THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL ELDERS IN SOMALILAND GOVERNANCE

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C153F/CTY/PT/24541/2010

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

JUNE, 2014
DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I offer my deep thanks and acknowledgement to my Allah for enabling me to accomplish this program and for all gifts of life.

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Joseph Wasonga, for his tireless of supervision, guidance, and support with his advice given throughout the process of writing this research. Also I would like to thank the Head of the Department of Public Policy and Administration Dr. Felix Kiruthu, who provided me morale support endless encouragement. Through him I have gained confidence, competence and determination to complete my research project. Further thanks go to committee members for my project proposal defense for their patience and understanding throughout the project.

Finally, I want to extend my extreme gratitude to family and friends who supported me to finish my studies.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends for their unconditional love, for believing in me and unending encouragement. At last I am coming home to stay.
DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Customary institutions or structures - Means those institutions or structures established in terms of customary law.

Customary law (Xeer) - Traditional common rule or practice that has become an intrinsic part of the accepted and expected conduct in a community, profession, or trade and is treated as a legal requirement.

Governance - Is the processes, structures and organizational traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken and how decision-makers are held to account (Mel Gill, 2006).

Headman - Means a traditional leader who is under the authority of, or exercises authority within the area of jurisdiction.

Traditional leader - Means any person who, in terms of customary law of the traditional community concerned, holds a traditional leadership position.

Traditional leadership - Means the customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance, recognized, utilized or practiced by traditional communities.

Guurti - Council of elders
Mag, A main principle of xeer, this is the ‘blood compensation’ paid by one mag group to another, usually in the form of camels.

Magpaying group, Small social units that take collective responsibility for their own security, as well as undertaking an obligation to compensate other groups for any harm committed by one of its members.

Xeer, Customary law, contract, treaty

XeerBeegti, Jury, those who are expert in xeer respected and qualified elders who are entrusted to maintain knowledge of applying xeer.

Shir, Council, meeting

Suluh, Broadly translated into English as ‘resolution’, it is a practice applied by Somali şhari’a courts to integrate Islamic, traditional and statutory laws into a single workable decision for a case.

Tol Not so close lineage, agnatic kinship, lineage

AQiil is leader of group of village headmen whose jurisdiction to cover settlement within a circle of about 5 kms.
Somali Republic is a combination of British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, though Somaliland declared its breakaway from the rest of Somalia. Somaliland's culture of democracy flourished into Somali Republic until a military coup by Gen. Mohamed Siyad Barre in 1969. The authoritarian military regime which turned into mass killing and was ousted through an armed struggle by Somaliland people (former citizens of Somali Republic) that lasted more than a decade. The Wider Somalia's reconciliation process has gone through different processes and approaches which were mainly sponsored by foreign countries and international community to bring about peace and stability in Somalia. Somaliland took a different method which is home-grown solution or bottom up approach in which traditional elders and civil actors were involved in reconciliation process. The Somaliland secession seems to have been instigated by 'traditional' clan leaders. The clan leaders were also responsible for several instances of political reconciliation between groups competing for power and resources in the region. The political weight of these clan leaders like Somaliland clan leaders in the new polity had important repercussions for its institutional make-up. Traditional elders have a great and positive role in Somaliland governance. But their role had been defined after the collapse of the central government in Somalia. That time, they had reappeared on political stage, replacing the central authority by playing role of the government, such as maintaining peace, reconciliation and ensuring public order. This research sought to examine the contribution of traditional elders in Somaliland governance. Somaliland, traditional elders play a visible role in the country's institutional make-up. From the outset, the existence of functioning traditional institutions in Somaliland was fundamental. Elders are nominated by their respective clans through their participation of reconciliation conferences. The objectives of this study included: to examine factors that made it possible for the traditional elders to participate in the establishment of modern state in Somaliland and to examine the impact of participation of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland. In terms of scope, this study is limited to scrutinize role of traditional elders in Somaliland. The researcher selected Hargeysa Capital of Somaliland as study location. The research adds value to existing body of knowledge, by giving useful information to political parties, governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations among others. The sample size was 100 respondents from different segments of Hargeysa inhabitants. The respondents included politicians, civil society, civil servant, and business people. Purposive random sampling was employed and questionnaires used to collect data from the respondents.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Max wiber (1968) observed three forms of authorities: firstly traditional authority secondly rational legal authority thirdly charismatic authority. He defined the traditional authority as “semi political decisions made by chiefs of tribes in societies where formal process of governance do not exist or are not fully institutionalized”. This concept is used to theoretically inform the discussion about the exercise of authority in the processes of traditional governance in the most societies of the world.

