation.</li> <li>• The Islamic religion doesn't permit for women to engage in politics in the words of the Prophet (SCW)</li> <li>• Women are even despised when they are educated inside the Somali tribes.</li> </ul>
<p>2. What were the main obstacles that are facing women political aspirants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women are not always married by their clan of origin rather they marry men in other tribes and that refused for them to take positions on behalf of their families.</li> <li>• Tribalism is the biggest problems that stand on the way for women to develop and become successful politician. Also 4.5 is another obstacle, in addition, women are divided within themselves of what they are looking for.</li> <li>• Their luck of education</li> <li>• Increasing corruption</li> <li>• Men don't believe that women were deprived, and the Somali culture is the biggest problem.</li> <li>• Women are not well educate</li> <li>• The Islamic religion doesn't allow women to participate politics</li> <li>• Women are in conflict, they are not united and that is the biggest problem</li> </ul>
<p>3. Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women's political participation or against quota advocacies proposed in Puntland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Islamic religion doesn't give 30% or 20% seats to women in the parliament and in the cabinet</li> <li>• Women can't represent people in political positions because they can't travel or get out of the house without their men's permission.</li> <li>• It is very normal</li> <li>• It is a mistake</li> <li>• People are divided on this issue</li> <li>• It is against the Islam and we won't accept it.</li> </ul>
<p>i. 4. How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections or nominations and political processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Somali tradition makes it illegal</li> <li>• It is public mistake to take this idea women</li> <li>• Men and the traditional leaders makes this illegitimate Women</li> <li>• Men are manipulating this to get ladies out of the way Women</li> <li>• Ladies are looking for something they can't get for ever</li> </ul>
<p>5. How women's role in politics/decision-making is traditionally perceived by the society?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is normal</li> <li>• It is a mistake</li> <li>• People are divided among themselves</li> <li>• That part of the men who are educated may understand the need for women to participate politics</li> </ul>



## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The Somali people perceive this issue as normal</li></ul>
15. What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women's participation district in district elections or nominations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The traditional elders are leading and this minimizes women's chances to participate politics</li><li>• The traditional leaders are holding the political life in their right hands and they do what they want</li><li>• The traditional leaders are the real managers who refuses women's political participate in Puntland.</li><li>• The real actors behind the scenario are the traditional elders of Puntland and they are the one leading to cripple women participation in politics</li></ul>
16. How did the government perform to support women's political participation in past elections or political processes?	





# Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

## Annex 3 – Study Pictures – Launch and Data Collection





## Annex 4 - Study Terms of Reference

The Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis (SIDRA),  
Puntland

# TERMS OF REFERENCE STUDY ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

<b>Title of the consultancy</b>	Study on Women's Political participation
<b>Type of Contract:</b>	Temporary Consultant Contract
<b>Duration of the assignment:</b>	40 working days
<b>Duty station:</b>	Garowe, with field visits to the regions (e.g Bosaaso, Galkayo and Qardho regions etc)
<b>Supervisor</b>	SIDRA Executive Director with technical support from UNDP Specialist
<b>Date of Issue:</b>	November 14, 2015
<b>Closing Date:</b>	November 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2015

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## 2. Background

Puntland State of Somalia was established in 1998 through a Constitutional Community Conference which adopted a three year charter envisioning a transition from the clan-based system to a democratic system by the end of the first government's term. In 2005, Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) made up of members of parliament, cabinet ministers, and independent lawyers was established. Subsequently, in 2009, the government of President Faroole revived the development of a multi-party democratic system and completed a new draft of the provisional constitution which the cabinet and legislature passed with key laws and institutions introduced. In January 2011, a new law established Puntland's first transitional electoral commission (TPEC). In November 2011, Parliament passed the Constitutional Referendum Law, changing the means of ratification from a popular referendum to a Constituent Assembly Convention. In April 2012, this convention adopted a permanent constitution with provisions that established a firm foundation for a democratic electoral system. The new constitution was followed by key electoral laws, starting with the Local Council Election Law passed in September 2012. Amendments to this law in April 2013 were controversial, especially the cancellation of voter registration and the issuance of voter ID





cards, which ultimately led to an election boycott by two political associations. Parliament passed the Political Associations Law in June 2012. In view of these developments, rigorous or comprehensive study on women's participation in these political processes was never conducted. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that women's role in these processes were generally limited.

