

Deploying the Common Social Accountability Platform to support Rift Valley Institute (RVI)'s Somali Dialogue Platform in Promoting Public Dialogue on Elections and Amplifying Citizen's Voices in Political Processes



Africa's Voices Foundation

FINAL REPORT

May 2022

Africa's Voices Project Team: Fredrick Odinga (Governance & Accountability Senior Programme Manager), Fatima Dahir (Senior Research advisor) Mary Nzilani (Project Manager), Muna Hussein (Project Officer), Zakaria Sheikh (Research Officer), Ayan Abdullahi (Research Assistant), Oscar Mudenga (Media and engagement Officer) Daniel Mwendwa (Software Engineer 1), Lucas Malla (Senior Quantitative Researcher), Derick Ngaira (Communications & Graphics Design), Damaris Ndegwa (Director of business operations) and Samuel Kimeu (Executive Director).

Africa's Voices Foundation

Kenya

Riverside Studios,
Riverside Lane, Riverside Drive
Nairobi

UK

Centre for Global Equality,
8C King's Parade
CB2 1SP
Cambridge, United Kingdom

africasvoices.org
[@africas_voices](https://www.instagram.com/africas_voices)

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms	iv
Executive Summary.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Context and Project description	1
The overall objective.....	2
Specific objectives.....	2
Implemented Activities.....	2
Participatory co-creation workshop.....	2
Radio talk shows.....	2
Table 1: Radio Weekly Questions.....	3
Engagement.....	3
Interactive radio engagement.....	3
Table 2: Communication flow.....	4
Who participated in the dialogue?.....	4
Table 3: Radio engagement.....	5
Figure 1: Number of participants per Region.....	5
Figure 2: Chart shows variation in Location of participants by Gender.....	6
Figure 3: Gender split of participants that reported their gender.....	6
Figure 4: Proportion of participants reporting that they had been displaced in the last year.....	7
Figure 5: Proportion of participants who reported their age, disaggregated into age categories	7
Table 4: Gender split by age group.....	8
Insights on Citizens' Perspectives.....	8
Week 1: General experience of ongoing election process.....	8
Week 2: Adherence to election modalities and processes for a free, fair and peaceful election.....	14
Week 3: Legitimate elections as an opportunity to accelerate the democratization process in Somalia.....	19
Week 4: The role of stakeholders in making elections more inclusive for all.....	24
Week 5: Contribution of elections towards peace and security in Somalia.....	29
Week 6: What do citizens want to see in a free, fair and peaceful elections?.....	35
Conclusion.....	41
Recommendations.....	41
Annexe 1: AVF's Methodology.....	43

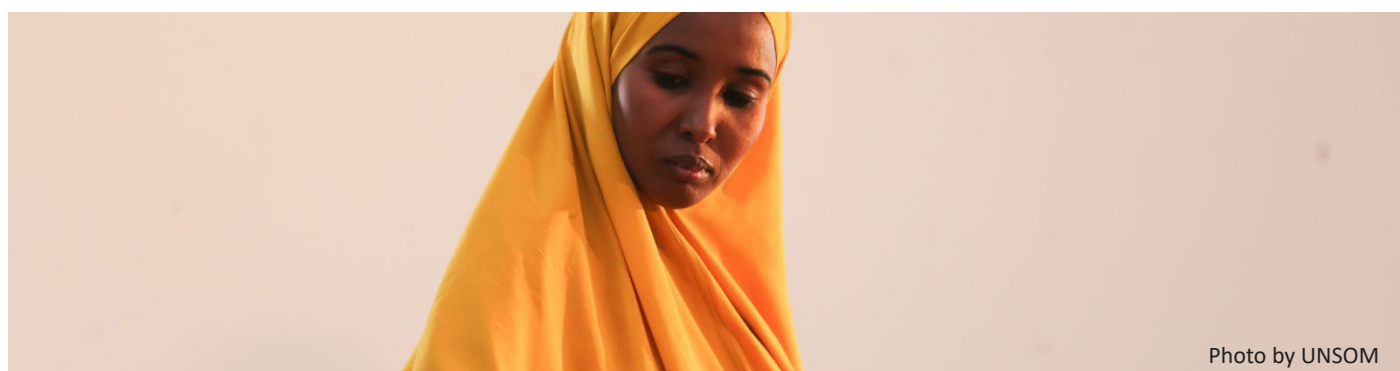


Photo by UNSOM

List of Acronyms

AVF	Africa's Voices Foundation
CSAP	Common Social Accountability Platform
IDPs	Internally Displaced Person
MI	Media Ink
RVI	Rift Valley Institute
PSA	Public Service Announcement
SMS	Short Message Service

Executive Summary

Africa's Voices Foundation in partnership with Rift Valley institute (RVI)'s Somali Dialogue Platform implemented a 3-month project between February 8th - May 7th 2022. The project promoted public dialogue around elections so as to understand citizens' perspectives on Somalia's national elections. It also amplified citizen voices in political processes and promoted peaceful messaging by using media spaces to contribute to the prevention - of violence. AVF utilized its existing Common Social Accountability Platform (CSAP) to deliver the project. The project aimed to contribute to RVI's Somali Dialogue Platform program by facilitating dialogue amongst Somalis on contentious political issues. It involved 6 weeks of interactive radio shows across 30 radio stations in 6 Federal Member States (FMS) of Somalia, namely, Galmudug, Banadir, Southwest, Hirshabelle, Jubaland and Puntland.

citizens were engaged through interactive radio shows, public service announcement (PSA) and SMS adverts not only to determine their perception and understanding of the just concluded elections but also to educate the communities on the importance of citizen engagement in the electoral process through provision of experts guests on our shows.

At the end of the radio programming, AVF analyzed the rich audience engagement that emerged from the six interactive radio shows to generate insight from public opinion on the election and political processes from different demographic groups. The insights were synthesized to generate actionable recommendations for our partner, RVI, based on citizens' experiences and feedback on elections.

The interactive radio that included PSAs, situational drama and interviews with election experts combined with SMS advert to people in our database enabled us to engage with **14,773** individuals who sent SMS with their feedback using the shortcode. Out of these individuals, **12,975 (87.8%)** consented to have their data analyzed. More than half (**59.1%, 7,663 of 12,975**) of the total individuals who participated sent in messages that were relevant to the questions asked. (**59.8%**) of those who engaged represented the age bracket 18 – 35 years, which is consistent with the demographic that has more access to mobile phones, while the least represented was 55 to 99 years (**2.9%**). Of the participants, **63.9%** were men and **36.1%** were women. **49.7%** reported to be recently displaced; under their Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) status. The highest number of participants was reported by Banadir (**32.9%**) followed by Galmudug (28.5%) and Hirshabelle (**14.8%**). The distribution of participants across states shows a noticeable urban bias, with the highest proportion of citizens reporting to be from districts with large urban populations, particularly Mogadishu, Belet Weyne, Baidoa, and Galkacyo. Ultimately the project impacted **246,217** individuals through the radio shows as well as situational drama. This created a better understanding of the electoral process in Somalia. The ultimate reach is based on AVF's representative phone survey (March 2020) in South Central Somalia and Puntland which revealed that 6 people out of **100** listeners take the step to send an SMS.

Main Findings

- In week one we inquired on the impact of elections on people's livelihood. **37.1%** of participants mentioned that the current elections had affected their lives without naming any specific factors. **26.7%** expressed that the election had contributed to inflation and increased the cost of living, **7.8%** mentioned that the election had diverted the focus away from the drought. **4.1%** mentioned the election had contributed to unemployment. However, **13.6%** of participants expressed that the elections had no impact on their lives.

Noloshayda aad ayay u samaysay dorashada manta

"The current election has really affected my life," **Man, 18 years, Garowe.**

hadii aan ka dhiibto rayigayga aad ayay saamen uga yelatay bulshadeyda sida badeecada oo qali noqaty iyo shaqa la aan.

"In my opinion, it has had a significant impact on the community, such as increased product prices and unemployment," **Woman, 18 years, Wadajir.**

- More than half of participants (**59.8%**) in the second week of the radio show mentioned that the elections led to war and bloodshed while **13.4%** expressed that it did not. However, some (**10.1%**) expressed that there were misunderstandings and disputes among the leaders but there was no violence.

waa sax doorashada dhiigg daadasho ayey sababtay doorashadu

"It is true the election has caused bloodshed," **Woman, Warta nabada.**

fikirkeyga hadaan kadhiibto ani ahaan ma,arag wax saameyn dagaal eh
lakin insha allah ilaahey waxaan rajeynaynaa inay si qurux badan noogu soo
dhamaato:mahadsangsaniidiin

"In my opinion, I personally have not seen any war effects, but we hope that it will end beautifully for us god willing: thank you," **Man,Yaqshiid,Recently displaced.**

- Lack of freeness and fairness in the elections was a prominent theme in almost all the episodes. In week three, **65.8%** of participants mentioned that the values of freeness, fairness and justice were not upheld in the elections.

Waxa aan aaminsanahay inaysan dhicin doorasho xor iyo xalaal ah inteeda badan

"I believe that free and fair elections have not taken place for the most part,"

Woman, 28 years, Galkacyo.

- There were contrary views on the inclusion of women in the elections. When we asked if the inclusion of youth and women were ensured in the elections, **29.9%** of participants said electoral quotas for women were not met, while **24.6%** of the participants mentioned that Women were included in the elections.

hawenki qondadi ay kulahayen dorashada ama barlamanka sida ugu badan wa
boobay ama wa laxogay

"Women's quotas of the election or parliament were mostly looted or robbed," **Man, 34 years, Buulo burte, Recently displaced.**

Waxaa loo xaqiijiyay iyada oo haweenka doorkooda si dhab ah loo xaqiijiyay

"It has been ensured by the fact that women's roles are truly confirmed," **Man, 25 years, Dayniile.**

- In the fifth week of the radio show, **18.4%** of the participants expressed their desire for a one person one vote system in the upcoming elections while **35.1%** were of the view that it should be a free and fair election. When we asked if achieving one-person-one-vote in the next elections is a priority in their community in the subsequent week's question, **41.9%** said yes without providing an explanation, **15%** said yes would encourage free and fair elections, **10.4 %** said yes citing it will give them and opportunity to elect good leaders and subsequently few participants (**1.7%**) reported yes explaining that it will stop clannism.

Asc azxpta waaWaxn is leeyhy in ay noqoto doorasho qof io cod oo qof waliba oo
qofkuu doono u codeyn karo isaga aan laqasbaynin

"Greetings, I think it should be an election of one person and one vote and anyone can vote without being forced to do so" **Woman, Hiliwa.**

waa inay noqotaa doorasho xor iyo xalaal oo loo wada siman yahay

"It should be a free, fair, and equitable election for all" **Man, 20 years, Garowe, Recently displaced.**

Recommendations

- While the election is important, the government should not shift focus but prioritize the immediate needs of its citizens such as drought, inflation and unemployment.
- Participants largely expressed concerns on security. There is a need to strengthen security measures, peace building, and reconciliation mechanisms during the electioneering period.
- Strengthen implementation of affirmative policies such as women quota in election and review legislations such as electoral laws to ensure inclusion of minority groups like youth, women, IDPs and small clans in decision-making.
- Initiate social behavior change programme to address sociocultural norms that hinder minority groups including ethnic groups, youth and women for their inclusion in electoral process and decision-making process.
- Create regular and safe platforms for public dialogue and debate for women, youth or leaders to converse on issues affecting the community.
- Promote awareness creation, education and information sharing systems on the importance of inclusive elections and one person one vote system.
- Continued media campaigns / peace messaging, engaging trusted community leaders like Imams to provide guidance on ethical leadership.

Challenges faced

Somali media space (radio and mobile network operators) is volatile. The project experienced several network downtimes in both Hormuud and Golis during the radio programming period. As a result of this, some messages were not delivered to our pipeline. AVF, with support from our aggregator Shaqodoon Organization, engaged the mobile network operators to retrieve the messages. This was shared as a CSV file and our data and technology team manually sync all the messages to ensure none is lost. This caused a delay in submission of week 1&2 summary reports. Besides, the project had an overwhelming engagement with citizens. The expected reach was **4000** participants but the actual people engaged was **14,773**. This stretched the budget as originally envisaged and human resources capacity. AVF redeployed personnel from other projects to support this project so as to ensure timely delivery of agreed milestones within the budgetary limits.

The data gathered using this method constitutes a non-probabilistic sample and this affects the type of insights presented below. Those who participate are self-selected amongst potential audiences based on a range of factors such as phone ownership, media habits, literacy, and gender roles. Some perspectives held by those groups outside of radio participants (e.g. those unable to access radio) may not be identified by this approach.



1. INTRODUCTION

This report details the findings of the interactive radio and SMS feedback methodology conducted between February 8th and May 7th 2022. Six interactive radio shows broadcasted across 30 radio stations in the Southern and central Somalia elicited feedback via a toll-free SMS short code. The rich citizen feedback from the radio shows were analyzed to draw themes using a mixed method analysis (qualitative and quantitative research techniques) to disaggregate the themes by demographics thus informing elections programming and Rift Valley Institute's Somali Dialogue Platform adaptation of their strategies.

Context and Project description

There has been a prolonged period of uncertainty and heightened political tensions in the last one and a half years in Somalia due to the missed elections that were scheduled for December 2020. The better part of 2020 saw Somalia's lawmakers caught in a quagmire on whether the country should adopt indirect voting (in which clan leaders represent their members) or a one-person, one-ballot system¹. After delays that have imperiled the country's stability and a failed attempt to extend the sitting president, Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo's term for two years, Somalia's Prime Minister (PM), Mohamed Hussein Roble was delegated to spearhead the election process.

Efforts to include and secure a place for women in politics have been slow and painful. Despite the existence of a call to achieve 30 per cent women's representation quota there were no clear mechanisms to achieve that target and women leaders and civil society organizations have very little or no resources to advocate for the 30 per cent quota scheme².

The international partners such as African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISON) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) welcome the conclusion of the Upper House elections following the National Consultative Council meeting held on 11 November, 2021 and leaders pledged to complete the House of the People elections by the end of December 2021³. International allies, on the other hand, were concerned about the unnecessarily extended election period and urged Somali leadership at all levels to restart and complete the House of the People election process which was then concluded on April 13, 2022. The presidential election was completed on 16th May, 2022 and the former President, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was elected.

As the election process continues, citizen engagement is paramount. Africa's Voices Foundation (AVF) in partnership with Rift Valley Institute (RVI) deployed a Common Social Accountability Platform (CSAP) to enable large-scale conversations resulting in robust feedback from citizens on election. CSAP used interactive radio shows to convene public dialogue with the citizens and provide their opinions through SMS which forms the evidence for policy actions by authorities. The project was underpinned by a previous project that AVF had implemented on the importance of strategic communication in the Somalia electoral process.

AVF curated a trusted discursive space for the citizens to meaningfully engage and share their views on the elections in Somalia. The project aimed to promote public dialogue around elections so as to understand citizens' perspectives on Somalia's national elections and promote peaceful messaging through traditional and modern media channels on the topic to prevent and mitigate potential violence. It achieved this by empowering citizens with information on political processes via radio campaigns and promoting understanding around the election process, providing a politically-neutral platform for citizens' voices on political processes to be heard and meaningfully capture and disseminate citizens' views to inform, motivate and influence high-level political dialogue around the election process in Somalia. The project was structured around the following key objectives:

¹<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/9/somalias-leaders-agree-to-hold-delayed-election-by-february-25>

²<https://www.un.org/press/en/2021/sc14601.doc.htm>

³<https://unsom.unmissions.org/international-partners-welcome-conclusion-somalia%E2%80%99s-upper-house-elections>

The overall objective

- To promote public dialogue around elections so as to understand citizens' perspectives on Somalia's national elections and promote peaceful messaging through traditional and modern media channels on the topic to prevent and mitigate potential violence.

Specific objectives are;

- Empowering citizens with information on political processes via radio campaigns and promoting understanding around the election process.
- Providing a politically-neutral platform for citizen voices on political processes to be heard.
- To meaningfully capture and disseminate citizens' views to inform, motivate and influence high-level political dialogue around the election process in Somalia.

2. Implemented Activities

Participatory co-creation workshop

AVF organized a co-creation workshop in collaboration with RVI's Somali Dialogue Platform and other key stakeholders including Somalia election experts and observers, civil society organizations (CSOs), and women and youth activists. The co-creation workshop identified themes for public discussion, generated content and prioritized evidence gaps. Potential radio questions were also developed to provoke lively and plural citizen discussion. Thereafter AVF developed a detailed communication framework which included topics for citizen engagement in the six weeks of radio programming.



Radio talk shows



In partnership with Media Ink (MI), AVF deployed 6 weeks of radio discussions to promote public dialogue on elections and citizens' voices in political processes. Every radio show was accompanied by a 3 minutes situational mini-drama, a discussion between the presenter and the guest, interactive citizens engagement through SMS feedback, and vox pop to elicit discussion on the experiences and perceptions of citizens on the elections in Somalia. The radio shows were broadcasted across a network of 30 credible radio stations in 6 regions (Galmudug, Puntland, Jubaland, Banadir, Hirshabelle and South West) across Southern and Central Somalia.

At the beginning of each week of engagement, public service announcements (PSA) were broadcasted to introduce audiences to the topic of the upcoming show and they were asked an open-ended question to which they could respond with their perspectives via toll-free SMS. Upon sending their SMS, all participants received a message from AVF asking them for their consent to use their answer in analysis and asking further demographic questions on gender, age, location and displacement status. The feedback received as a result of these PSAs were incorporated in the radio show scripts, which were produced midweek and aired on Tuesdays.

The tables below includes the questions asked in the radio shows:

Table 1: Radio Weekly Questions

Interactive radio shows	
Date	March and April 2022
Programme focus	Promoting Public Dialogue on Elections and Amplifying Citizen's Voices in Political Processes
Questions asked	<p>Week 1: How has the current election affected you and your community's livelihood?</p> <p>Week 2: One of our listeners said "the elections have many implications, it has brought war and bloodshed," what are your thoughts on this?</p> <p>Week 3: What are your thoughts on the current elections in terms of upholding the values of freedom, fairness and justice?</p> <p>Week 4: How has the inclusion of women and youth been ensured in the current election?</p> <p>Week 5: What do you think the 2024/25 elections in Somalia should look like?</p> <p>Week 6: Do you think achieving one-person-one-vote in the next elections is a priority in your community? Yes or No? Why?</p>

3. Engagement

This section presents an overview of the engagement generated for the six weeks of the radio shows.

Participants from SMS: A total of **14,773** individuals participated in the radio discussions hosted over 6 weeks. Of these, **12,975** consented to have their data included in the analysis. More than half (**59.1%, 7,663 of 12,975**) of the total individuals who participated sent in messages that were relevant to the questions asked. The messages referred to as 'not relevant' are those that do not directly answer the radio question. However, many of those responses still constituted valid signs of engagement between citizens and the radio dialogue, for example through sending greetings, questions, thank you and consents.

An estimated 246,216 people were reached by the radio shows as well as situational drama based on the 6% listenership vs SMS engagement ratio used to estimate total reach or listenership (6 people out of 100 listeners take the step to send an SMS)⁴.

3.1. Interactive radio engagement

The six (6) weeks of interactive radio discussions were aimed to enable discussions on:

- General experiences of election process,
- Adherence to election modalities and processes for a free, fair and peaceful election,
- Legitimate elections as an opportunity to accelerate the democratization process in Somalia,

⁴Promoting greater gender equality and social inclusion through media in Somalia (Imaqal) Final Project Delivery Evaluation Report, 2020.

- The role of actors in making elections more inclusive for all,
- Contribution of elections towards peace and security in Somalia,
- What do citizens want to see in a free, fair and peaceful elections?

Listeners were invited to share their views to a **toll-free shortcode 378**. The shortcode and questions were also shared through radio promos (Public Service Announcements) and SMS ads sent to our existing pool (participants from previous AVF's projects who consented to be engaged again), before each week's radio show.