The elders play a very significant role in the lives and future of world community of nations because of their wisdom knowledge and charismatic leadership as well experience. They provide guidance in helping to see connections among our past, present and future. The elders are story tellers, which is an important aspect of human oral history. One of the elders’ traditional roles is to pass on child and family development lessons of their cultural heritage. Historical teaching methods were tough through oral traditional story telling (Underwood, 2000). Now with rapidly developing elder population there is stress on the way families learn culture traditions and practice. Many communities have little or no documentation of their cultural practices. Fortunately, some communities have recognized this as loss to cultural preservation and have began to documents their communities parenting practices and implement to community programme (Aboriginal, 2009)
In some parts of the world traditional elders are seen as important actors in terms of development of community and governing public affairs of their respective communities. The elders in Asia and Africa act on important leadership role like security, justice governance, conflict resolutions and maintaining stability. For example in 1980s the Zimbwbian government unable to control streets violence following conflict with Uganda it allowed the rise of sungusungu or vigilante group organized by traditional elders who helped establish law and order. Despite the state had lost its monopoly on violence it viewed groups positively as successful alternative state judicial organization (Jockson and Marquette, 2005)

Traditional governance approach, which believes that institutions of traditional elders hearts of rural governance political stability and successful policy implementation and hence rural development. In this regard traditional elders act as symbol of unity, maintain peace, preserve customs and culture allocate land to the people and resolve disputes and factional fights. Traditional elders have played important developmental, administrative and political roles in rural areas. The underlying premise is that they present ethnic units, being the closest authority to people. Traditional elders also act as the custodian of customs as symbol and representative of community’s collective identity. Elders are expected to preserve to particular ethnic heritage and ensures its transmission from generation to generation. Their roles also include judicial role where they act as the interpreters of customary laws and practices(Warfield, and sentongo, 2003).
In Afghanistan is widely considered ungovernable country while the never held under way of strong central government the elders have developed well established codes of conduct and appointed through the consensus populace are formed to resolve conflict. The keys to success in Afghanistan is to understanding Afghans mindset, that means their culture and engaging the Afghans with respect to system of governance that has worked for them in past(Miakhel, 2009). Traditional justice system is an active by default in many parts of the country being more powerful in southern and eastern parts of the country where state justice institutions have nominal existence. The system is composed customary laws/tribal institutions of decision making and dispute resolution that incorporates prevalent local customary law institutionalized rituals and remediation. The members of entities are village elders, influential leaders and religious leader (Shahmohmood, 2010).

In Somalia For the last two decades, clan elders have played a major role in terms of enhancing security peace stability and reconciliation in Somaliland. Further these have consolidated their traditional role as dispute mediators and enforcers of customary laws which regulate most aspects of social life within Somali clans. Traditional elders in Somalia are not only the prime force of stability and continuity in terms of regulating access of pastures, water and conflict management between clans but also mediate conflicts between regional authorities like Puntland and Somaliland. They have been instrumental reestablishing relatively stable structures of governance, jurisprudence and security.
Given the central and legitimate position of the traditional structures in the organization of Somali society, it can be very important for elders to be included in the future formation of state structures and that customary law to be a part of an official judicial system which should be realigned. Traditional structures can arguably contribute positively to constitutional process and should be at the foundation the building of new state in Somaliland (Omar, 2006).

Somalia was once seen as a pioneer of African democracy being the first country in Africa that had democratically elected its leader (Samatar & Waqo Machaka, 2006). Somalia began its post-colonial journey with incredible democratic poise. It had two free and fair elections and a democratic and peaceful change of government, while the rest of the continent was drifting into single party states or military dictatorships, (Samatar and Samatar, 2002). Despite these accomplishments, two political tendencies competed for dominance in public affairs: communitarian versus sectarian (Samatar, 2001). The communitarian project which emphasized effective and merit-based public service and the protection of citizens’ rights prevailed during the first seven years of the republic. Human rights were respected and no one was incarcerated for their political views. Further, government justly contained sporadic conflicts between two communities in the North and South (Ghalib, 1995). Although the first two republican governments were desperately short of skilled people at policy-making level as well as technocrats, they, however, maintained open political order in which the opposition had unrestricted freedom to challenge the government. When Zambia’s President Kaunda visited Somalia in 1968, he was amazed by the country’s vibrant democratic political order. In a state
dinner held in his honour, he sat between President Sharmarke and former President Osman. Kaunda remarked that “Somalia is the only country in the continent where a reigning president and his predecessor enjoy state parties together. Elsewhere in the continent, former leaders are in jail, exile or worse” (Samatar, 2005).

Somali Republic comprised of British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, before Somaliland declared its breakaway from the rest of Somalia. Somaliland’s culture of democracy flourished into Somali Republic until a military coup by Gen. Mohamed Siyad Barre in 1969. The authoritarian military regime turned into mass killing and was ousted through an armed struggle by Somaliland people (former citizens of Somali Republic) that lasted more than a decade (Al-mutairi, 2012).

According to root of the crises based on enough project Report (2007), Somalia remained synonymous with the concept of a failed state. The country has struggled more profoundly with instituting even the basic structures of governance over the last several decades. The overthrow of President Siad Barre in 1991 ushered in a new era of conflict and anarchy. Warlords and armed factions have competed for political and economic dominance in the absence of the central government. Somalia has also frequently served as a proxy battle ground for international actors, and ideologies stretching from Cold War American and Soviet real politic to current concerns about Islamic extremism (Almuteri, 2010)

According to Osman, (2008), the causes of the Somali conflict have their roots both in local factors, including social, cultural, economic and political traits of the Somalis, and
external factors, including the geo-political and strategic desire of powers from inside and outside the region.