Nonetheless, the political context in Puntland was constantly evolving over the years. A Ministry of Women Development and social Affairs (MOWDAFA) was formed in 2004, as gender machinery (lead agency) mandated to advance gender issues in Puntland. Puntland developed a draft National Gender Policy but it is not yet adopted due some resistance related to culture and revolving around the scope and the definition of "gender equality". The National Gender Policy is being reviewed with support of UNDP and envisaged to be adopted at the end of 2015.

Unlike other regions, Puntland government has made successful attempts to advance women's participation in the districts or Local councils. A 2007 Presidential Decree<sup>9</sup> required all public institutions to adhere to 30% representation of women and as result women secured 17% of the local councils which formed Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN). Subsequent to the indefinite postponement Local (district) government elections scheduled for July 15, 2013, the formation of new local councilors is currently underway across the districts.

The Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs (MoWDAFA), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and women activists are actively engaged in programmer aimed at advancing women's political participation – e.g. civic education campaigns, raising awareness of women's potential to participate and advocating for adherence to the 30% quota, advocacy towards participation of women in political associations (parties).

This study is therefore commissioned by the Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis (SIDRA), a knowledge-policy interface established to fill the strategic gaps of shaping and dialoguing a whole range of policy agendas and in generating and communicating relevant research findings to policy actors in Somalia. The study aims to assess and document women's participation in Puntland, focusing on the recent political process while drawing lessons from historical trends and broader societal issues surrounding women's participation to influence future interventions, particularly in 2016.

### **3. Objectives of the assignment**

The purpose of this consultancy is to conduct study of women's political participation in Puntland.

The specific objectives of the consultancy are:

- To understand people's perception of politics, elections and the role of Somali women in Leadership
- To assess the legal and policy Frameworks regulating women's Political Participation in Puntland.
- What factors contributed to women's representation in municipal or districts, and to determine on the other hand, what are the barriers or challenges preventing Women to aspire and achieve political leadership; whilst making an analysis of the historical trends.
- To provide recommendations to MoWDAFA, Government institutions, government ministries, UN agencies and civil society organizations on how to increase the participation of women in politics specifically elections anticipated in 2016

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<sup>9</sup> <http://pdrcsomalia.org/app/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/2007-Annual-Report.pdf>



- To help better understand local women's organizing and advocacy for women's political participation; gains, challenges and constraints and how they can be enhanced

SIDRA will work closely with the UNDP Gender Unit to plan and conduct the study.

#### **4. Scope of the study:**

The study will cover Puntland and will examine to following key issues:

- The historical trends of women's participation in politics in Puntland and the present situation; including challenges, opportunities and lessons learned;
- National legal and policy frameworks regulating women's political participation in Puntland
- The status of progress made by various government bodies, CSOs and other relevant stakeholders in advocating for and passing the 30% quota for women's representation local councils or the Parliament;
- The Formation of Puntland Women Councilors Network (PWCN) and document their positive contributions in selected districts
- The implementation or the adherence of the 2007 Presidential Decree on the 30% representation of women public institutions
- Analysis of political party by-laws from a gender perspective;
- The role of the Electoral Commission in promoting women's participation;
- Impact of advocacy being carried out by civil society organizations on advancement of women's political participation;
- Perception of Puntland society about women's participation in politics, elections, politics and leadership to start with and then women's role and
- Social institutions which influence women's roles in leadership/politics and how they can be engaged.
- Profiling selected women representatives of the district councils and then candidates in the forth-coming elections; to use their personal stories to examine the political experience for women in Puntland and lessons that can be gained from these. These profiles could be inserted into each of the sections to be covered in the bullets above to exemplify the issues presented.

The study will be structured around these issues.

#### **4.1. Some key research questions for the study will include:**

- What are the current level of women participation in the decision making positions in Puntland ( both elected and appointed positions)
- What are the attitudes towards women's political participation in Puntland? (*Views held about women's involvement in politics and decision-making by the wider public, clerks, traditional leaders and politicians*)? How are these attitudes influenced by Islam and Somali culture?
- What are the key challenges to women's participation in politics and decision-making in Puntland?
- What strategies, if any, have Puntland used to ensure women's inclusion in local councils?
- What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in political institutions, operations and processes?