Participants who sent a message in response to the show question were asked for consent to have their views included in analysis and this followed a short series of demographic questions:

Table 2: Communication flow

Radio Show	Consent	Socio-demographic survey
RADIO QUESTION	<p>Thanks. We'd like to use your answers for research on the election process and want to ask a few more questions.</p> <p>If you prefer not to participate, reply STOP and you will receive no questions and your messages will not be analysed</p> <p>(If he/she) replies STOP Thanks. Your message may be read out on air, but will not be used as part of this research project. You will not be asked any further questions this week.</p> <p>If you consent to being part of this study, please respond to the following questions.</p>	<p>DISTRICT In which district do you currently live?</p> <p>GENDER What is your gender?</p> <p>AGE How old are you? Please answer with a number in years.</p> <p>RECENTLY DISPLACED [ASK ALL] Have you had to flee your home in the last year due to conflict, drought or flooding?</p> <p>CLOSING: Thank you for your answers. We will be sending you some more questions in the next few days.</p>

3.2 Who participated in the dialogue?

The table below provides a breakdown of engagement per week. This is followed by charts indicating the location, gender, age and IDP status of participants in the dialogue as stated. Please note that providing demographic information is voluntary and therefore some participants do not submit all, or in some instances, any demographic information.

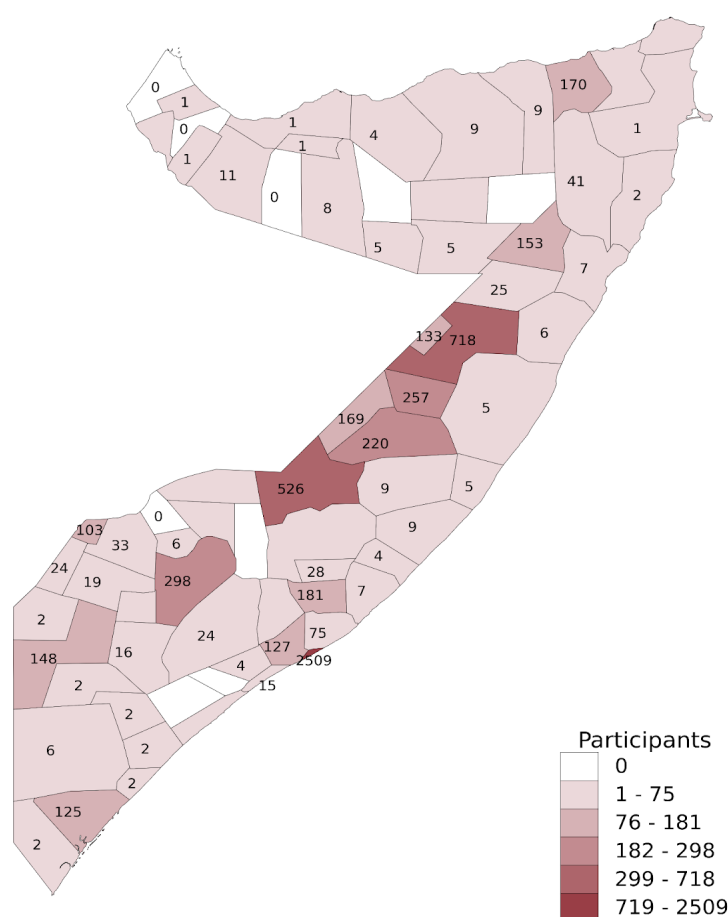


Photo UNICEF2017Michael Tsegaye

Table 3: Radio engagement

	Participants who consented	Participants who sent SMS relevant to question	SMS from those who consented	SMS which also were relevant to question
Week 1	3, 303	1, 711	6, 460	2, 003
Week 2	4, 014	2, 217	11, 897	3, 858
Week 3	3, 656	1, 803	7, 355	2, 196
Week 4	3, 644	1, 465	7, 946	1, 772
Week 5	4, 248	2, 408	7, 971	2, 885
Week 6	4, 999	3, 534	10, 236	4, 620
Total	12, 975	7, 663	57, 862	17, 334

Figure 1: Number of participants per Region⁵



Location: As Map 1 illustrates, there is a notable urban bias in the distribution of participants across the country, with the highest proportion of citizens reporting to be from districts with large urban populations - in particular Mogadishu, Belet Weyne, Baidoa and Galkacyo. This is partially a reflection of the radio coverage of FM stations, which are more concentrated in urban centers than in rural areas.

However, the consultation still captured some voices from citizens in less accessible parts of the country, including districts with a substantial Al Shabaab presence, such as those in Middle Juba, Bakool and Gedo.

Note that participants were not specifically asked to identify whether they were in a rural or urban area.

⁵Map shows the number of participants per district who provided their location information in the demographic questions. Please note that not all participants provided location information.

Figure 2: Chart shows variation in Location of participants by Gender

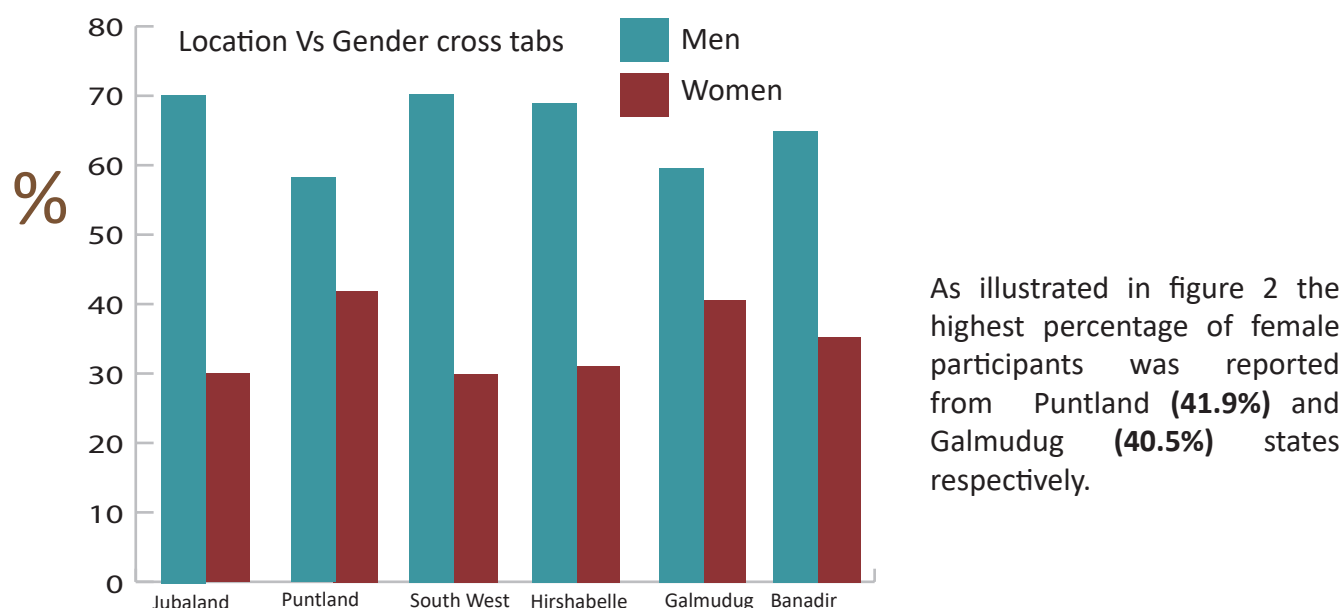
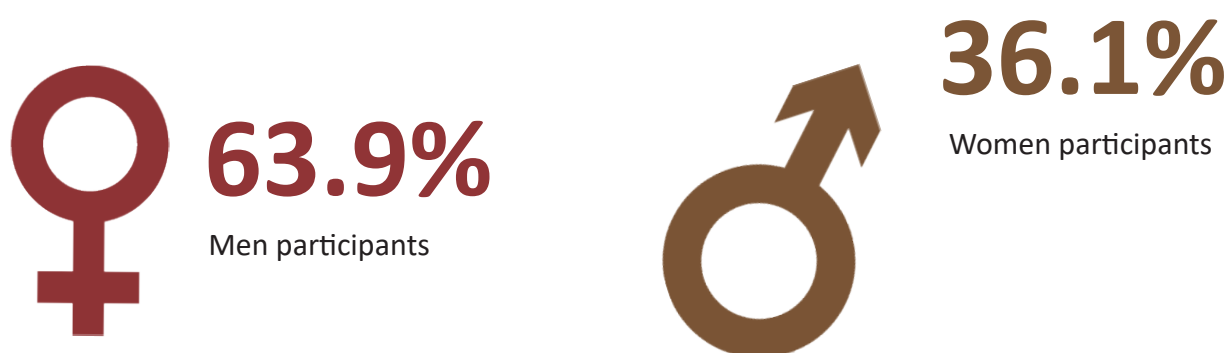


Figure 3: Gender split of participants that reported their gender⁵



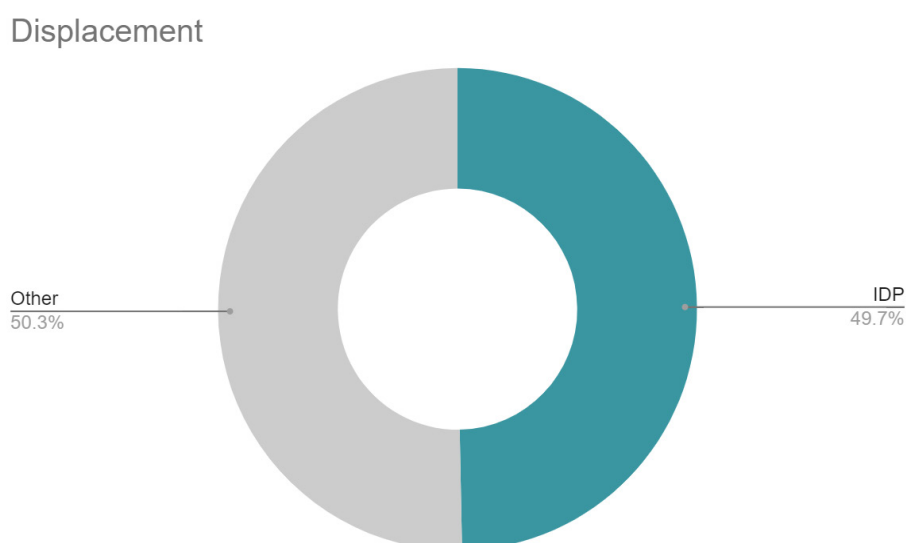
Gender: 36.1% of participants who reported their gender indicated that they were women, suggesting that the radio consultation was able to engage with a notable proportion of female voices, whose access to public discussion spaces is often limited.

IDP status: According to recent displacement reports, there has been an increase in displacement between 2021 and 2022. The significant increase in movements observed in January 2022 may be due to the interconnectedness of conflict and drought-induced displacement⁷. In this research, about half (49.7%) of respondents reported that they had been displaced in the last year, indicating that radio is an effective channel to engage with IDPs in Somalia.

⁶Please note that not all participants provided information on their gender. The total proportion of people who reported their gender information was n= 8, 294.

⁷<https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-drought-displacement-monitoring-dashboard-30-january-12-february-2022>

Figure 4: Proportion of participants reporting that they had been displaced in the last year



Age: In line with Somalia's youth bulge, the highest proportion of participants were aged below 35 years old, at **59.8%** of the total participants attributable to increased literacy level and access to radio programmes within the group⁸. Whilst the split between male and female respondents was roughly equal amongst those aged 18 (0-14= male 54% Female 46%, 15-17= male 52% Female 48%) and below, the proportion of women participants tapered sharply amongst older age groups (see Table 4). The drop-off in female participation may be reflective of lower literacy rates amongst older generations of women⁹.

Figure 5: Proportion of participants who reported their age, disaggregated into age categories¹⁰

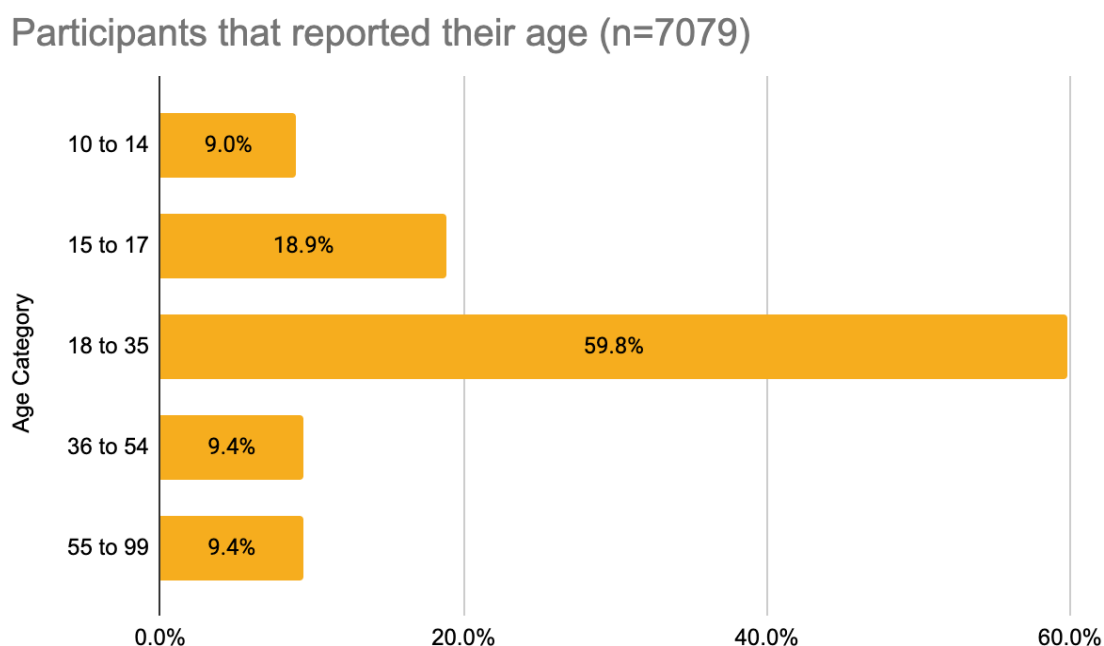


Table 4: Gender split by age group¹¹

	0 - 14 n= 635	15 - 17 n= 1337	18- 35 n= 4233	36 - 54 n= 666	55+ n=208
Male	54%	52%	67%	78%	70%
Female	46%	48%	33%	22%	30%

4. Insights on Citizens' Perspectives

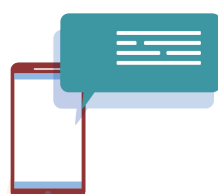
This section provides a mixed-methods analysis of citizen responses to the research questions outlined above. It also provides quantitative analyses of the data collected for topics in the interactive radio shows.

It should be noted that the percentages and prevalence of opinions conveyed in this analysis reflect the views of those who chose to participate by sending an SMS and are thus not representative of the Somali population as a whole. Furthermore, the messages below are presented in their entirety, as shared by participants in response to the research question via the free short code and Africa's Voices provided the verbatim translation. Any misspellings or grammatical errors in the messages are not an oversight.. Africa's Voices promotes genuine citizen voices and does not alter or edit the messages of our participants.

4 Interactive Radio Dialogue

4.1 Week 1: General experience of ongoing election

Despite rising hurdles, Somalia has made substantial progress toward the completion of national elections. Week one of programming centered on gaining a better understanding of people's current experiences and attitudes towards the election, which saw only two federal member states (Banadir and Somaliland) successfully complete the lower house election this time. The focus of the debate was on the election's influence on the people and how the process has impacted their livelihood.



6,460 SMS were received during a conversation that was intended to understand the **impact of the election on the people's livelihood.**

1,711 (51.8%)

Participants that sent SMS relevant to the question being asked and therefore analysed.

In Episode 1 We asked the question:



How has the current election affected you and your community's livelihood?

"Sidee ayey doorashada hadda socota u saamaysay noolol maalmeedkaaga iyo kan bulshadaada?"

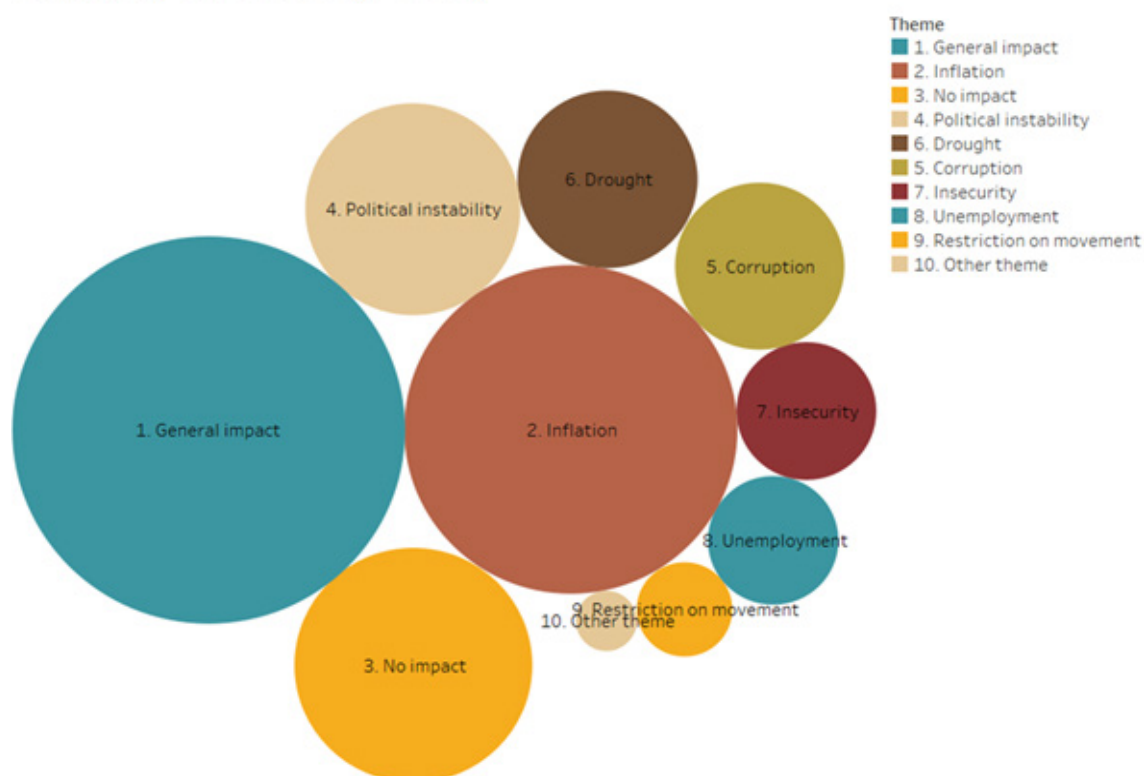
¹¹Please note that the tone of color represents the % of concentration from a particular group.

Table 5 : Theme Prevalence by Participants

No.	Themes	Frequency
1	General impact	37.1%
2	Inflation	26.7%
3	No impact	13.6%
4	Political instability	11.1%
5	Drought	7.8%
6	Corruption	6.9%
7	Insecurity	4.7%
8	Unemployment	4.1%
9	Restriction on movement	2.2%
10	Other theme	0.9%

Figure 6 : Theme Prevalence by Participants

How has the current election affected you and your community's livelihood? (n=1711)



Analysis of the findings

In response to the question asked in week one, more than a quarter of participants (**37.1% n=634**) talked about general impact. Under this subject, people are substantially in agreement that the election has influenced their lives in a number of ways, without naming any specific factors.

asc duurashadu waxay saamaysay nolosheena
"Greetings, the election has affected our life" **Recently displaced.**

doora shada qof wal ba oo somaliy aad eyo aad ey no saameey saay
"The election has had an impact on every Somali person in a very big way" **Mogadishu.**

waa samen badan thy lkn waxaan rajeynaa inlaga gudbi dono nabadne lagu soo
dhameyo insha alah
*"Greetings, it has had a lot of impacts but i am hopeful that it will come to an end soon,
God willing"* **Woman, 42 years, Mogadishu.**

This was closely followed by **26.7% n=457** of participants who noted **inflation**, and expressed how the election has contributed to inflation and increased the cost of living. As mentioned in their messages the cost of living has been influenced, and as a result, some people are unable to afford basic necessities.