Samatar et al (2003) explained the internal war in Somalia as one that is stemming from the characteristics of human nature oriented towards a historical livelihood (Abdi, 1993). The collapse of the 'public space and institutions coupled with the political and economic failures of the former regimes, especially that of Siad Barre; the longevity of Barre's dictatorial regime that created myriad defects and antipodal; propensities of anti-regime groups and forces (Samatar, 1993). The lack of planning on the part of the anti-regime forces and the access to weapons among the civilians, which occurred when civilians turned to weapons as a mode of survival and defense during the desperate economic times of the 1980s (Afyare and Barise, 2007).

Osman, et al (2006), explained the Somali conflict as coming from a colonial legacy, militarism, anarchy, political struggle, tribalism and other related factors. Osman adds that there are other causes of conflict particularly in south central zone. Since 1991, the Somali internal war has had several observable patterns; concentration of conflicts in the southern regions as battle field; the primary victims of Somalia conflict are inhabitants of the most fertile parts of the country and the majority of warring factions do not belong to where they have been battling for years.

Ismail and Samatar (2002) claimed: that since 1991, fourteen reconciliation conferences have been held to restore peace and national authority. Warlords and factional leaders dominated eleven of these gatherings, all of which failed to have consensus. Each self-
appointed warlord was bent on claiming the presidency of the country. As a result, most Somalis submitted to the prospect of not seeing a national state in their lifetime.

Between 1991 and 2000, the Djibouti president organized reconciliation conferences intended to restore Somalia’s sovereignty in which the traditional clan leaders, women’s organizations, and Somali NGOs were actively invited to participate. Some prominent war lords and armed groups were also given a chance to attend such as the Rahanwein Resistance Army, which was founded in 1995 to protect the Rahanwein clan that previously had been taken advantage of in a most brutal way by the Somali National Alliance, and probably al-Ithad al-Islam, a fundamentalist association with connections to al-Qaeda during the early nineties, attended the conference (Jundel, 2006). Almost 1,000 participants attended the conference itself and a new parliament was elected for a period of three years duration. Abdulkasim Salad Hassan, a former minister during Siad Barre’s reign, beat his closest rival, Abdullah Ahmed Addow by 145 votes to 92 and was elected as president of a Transitional National Government (Hansen, 2003).

For the last two decades, Somalia’s reconciliation process went through different stages from warlords to Islamists a number of approaches were also deferred, to stabilize the country and restore law and order. According Hansen (2003) at least four approaches had been applied or tested to establish lasting peace in Somalia; these approaches can be categorized into:

Building Block Approach: This approach was promoted by the inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) from 1997 and subsequently by the United Nations. This approach tried to find local solutions involving traditional mechanisms of conflict
resolution and often traditional clan leaders. It was not a new approach, as Somalis themselves had earlier used such strategies, perhaps most successfully in Somaliland (Ali, 2007).

Centralized Top-Down Approach: Attempted in Somalia was the centralized down approach applied in the UN-sponsored Addis Ababa Conferences (1993) and later in the Ethiopian sponsored Sodere talks (1996-97) in addition to 10 other major conferences. This approach is often associated with the second United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). It was centralized in the sense that it tried to find a solution for the whole of Somalia, and top down in the sense that it focused on the leaders of the different fractions, the warlords, paying less attention to the clan leaders and civil society (Samatar, 2002).

Dynamic Approach: The first leader of UNOSOM I, Mohammed Sahnoun, is often regarded as the man behind this strategy. While actively trying to support and facilitate the traditional Somali clan negotiation structures and local governance, such a strategy also focused on low profile talks with the warlords (Omar, 2006).

Centralized Bottom-Up Approach: That produced the Transitional National Government (TNG). It was centralized in the sense that it tried to create a solution for the whole of Somalia; it was bottom-up in the sense that it actively sought to involve the civil society. Unlike the previous 12 failed central peace plans, it was the first initiative not to focus on the warlords and faction leaders (Afyare and Hassan, 2006).
None of the above approaches worked since they were unable to restore collapsed public institutions, reconciliation and overall country’s reconstruction. They all failed completely to meet those demands. Another strategy which is partially worked is 4.5 formula which means four major clans and one minor-clan should be built on power sharing of the federal system (Jaokim, 2009).

The current government is formed on clan basis as a result of a two years peace conference in Kenya followed by Djibouti peace agreement between government and armed opposition leaders and finally ending the transition period to form federal permanent government with the approval of the federal constitution by constituency assembly (Jama, 2011).

Bradburry et al (2003) observed that the traditional governance plays a complementary role in the area of governance. This affirmed the resilience, legitimacy and relevance of African traditional institutions in the socio-cultural, economic and political lives of Africans, particularly in the rural areas. Juxtaposed with this is sometimes the parallel "modern State", vested with enormous authorities in rule making, application, adjudication and enforcement. As Africa seeks to build and strengthen capable states, there is need to recognize and address this duality fully. This is principally borne out by a growing recognition that capable democratic states must be grounded on indigenous social values and contexts, while adapting to changing realities that may require among other actions, aligning and harmonizing traditional governance institutions with the modern state (Costa, 2000).
The roles that traditional authorities can play in the process of good governance can broadly be separated into three categories: first, their advisory role to government, as well as their participatory role in the administration of regions and districts; second, their developmental role, complementing government’s efforts in mobilizing the population for the implementation of development projects, sensitizing them on health issues such as HIV and AIDS, promoting education, encouraging economic enterprises, inspiring respect for the law and urging participation in the electoral process; and third, their role in conflict resolution, an area where traditional leaders across Africa have already demonstrated success (Ray, 2003).