- What were the strategies or the barriers towards the passing of 30% quota for women in local councils and what are the challenges preventing the adoption of women's quota in parliament? What laws or decrees available or need to be passed to ensure this happens?
- What role did traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or stifling women's political participation in Puntland?
- What factors (personal, political, institutional) and strategies made it possible for the successful 44 women candidates (out of 250) to be included in the local councils and what are the current standing of women local councilors in Puntland?
- What are civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working? Did advocacy strategies succeed in building constituency within the wider community particularly women electorates? What advocacy strategies can CSOs further implement to support women's participation in future elections?
- What are the People's understanding/perception of elections
- What recommendations can be made to the different institutions and political players in Puntland in order to enhance women's political participation in the wake of 2016 elections?

## 5. Methodology

The consultant is required to conduct the women's political participation study in a participatory manner using various study methodologies (described below) that will involve diverse stakeholders, including women politicians, policy makers, women's organizations, religious and traditional leaders, youth, academics, local councils, MPs, and electoral institutions, international development organizations; and women and men in elected bodies.

### 5.1. Sampling

Apart from policy makers and stakeholders to be met during the course of the study, six hundred respondents will be randomly selected from the wider community. This is to find out practices and attitudes held about women's political participation by local communities.

Region	# of respondents	% of women
Bari region (Boosaaso)	200	60%
Nugaal region	150	60%
Mudugregion	150	60%
Qardho region	100	60%

The following methods are proposed to collect data and information. The consultant may also propose other relevant additional information collection instruments. The proposed methods of data collection are as follows:

### 5.2. Document review (References/Materials for the Consultancy):

A review of the following documents is required to familiarize the consultant and identify the issues pertaining to the key issues of post-election study. These documents include:



The following documents may provide relevant reference materials for the consultancy which include, but are not limited to:

- The UNDP Somalia CPD
- The GEWE (Outcome 4) Project Document
- Puntland National Development Plan
- Draft Puntland National Gender Policy
- Puntland Constitution
- Puntland's Political Transformation: Taking the First Steps toward Democratic Elections
- Puntland Electoral Laws
- Local Council Election Law
- Political Associations Law and the formation of political associations
- The Quota decrees
- Samples of election materials used by political parties and candidates during the elections
- Campaign materials used by male and female candidates
- News, reports and other media products used during the elections.

### **5.3. Focus Group Discussions**

Information on the key issues will be gathered through a Focus Group Discussion with Women political activists, policy makers, academic, staff of MOWDAFA and other stakeholders from UNDP, international and local organizations engaged in the advancement of women's political participation in Puntland.

A list of guiding questions will be required from the consultant, to be approved by SIRDA with support provided by UNDP.

### **5.4. Key Informant Interviews**

Key informant interviews will be carried out with selected individuals (politicians, traditional leaders, electoral commission, law makers, political parties and women in elected bodies, research institutions (PDRC) UNDP's Head of Governance and Rule of Law Programme, Project Manager of the Joint Programme on Local Governance and the National Programme Officer for the Gender Project), etc.

A sample of women candidates in the postponed district council election and women candidates in the recent and the previous local councils (both successful and unsuccessful), as well as women who have been active in politics in one capacity or another over the years, will be profiled, in order to use their personal experiences to enrich the report. These experiences could be used in each specific section of the report to highlight and exemplify the issue covered in the section.

The consultant is expected to develop proper tools for key informant interviews, including, if required, questionnaires, to capture sufficient information from various perspectives on women's political participation in Puntland.

### **5.5. Information Analysis**

The collected data will be collated, analysed and interpreted systematically by the consultant (SIDRA).



## **6. Expected Deliverables**

The main deliverable of this consultancy is a report of the study of women's political participation in Puntland with the following components:

- a) Literature review on women's political participation in Puntland;
- b) Detailed study plan agreed with UNDP Gender Unit;
- c) Development and finalization of the women's political participation study tools (including pre-testing if required);
- d) Data/information collection and analysis;
- e) First draft report submitted to UNDP Gender Unit for review or comments;
- f) Presentation of initial findings of the study to a forum of key stakeholders; to be facilitated by the SIDRA and
- g) Final women's political participation study report submitted to UNDP Gender Unit within 4 weeks after the completion of study.