Saameynta doorashooyinka ay nagu yeesheen waxaa ka mid ah sicir barar ka jira raashiinka
qutul daruuriga
"The effects of the elections on us include inflation of basic food items" **Jowhar.**

somali walahi dorashada macishadii ayay kor uu kicisay Asc waraxma tulahi wabaraag
"The election has increased the cost of living, greetings to you" **Man, Doolow.**

Saameyn weyn ayey igu yeelatay sida badeacadaha oo qaaloway badeacadahaas waxaa ka
mid ah bariiska baastada burka sonkorta shidaalkaiwm
*"It has had a huge effect on me as the prices of products have increased, some of this
include rice, pasta, flour, sugar and fuel etc."* **Man, 30 years.**

Quite a good number of participants (13.6% n=232) mentioned that the **election had no impact on their lives**. With participants explaining in their messages that there is no link between their lives and the election. Some have gone to the extent of arguing that the procedure has no bearing on them and that they are unconcerned about it.

Anigu waxsaameyn ah igumayeelan sababtoo ah shaqo kumalehi doorasho waxbane
iigamaxirna mahadsanidiin
*"I believe that it does not affect me because I have nothing to do with the election and it
doesn't concern me "* **Belet weyne.**

doorashada shacab malaha waxaa wadama sha sheeye wana nagula nabaa wax shaqo aan
ku leenahay ma aha aniga iyo bulshadaba
*"The election does not belong to the people, it's influenced by outsiders and they are lying
about our involvement, it has nothing to do with me and my community"* **Man, 30 years,
Jowhar.**

hadan kahadlo aniahanti waxsameymna igumayelan kaha nolosha malin wanagsan
"To speak for myself, it has not had any impact on me, have a good day" **Galmudug.**

Some participants (**11.1% n=190**) also mentioned **political instability** by expressing that conflict and political uncertainty have erupted as a result of the election. Under this theme, participants are of the opinion that as a result of the Ongoing election, conflict and political uncertainty have erupted which could eventually lead to war and bloodshed.

wadanka waxow galay qalqal siyasaded
"The country is in a state of political turmoil" **Woman.**

doorashadu wy leydahy smeyn wyo wa siyasad siyasaduna waxaa ka iman karo is af garan
way aad u xun
"The election has an impact because it involves politics which has consequences of

disagreement that are very serious” **Woman.**

doorashadani ma aha mid faaiido u ah bulshada inta ay madaxdu isku qabsanayaan kuraasta
“The election is not beneficial to the community as long as the leaders are quarreling over the seats” **Man, Galdogob.**

Another group of participants (**7.8% n=134**) raised the issue of **drought**. The participants discussed the severe impact of drought on the people and how the election has diverted attention away from the ongoing drought, and how the process has made the Somali community very vulnerable, making life difficult for the impoverished. In contrast, a comparable number of participants (**6.9% n=118**) stated that the current election process is corrupt by naming alleged bribery and ballot rigging.

Siwayn ayey usaamaysay bulshada soomaaliyeedeexoola dhaqatada ah abaar aad udaran ayaa soowajahday masuuliyiintii dalka doorshada ayey kumash quuleen
“It has had a profound effect on the Somali pastoralist community, the country is facing a severe drought and the country’s leaders are busy with elections ” **Woman, Guriceel.**

waxan u arka dorashada mid umadasomaliyed unug ley sey abaaraha
“I think that the election has made the Somali community very vulnerable to the droughts” **Hiran.**

doorashada somalia waxay kusocota si dardargalin ah. saamayn aad uwayn ayay kuyeelatay. sababtoo ah laaluushkii ayaa aad ubatay
“The election is ongoing quickly, it has had a huge impact because there has been an increase in bribery” **Man, 20 years, Dhuusamareeb.**

wa dorashadi ugu muq mbsuqabadned edalka somarta abid
“This is the most corrupt election that has happened in the country” **Man, 51 years, Mogadishu.**

doorashada masuq maasuq ayaa kajira madax weynaha ayaana ka mas uul ah
“There is corruption within the election and the president is responsible for it” **Man, 36 years, Belet weyne.**

Some participants (**4.7% n=81**) cited an increase in **insecurity** as a result of the elections. They noted that there has been an increase in extremist activities, like bomb blasts, during this electioneering period.

Doorashada waxay bulshadeeyday usaamaysay qaraxyo aadhacay
“The election has had an impact on the community since there have been bomb blasts” **Mogadishu.**

Waxa ay kuyeelatay saamayn dadka soomaaliyeed waayo qalqal amni ayey dareemeen
“It has affected the Somali people because they feel that there is a security threat” **Dhuusamareeb.**

saameyta ay naguyeelatay waxa ka mid ah in amniga dalku khalkhal galo
“One of the things that has affected us is the country’s deteriorating security situation” **Man, 18 years.**

Participants (**4.1% n=71**) mentioned that the election process has contributed to an increase in **unemployment** levels. Under this theme, participants explained that unemployment was on the rise during the election period as a result of many people losing their jobs or being unable to find work.

Waxa igu yelatay sameyn ad u weyn shaqo la.AN MADAMA DALKU U SALAHEYN AMA SHAQEYNIN HAYADAHA JOGA DALKA IYO SUQI O AN SHAQO AMA DAD WAXQADTO EYSAN JIRIN
“It has had a huge impact on me which is unemployment, because there are no organisations working in the country and lack of customers in the market” **Dharkeenley.**

baahida badan ba lakulmay shaqo la.aan bahi badan ba lakulmay bulshadeyda ramadan baa imaday waxa lo bahanyahay afur wax shaqo ah mahaayo mahadsanid

"I have faced a lot of problems, unemployment, Ramadan is coming, iftar is needed and i have no employment, thank you" **Man, 21 years, Dayniile.**

Finally, around **2.2% n=38** of the participants mentioned **restriction on movement** as a result of the present election, which is causing problems in mobility due to road closures for security reasons, disrupting many people who used to work in the impacted areas.

dhan walbo wax barasho ha ahato tan bulshadana isku socod laan adeeg laan alle ha naga so gaba gabeyo

"It has affected us in every way, be it education and restriction of movement in the community, lack of services, may Allah end it soon" **Woman, 20 years, Karaan.**

Waxa aan u arkaa mid aan fiicnayn. Waxa ay saamaysay isku socodka gaadiidka

"I think it's not a good one as it has affected the flow of traffic " **Recently displaced.**

Waxay saamayn ku yeelatay shaqdayda aniga waxaan udhawahay goobaha ay doorashada lagu qabanayo subaxdii markaan isdhaho shaqada aad is la markiiba waxaa goob taa taagan askar waxeyna inahaan dib ulaabo

"It has affected my work. I am close to polling stations, in the morning whenever I try to go to work there are police posts and they tell me to go back" **Man, 49 years, Gaalkacyo.**

4.1.2 Social demographic differences ¹²

When observing the prevalence of themes across demographic groups, there are some important differences to take into account. Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (**29.9%**) mentioned **inflation** more compared to those 15 – 17 years old (**23.4%**)¹³. **Unemployment** was highlighted more significantly by participants aged between 18 and 35 years compared to those 15 – 17 years old. This corroborates a survey on youth employment and migration by Altai Consulting in 2016 that noted that 72 percent of youth (14 - 30 years) were actively job hunting and 27 percent of them felt discouraged¹⁴. Similarly¹⁵, women (2.8%) were less likely to mention unemployment compared to men (5.5%)¹⁶. This could be attributable to the pervasive socio-cultural norms that place women in domestic work¹⁷. Women (**41.6%**) also mentioned general impact more compared to men (35%)¹⁸. Insecurity was more significantly mentioned by participants aged between 18 and 35 years (5.7%) and between 36 and 54 years (6.3%) compared to those 15 – 17 years old (1.8%)¹⁹. The theme drought was mentioned more by recently displaced (11.9%) participants compared to non-displaced (6.2%)²⁰ and less significantly by women (6.1%) compared to men (9.6%)²¹. **Corruption** was mentioned more by participants aged between 18 and 35 years (6.6%) compared to those 15 – 17 years old (5.3%)²².

¹²The variables included in the imputation models were sex, age category, whether recently displaced, and loyalty (number of times participated in the shows). Geographic location variables were not included as they contained sparse data that would result into poor imputations. The geographic variables were district, region, state, and zone

¹³Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 1.50 [1.05 – 2.14], p – value =0.0274) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

¹⁴Youth Employment and migration in Mogadishu, Kismayo and Baidoa

¹⁵Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 3.15 [1.16 – 8.53], p – value =0.0242) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

¹⁶Women (OR = 0.45 [0.23 – 0.87], p – value =0.0179) compared to men.

¹⁷Gender Equality: Hit or Miss in the Somali Population

¹⁸Women (OR = 1.32 [1.03 – 1.68], p – value =0.0255) compared to men.

¹⁹Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 3.00 [1.07 – 8.35], p – value =0.0361) and between 36 and 54 years (OR = 3.29 [1.01 – 10.67], p – value =0.0475) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

²⁰Recently displaced participants (OR = 1.83 [1.12 – 3.00], p – value = 0.0164) compared to nondisplaced.

²¹Women (OR = 0.60 [0.37 – 0.97], p – value =0.0357) compared to men

²²Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 2.22 [1.02 – 4.80], p – value =0.0435) compared to those 15 – 17 years

Figure 7: Theme distribution by Age

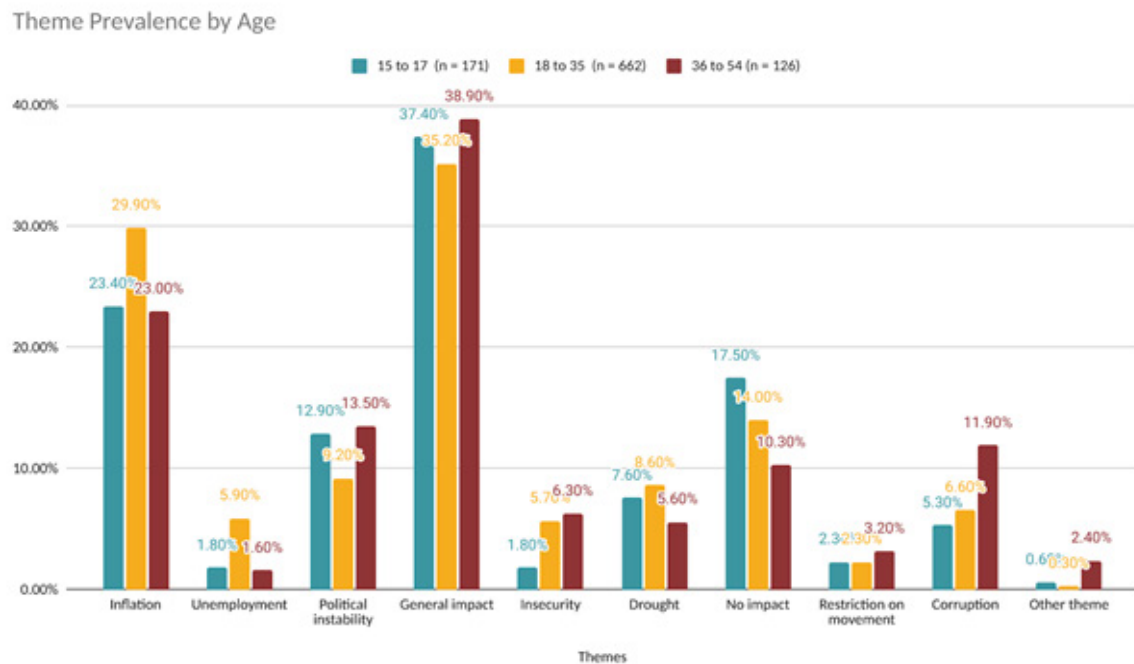


Figure 8: Theme distribution by Gender

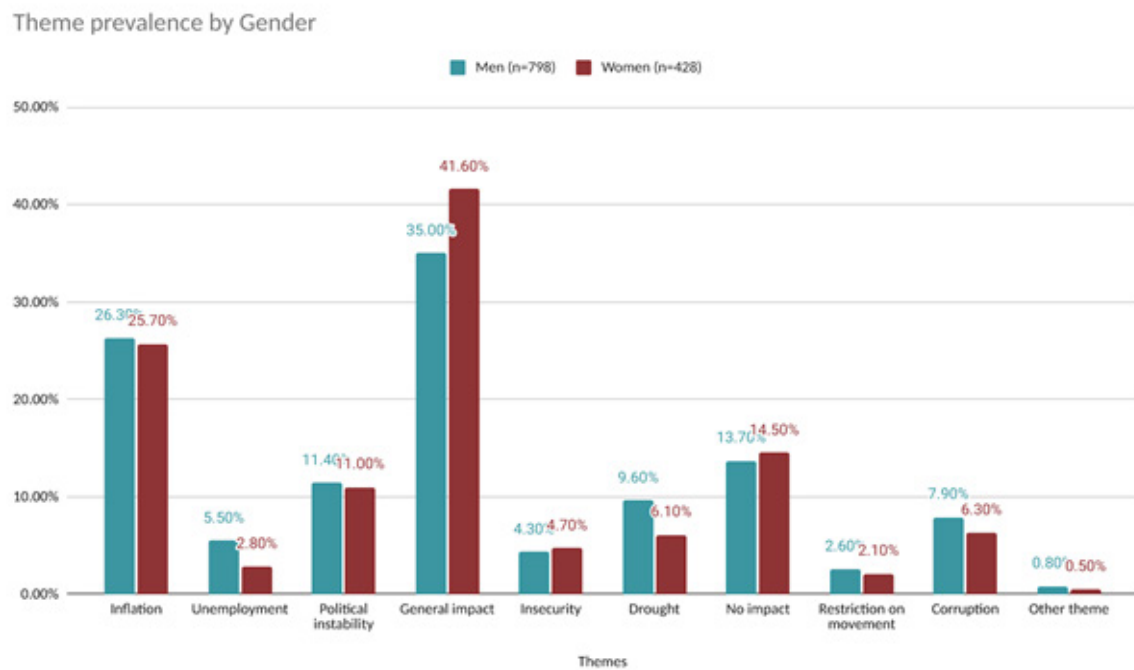
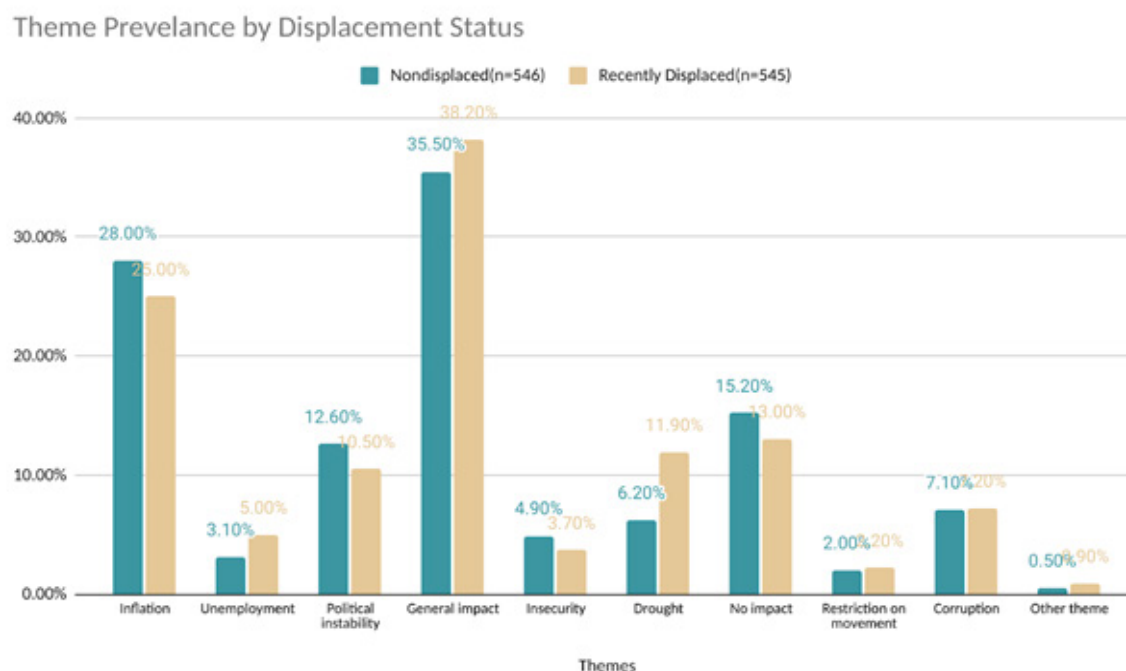


Figure 9: Theme Prevalence by Displacement status



4.2 Week 2: Adherence to election modalities and processes for a free, fair and peaceful election

Concerns about rising political tensions in many parts of the country were intensifying at the time of week 2 programming (march 22nd) as the national elections were ongoing. With a significant number of participants from week 1 programming raising security concerns, the question for week 2 focused on understanding how elections contribute to an increase in insecurity. In week 2.....



4,014 participants
sent in.....



11,897 messages
in response to the following
question:



One of our listeners said
“the elections have many
implications, it has brought
war and bloodshed,” what are
your thoughts on this?

*“Mid kamid ah
dhagaystayaasheena ayaa
yidhi, “doorashadu saameyn
badan ayey yeelatay, waxay
keentay dagaal iyo dhiig
daadasho,” maxay kulatahay
arrintaan?”*

Out of the total participants who consented, 2,217 (55.2%) sent messages that were relevant to the question being asked and have been included in the analysis of the prevalence of themes.

Figure 10: Theme distribution for week 2 Radio Show

One of our listeners said “the elections have many implications, it has brought war and bloodshed,” what are your thoughts on this?(n=2217)

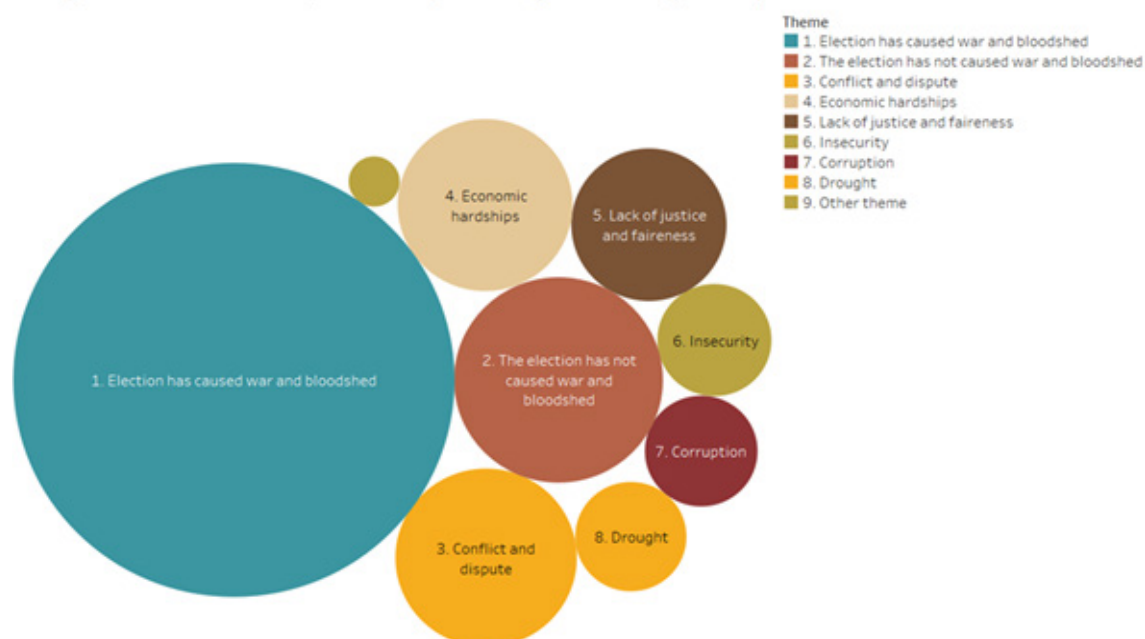


Table 6 : Theme Prevalence by Participants

No.	Themes	Frequency (n=2, 217)
1	Election has caused war and bloodshed	59.8
2	The election has not caused war and bloodshed	13.4
3	Conflict and dispute	10.1
4	Economic hardships	9.4
5	Lack of justice and fairness	7.4
6	Insecurity	4.0
7	Corruption	3.9
8	Drought	3.8
9	Other theme	0.8

Analysis of the findings

In response to this week’s question, more than a half of the participants (**59.8% n=1326**) indicated that the **election caused war and bloodshed**. As mentioned in the messages, respondents agree that the election resulted in conflict and bloodshed. On the contrary, **13.4% n=296** of the participants mentioned that the **election had not caused war and bloodshed**, violence and bloodshed, and emphasised that this is not the case.

hadii aan fikirka ka dhibto waa sax in dorashad dagal iyo dhiig ku date

"If I give my opinion, it's true the elections have caused war and bloodshed" **Man, Belet weyne.**

Dhegeytaha yiri doorashadu waxey kentey dagaal io dhiig wan ku raacsanahay waayo waxaa jirey inta aan anigu xasusto wiil dhalinyaro ah oo ka mid ahaa ergada oo lagu diley magalada BAYDHABO gaar ahaan xaafada (towfiq)... Mahadsanidiin

"I agree with the listener who said the election has brought war and bloodshed because I remember a young man who was a member of the delegation was killed in the Towfiq neighbourhood in Baidoa" **Man, Baidoa.**

Haa! Run ahaantii doorashadu way kentay dagaal iyo dhiig daadasho waayoo qof walba hadii uu wayo hanan kii uu donayay waxa uu bilaabaa rabshado taa oo uu ku caqabadaynayoo doorashada dhibna gaarsiinayo bulshada halkaa ku dhaqan. M.H.D.