The Somali Society implemented useful traditional governance system adaptable to run its ordinary matters. Egalitarian in nature, the Traditional governance system handled all societal relations between communities, conflicts, resource sharing, and the provision of the rule of law through the traditional customary laws. Mostly pastoral and agro-pastoral communities, the Somalis observed and adhered to the codes and conducts of the traditional governance structures. This traditional system of governance consisted of a set of contractual agreements, which defined the rights and the responsibilities of the individual within a group bound by ties of kinship based on shared patrilineal descent from a common ancestor and of a similar set of agreements which regulated the group’s relations with other neighboring groups. Two major events in history have had a drastic effect on Somalia’s traditional structures: The advent of Islam in the Somali society and the arrival of the colonial powers both of which have influenced the metamorphosis of the Somali traditional governance systems (Ibrahim, 2005). From the above analysis, it is
clear that traditional systems of government in Somalia played an important role by elders in creating political stability in the community. However no study has been undertaken to examine the role of elders in Somaliland government after independence. This study focuses on this period.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several approaches have been attempted to bring about peace and stability within Somalia such as building blocks approach and centralized system of government that finds a solution for the whole of Somalia (Hansen et al, 2003). However, it is observable that Somaliland enjoys peace and stability. The study sought to establish what has led to this kind of governance, is it the approaches or do traditional elders have any hand in it? It examined the significance of traditional elders in the modern governance. Specifically, this study investigated the role of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland, from 1993 to 2003.

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by following questions

i. What led to the participation of traditional elders in the establishment of modern state in Somaliland?

ii. How have traditional elders participated in the writing Somaliland constitution?

iii. What is the impact of traditional elders’ participation in Somaliland modern governance?
1.4 Objectives of the Study

i. To examine what made it possible for the traditional elders to participate in the establishment of modern state in Somaliland.

ii. To investigate the important role played by traditional elders in the writing of constitution in modern state of Somaliland.

iii. To examine the impact of participation of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland.

1.5 Research Premises

i. The collapse of the political system in Somalia led to the participation of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland.

ii. Traditional elders' participation in the writing of constitution contributed the legitimacy of Somaliland national constitution.

iii. The traditional elders have helped to reconcile different factions in Somaliland.

1.6 Significances of the Study

This study sought to give useful information and recommendations to the Somaliland rulers, decision-makers and other stakeholders in Somaliland. Somaliland is a virgin country where researches made so far are very limited (Jhazbhy, 2007). Hopefully, the research could assist both political parties and public servants by giving them knowledge of governance coupled with local experiences. Many countries in Africa experience decades of war and internal conflict that need to learn from the other Africa countries that have achieved reconciliation in order to rebuild their collapsed institutions through the grass root reconciliation to reach post conflict stability and fair political participation.
The study could provide a framework on how traditional governance of Somaliland was helpful in building formal institutions with its checks and balance.

1.7 The Scope and limitations of the Study

This study focused on the participation in the political process which involves citizen engagement. The research was conducted in Hargeysa, Somaliland which is the headquarters of all government ministries in Somaliland. It focused on the period between 1993 and 2003, when Somaliland traditional elders' political role came into effect. It was limited to examine how it made possible for traditional elders to participate in the establishment of modern state in Somaliland; hence political leaders maintain confidence of traditional elders.

The research constituted a number of challenges including time constraint, financial burden, unavailability of data required to be presented in this project and last but not least challenge is the accessibility of the respondents and their consent to share with the researcher their ideas and information. The study focused on the traditional elders' contribution in the governance of Somaliland, which is an untapped area that needs more commitment to collecting primary and secondary data and convince respondents to give honest information to the researcher. The researcher has overcome the above mentioned challenges through personal networks.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Traditional governance in Africa

Amuwo (2009) observes that African traditional institutions of governance are diverse. They have evolved a significant role of their pre colonial forms in tandem with transformation of the continent’s political systems. Before the 19th century the people of Africa lived in small rural communities organized along primary social groups such as clans and lineages. These communities developed institutions that provided a social safety net and emergence relief for members and pooled resources to support one another. The governing authority was not district form of administration. The Members of the community continued in participatory decision making was experienced (Freddie, 2011)

According to luwis (2007), African countries are characterized by fragmentation of various aspects of their political economy, including their institutions of governance. Large segments of the rural populations, the overwhelming majority in most African countries, continue to adhere principally to traditional institutions. The post-colonial State, on the other hand essentially emulated western institutions of governance, which are often at odds with traditional African cultural values and the region’s contemporary socio-economic realities. Fragmentation of the institutions of governance, along with economic and social fragmentation, has contributed to Africa’s crisis in state-building, governance, and economic development. As maintained by Khunou, (2011), pre colonial traditional governance was based, on governance of the people where traditional elders were accountable to their people during the pre colonial era. The traditional governance
institution was a political and administration center of governance for African communities. The institution operated and functioned according to applicable customs, traditions and customary laws. Customary laws were regarded by members of traditional community as binding on both elders and people alike.