### **6.1. Outline of the post-election study report**

UNDP requires that the women's political participation study report contains the different elements mentioned below. All parts should be clearly distinguished from each other and of sufficient quality.

- i. Cover page
- ii. Table of contents
- iii. An executive summary that can be used as a document in its own right, to include the major findings of the study and summarise conclusions and recommendations
- iv. Background to the study
  - a. The objectives of the women's political participation study
  - b. The main questions and derived sub-questions
    - i. A justification of the methods and techniques used (including relevant underlying values and assumptions, theories) with a justification of the selections made (of persons interviewed, villages or projects visited)
  - c. Eventual limitations of the women's political participation study
  - d. A presentation of the findings and the analysis thereof, including unexpected, relevant findings (all research questions should be addressed)
- v. Findings based on analysis of the various sections under the scope (legal and policy frameworks, government initiatives, progress made by stakeholders in advocacy for the quota, analysis of political party by-laws of any, role of Electoral Commission, perceptions, profiles of candidates, etc.
- vi. Recommendations should be clearly related to conclusions but presented separately and should be practical and if necessary divided up for various strategies and targeted stakeholders to be employed for increasing women's political participation in Puntland
- vii. Report appendices, including, interview respondents, questionnaires, references, etc.

## **7. Duration of the Consultancy**

The consultancy will take place starting from 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2015 for 40 effective days. The final report is anticipated no later than 4 weeks after completion of field work.

## **8. Support to be provided by SIDRA**



- Assign enumerators who would assist in the collection of the required data;
- Facilitate timely accomplishment of the study work;
- Payment of the professional fee and other arising costs from the contract;
- Review/comment on methods and other outputs of the study; and
- Share draft report with UNDP and receive their feedback for transmission to the consultant.

## **9. Qualifications and Competencies**

### **9.1. Academic Qualifications and experience**

- Master's degree in relevant social science discipline (preferably gender studies, or political science) with minimum of 4 years' experience in the field of gender and development with a focus on politics/governance;
- Working experience from the public sector or governance programming in a post-conflict setting;
- Extensive knowledge of political systems; and
- Background in working towards increasing women's political participation;
- Proven ability in developing and implementing qualitative research methodology and identifying relevant stakeholders with solid understanding of and experience with carrying out multi-stakeholder studies.

### **9.2. Competencies:**

- Knowledge of critical gender issues in the Somalia or Puntland context;
- Superior skills in gender mainstreaming, analysis and monitoring;
- Excellent communication skills (spoken, written and presentational) in English;
- Relevant knowledge of legislation making process in Puntland;
- Good interpersonal skills and ability to work in and with teams;
- Ability to set priorities and manage time effectively; and
- Good understanding of democratization process in Puntland.

## **10. Language requirements:**

- Strong written and spoken English language skills

## **11. Submission of application and a technical proposal**

Interested Consultants are required to submit a technical proposal (no more than 5 pages) and a proof of similar previous related work to this email (). The technical proposal should include:

- Brief explanation about the Consultant with particular emphasis on previous experience in this kind of work;
- Interpretation of the TOR and how s/he will approach it if awarded the consultancy;
- Draft work plan (including methodology); and
- A detailed proposed budget.

Application received later than the deadline will not be considered. Unsolicited contacts may lead to your application being cancelled and SIDRA will only respond to those applications in which there is further interest.