"Yes, it is true the elections have brought war and bloodshed because if everyone does not get what they want, they start violence which hinders elections and harms the local community," **Guriceel.**

Doorashada soomaaliya sifiican ayayusocotaa dhiigna kumadaadan.

"The elections in Somalia are going well, there is no bloodshed," **Woman.**

Arintaas waa mid aan waxba ka jirin. wax dhib ahi majirto. doorashadaan waxyar yar maahine wax dhib ahi ma dhicin. Waa been iyo borogando.

"This isn't true. There isn't any problem with the election except just a few things, there is no issue with the election, this is fabrication and propaganda," **Woman.**

Some participants (**10.1% n=225**) mentioned **conflict and dispute** because of the elections. Participants noted that there were misunderstandings and disputes among the leaders. They underlined that there was no loss of lives, there were merely misunderstandings, but not to the point of producing violence.

Doorashadu waxeey dhalishay xamasad balaran marka laga reebo mucarad ka inta kale wey ku qanac santhy

"The election has caused a lot of tension with the exception of the opposition, the rest are satisfied with it," **Woman, 23 years.**

Asc doorashada dhiig daadasho kamadhicin wxase dhacy isqabqabsi iyo is afaranwa waa aragtidayda

"In my opinion, the election did not cause bloodshed but there were misunderstandings and disagreements," **Woman, Gaalkacyo, Recently displaced.**

wa arin sax ah wayo waxa jira is_fahmi waa qoto dheer

"It's true there is a prolonged misunderstanding" **Woman, Guriceel.**

Soomaaliyo Run tii waxaa kaji rah qilaaf aandha maan oo ah siyaa si

"In Somalia, there is a never-ending political dispute," **Man, 22 years, Galinsoor.**

Economic hardship was also highlighted by **9.4% n=208** of participants. Under this theme, the participants stated that the election has significantly contributed to inflation, high cost of living, and financially related challenges.

hadaan fikirkeyga kasoo dhiibto saameen degaal ma.carkin laakiis saameen dhagaalo la.caan waajirtaa

"My comment on this is that there is no impact of war but there is financial impact," **Woman.**

Waxaysaamaynkuyeelatay ganacsigeena iyo nolosheen

"It has affected our businesses and lives," **Woman, Galdogob.**

Doorashu saameen weyn ayey nagu sameysey sida Quutul yowmi iyo IWM.

"The election has had a huge impact on us such as on our daily income and so on" **Man, 19 years, Baidoa.**

Other participants (**7.4% n=164**) raised the issue of **lack of justice and fairness**. Under this issue, participants explained the need for and absence of justice and fairness in the electoral process, and urged leaders to provide justice in the society.

arintaas sax waye waayo dorashada cadalad daro waye wxaa markii ey yihin cadalad daro wax wlbo aya laga filan karaaa.

"It's true because the election is not just and when there is no justice anything can be expected," **Man, 23 years, Recently displaced.**

Waa mid jirta doorashada hadda socota doorasho ma aha sababtoo ah waa cadaalad darro

"The ongoing election is not okay because there is injustice," **Man, Gaalkacyo**

Some participants (**4.0% n=88**) highlighted insecurity. They noted that the election process had exacerbated extremist behavior such as bomb blasts, fear and terror in the community.

hadan ka iraaqdo kelmad dorashada somaliya sanadkan waxay ka dhacay dhibato badan waxa kadhacay bob farabadan belaha qaar wa la dulmiyay ergooyinka so xulayay xildhibanada ma ahayn ergooyinki saxda ahayd nin walba o madaxweyne ah ama nabado ah wuxu kensaday ninki xigtada u ahaa wa idin salamaya saaxibayal

"Let me say a word about Somalia's election this year, there has been a lot of issues like looting, oppression and , the delegates who have been selected to look for the Members of Parliament are not the right ones, every person be it the president or a peacemaker has brought a close relative. Greetings," **Man, Garowe.**

kadiil arinta walaalka sheegay waa sax doorashooyinka waxay sababeen QARAXYO

"What the listener said is true the elections have caused bombings" **Man, 75 years.**

waayo wadanka gacanta duwalada komawadajora uwaxahaysta dhulbadan alshabab

"The country is not fully controlled by the government, there is a lot of land controlled by Al shabaab, " **Man, 36 years, Hiiraan.**

A small proportion of participants (**3.8% n=84**) raised the issue of **drought**. They explained how the election is more prioritized over severity of drought in the Country. This has exacerbated the effects of drought resulting in the deaths of many people and livestock. While a similar number of participants (**3.9% n=86**) stated that there has been an increase in **corruption** activities in the country. Messages on corruption and how the rich and powerful rig elections were received from the participants.

asalamu calekum doroshada somaali sammeta ay ledahay e manta abaarihi yaran jiray o sara ukaca taaso ken tay in wax laga qaban waayay taso sababtay dhimasho

"The election in Somalia has had a terrible impact on the country's drought, which has resulted in loss of lives because no one has done anything about it," **Hirshabelle.**

Waa jirtaan dad ay ku yeelatay doorashadu saameyn balse doorashadu waxa ay mashquuliday siyaasiyiintii oo ay ka mashquuliday gurmarka abaaraha

"There are people who have been impacted by the election but the election has kept politicians busy from participating in drought relief," **Man, 28 years, Recently displaced.**

Dorashadu waxy yelatay musuq masuq iyo dulmi

"The election is mired by corruption and oppression" **Man, 21 years, Puntland.**

Haa wa sax dorashadu xur iyo xalaal kumasocoto ee musuq maasuq ayaa kajiro dorashada qof ki larabo oo kaliye ayaa ladoranoyaa ee sax miyaa mse qalad

"Yes, it is true that elections are not free and fair. There is corruption and people are elected based on personal interests "

degan dorashadena galmudug musuqmasuq lagusameyay belaha yaryar sixir barar buuq iyo dagal ayay kentay

“There has been corruption against the small clans, inflation, disputes and conflict” **Man, Galmudug**

4.2.1. Social demographic differences

The theme **election has caused war and bloodshed** was mentioned more by women (65%) compared to men (57.2%)²³. Recently displaced (58.8%) mentioned **insecurity** less significantly compared to nondisplaced participants (60.8%)²⁴. The theme **election has not caused war and bloodshed** was highlighted more by those who participated at least three times compared to those who participated once in any episode²⁵.

Theme prevalence by Gender

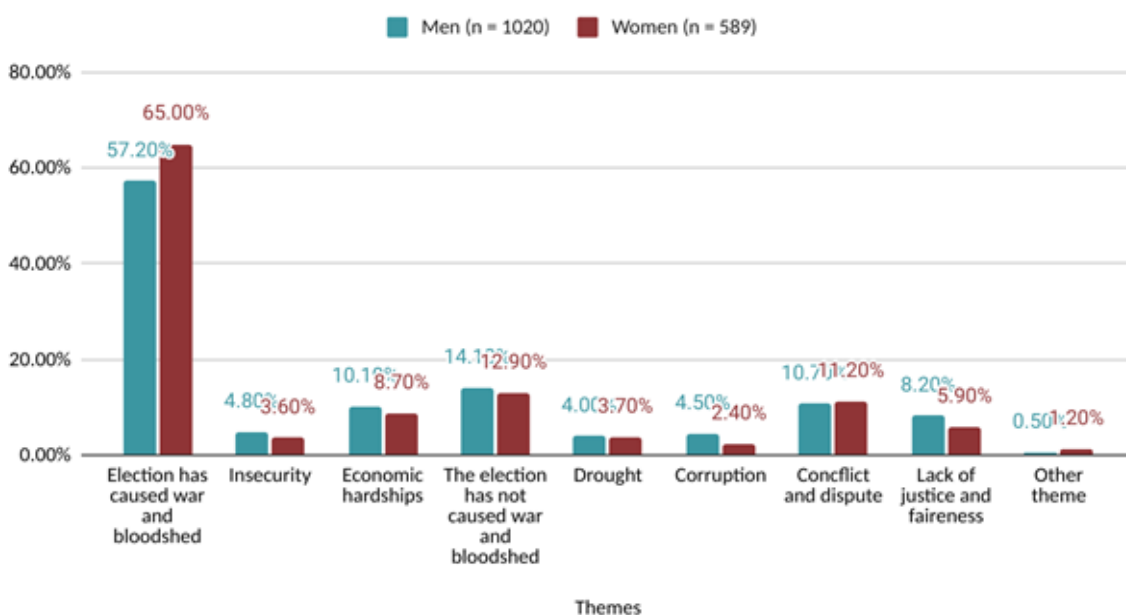
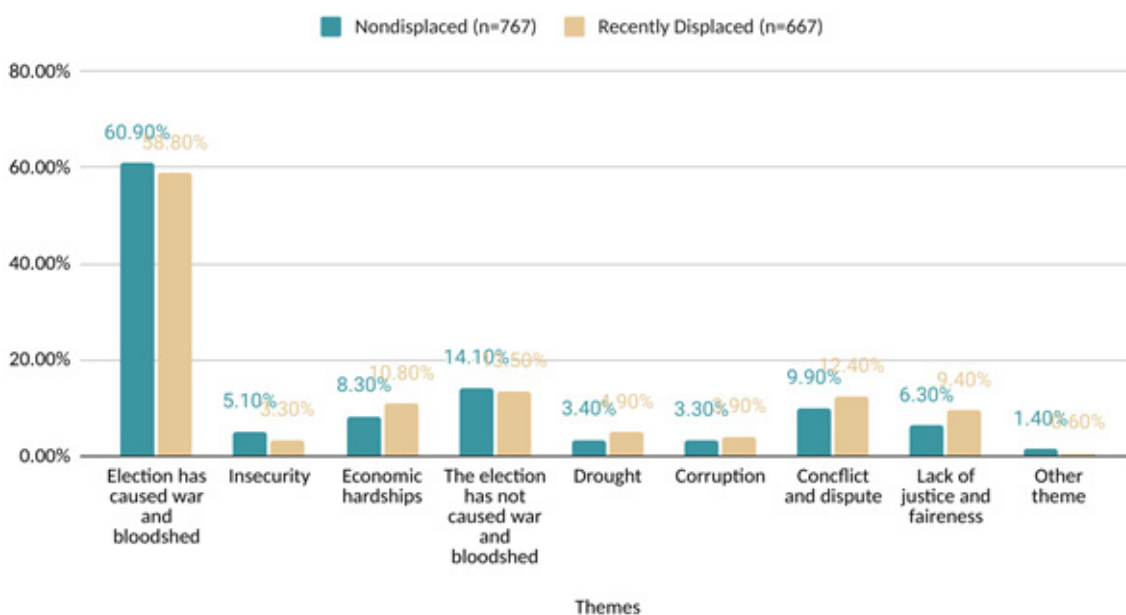


Figure 12: Theme distribution by Displacement status

Theme Prevalance by Displacement Status



²³Women (OR = 1.37 [1.10 – 1.70], p – value = 0.0059) compared to men.

²⁴Recently displaced participants (OR = 0.54 [0.31 – 0.96], p – value = 0.0363) compared to nondisplaced.

²⁵Those who participated at least three times (OR = 1.44 [1.06 – 1.97], p – value = 0.0211) compared to those who participated once in any episode

4.3. Week 3: Legitimate elections as an opportunity to accelerate the democratization process in Somalia

Week three of programming focused on acquiring a deeper understanding of people's current experiences and views towards the ethical principles of democratic elections.



3,656 participants
registered to take
part



7,355 messages were received
for a conversation that was
intended to discuss the importance
of adherence to principles of
democratic elections.

Out of these participants who consented, **1,803 (49%)** sent messages that were relevant to the question being asked and therefore included in the analysis.



In Episode 3
We asked the
question:

What are your thoughts on the current
elections in terms of upholding the values of
freeness, fairness and justice?

*"Sidee ayey kula yihiin doorashooyinka hadda
socda marka laga eego dhinaca ilaalinta
qiyamka xorriyada, hufnaanta iyo cadaaladda?"*

Figure 13: Week 3 theme Distribution

What are your thoughts on the current elections in terms of
upholding the values of freeness, fairness and justice? (n=1803)

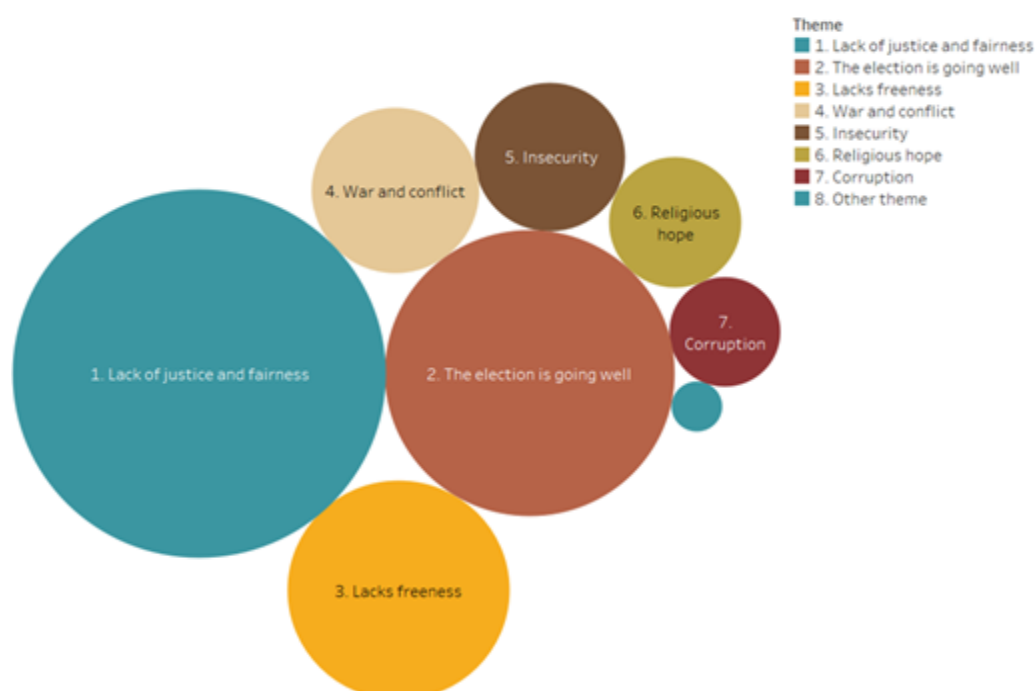


Table 7 : Theme Prevalence by Participants

No.	Themes	Frequency % (n=1, 803)
1	Lack of justice and fairness	48.6
2	The election is going well	29.3
3	Lacks freeness	17.2
4	War and conflict	9.8
5	Insecurity	7.9
6	Religious hope	6.1
7	Corruption	4.3
8	Other theme	0.9

Analysis of the findings

Almost a half of participants from week 3 discussions (**48.6% n=877**) talked about the **lack of justice and fairness**. Under this theme, participants discussed the lack of fairness in election participation and the unjust treatment of some of the candidates.

HADDA doorashooyinka badanaa malaha wax ilaaalin caddaalada iyo hufnaan doorashooyinka badanaa waa la iska boobayaa waa dhageysteJoogga guriel janaad
“Currently and most often, the elections lack accountability, fairness and credibility. Mostly, elections are looted” **Guriceel.**

waxa ay ila tahay doorashooyin socda maha kuwo cadaalad ku saleysan wayo muranka soo noqnoqata iyo ku raasta loo xiray murhariinta
“In my opinion, the ongoing elections are not based on justice because there is constant electoral disputes and seats are solely allocated for certain candidates” **Woman, Guriceel.**

Asc hadii aan fikiradey da kadhiibto wax aay ila thy dorashada kasocoda soomaliya ma ahan cadaalad waayo musharaxinta qaar ayaa laga ciliyay inaay tartamaan
“According to my point of view, the ongoing elections in Somalia lack fairness because some candidates are banned from contesting” **Woman, Beledweyne.**

This was closely followed by **29.3% n=528** of participants who stated that the **election is going well**. As they stated in their messages, that the election’s are conducted in a timely and open manner.