Freddie (2011) maintained that post colonial Africa has a long history, which was grounded on the institutions of traditional governance. The arrival and subsequent settlement of the Europeans in Africa brought about changes to the traditional governance institutions various laws were enacted to legalize interference and to deprive traditional communities of their land. This change had great impact on the systems of pre colonial customary law, communal tenure land tenure system and institution of traditional governance itself.

Bradburry (2002) argued that due to colonial legacy, Chiefs are still seen as embodying governmental authority. Chiefs were a major element in colonial government, both at the local level (Native Authorities) and in central institutions such as the Joint Provincial Council. Youth associations and local communities were seen as an opposition to chiefs. Partly because of its role in colonial government, chiefly power was point of focus for local opposition from traditional organizations of commoners and warriors. This form of local politics continues today in the form of ‘youth associations’, which in its developmental role both seeks the support and judges the performance of local chiefs. These local associations are easily and frequently politicized. However, after independence the African governments maintained the 'culture of European colony of
imposing their dictatorship over traditional elders but traditional governance institutions still exist in remote areas.

### 2.2 Traditional Governance in Somaliland

Hohne (2006), observes that Somali community is known traditionally to be organized into clans with clan lineages that have common culture, language and religion. Each Somali clan or group of clans is known to inhabit a specific geographic area. Within this area, each clan or group of clans have a social structure with rules that govern their interaction with other Somali clans. The Somali society put in place valuable traditional governance system. Egalitarian in nature, the Traditional governance structure handled all societal relations between communities, conflicts, resource sharing, and the provision of the rule of law through the traditional customary laws. Mostly pastoral and agro-pastoral communities, the Somalis observed and adhered to the codes and conducts of the Traditional governance structure. This traditional system of governance consisted of a set of contractual agreements which defined the rights and the responsibilities of the individuals within a group. Somali communities were bound together by ties of kinship based on shared patrilineal descent from a common ancestor and a similar set of agreements which regulated the group’s relations with other neighboring groups (Mohamoud, 2006).

According to Lewis (1961), originally Somali society had no central authority. Some areas were independent sultanates such as the Awdal in the northern regions of Somalia, Majeerteenia Sulnate in Eastern regions, Geledi Sulnate near Shabelle, and Biy-maal Sultanate in southern coast and Ajuran in South-west regions. Other parts were ruled by
clan chiefs. Traditional elders and religious leaders were the decision makers but they were not given salaries. These two systems were guided by Islamic Sharia and customary law as both of them were interrelated and mutual supporting. Meanwhile the clan elders were also given contributions from fundraising organized by the communities, which had public respect for them. There were annual community meetings organized by the clan leaders to solve conflicts and to assist the poor people in the communities.

2.3 Post colonial legacy

According to Shirwa (2003), the colonization of Somali territories transformed traditional culture and social norms by creating permanent paid chiefs to replace the traditional clan elders known as guurti. The colonial administrations disregarded the original Somali culture and created mistrust between communities and salaried chiefs, some clans inaugurated new elders loyal to their interests thereby disobeying the colonial administrators. This was the case during marriage, divorce and the payment of blood compensation where the colonial court judges delegated authorities to the local traditional governance system. This was also the case even after independence where traditional clan elders were left to exercise their traditional governance authorities in the event of an inter-clan conflict.

Goth (2006), observes that traditional governance is a system by which Somaliland clans governed their own affairs through community and clan leaders who are not formally trained or educated to become state leaders and political thinkers, intellectuals, government functionaries and professional managers of modern state. Although elders do
not write such modern constitutions, elaborate penal system, build sophisticated judiciary structure or adapt parliamentary democracy procedures. They have their own system regulated by customary law which is based on clan lineage culture traditional values and social norms that are mainly derived from Islamic Shari’a particularly Shafi’a School of Thought.

2.4 The Customary Laws of Today

As Menkhaus (1998) argues the law system in Somaliland today is a three-tier system consisting of the secular, Sharia and Customary law). Within this system, Sharia is mainly applied to family issues. The xeer is the most widely used and is preferred in most other cases. The function of formal secular courts is primarily to register verdicts made by the traditional elders, and is beyond that mainly applied in the urban areas. The procedures of the xeer generally follow the traditional ways described in traditions of Somali community. The general practice in case of intercommunity conflicts is described in this way: The aqil can arrest the perpetrators with the help of people. Then the traditional conflict resolution procedure will begin. If a crime concerns gangs out of control of the clans then the case will be taken to the formal court. Homicides cases are usually solved through agreement on mag compensation. The courts simply formalize the decisions reached by the traditional elders. If there is a crime against the state, then it is the penal code that will be applied. If there is a crime against humanity, civil cases and the parties agree to use the xeer, then the case will be solved on clan basis by the traditional leaders (APD, 2002).
Virgil (2011), observes that the customary law is respected by the courts, and decisions are registered by the public notary. In case of injuries, the valuation of the damage is done according to Sharia by the sheikhs/religious leaders, and the formal judges to assess the level of compensation. If clan elders can't agree, the case will be reverted to the formal courts. Note that customary law also largely follows Sharia. When a case has been finalized by the traditional elders, and it has been registered with the public notary, then it is final, and there are no more appeal opportunities. But, if the terms of the agreements between clans are not fulfilled, then the court can get involved in the case. In cases of collective clan issues, then it is the clans which collectively pay *mag* and are therefore collectively responsible because the clan contribution is the only insurance people have. The *aqil* collect and administer the *mag*, but can take a man who refuses to pay his *mag* to the court to demand that person to pay up.