**Annex 5: Research tools**

**12.2. TOOL 1: GENERAL PUBLIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

**QUESTIONNAIRE 1:**

**NAME OF INTERVIEWEE (OPTIONAL)** \_\_\_\_\_

**AGE OF INTERVIEWEE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**SEX OF INTERVIEWEE (GENDER):** \_\_\_\_\_

**OCCUPATION:** \_\_\_\_\_

**REGION/TOWN:** \_\_\_\_\_

PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION		
S/N	QUESTION	NOTES FROM ANSWERS
1.	What are elections?	
2.	Have you ever participated in an election? Or Have you ever voted? Have you ever contested? Please elaborate	
3.	Do you think elections will help Puntland to have more stable governance? If yes, how? If no, why?	
4.	Who should contest in elections? Men? Women? Everyone who is qualified?	
5.	In your opinion, what value can women bring to leadership and politics?	
6.	Would you vote for a woman to become councilor, MP, President?	
7.	If yes, why? If no, why not?	
8.	If you think women should participate in politics and decision-making then what do you think are the key challenges they face in Puntland?	
9.	Are you aware of the proposed elections in Puntland and Somalia in 2016?	
10.	If yes, which elections are coming up and what is your opinion on the elections? Do you think the	



	elections will be good for Puntland or not?	
11.	What does your traditional/religious leader say about women's political participation? Do you agree with him/her/them?	
12.	What does the Quran, Hadiths, Sunnah say about women's political participation? Can you quote the chapter/verse?	
13.	What do you think women should do to be successful in elections?	
14.	Have you ever heard of or participated awareness campaign on women's political participation?	
15.	What did you think of the campaign? What did you learn from it?	
16.	What do you think the different institutions and political players (Electoral Commission, Parliament, Media, Cabinet, Political Parties, Electoral Laws, the Constitution, Elders, Mayors etc.) in Puntland can do in order to help women succeed in elections and Political participation?	

#### **11.4. TOOL 3: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR FDGS AND KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS**

##### **Guiding questions for FGDs and Key Informant Interviews**

- **Purpose and main objective of the study:** The purpose of this consultancy is to conduct a study on women's participation in Puntland. The main objective is to assess the legal and policy Frameworks regulating women's Political Participation in Puntland and looking at the factors contributed to significant achievement of women's participation in municipal or districts, and to determine on the other hand, what barriers or challenges Women aspirants and candidates faced; whilst making an analysis of the historical trends.

##### **Focus Groups Discussions:**

*"Women political activists, policy makers, academic, staff of MoWDAFA and other stakeholders from UNDP, international and local organizations engaged in the advancement of women's political participation in Puntland".*

Guide questions:

1. In every society, women constitute about 50% of the population. In the case of Puntland, they may even make up more than half the population. Yet, their representation in decision making process and in elected bodies is very low. For instance, there is only 2 women in the parliament, 4 in the cabinet (1 minister and 3 deputy ministers) and district councils is current under formation. Why is that?





## Women's Political Participation in Puntland – Prospects for Progress

2. What were the main obstacles that are facing women political aspirants?
3. Did clerks preach negative or positive religious views towards women's political participation or against quota advocacies proposed in Puntland?
4. How could you assess the effects of religious rhetoric on outcome of the elections or nominations and political processes?
5. How women's role in politics/decision- making is traditionally perceived by the society?
6. What is the role of traditional leaders in political life generally and particularly in promoting or inhibiting women's participation district in district elections or nominations?
7. How did the government perform to support women's political participation in past elections or political processes?
8. What role can Puntland government (politicians, law makers, ministers, etc) play in promoting women's political participation in Puntland?

### **Key Informant Interviews:**

*“Key informant interviews will be carried out with selected individuals (politicians, traditional leaders, electoral commission, law makers, political parties and women in elected bodies, UNDP's Head of Governance and Rule of Law Programme, Project Manager of the Joint Programme on Local Governance and the National Programme Officer for the Gender Project and UN Women,)”,*

Guide questions:

1. What policies or strategies, do Puntland have to put in place to ensure women's representation in elected and appointed positions
2. What strategies has Puntland used to promote women participation in local councils and how can this be replicated to promote women participation in other spheres of politics (e.g. parliament and cabinet)
3. What obstacles/barriers are there to women's equal participation in politics and processes?
4. What are the barriers towards the adopting women's quota for women in elected bodies/parliament? What laws or decrees need to be passed to ensure this happens?
5. What role did traditional and religious leaders play in promoting or stifling women's political participation in both nominated and elected positions?
6. What factors (personal, political, and institutional) made it possible for the successful women in the local councils and few in the parliament and what factors prevented the majority of women candidates from succeeding (including the women contested to become Garowe mayor?)
7. What are civil society organizations doing to support women's political participation, and what is working/not working?