Hadaan fikirkyga kadhiibto dorashoyinka dalka wxan dhihi kara wexey usocdan si hufan oo aqlaaq iyo kala dambeyn leh iyo amniguna wa mid aad usareyo wxan rajeynaya in dalkena nawad iyo xasiloni laga helo illhy idinkiisa ?
“In my opinion, I would say the ongoing elections in the country are being conducted in a credible process that embraces good conduct and orderly manner with security tightened. I hope peace and stability will prevail in our country by God’s will” **Man, 37 years, Dharkeenley.**

runti waxan dhhi karaa waa dorasho hufan dorashadan
“Really, I would say the elections are credible” **Man**

Walaal doorashada soomaali kasocota waadoorashofican waayo doorashadi waxaakeentaa huriyad iyo sharafmuhiimah
“The ongoing elections in Somalia are good because they are characterized by freeness and integrity” **Man.**

Another **17.2% n=311** of the participants from this week reported that the election **lacks freeness**. According to participants, the majority of seats were not opened for election by representatives of the communities as external forces influenced the election by just plainly appointing candidates.

dora shoyinka hada socodah inta badan xoriyad majidho kurasiti wala xiray tasanah waxay kutusayasad xoriyad daro shacabka lagu hayoh

"Mostly, the ongoing elections lack freeness. The seats are made closed and this shows lack of freeness targeting citizens" **Woman, 31 years, Galdogob.**

Aniga ahaan waxay ila tahay doorashadu waa mid xildhibaanada qaar aysan haysan xoriyad lagu doorto ayaguna ay wax ku doortaan taasina waa nasiib darro weyn

"In my opinion, Some parliamentary aspirants do not have the freedom to be elected and they themselves cannot elect anyone. This is massively unfortunate" **Galmudug.**

Anigu waxay ila tahay doorashadan waxaa keenay hogaamiyeyaasha somalida oo wax kala jiidanaya iyo gacmo shisheeye oo ka faa idaysanaya

"I think the election process is being driven by Somali leaders who are pushing and pulling each other with the foreign interference exploiting them" **Man, 40 years, Doolow.**

Doorashada waxaa u arkaa mid boobah sababtoo ah walasii ogyahay qofka sobaxayo waana mid xulasho ah

"I consider the Somali elections as looting because the seats remain predetermined whose winners are known. They are based on a selection process" **Daynile.**

A good number of participants (**9.8% n=177**) mentioned **war and conflict**. Because of the election, participants noted that there are disagreements among the leaders which has caused bloodshed and violence.

anigu waxan dorasho madhihikaro wayo horteyda dhigbadan aya kudatay ilahey hanaqabto kuwan dalka hadanta katurayo

"I cannot say this is an election because a lot of blood has been spilled. May God stop those who are pushing the country off the cliff" **Man, Beledweyne.**

colaada weysii badatay dadkii kaqeybqatay irgooyinka guryaha logu soodhacay waana ladilay

"Conflict has increased. Those who participated in the selection process as representatives have been killed after their houses have been penetrated" **Woman, Hawlwadaag.**

Asc dorashadu waxa aykentay digaal iyo qaladaaso aan shacabka uronen waxana masuliyadas leh madaxda dalka waxana andhahaa dalka sidagdaga halogu qabto dorasho mahadsanidin

"Elections have caused war and unrest that cannot benefit the society and it is the leaders of the country who are responsible for this. I would say let the elections be conducted in the country as soon as possible. Thanks." **20 years, Guriceel.**

Some participants (**7.9% n=143**) cited an increase in **insecurity** as a result of the elections. According to participants, there was an uptick in insecurity, instability and extremist activities, and that everything was out of control.

doorashada amni kama jirto qaraxyo aya dhaca sida lawada ogyahay xildhibaanada ayaa kudhintay dowlad feejignaan kamajidho markahufnan doorashana kamadhacayso

"There is no security in the election, there are explosions, it is publicly known that legislators have been murdered, the government is unprepared so the election is not happening fairly" **Man, 28 years, Gaalkacyo.**

Doroshada hda socota xaga amniga ma sugna balse waa in la soo gabagabeeyaa si loo helo dal madax leh OO madax banaan

"The security in the ongoing elections are uncertain but must be concluded in order to have a sovereign and independent state" **Man, Dharkeenley.**

M.A hada marka eegno dhanka amniga ayaa faxeena kabexey hadii aan iskaashano wuu noso laabtaa hade ladhoho bulsha ahaan iidan ahaan siyaasi ahaan
“When it comes to security, we are now completely out of control. It will be restored to normal if we work together as one” **Baidoa**

Masha allh wey fayda in kasto qarax yadu badan yihin allh hanaga qabtan lenahy inta wax qarxiso
“God willing it’s fine, even though there have been an increase in explosions, may Allah protect us from those who doing the explosions” **Man**

Participants (**6.1% n=110**) mentioned **religious hope**. Encouraging everyone involved in this process to put their trust in Allah and to prioritise God at all times.

Asc hadankahadlo Dhaka a raktiideydo Horton dhighada yusan daadan waxoow Alle Qadri un badhaco waxanrajeyna dadnawada Iyo dalbrwaqa Alle hanobasha
“Greetings, in my opinion, let the bloodshed not increase now, only what Allah wills will happen. May Allah provide us with peace and prosperity” **Woman, Mogadishu.**

waxwalboodhaca alaaqadari
“Everything that happens, put Allah as a priority” **Man.**

waxaan leeyahay wixiidhib wado alah nagaceliyo wixiikhar wado alaha ahaysiiyo?
“May Allah protect us from harm and provide us with goodness” **Man, Gaalkacyo.**

Waxa ay usocotaa sixun mana wanaagsana ee ilaahey hawanaajiyo saaxiiboyaal
“It’s ongoing very badly, may Allah make it better” **Woman.**

Finally, about 4.3% n=78 of the participants report corruption; with messages discussing dishonesty and how the majority uses fraud to discriminate against minorities by stealing parliamentary seats.

dorasha kastoo hadajir waxay kushaqey musuqmaasuq waana shey xun
“The current elections are ongoing in a corrupt manner and that is not good” **Woman, Guriceel.**

Dorashadan waxa hareyay musuq masuq
“This election was marred by corruption” **Man, 51 years, Mogadishu.**

Wax xoriyad iyo qiyaam majiraan waxaa jiro laaluush iyo nin jacleysi doorasho xalaal ah majirto ninkii lacag heysto ayaa la dooranaa. Waa fikirkeyga
“There is no freedom, there is bribery and favouritism, the election is not just the one with money will be elected, that’s my opinion ” **Man, Karaan.**

doorashadu waa boob iyo laaluush doorashadaani waa xulasho
“The election is looting, bribery and selection” **Woman, Mogadishu.**

4.3.1 Social demographic differences

The issue of **Insecurity** was mentioned less by participants aged between 36 and 54 years (2.4%) compared to those 15 – 17 years old (7.7%)²⁶. Women (2.2%) highlighted **corruption** less compared to men (5.2%)²⁷. Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (24.2%) and between 36 and 54 years (25.8%) mentioned the **election is going well** less significantly compared to those 15 – 17 years old (39.2%)²⁸. More participants aged between 36 and 54 years (28.2%) highlighted that the election **lacks freeness** compared to those 15 – 17 years old (15.3%)²⁹. Similarly, those who participated at least three times mentioned the theme lacks freeness more compared to those who participated once in any episode³⁰.

Figure 14: Theme distribution by Age

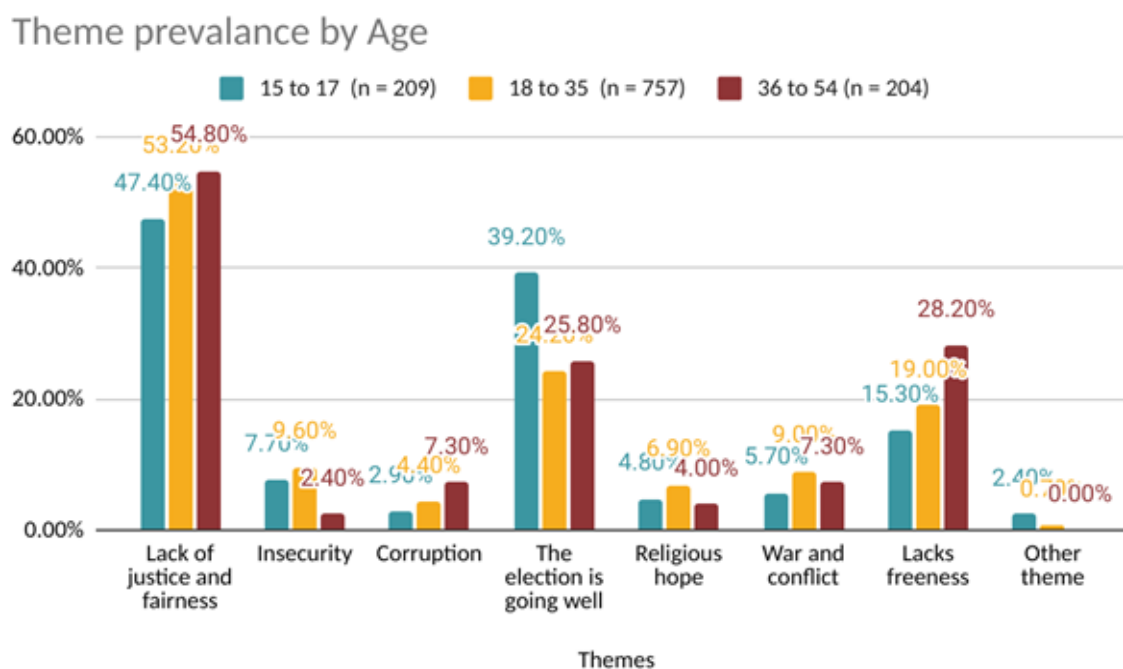
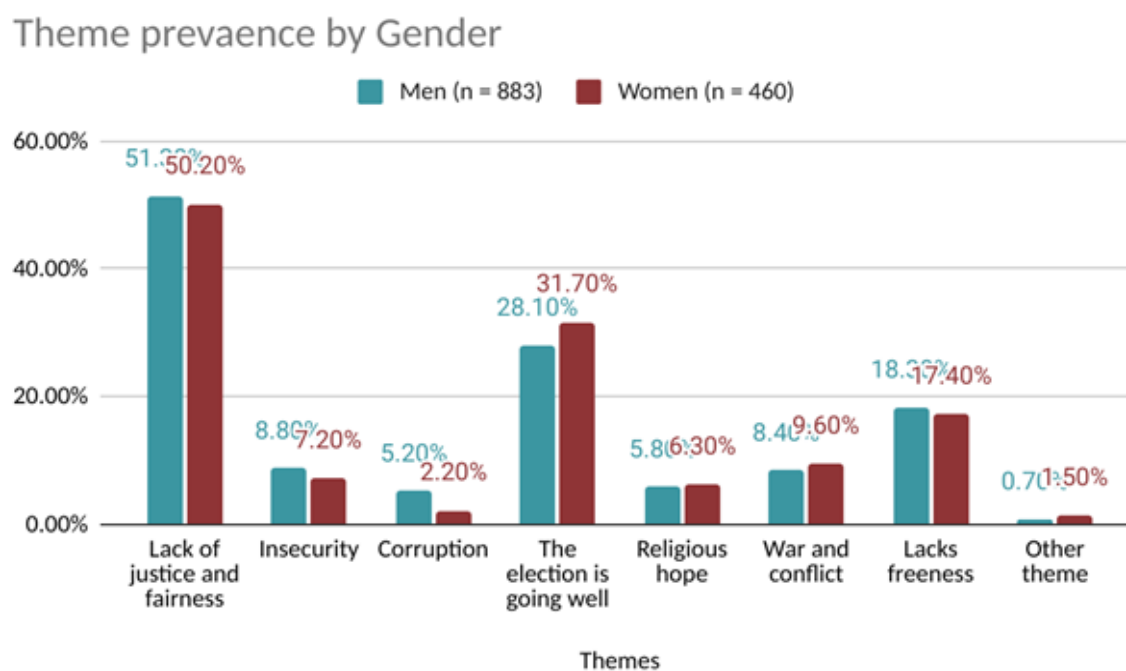


Figure 15: Theme distribution by Gender



²⁶Participants aged between 36 and 54 years (OR = 0.27 [0.09 – 0.83], p – value =0.0220) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

²⁷Women (OR = 0.37 [0.17 – 0.79], p – value =0.0108) compared to men.

²⁸Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 0.54 [0.38 – 0.76], p – value <0.0001) and between 36 and 54 years (OR = 0.63 [0.39 – 1.00], p – value =0.0490) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

²⁹Participants aged between 36 and 54 years (OR = 2.08 [1.16 – 3.73], p – value =0.0148) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

³⁰Those who participated at least three times (OR = 1.61 [1.08 – 2.39], p – value = 0.0191) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

4.4. Week 4: The role of stakeholders in making elections more inclusive for all

Efforts to include and secure a place for marginalised groups in politics have been slow and painful. Despite attempts by key stakeholders to promote the involvement of marginalised groups in electoral processes, Somalia has made little progress toward more inclusive elections. The Minority Learning Review by the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Switzerland programme in the horn of Africa affirms this by noting that people in minority settlements participate less, complain less and may get fewer positive responses to their complaints. As a result, women, youth, individuals with disabilities, marginalised clans, and internally displaced people are underrepresented in parliament. As of the fourth week of programming, it became clear that the quota set aside for women would not be met. A full Lower House has **275** lawmakers. Out of the **248** elected lawmakers for the House of the People as of April 2022, only **51 are women (22%)**; a number that is below the envisaged **30% quota** representation for women in elective positions. With this in mind, week 4 discussions focused on understanding mechanisms to increase equal participation of women and the youth in electoral processes.



3,644

Total
Participants



7,946

Total messages received
in response to the
following question:



How has the inclusion of
women and youth been
ensured in the current
election?

*“Sidee kamid noqoshada
haweenka iyo dhalinyarada
ee doorashada hadda socota
loo xaqiijiyay?”*

Out of the total participants who consented, **1,465 (40.2%)** sent messages that were relevant to the question being asked and have been included in the analysis of the prevalence of themes.

Figure 16: Theme distribution for week 4 Radio show

How has the inclusion of women and youth been ensured in the current election? (n=1465)

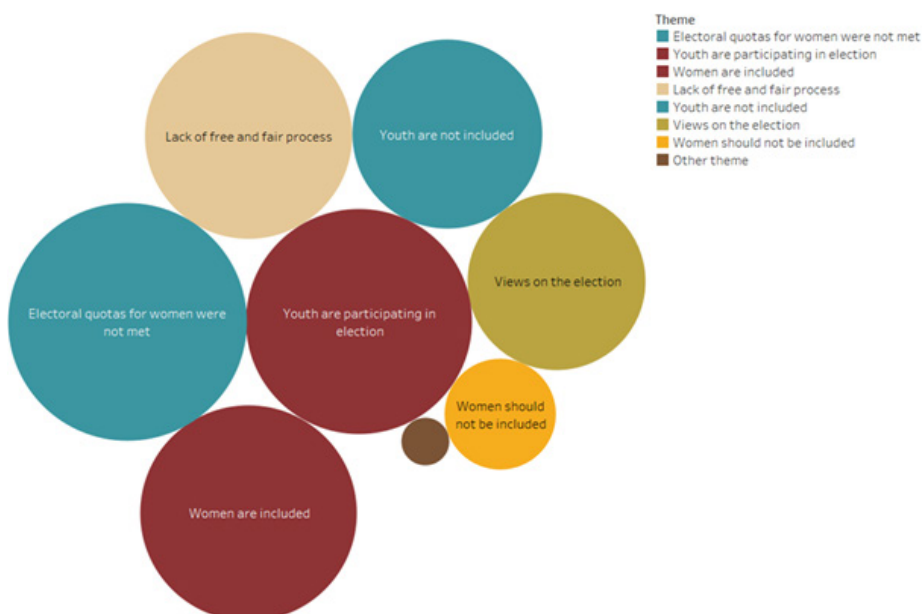


Table 8: Theme Prevalence by Participants

No.	Themes	Frequency % (n= 1, 465)
1	Electoral quotas for women were not met	29.9
2	Youth are participating in election	26.8
3	Women are included	24.6
4	Lack of free and fair process	22.5
5	Youth are not included	18.9
6	Views on the election	16.6
7	Women should not be included	6.5
8	Drought	3.8
9	Other theme	1

Analysis of the findings

In response to the question asked in week four, more than a quarter of participants (**29.9% n=438**) said **electoral quotas for women were not met**. As mentioned in the messages, respondents believe that women are **not given their due proportion of votes in elections**, and that their seats have been seized unfairly. Contrary to the participants who indicated that the electoral quotas for women were not met, **24.6% n=361** of the participants mentioned that women are included in the elections with participants suggesting that the inclusion of women in the elections was well ensured.

Lama Xaqiijin Qondada Hawenka

"Women's quota has not been realised" **Woman, Guriceel**

Doorashada sanadkan lama dhihi karo doorsho maxaa yeelay qondadii hawenka waa la bililiqeysty

"The election this year can not be said to be an election because the quotas that have been set aside for women have been looted" **Man, 24 years, Recently displaced.**

Maqacay wa maliya lamxaqijin wali qondadadumaraka

"The quota for women has not yet been confirmed" **Woman, 23 years, Recently displaced.**

Aslmclykm wax qonda ah mukuhelin dumarka wayo wabalafaquqa by

"Greetings, women have not received any quota because they are discriminated against" **Woman, Baidoa.**

waxay kahelen qondo fican dhamaantod

"They have received a good quota for all of them" **Man.**

Waxaa loo xaqiijiyay dumarka qoondadoodi ayaa la siiyay dhalinyaradana qoondadoodi ayaa lasiiyay

"It's ensured by giving women and youth their quota" **Man, Cabudwaaq.**

100 kiiba 30 aalaxaqiijiyay

"The 30% quota is given" **Woman, Mogadishu.**

doorasha da hadeer dumarku s!feecan.ay!!uga dhexmuup daan
"Greetings, women are participating very well in the ongoing election process" **Man, Cadaado.**

A good number of participants (**26.8% n=393**) mentioned that **youth were participating in the election**. Respondents discussed that youth are engaged in the election, stating that youth were represented and played a vital role in the election, unlike women who were disregarded in the process. In opposition to the participants who indicated that youth were participating in the election, **18.9% n=277** of the participants mentioned that **youth were not included**. The messages under this theme highlighted how the youth are undervalued in the current election and how the seniors who dominate the process, do not prioritize the youth when choosing leaders.

asc dhalin yarada sanadkan aad ayay oga soo muuqdeen doorashada soomaliya balse hawenka aad ayay oga hooseeyaan intii loo qabtay balse waxaa waxas oo dhan laga bixi kara dalku helo madax iyo garsoor dacad ah
"Greetings, the inclusion of youth in the ongoing elections in Somalia is very much visible but women are very much underperforming according to the quota that was set aside for them , but all this can be achieved by having a just leader and judicial system" **Woman.**

Dhalin yaradu waa ay kaqayb qaadan
"Youth are participating" Man.

Asc Dorashadan dhalinyaro badadan aya ka so baxdey lkn nasiib daro dhamaantood wa adeegiyaal la soo adeegsadey.
"There are many youths that have been elected but unfortunately they are puppets sent by others" **Man, Baidoa.**

.asc.Dhalin.yaradu.door.lamasiin.
"Greetings, youth are not given a role" **Man, Galdogob.**

dhaliyarada dowl fiican kama qaadan doorashad somaliya
"Youth do not play a role in elections in somalia" Guriceel.
asc dhalin yarada somaliyed doorki ay ku lahayen lama siin waxa somalia ka socda doorsho lama oran karo
"Greetings, the Somali youth were not given their role, what's going on in Somalia can not be said to be an election" **Man, 27 years, Qardho.**

asc dhalin yaradii waxa didan odoyasha o donaya qof dhaqale heysta ee madonayan qof dhalin yara o aan waxba heeyn
"Greetings, the youth are being denied by the elders, who only care about people with money, they don't want someone who has nothing" **Man, 32 years, Afgooye.**

Lack of free and fair process was also highlighted by **22.5% n=329** of participants. Participants discussed the lack of justice and fairness in the current electoral process, given the underrepresentation of women and youth.

waxan leyaahay dorashada wan kaqaday ayamahan wayo ma ahan cadalad
"I will say that I have not been able to participate in the election recently because the process is not just" Woman, 60 years, Mogadishu.

XAWENKU,WAA,CADAALAD,DORO,AYA,XAYSA
"Women are experiencing injustice" Man

waxa lo xaqiyay si an xaq aheyn wayo wax muhimad ah lama siyo dumarka
"It's ensured by not providing justice, because women are not given any importance"
Woman, Guriceel.

si cadaalada iyo si xuriyad ah uma socoto

"The process is not operating fairly and freely" **Man, 18 years Hirshabelle.**

Dorasho oo xur iyo xalal ma jirto waxa jirto xolasho marka dumar iyo dhalin yaro jaanis yaa siinayo

"There is no free and fair election, there is selection, so who will give women and young people a chance?" **Man, 28 years Balcad.**

Some **participants (16.6% n=243)** highlighted **views on the election**. Under this theme respondents shared their general views on elections without answering the question of the week.

ANIGA MI ILA FIICNO XANAANKA DOORASHADA EE XILIGAN SUCUTO WAAD MAHAD SANTIHIIN

"I don't think the process of the ongoing election is good, thank you" **Man, 24 years, Banaadir.**

Aniga ahantheyda waxey ilatahay iney dorasho hada laqawankarin

"Personally, I don't think the election can be held now" **Man, Dharkeenleey.**

Muhiimdu waa doorasha

"The priority is the election" **Woman**

A small proportion of participants **(6.5% n=95)** believed that **women should not be included in the election** process. Most messages received under this theme suggested that women should not vote and that including them in elections is immoral according to Islamic religion and that they should stay at home.