Berg, (2011) claimed that customary is adaptable to crimes in the urban context, because blood compensation today is valued in terms of Camels, but paid in cash. There are local variations from general procedures and level of *mag*. For instance, according to traditional justice become common in different parts of Somaliland to increase the level of blood compensation. This creates problems and tensions because it makes it more difficult for the *clans* paying groups to actually pay. Traditional justice is, therefore, trying to bring the cost of blood compensation back to 100 camels: in Islamic point of view any man killed by other man his clan should be given hundred camels unless elders change the customary law in ways that can prevent revenge killings in other ways than increasing the *mag*. Another problem related to the inefficiency of *mag*, mentioned in
Togdheer, is that the *aqiil* may decide to execute a killer on the spot when they catch him and thereby finalize the case. But, this can only happen if the *aqiil* of both victim and perpetrator lineages agree. The police will then be informed that the issue is re-solved completely and there will be no need for further investigations. Usually, the victim family is given the right to choose either to kill or receive *mag* payment or forgive.

Menthes (2007), argues that *Aqii* in Hargeisa complain that their relationship with the secular courts is one sided, and not always good with the traditional system because the *aqiil* have to inform the courts about their decisions and register them, but the courts do not inform the *aqiil* about their decisions which can be just as important if they are to play their role in terms of keeping the peace and accepting the court decisions. They also suggest that the secular courts ought to invite the traditional elders to resolve cases, because they are often more informed than the courts about the specific cases. They also complained that the secular courts delay decisions, are corruptible, and are not sufficiently qualified. In contrast, the *aqiil* can process more cases in a shorter time. The relations between Sharia and customary *Laws* are seen to be good because the Sharia courts consider the traditional system, and vice versa, and Sharia has more credibility than the secular system (Jundel, 2006).

2.5 The Traditional Authority Structure

Le Sage (2005) said that the basic structures of the traditional authorities in Somalia are still more or less the same. However, based on the findings of the past studies, it can be stated that since the civil war in 1990, they have gained importance, especially in
securing the fragile peace, and restoring a level of law and order. In spite of substantial regional differences, their primary role is still the regulation of access to shared resources such as grazing areas and water, which still is based on the xeer. The role of the clan elders in the xeer cannot be overstated, as they are simultaneously considered its legislators, executors and judges. Decision-making is led by the male clan elders on the basis of consensus factors which both subordinate the interests of individuals to the interests of the clans, and severely marginalize women in decision-making. This brings us to the third element of the traditional structures, namely; the juridico-political structure, or the traditional authorities (Møller, 2009).

Lewis (1961), focuses Somali pastoral society is traditionally divided into two categories: Those who devote their lives to religion and those who take up worldly affairs of warriors. Anyone who practises religion is a wadaad. All others are waranleh. Wadaad's are in principle excluded from participation in fighting, and are supposed to stand outside clan politics. Their ideal role is to reconcile rivalries and mediate in disputes between the waranleh. In addition, they also sanction decisions made by the waranleh elders (spiritual). The elders may, however, increase their prestige and respect by showing knowledge of religious affairs and Sharia. Lack of any stable hierarchy of political units is still a characteristic of the Somali social system.

Farah & Lewis (1993), observe that clan-lineages and the blood compensation paying groups do not have any official political leadership attached to them, but consists traditionally of a group of elders who are close kinsmen. Men of 'outstanding' character tend to have greater influence than others, and become the unofficial leaders of the group.
For this reason, the *xeer* are in the first instance managed by the elders heading the *mag-*paying groups, called *aqiil* in Northern Somalia or *nabadoon* (term also used by *Majerteen* in Puntland) in South-Central Somalia. Elder system in Somaliland is not purely a traditional system of governance, but in fact represents a hybrid form of governance between modern and traditional governance, created during the British colonial administration. Today, the *aqiil and nabadoons* are heads of the *mag* paying group, and function as decision-makers, judges and conflict mediators between the lineage groups (PDRC, 2006).

At the level of the clan, there is a clan-head, known as *Suldaan or Garaad* in Somaliland, referred to as *Issimin* Puntland and *Duub* in South-Central Somalia. Hence, the clans and their *xeer* supervised by this higher level of traditional authorities. Here, the word *Issim* is used as the common denominator for this category of elders. The *Issim* is an older institution than the *aqiil*, and were initially bitterly against the *aqiil* system introduced by the British because they interpreted it as an infringement on their authority (Lewis, 1961). Their fear was overcome, but their role was severely limited after independence, and has only been partly revoked as a result of the state collapse in 1990. The *Issim* position corresponds to the segmental level of the clan as a social unit. While *Suldaan, Imam and Ma-laakh (Melik)* are of Arabic origin, the titles of *Boqor (referring to the belt that binds clansmen in unity), Ugaas and Garaad* are of more clear Somali origin. These different titles usually correspond to each other interchangeably, except amongst the *Daarood* who seem to retain a former hierarchy in titles. Hence in descending order you have the *Boqor* (traditionally the head of the *Daarood/Majerteen' Ismaan Mahamuud* lineage, who
has nominal jurisdiction over the Harti division of the Daarood), then the Garaad, Ugas and lastly Islaan.