Asc dumarka waxay ku roon yihin gurugooda iney joogan una adeegto caruurtoda kumarona siyaasada qoondada ay raadinaayaana waa mid qaldan

"Greetings, women are better off staying at home and serving their children, politics is not good for them and the quota they are seeking is wrong" **Man, 21 years, Gaalkacyo.**

Waxan isleyyahay hawenku doorashadaluugatalagalin

"I think women are not meant for elections" **Man, Cadaado.**

Sorry! HAWENKA xil qabtan maxa xil waxa ugu filan halk sowjkeda ow udhibay nabiguna waxow yiri waxa khasaray qowm madax kadhigtay nag

"Sorry, why should women take responsibility, the responsibility their husband gave them is enough, our prophet said a nation is at a loss that makes a woman their leader" **Man, Dayniile.**

Siyasada dumarka in laga qeeb galsho wa mid qalada sidee ilatahay maxaa yelay anaga Muslim ayaa nahay

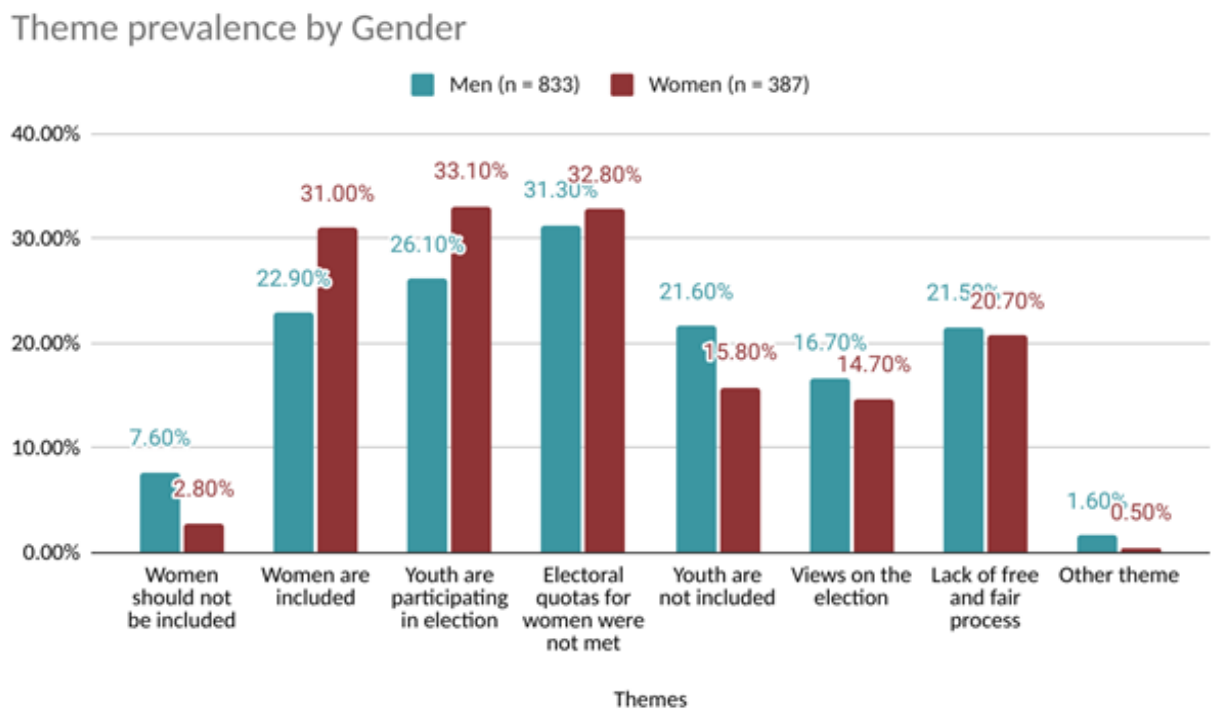
"I think it is wrong to include women in politics because we are Muslims" **Balcad.**

4.4.1. Social demographic differences

Women (2.8%) highlighted the theme **women should not be included** less compared to men (7.6%)³². **Women are included** in the process was mentioned more by women (31%) compared to men (22.9%)³³, while participants aged between 36 and 54 years (18.3%) affirmed that women are included compared to those 15 – 17 years old (33.7%)³⁴. Those who participated twice and at least three times also echoed that women are included more compared to those who participated once in any episode³⁵. The theme of **youth participating in elections** was mentioned more by women (33.1%) compared to men (26.1%)³⁶. The theme was mentioned by participants aged between 36 and 54 years (19.1%) and those between 15 – 17 years old (37.5%)³⁷. Those who participated at least three times more compared to those who participated once in any episode point out that youth are participating in elections³⁸.

Participants aged between 18 – 35 years (34.5%); between 36 - 54 years (43.5%) and between 55 – 99 years (45.5%) mentioned that **electoral quotas for women were not met** compared with those 15 – 17 years old (25%)³⁹. In addition, those who participated at least three times mentioned electoral quotas for women not being met more compared to those who participated once in any episode⁴⁰. The view that **youth are not included** was mentioned less by women (15.8%) compared with men (21.6%)⁴¹. Those who participated at least three times mentioned the **themes views on the election**⁴² and **lack of free and fair process** less

Figure 17: Theme distribution by Gender



³²Women (OR = 0.35 [0.17 – 0.71], p – value =0.0037) compared to men.

³³Women (OR = 1.42 [1.05 – 1.90], p – value =0.0208) compared to men.

³⁴Participants aged between 36 and 54 years (OR = 0.54 [0.30 – 0.95], p – value =0.0320) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

³⁵Those who participated twice (OR = 1.78 [1.02 – 3.10], p – value < 0.0408) and at least three times (OR = 3.27 [2.03 – 5.27], p – value < 0.0001) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

³⁶Women (OR = 1.34 [1.01 – 1.79], p – value =0.0435) compared to men.

³⁷Participants aged between 36 and 54 years (OR = 0.49 [0.28 – 0.85], p – value =0.0110) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

³⁸Those who participated at least three times (OR = 4.19 [2.58 – 6.80], p – value < 0.0001) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

³⁹Participants aged between 18 – 35 years (OR = 1.68 [1.18 – 2.39], p – value =0.0043); between 36 - 54 years (OR = 2.52 [1.56 – 4.06], p – value <0.0001); and between 55 – 99 (OR = 2.57 [1.13 – 5.84], p – value =0.0247) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

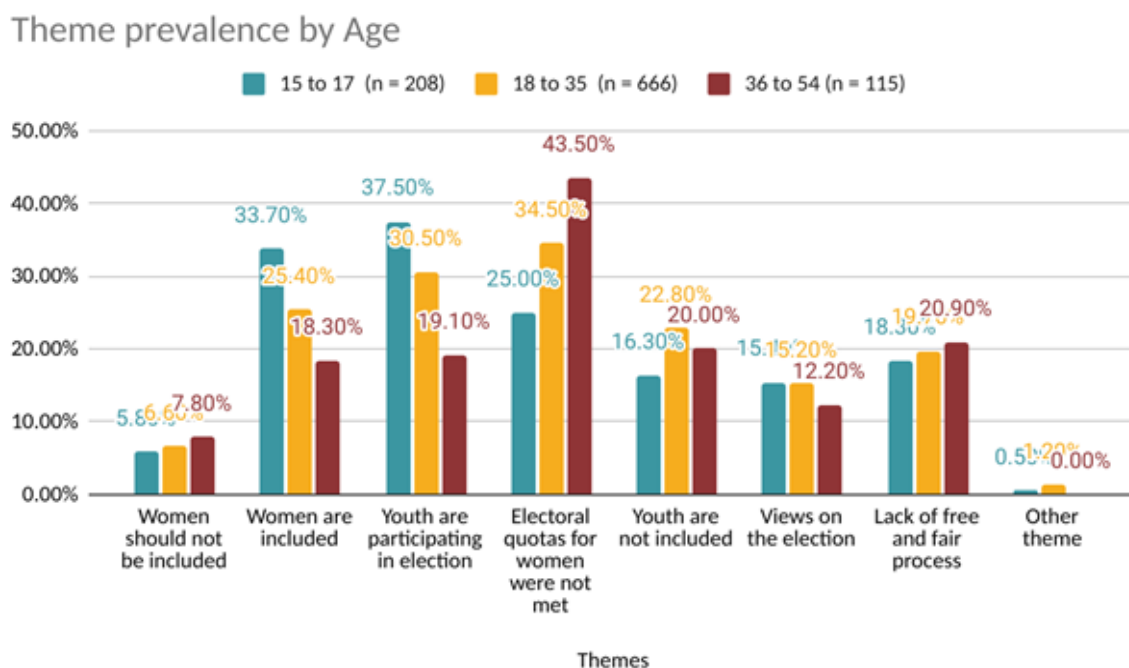
⁴⁰Those who participated at least three times (OR = 1.78 [1.22 – 2.58], p – value = 0.0025) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

⁴¹Women (OR = 0.70 [0.50 – 0.98], p – value =0.0388) compared to men

⁴²Those who participated at least three times (OR = 0.59 [0.40 – 0.86], p – value = 0.0069) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

⁴³Those who participated at least three times (OR = 0.51 [0.36 – 0.72], p – value < 0.0001) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

Figure 18: Theme distribution by Age



4.5. Week 5: Contribution of elections towards peace and security in Somalia

Due to a stalemate over polling procedures, the Somalia elections have been repeatedly delayed, and the election timeline has been pushed back. The radio question for the fifth week sparked a discussion regarding people's preferences in the impending 2026/27 elections.



4,248

Total
Participants



7,971

Total messages received
in response to the
following question:



What do you think the
2026/27 elections in Somalia
should look like?

*"Sidee ayaad isleedahay
doorashada 2026/2027
ee Soomaaliya waa inay u
ekaato?"*

Figure 19. Week 5 theme Distribution

What do you think the 2026/27 elections in Somalia should look like?(n= 2408)

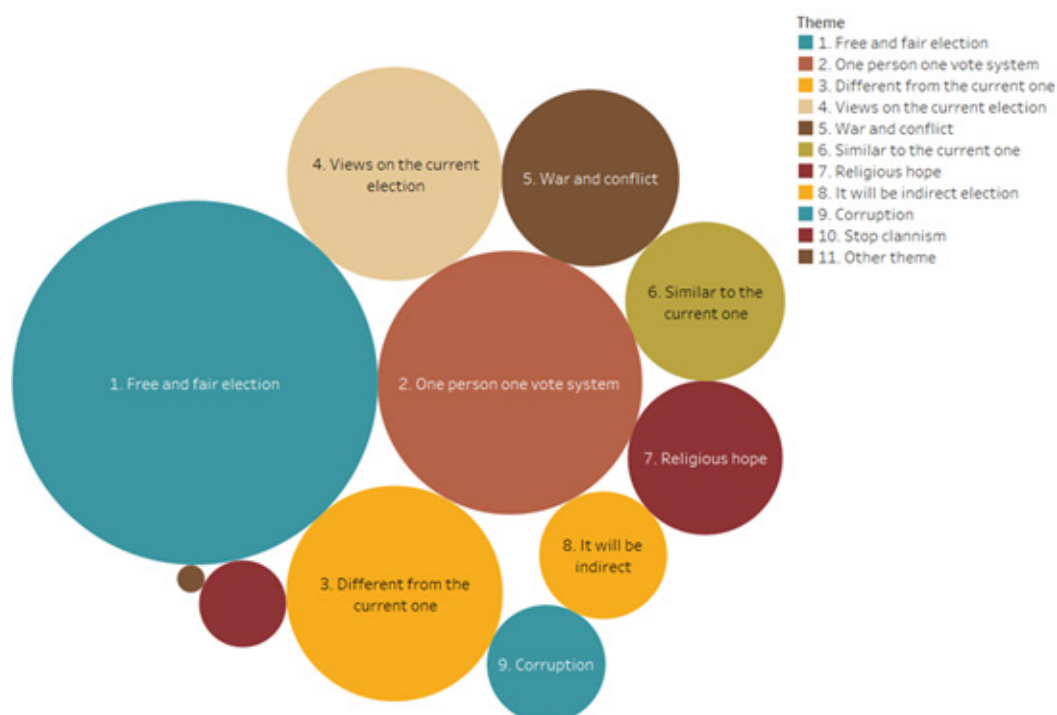


Table 9 : Theme Prevalence by Participants

No.	Themes	Frequency % (n=2, 408)
1	Free and fair election	35.1
2	One person one vote system	18.4
3	Different from the current one	12.3
4	Views on the current election	12.1
5	War and conflict	8.3
6	Similar to the current one	6.7
7	Religious hope	6.3
8	It will be indirect election	4.3
9	Corruption	3.7
10	Stop clannism	2
11	Other theme	0.2

Analysis of the findings

In this week, more than a quarter of participants (**35.1% n=845**) talked about **free and fair elections**. Citizens' messages emphasised the necessity of future elections being free, fair, and successful. Furthermore, the emphasis on participants' replies suggested that future Somalia elections should be more open and equitable

Dorasho xal io xalal ah wa inay noqotaa

"The election should be free and fair" **Man, 27 years, Shangani.**

Waxan filaya in ay noqoto mid cadaalad iyo si sharaf leh loo qabto aan muran la gelin

"I expect it to be fair, and it should be conducted in a decent way free from disagreements" **22 years Sanaag, Recently displaced.**

Waxay noqon doonta mid hufan kuna dhacda sixor iyo xalala

"It will be transparent, and it will take place in a free and fair manner" **Man, 21 years.**

This was followed by **(18.4% n=443)** of participants who expressed their desire for the **one person one vote system**. Messages suggested that people should be given the choice to elect leaders that can address their challenges. In contrast, a smaller proportion of the participants **(4.3% n=103)** expressed their concerns that the 2026/27 elections will be an indirect election. Messages suggested that the **2026/27 election will be indirect**, similar to the concluded election, unless measures are taken to change the situation.

Waxaan rejeynayaa hadii hada hogaamiye daacad ah xilka qabto waxay noqo doontaa doorasho qof iyo cod ah saan rejeynaa

"If an honest leader is elected now, I hope it will be a one-person, one-vote election" **Man, 22 years, Guricel.**

doorashada 2026/2027 ee Soomaaliya waa iney noqotaa dorasho qof iyo cod ah awooduna ey kujirto dadka shacabka ah

"The elections in Somalia in 2026/2027 must be one person, one vote, with citizens having the power" **Man, Karaan.**

waxan rajeynaya hal qof iyo hal cud

"I hope it will be one person, one vote system" **Woman, 33 years, Baidoa, Recently displaced.**

Haddii aysan dawladaan soo nowon waxay ahaanee doorasho dadban haddii ay ubadatto wax yar ayeey saan kaduwanaaneysaaaa

"If this government is not re-elected, there will be an indirect election or maybe it will be slightly different" **Man, Galkacyo.**

scm waxan isleyahay waa doorasho dadban oo aan lahayn fahmaan cadaalad iyo sinan ayaan uarkaa

"I think it is an indirect election with no transparency, justice and equality" **Woman, 19 years, Guricel.**

dorashada waxan uarkaa middadban

"I see the election as an indirect one" **Woman, Guricel.**

Another portion of participants **(12.3% n=295)** discussed how they hope or think that the **next election in 2026/27** will be **different from the current one**. They expressed optimism that everyone will be satisfied and there will be no disagreements. In contrast, some respondents **(6.7% n=167)** highlighted that the **2026/27 elections will be similar to the concluded one**. Participants demonstrated their fears that they don't expect any progressive changes and that the system/status quo will remain the same.

Waxa aan islee yahay waa ay ka dareysaa

"I think it will be worse" **Man, Galkacyo, Recently displaced.**

I.a wexey u ekeeneysaa mid distuuri ah oo kawanagsan tan hada gilgishay dhamaan umada somaliyed

"It will appear to be a better constitution than this one that has shaken the Somali community"

Woman, 19 years, Afgoye.

Mid kafiican dan 2022 barwago ayan urajeynayaa soomaliya

"I wish Somalia a more successful election than the one held in 2022" **Woman, 50 years, Hodan.**

Sidey hada u egtahey bey u ekaaneysaa

"It will look exactly as it is now" **Man, 49 years, Cabudwaaq.**

waxan isleyhay xigaas soomaalid wax badan ismabadalayaan ee xaladu waa hada seytaha

"I believe that nothing significant will change that time in Somalia, and that the situation will remain as it is now" **Man, 32 years, Recently displaced.**

Sidaan hada aytahay ookale

"It will be as it is now" **Man, 22 years, Yaqshid.**

Participants (**12.1% n=292**) also mentioned **views on the election** without directly answering the question of the week. Messages under this theme referenced delays and continuity of the election.

Waan ku faraxsannahay in lasoo gabo gabeeyo doorashada D.F.S nabad haku dhacdo doorashada i.a

"We are glad that the Federal government of Somalia election is coming to an end, let the election end in peace" **Man, Baidoa.**

Waxay ila tahay in aan wax doorasho ah meesha kaba socon oo uu madaxweynuhu ka tanaasulay doorashadaba

"I don't believe there is an election going on, and the president has given up the election"

waxaan umaleenaa.ineyba dhicin doorasho oo ninkii qabsada ow kadegi waayo

"I believe there will be no election, and the winner will hold the position indefinitely" **Man, 23 years, Recently displaced.**

Some participants (**8.3% n=199**) expressed concerns about the possibility of **war and conflict** in the 2026/27 elections. They expressed concerns about the prospect of continued disagreements, violence, and bloodshed between the people in the next elections.

Waa doorasho Dagaal ah

"It's a war election" **Man**

Doorashadii Ugu Adkeed Oo Laqabto Beey Noqon Doontaa Dhiigng Ku Daadan Karo Waa Sida Eey Kusoco Hadeey Ku Dhamaato

"If things continue as they are, it will be the most difficult election, with the possibility for bloodshed" **Man, 28 years, Hodan.**

Waxaan u arkaa inay tahay mid dalka bur burinaysa

"It appears to me to be one that will damage the country" **Man, Galkacyo.**

Religious hope was mentioned by (6.3% n=151) of the participants. With participants putting their faith in Allah (God) as mentioned in their responses and encouraging others to put God first in everything they do.

Allh ayaa karanayo

"Allah knows how it will be" **Man, Beled xaawo.**

Waaa sidihi rabi ka dhigo in sha allaaaah

"It will be as Allah wills." **Woman, 34 years.**

dorashada 2026 2027 waxaynoqoneysa allaah baa garanaaya

“God knows how the elections in 2026 and 2027 will turn out” Kaaran.

Also, some **(3.7% n=88)** of the participants raised concerns about the possibility of **corruption** in the 2026/27 elections. Messages discussed theft and other malpractices that could mire the 2026/27 election. A minority of participants **(2% n=49)** raised the need to **stop clannism**. With participants explaining tribalism as an obstacle to improvement in the election process.

waxan amin sanahay darasho afduban ayey noqondonta dorashada somaliy
“I feel that the Somali election will be rigged” Man, Dhuusamareeb.

Aniga waxan u arka doorashada mid musuqmasuq badan
“I see the election to be very corrupt” Man, 27 years, Recently displaced.

Waxaan isleeyahay waa doorsho musuq maasuq ah waayo xilli waanada soobaxaya waa xilli waano dad gaar ah u sharaxanyihiin
“I think it is a corrupt election because the emerging parliamentarians are ones nominated by certain people” Man, 19 years, Wanla weyn.

Asc.Waxa isleeyahay wamid fiican doorashada_sanadka 2026 2027 wanag ayaa u arkaa doorashada qabyaalada hadaa liskadeyo wey surtobeysaa
“I believe the election in 2026-2027 will be a nice one,I believe it will be achievable if clannism is eradicated” Woman, Beled weyne.

aniga waxayi ila tahay dorashada waxa hor tagan waa qabiil ee laga baxo ban oran lah
“I believe the only thing preventing an election is clannism which should be eradicated” Man, Galdogob, Recently displaced.

waa in ay si toos ah udhacdo oo laga gudbo habka 4.5
“It should automatically happen without the 4.5 system” Man, Guricel, Recently displaced.

4.5.1 Social demographic differences

One person one vote system was mentioned more by participants aged between 36 and 54 **(30.9%)**, compared to those between 15 – 17 years old (11.1%)⁴⁴ and those who participated at least three times compared to those who participated once in any episode. Those who participated twice and at least three times mentioned that the next election **will be indirect election** less compared to those who participated once in any episode⁴⁵. More women (45.1%) compared to men (31%) mentioned that it will be a **free and fair election**⁴⁶. Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (33.3%) and between 36 and 54 years (26%) mentioned free and fair elections less compared to those 15 – 17 years old (45.3%)⁴⁷. Similarly, those who participated twice and at least three times mentioned the theme more compared to those who participated once in any episode⁴⁸. The theme **war and conflict** was mentioned more by recently displaced (10%) participants, compared to the nondisplaced (6.3%) participants⁴⁹. Women (1.8%) mentioned **corruption** less compared to men (4.9%)⁵⁰.

Views on the current election were expressed less by women (9.6%), compared with men (12.5%) and those who participated at least three times compared to those who participated once in any episode⁵¹. Those who participated at least three times mentioned the theme **similar to the just concluded one** more compared to those who participated once in any episode⁵². Contrary to this theme, participants aged between 36 and 54 years (14.9%), between 55 and 99 years (22%) and those who participated at least three times compared to those who participated once in any episode expressed that the next election will be **different from the just concluded one** more compared to those 15 – 17 years old (10.3%)⁵³.

⁴⁴Participants aged between 36 and 54 years (OR = 2.37 [1.54 – 3.65], p – value <0.0001) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

⁴⁵Those who participated twice (OR = 0.54 [0.30 – 0.97], p – value < 0.0377) and at least three times (OR = 0.53 [0.32 – 0.87], p – value < 0.0130) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

⁴⁶Women (OR = 1.69 [1.37 – 2.09], p – value <0.0001) compared to men.

Figure 20: Theme distribution by Gender

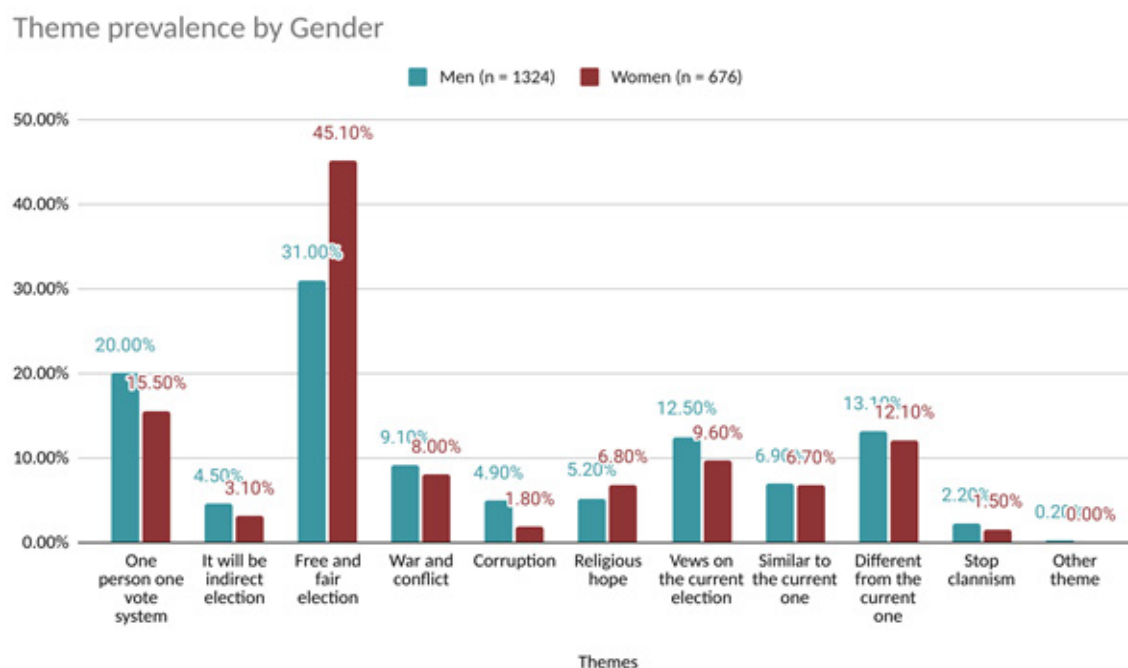
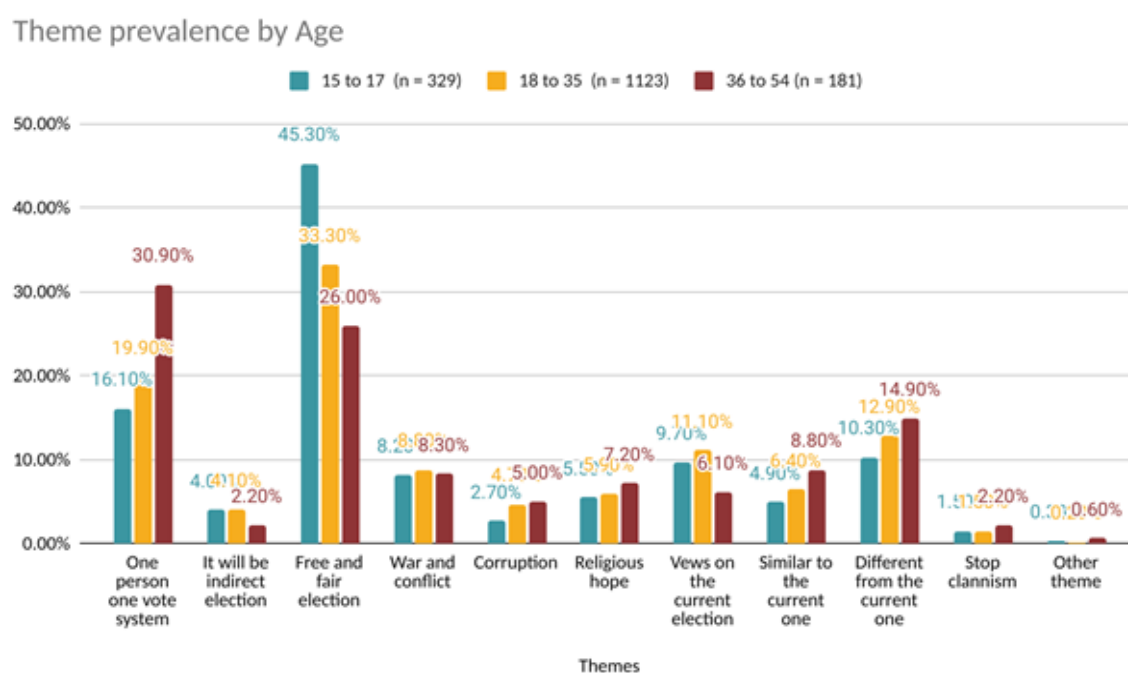


Figure 21: Theme distribution by Age



⁴⁷Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (OR = 0.68 [0.53 – 0.88], p – value = 0.0029) and between 36 and 54 years (OR = 0.52 [0.35 – 0.77], p – value = 0.0011) compared to those 15 – 17 years old.

⁴⁸Those who participated twice (OR = 1.38 [1.01 – 1.88], p – value = 0.0419) and at least three times (OR = 1.54 [1.16 – 2.04], p – value = 0.0026) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

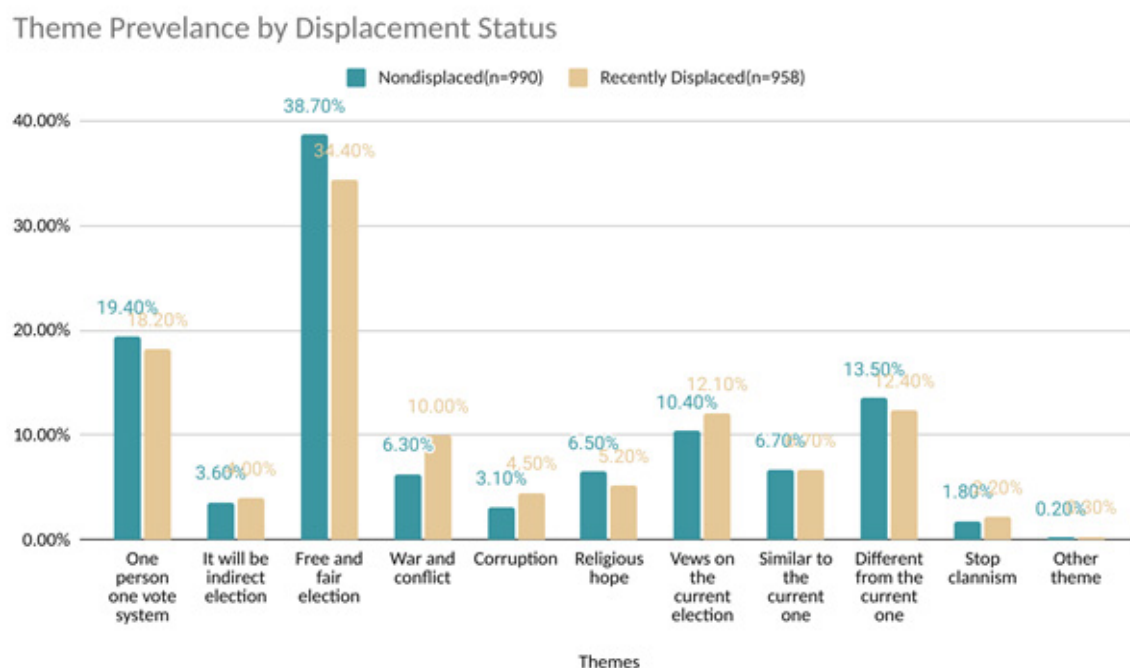
⁴⁹Recently displaced participants (OR = 1.74 [1.23 – 2.44], p – value = 0.0016) compared to nondisplaced.

⁵⁰Women (OR = 0.36 [0.19 – 0.71], p – value = 0.0032) compared to men.

⁵⁰Those who participated at least three times (OR = 0.45 [0.32 – 0.63], p – value < 0.0001) compared to those who participated once in any episode.

⁵¹Those who participated at least three times (OR = 1.79 [1.03 – 3.13], p – value = 0.0403) compared to those who participated once in any episode

Figure 22: Theme distribution by Displacement status



4.6. Week 6: What do citizens want to see in a free, fair and peaceful elections?

This was the final show (week 6) of radio programming. It was informed by the analyzed feedback from citizens' voices gathered over the previous five weeks. Radio programming was developed around the emergent themes. This week's radio topic prompted a discussion about the community's feelings towards the one-person, one-vote election.



4,999

Total
Participants



10,236

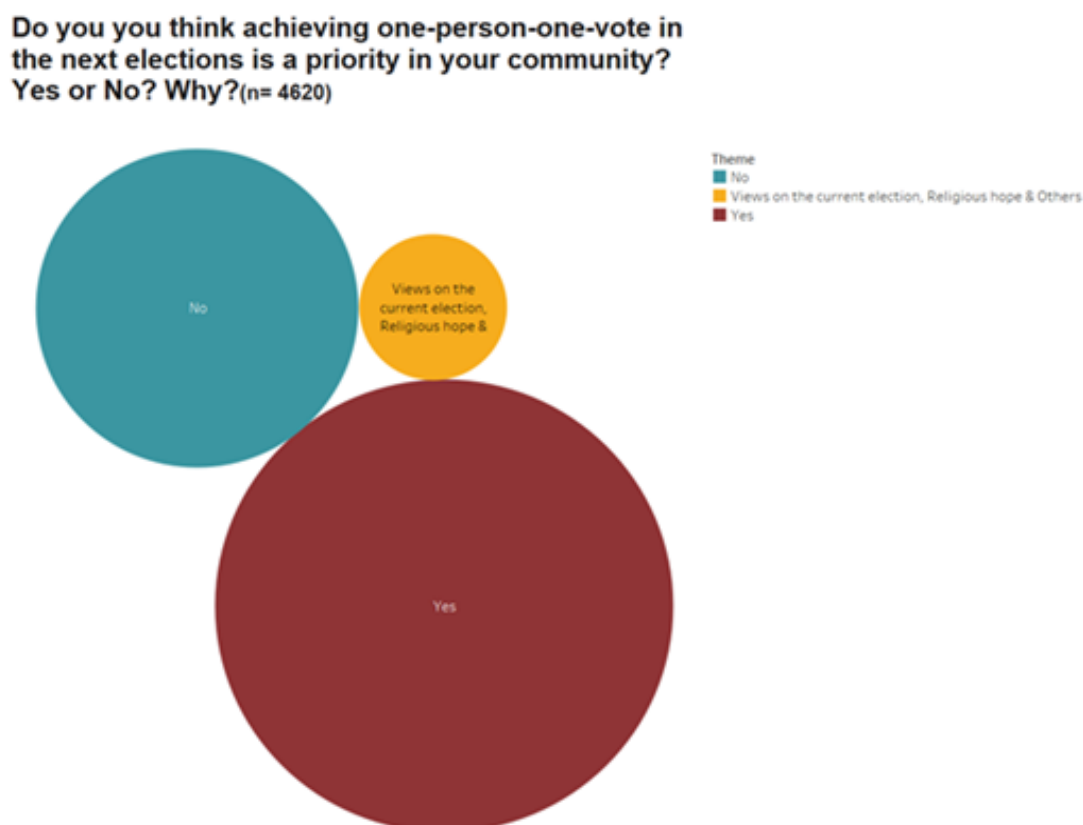
Total messages received
in response to the
following question:



Do you think achieving one-person-one-vote in the next elections is a priority in your community? Yes or No? Why?

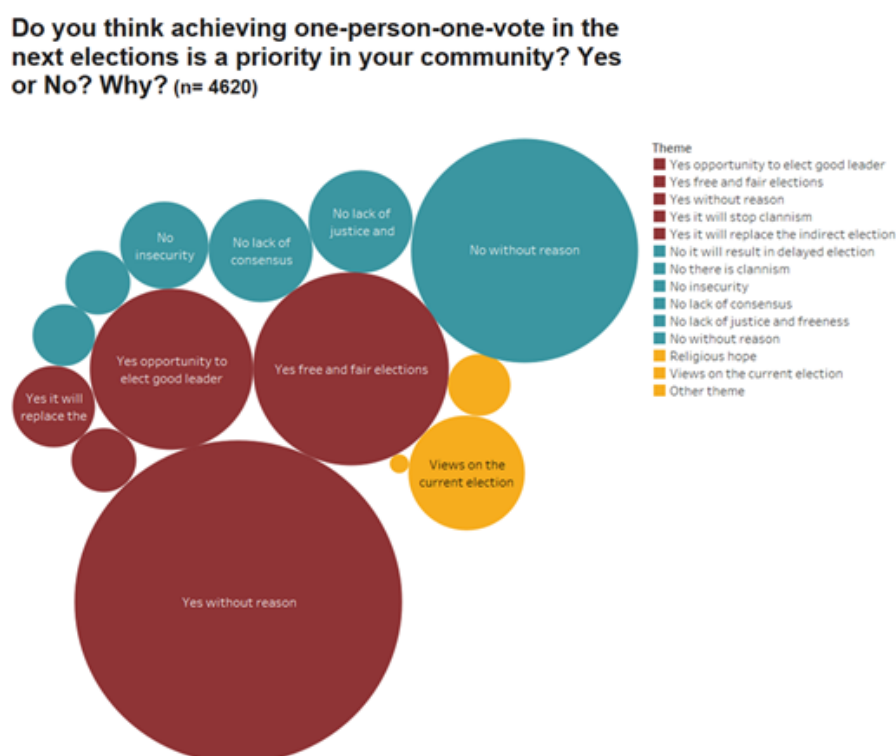
“Ma u malaynaysaa gaarista nidaamka hal-qof-hal-cod ee doorashada soo socota inay tahay mid mudnaan uleh bulshadaada? Haa ama Maya? Waa maxay sababta?”

Figure 23: Overall frequency of themes for week 6



The themes from this week were broadly grouped under three overarching categories, with one group of participants agreeing to prioritization of one person one vote, while the rest disagreed and few others coming up with new themes.

Figure 24: below is a visual representation of all the themes mentioned by participants, with each 'bubble' proportional to the frequency that it was mentioned.



As Table 10 (below) illustrates, citizens have voiced their opinions about the importance of **one-person-one-vote**. However, understanding how these opinions interact in respect to participants' approval or disapproval is still important.

Table 10: Priorities of one person one vote

Yes: In agreement with prioritization of one person one vote % (n=2, 362)	No: In agreement with prioritization of one person one vote % (n=1, 170)	Other upcoming themes % (n=246)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, Without reason (62.6%) • Yes, Free & fair elections (22.4%) • Yes, Opportunity to elect good leader (15.6%) • Yes, It will replace the indirect election (4.0%) • Yes, It will stop clannism (2.5%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No, Without reason (60.8%) • No, Lack of consensus (12.8%) • No, Lack of justice & freeness (12.8%) • No, Insecurity (9.2%) • No, There is clannism (5.0%) • No, It will result in delayed election (4.6%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Views on the current election (76.0%) • Religious hope (22.0%) • Other theme (2.0%)

Analysis of the findings⁵⁴

Just under half of the participants (**32.0% n=1479**) said yes when asked if obtaining one-person-one-vote in the next elections is a priority for their community, while another **15.4% n=711** said no without providing any other information.

This was followed by (**11.5% n=529**) of the participants who said **yes**, reasoning that one-person-one-vote would **encourage free and fair elections**. Messages under this topic emphasize the importance of fair representation of all points of view. In opposition, a smaller percentage (**3.2% n=150**) of the participants responded **no**, while also citing **lack of justice & freeness**, with messages under the theme explaining that a one-person, one-vote election cannot take place because the election is not free and fair, is influenced by

Haa wayo bulshadu waxy helaysa cadalad iyo sinan
"Yes, because society will get justice and equality"

Haa maxaa yeelay waxay noqonaysaa mid xor iyo xalaala
"Yes, because it will be free and fair" **Man, 21 years, Galdogob.**

Haa maxaa yeelay mawaadiniintu waxay uarkayaan doorosho nabad ah oo xaq
"Yes, because citizens will see it as a peaceful and fair election" **Woman, Galdogob.**

Maya sababtu waa cadaalad daro ayaa taagaan
"No, because there is injustice" **Man.**

aniga waxa ay ila tahay maya wayo wali kama bixin gacamaha sheshiye wali rer galbit aya wadanka xogamiyo
"I think no, because we have not yet left the hands of westerners and the country is still in their control." **Man, 26 years, Dayniile.**

Asc maya madhici karto sababto ah cadalad majirto
"No, it is not possible because there is no justice" **Woman, Galmudug.**

A good percentage of respondents (**8.0% n=368**) said **yes**, citing the **opportunity to elect a good leader** as a reason. According to participants, the one-person-one-vote will allow the community to elect leaders who will serve their interests. While similarly fewer participants (**2.0% n=94**) also **agreed**, explaining that It will

replace the **indirect election**. Messages under this theme highlighted that **indirect elections**, which have caused Somalis to struggle, will be replaced by **one-person, one-vote elections**.

Haa sababtuna waxa weeye in ay bulshadu doorato madaxweyne ay ku aaminikarto horumarkooda

"Yes, because the people will elect a president who they can trust with their development"

Man, 33 years, Bossaso, Recently displaced.

Haa=sababtu waa in madax weyne waxfiican tara ladoorto

*"Yes, because we should choose a president who will do good."***Man, 35 years, Xamar.**

Haa maxaa yeeley bulshadu WAXA ay doorataa qofkii cadaalada wax ku dhaqa

"Yes, because society elects the one who is just." **Man, 23 years.**

Haa sababtuna bulshadu way ku dashy dorasho dadban waxana wacnan lahed inan helno dorashan codeno

"Yes, because society is tired of indirect elections and it would be better to have an election to vote" **Woman, 18 years, ceelbuur, Recently displaced.**

waxan rajeynaa inay noqoto qof iyo cod wayo waxa na wareeriyay doorasho dadban

"We hope it will be a person and a vote because we are confused by indirect elections"

Man, 18 years, Mudug, Recently displaced.