At every level of segmentation, lineages are led by their elders (oday, pl. odayaal), and all men have the right to speak at the meetings. The shir are summoned by the aqil/nabadoon elders or the higher level Issim according to need. This can happen at every level of segmentation (jiffo, mag, etc.), and can be attended by all adult men, or their representatives chosen at smaller lineage shirs, if the shir comprises a larger clan segment with a very large number of men. Wealth, prestige (inherited), oratory skills, skills in poetry, age, wisdom and other personal characteristics that may vary from clan to clan provides the views of certain men with a greater weight in the shir. Sab and other minorities and women are excluded from direct participation. All adult males have an equal right to speak at the shir (Luling, 1997).

The dispute between individuals of the same mag-group, it is taken before an open council of elders concerned the clan meeting is the most fundamental institutions of governance in the Somali pastoral society. There are no formal positions attached, and no specific time of meeting except when specifically agreed upon. There may be a certain tree, or other location that is preferred for the shir gathering. Agreements are reached by majority decision following the direction taken by the consensus of the members at a meeting. They may agree on forming a committee or court (guddi) to decide guilt and make judgment. Members are appointed on account of their knowledge of the common xeer, their reputation as wise judges (xeerbeegti) those who are expert in customary law and acceptability by both parties (Lewis 1961: 1998). In addition, xeer contracts may be
defined or changed, peace treaties may be made, and decisions of uniting against another group, preparations for engaging a fight/war are also made at a shir. A shir can also be used to debate formal government policies, or even government constitution.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The research adapted servant leadership theory developed by Robert K. Greenleaf due to its applicability of the topic under investigation. The servant leadership theory by Robert K. Greenleaf (1904-1990), presents a new kind of leadership model – a model which advocates for serving others. Servant-leadership theory emphasizes increased service to others; a holistic approach to work; promoting a sense of community; and the sharing of power in decision-making.

Each of these central tenets in the theory is explored individually below, to present a fuller picture of the servant-leadership framework:

(1) Services to others: Servant-leadership begins when a leader assumes the position of servant in their interactions with followers. Authentic, legitimate leadership arises not from the exercise of power or self-interested actions, but from a fundamental desire to first help others. Greenleaf wrote that this “simple fact is the key to [a leader’s] greatness” A servant-leader’s primary motivation and purpose is to encourage greatness in others, while organizational success is the indirect, derived outcome of servant-leadership.

(2) Holistic Approach to Work: Servant-leadership holds that “The work exists for the person as much as the person exists for the work” (Greenleaf, 1996: 8). It challenges
organizations to rethink the relationships that exist between people, organizations and society as a whole. The theory promotes a view that individuals should be encouraged to be who they are, in their professional as well as personal lives. This more personal, integrated valuation of individuals, it is theorized, ultimately benefits the long-term interests and performance of the organization.

(3) Promoting a Sense of community. Greenleaf lamented the loss of community in modern society, calling it “the lost knowledge of these times” (1970: 28). Servant-leadership questions the institution’s ability to provide human services, and argues that only community, defined as groups of individuals that are jointly liable for each other both individually and as a unit, can perform this function. Only by establishing this sense of community among followers can an organization succeed in its objectives. Further, the theory posits that this sense of community can arise only from the actions of individual servant-leaders (Greenleaf, 1970).

(4) Sharing of Power in Decision-Making. Effective servant-leadership is best evidenced by the cultivation of servant-leadership in others. By nurturing participatory, empowering environments, and encouraging the talents of followers, the servant-leader creates a more effective, motivated workforce and ultimately a more successful organization. As phrased by Russell (2001), “Leaders enable others to act not by hoarding the power they have but by giving it away”. The organizational structure resulting from servant-leadership has sometimes been referred to as an “inverted pyramid”, with employees, clients and other stakeholders at the top, and leader(s) at the bottom. Exemplary followers, a product of delegated decision-making, are a further example of servant-leadership’s inverse nature, “another type of leader turned inside
out” (Sarkus, 1996).

The researcher selected this theory because it defines leadership. This theory emphasized providing service to the followers. Traditional elders represent the interest of their community without expecting any returns. Somaliland community see the traditional elders as charismatic leaders whose work is selfless and honest. Elders are nominated in the communities to provide service on the basis of traditional governance.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>Traditional governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional justice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.1: The role of traditional elders in Somaliland

This research was adapted a conceptual framework based on the role of traditional elders in Somaliland governance and various aspects defining the responsibilities of local elders on political stage. The study was undertaken to find out how traditional elders manage conflict and contribute to peace and stability in line with customary law. The Somaliland people enjoy peace and stability unlike fellow Somalis in South central Somalia. This study examined relationships among above stated variables which affect the modern governance.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the research design, research locale, target population, sample population, data collection methods and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The research adopted a descriptive research design in order to describe the role of traditional elders in Somaliland governance. It involved field visits to research locations of Hargeysa city, the capital of Somaliland. Kombo (2011) observes that a descriptive research secures evidence concerning all existing situations. Applied to this study, data was collected from respondents on the role of traditional elders in Somaliland governance.