Haa maxayelay waxan kuxaqiranahay nidaamka dadban

"Yes, because we despise the indirect system" **Man, 30 years, Xamar jajab.**

Few participants (**1.3% n=59**) reported **yes**, explaining that **it will stop clannism**. Respondents stated that one person, one vote will eliminate the clan system and that everyone will be elected regardless of clan. As opposed to this slightly smaller number of participants (**1.3% n=58**) **disagreed**, explaining that **because of clannism** one-person, one-vote election is not feasible, because the system is based on tribalism and it is extremely difficult to move away from it.

Haa sabtuna waa wadada kaliya ee looga baxoyo qabiilka iyo madaxwayne aan shacabku dooran

"Yes, because it is the only way out of the clan and a president that is elected by the people"

Man, 28 years, Kismayo, Recently displaced.

haa waa mihiim sabto ah waxa laga raysn qabil wax ku qaybsi o doroshada qof iyo cod wa mid losiman yahay

"Yes, it is significant because it will eliminate the tribal sharing system and replace it with an election based on one person, one vote" **Man, 20 years, Bossaso, Recently displaced.**

Haa.Sababta waxay tahay waxaa laga baxayaa nidaamka.4.5,waxaa loo baxayaa nadaam bulshada qufka ay rabaan ay dooranayaan.

"Yes,because it will end the 4.5 system and replace it with an election in which the society chooses who they want " **Woman.**

maya maxaayeelay soomaliya waa qabiil kan tanaasulimayso ilaa qiyaame

"No, since Somalia is based on clannism and will remain so forever" **30 years.**

Maya mahayely somali 4.5 waay

"No, because Somali is based on 4.5" **Man, Dolow.**

maya sababtoo ah waxaa waxloo qaysadaa qabiil qabiilkuna sahal makuharaayo

"No, because we share things based on tribalism and it is difficult to eradicate" **Man, Garas Baaley.**

Disagreement with lack of consensus as explanation was mentioned by **(3.2% 150)** of the participants. These themes suggested that a one-person, one-vote election can lead to societal strife since it is difficult to get everyone on the same page.

Maya, waayo waa la qasayaa waxaana qasayaa dadka madaxda dadka kale
"No, because it will be disrupted by other leaders." **Woman, 19 years, Bossaso, Recently displaced**

waayo sababta waxey taxay khilaafyo badan ayaa jiraa mara walba soo noqdey.
"The reason for this is, there is a lot of conflict that keeps resurfacing" **Man, Baidoa.**

Maya gilaf ay imanayo bulshay dhaxded balse waa rajenin
"No, it will bring conflict among the society but we hope so" **Woman, 38 years, Recently displaced.**

Some participants **(2.3% n=108)** disagreed that **one-person, one-vote election** is a priority in their community due to **insecurity**. They stated that nobody can guarantee the safety of such an election, while few other participants **(1.2% n=54)** also responded no, explaining that the process **will result in a delayed election**.

Maya waayo dhulkii laga codeeyn lahaa ama santuuqda la geeynlahaaa gacan kuma jiraan
"No, because the land on which to vote or where the ballot box would be transported to is not in the government's possession" **Woman, 34 years.**

Maye ma moodayowaayo bulshadu Amina ma hayasan ku filan
"No, I don't think so because the community does not have enough security" **Woman, Recently displaced.**

Mya sabbtuna waa amnidarada muqdishu kajirta iyo dhamaan
"No, because of the insecurity in Mogadishu and everywhere." **Man.**

Maya Maxaa yeelay doorashada hiliga loo asteyay ayey dhaafeysaa sida hada camal
"No, because the election will take longer than expected like the current one" **Man, 33 years.**

Maya waayo waq ti dheer ayeey ubaahantahay mana laga gaadho iminka
"No, because it requires a lot of time which is too late to do now" **Man, 33 years, Dayniile.**

Dhageerste My Sababto Ah Dalka Mid Doorsho Kaso Socoto Maha Waayo Xiligi Doorashada Ku Dhawan 2 Sano Aya Laga Joga
"No, there is no election in the country because the election season was 2 years ago" **Man, Recently displaced.**

4.0% n=187 of participants gave their **views on the current election**. Under this theme, participants just stated their basic opinions on the election without responding to the question of the week. While fewer others **(1.2% n=54)** raised **religious hope**. Putting their faith in God.

Madax wayne Farmaajo Ayaarabnaa
"We want president Farmaajo" **Man.**

Musharaxnimada dani waxba masoo kordhinayso
"Dani's candidacy does not add anything" **Woman, Recently displaced.**

doorashada socoto inay tahay mid mudnaan
"The current election should be a priority" **Man, 40 years, Mudug.**

Alaah hanagaarsiiyo
"May Allah bring us to that point in time" **Woman.**

Wllhi sido allh kadhigo ayey noqoney
"It will be as Allah wills" **Woman, 30 years, Recently displaced.**

Doorasho xaalal ah allaha kadhigo
"May Allah make the election fair" **Man, 21 years, Hilwa.**

4.6.1 Social demographic differences

The theme yes without reason was mentioned more by recently displaced participants (65.2%) compared to nondisplaced (58.4%)⁵⁵ and those who participated at twice compared to those who participated once in any episode⁵⁶. Participants aged between 18 and 35 years (58.5%) mentioned the theme less compared to those 15 – 17 years old (63.6%)⁵⁷. Women (1%) mentioned **yes it will stop clannism** less compared to men (3.2%)⁵⁸. Those who participated twice were more of the opinion that the next election [**yes it**] **will replace the indirect election** compared to those who participated once in any episode⁵⁹. Those who participated twice also mentioned the theme **yes to free and fair elections** compared to those who participated once in any episode⁶⁰. While those who participated twice and at least three times shared **views on the current election** less compared to those who participated once in any episode.

Figure 25: Theme prevalence by Gender

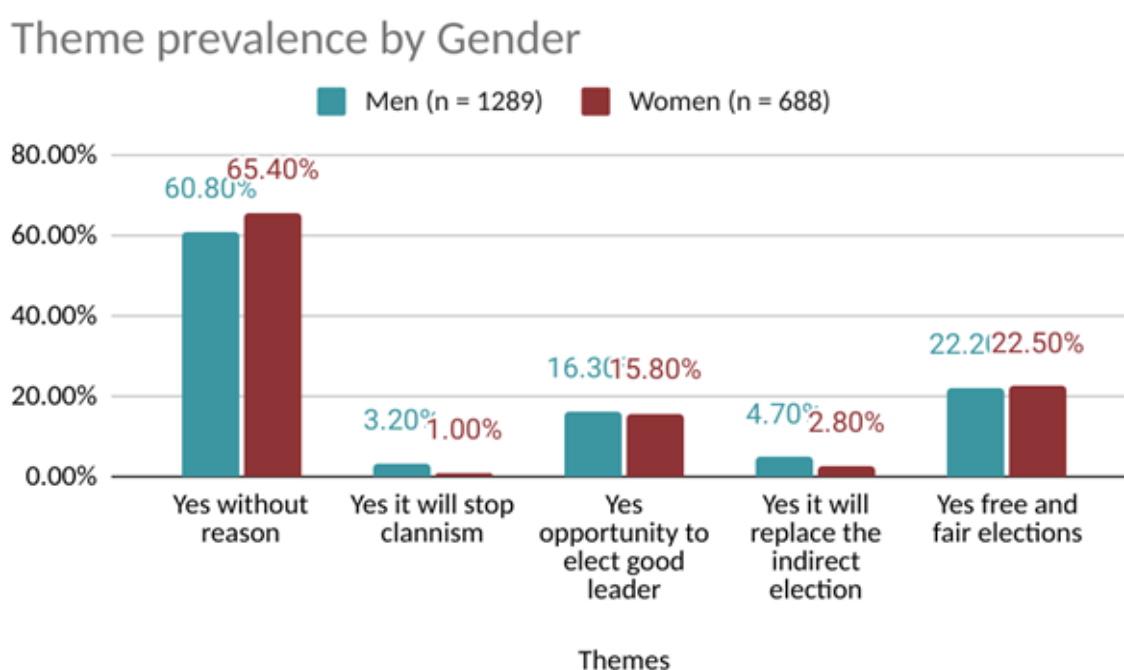


Figure 26: Theme distribution by Age

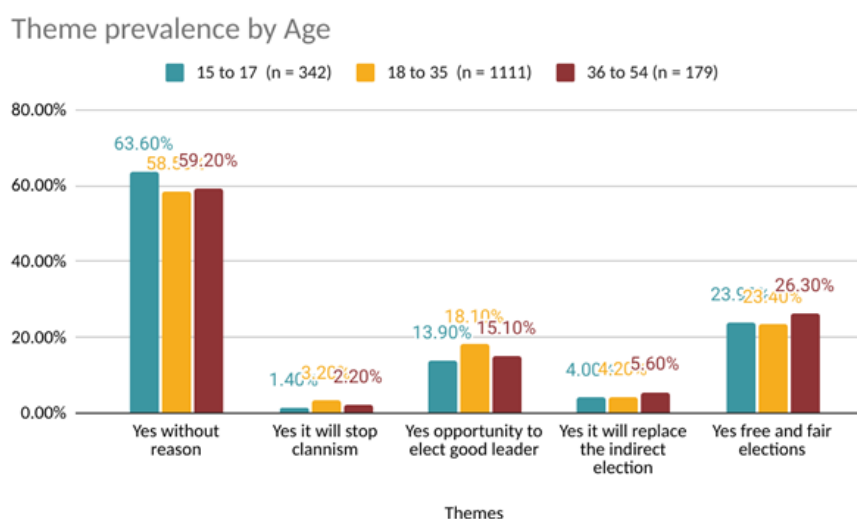
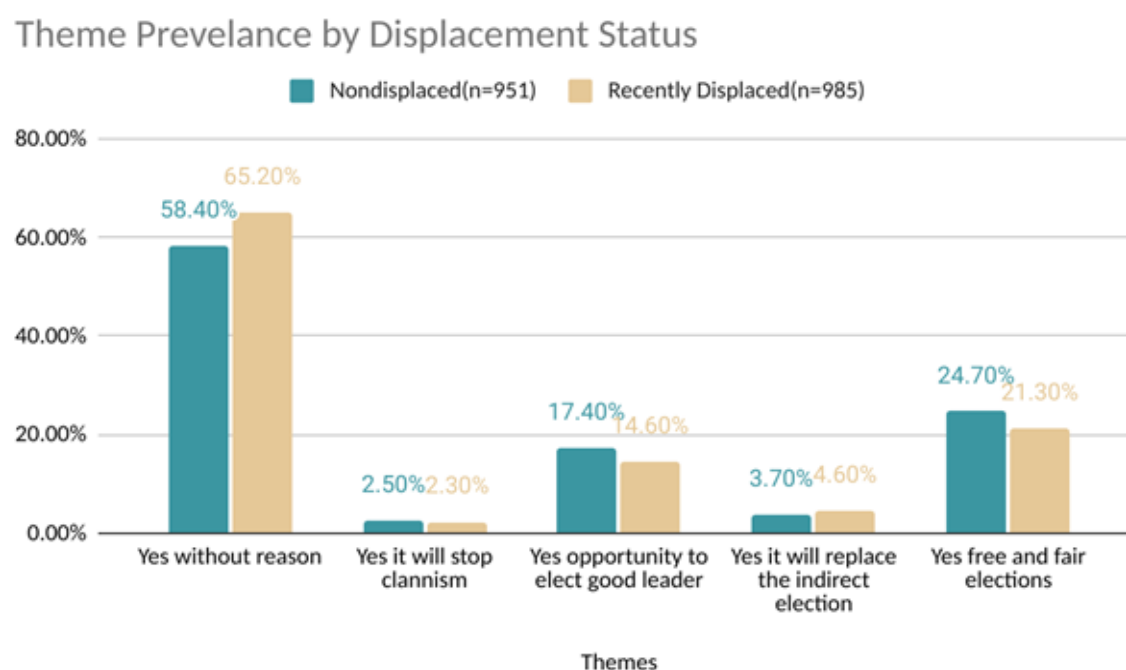


Figure 27: Theme distribution by Displacement status



5. CONCLUSION

In recognition of a lengthy election season, which was postponed for nearly a year and a half, Africa's Voices Foundation (AVF) in partnership with Rift Valley institute (RVI)'s Somali Dialogue Platform acknowledged the value of citizen engagement and promoted a public dialogue around elections by conducting 6 weeks of interactive radio shows and situational drama across 30 radio stations in 6 Federal Member States (FMS) of Somalia, namely, Galmudug, Banadir, Southwest, Hirshabelle, Jubaland and Puntland. This enhanced understanding of citizens' perspectives on Somalia's national elections. By providing a dialogue platform through interactive radio and situational drama on political processes, citizen voices were amplified as citizens noted concerns to accountability to electoral process and deprioritization of citizen needs such as drought, economic challenges, and disaster situations. This increased Somalis vulnerability to economic hardship. The interactive radio dialogue and situational dramas also enabled promotion of peaceful messaging to prevent and mitigate potential violence. Citizens noted how insecurity had increased, existence of violence as well as war and bloodshed in the community and recommended the need to enhance security and peace building mechanisms during election. The engagement of citizens enabled dialogue amongst Somalis on contentious political issues thus contributing to RVI's Somali Dialogue Platform program.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 13.6% of participants in the first week of radio shows expressed that the elections had no impact on their life hence establishing the need for more grassroots civic education so that people can fully understand the importance of elections and the impact it has on their lives.
- While the election is important, the government should not shift focus but prioritize the immediate needs of its citizens such as drought, inflation and unemployment.
- Participants largely expressed concerns on security. There is a need to strengthen security measures, peace building, and reconciliation mechanisms during the electioneering period.
- Strengthen implementation of affirmative policies such as women quota in election and review legislations such as electoral laws to ensure inclusion of minority groups like youth, women, IDPs and small clans in decision-making.
- There is a need for the government to set mechanisms for achieving democratization and equal representation of people in elections and the decision making process by ensuring meaningful participation

and building capacity of different stakeholders including government officers, citizen among others

- Initiate social behavior change programme to address sociocultural norms that hinder minority groups including ethnic groups, youth and women for their inclusion in electoral process and decision-making process.
- Create regular and safe platforms for public dialogue and debate for women, youth or leaders to converse on issues affecting the community.
- Develop coaching and training programmes for citizens, CSOs and government institutions on participatory models, democratic processes and good governance.
- Continued media campaigns / peace messaging, engaging trusted community leaders like Imams to provide guidance on ethical leadership.



Annexe 1: AVF's Methodology

The Common Social Accountability Platform

In order to create an interactive radio discussion on promoting public dialogue on elections and amplifying citizens' voices in political processes, AVF deployed the Common Social Accountability Platform (CSAP) in Galmudug, Puntland, Jubaland, Hirshabelle, South west and Banadir regions. Social accountability refers to a form of civic engagement that builds accountability through the collective efforts of citizens and civil society organizations to hold public officials, service providers and governments to account for their obligations with responsive efforts⁶². Alongside strengthening civic engagement and amplifying 'citizen's voices', social accountability initiatives aim to increase the transparency of governance in many arenas, ranging from local service delivery to national processes of development policy formulation⁶³.

In response to the clear need for spaces in which citizen voices can be listened to and responded to by both government and aid decision-makers, Africa's Voices launched the Common Social Accountability Platform (CSAP) in 2018 initially in Somalia and later in Kenya. CSAP's objective is to enhance the inclusion of citizens in decision-making across peace-building, humanitarian interventions and development programmes. By leveraging Africa's Voices' interactive radio method for nurturing dialogue and gathering public opinion, the platform aims to build a sustained channel for open conversation between citizens and decision-makers, across sectors and mandates. CSAP uses a combination of radio programming and SMS messaging to create a platform that citizens actively engage in, whilst simultaneously allowing for feedback received from citizen SMS messages to be robustly analysed, understood and ideally, acted upon. AVF's approach allows for two types of critical insight:

- Rich qualitative understanding of citizen perspectives;
- Quantitative understanding of the prevalence of perspectives and how these vary by demographic group.

CSAP is built around two groups of activities to ensure two-way dialogue leads to positive change. First, AVF uses a range of digital means in culturally-sensitive ways to build a public dialogue that attracts large-scale active engagement from citizens and is valued by diverse stakeholders. Secondly, AVF combines a range of analytical techniques to rapidly generate insight on citizen perspectives to inform a genuinely responsive and citizen-driven dialogue, as well as provide recommendations with which authorities can shape their policies and programmes. The diagram below illustrates the step-by-step process in a radio engagement cycle to achieve both objectives:

Figure 1: CSAP Methodology



Generating insight from public opinion

The second aspect of AVF's interactive radio approach is an analysis of audience engagement to inform decision-making with a rich understanding of public opinion. AVF generates robust evidence on citizen-generated opinions that are shared at a group level and that emerge in the collective discussions.

In-depth qualitative and quantitative insights - AVF grouped the messages received according to different themes that analysts, fluent in the languages that participants texted in, identified in the data. This categorisation concluded in a 'coding frame' of themes and sub-themes for each week. After an extensive validation process, the labelled dataset was then analysed using quantitative methods and visualised to assess the relative prevalence of the different ideas emerging from the conversation. AVF then provided a thick description of the ideas in the dataset, using quotations directly from citizen voices, to give deeper insight into the main themes of the data. Messages are accompanied by demographic information of the individual who sent them (obtained upon consent). However, as collecting the demographic details is entirely at the discretion of the participant, some demographic information is missing.

Prevalence and variations by demographic group and geography - By combining this labelled dataset with data received from audiences on their demographic information, AVF can analyse how perspectives varied between different demographic groups. Odds ratios were used to test for associations between groups and ideas because they are particularly sensitive to sample size and therefore set a higher threshold for achieving results with statistical significance. In this instance, statistical significance is not indicative of the ability to infer these results to a wider population, but suggestive of the reliability of the patterns and associations identified in the data. We used adjusted logistic regression models, fitted through simulations via the `bayesglm` function in the `arm` R package, to obtain effect estimates. This approach was chosen to limit bias in parameter estimates as a result of data sparsity. We addressed the missing data challenge through multiple imputations using chained equations. The variables included in imputation models were gender, age category, whether recently displaced, and loyalty (number of times participated in the shows). Geographic location variables were not included in the imputation and the substantive regression models as they contained sparse data that would result in poor imputations and model fit.

Consent - Through the SMS ads and radio shows AVF clearly stated in all communications with participants that data would be analysed to inform programming. After they texted to send their views in response to the shows, SMS ads or radio promos, participants were given the option of opting out from having their data analysed at any point by texting the keyword 'STOP'.

Limitations of the methodology

Analytical approach: The data gathered using this method constitutes a non-probabilistic sample and this affects the type of insights presented below. Those who participate are self-selected amongst potential audiences based on a range of factors such as phone ownership, media habits, literacy, and gender roles. Some perspectives held by those groups outside of radio participants (e.g. those unable to access radio) may not be identified by this approach.

Instead of pursuing quantitative aggregates of individual perspectives, our research seeks to complement and strengthen qualitative analysis by understanding how opinions are shared - and vary - at the group level. This allows us to identify how these ideas might circulate beyond the specific radio participants as they are indicative of a wider group (participants from the target areas). From a statistical point of view, the lack of representativeness is less important for a study based on associations than aggregate indicators. This report's qualitative insights about opinions and associations with demographic groups are therefore of indicative value for understanding the perspectives of comparable groups in the population. They are best used with other knowledge and research for informing policy and programme decision-making.

Methodology note

It ought to be noted that percentages and prevalence of opinions reflected in this analysis reflect views of those who opted to participate by sending an SMS and are therefore not representative of the Somali population as a whole. The translation is provided by Africa's Voices. Africa's Voices champions authentic



@africas_voices



@RVInews