The study fits within the cross-sectional sub-types of descriptive research design. It combined both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative strategy enabled the researcher to collect data in the actual context in which the phenomenon occurs. It had the advantage of getting responses to the same questions from a large number of respondents who can be quantified, and conclusions drawn (Bell, 1993).
3.3 Research Locale

The research was conducted in Hargeysa, Somaliland. Purposive sampling was used, selecting Hargeysa City as a research location because it is the largest city of entire country and capital of Somaliland. Hargeysa used to be second capital of former Somali republic it is one thousand km away from Mogadishu in the North West and one hundred and sixty kms away from the red sea to the West. It has a population of 700,000 thousand population (UNDP, 2005) the other reason why researcher selected this location is because the study targeted politicians, scholars, civil servants traditional leaders, peace activists, public servants, scholars and businesswomen/men and these could be accessible like transport, libraries, research centers and think-tanks.

3.4 Sample Population

Hargeysa City consists of 7 villages with an estimated population 700,000 according to the UNDP urban population estimates of whole Somalia (2005). The subject of study was drawn from all the 7 villages. The respondents comprised politicians, civil servants, civil society, scholars and businesswomen/men.

3.5 Target Population

The purpose of the study was to examine the contribution of traditional elders in governance for Somaliland State. The researcher looked at the political weight of traditional elders on good governance especially institutionalizing informal governance using community-based and inclusive participation to formalize the modern institution and respond to the needs of modern society. The main target population of this study were people involved in the peace building and service delivery. The respondents were
those who know more about topic or the research problem. This was as presented in below table. The five groups in population table were selected because they were people who can judge and analysis what government institutions do, notable politicians, scholars and business people.

Table 3.1: Sample population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Civil society</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Businesspeople</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Data was collected mainly by using questionnaire method. The method of data collection ensures a high response rate and accurate sampling. It is also urged that greatest care was given in briefing the respondents by explaining thoroughly that the intentions of the questionnaire and also all information collected would be kept confidential.

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was obtained using questionnaires that were distributed to designated respondents translated into local language,(Somali), so as to make easy understanding of people giving
information. Secondary data was sought from the internet, e library of the University, books, academic journals and analytical reports especially those focused on the selected research topic.

3.7 Data Analysis

The responses from the questionnaires were coded, summarized, analyzed and presented using frequent distribution tables and percentages quantitative analysis applied because it helps in calculating the relative frequencies of each response to the question. The advantages of using frequency distribution table are: It gives a record number of times a response occurs. Frequencies and percentages of the responses to each question was calculated and presented in form of tables and discussion. Qualitative analysis was also applied since the nature of study quantitative method alone not enough. The researcher used Microsoft excels for analysis as well as Statistical package for social science. Reliability of the questionnaires was ensured by carefully structured questions and confirming the layout in addition, test and retest was performed using questionnaires to get feedback.

The researcher was also used the qualitative method by interviewing some respondents who were in one way or another involved in the field of Somaliland governance. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined to maximize strengthens and minimize limitations of the each method. The nature of this research could not be done using quantitative approach alone.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analysis and findings of the study as set out in the research methodology. The results are presented in line with objectives of the study; it also presents the summary of data analysis. The data was collected through questionnaire. The findings of the study were present according the research questions. There were 164 questionnaire were distributed among politicians business people civil servants social workers and elders in Hargeysa, Somaliland. The data obtained were presented in tabular forms, percentages and descriptive statistics such pie charts and bar graphs.

4.1.1 The role of chief Aqil in Somaliland society

According to Gundel (2006) the Chief today is seen as the link between the government and community that enjoy enormous respect of hardworking elders doing their job as peacemakers. Somaliland has to a large extent re-established the British colonial administrative system which links institutions of central government with the traditional structures. In the present system, there is a Chief, who is the leader of between 5 and 10 villages and functions as a go-between of the Chief and the regional governor Mr. Dharbaxo (2004). The aqiils are foremost the functionaries of the mag-paying groups, and are registered at the Ministry of Interior, which issues them with ID cards. Below the Aqil you find the village headmen, whose jurisdiction to cover settlements within a circle
of about 5 km. They work at district level with the district council and the local mayor, who are elected through multiparty elections.

Hence, the chiefs are an important part of the Somaliland administration system (Gundel, 2006). They are registered, and perform vital roles for the state especially in security, law and order where they solve at least 80% of all cases. Besides in other social areas, they are the main interlocutors between rural communities and the district, regional and government authorities, especially in cases of conflict, drought, and other environmental disasters. The regional and district authorities generally praise the work and cooperation with the elders in law and order and local development, and see themselves (the local authorities) as being at their service. However, this does not rule out friction, which often may be caused by a combination of lack of capacity in the public governance institutions and corruption. With the support, the aqiiil could address their grievances over the public sector, and they could become an important entity in checking corruption and ensuring accountability within the Somaliland state (Goth 2005).

4.1.2 Traditional justices

The customary court-like congregations are very popular throughout Somalia. Along with Islamic Sharia courts, the traditional court-like congregations address most of the problems that occur within the community during the civil war years. Local regional administrations or neighborhood groups, some of the warlords, seek the support of the traditional leaders to intervene some of the cases (Luling, 1997) In a customary court, the ‘Guddoon’, nominates the Judges known as the ‘Garsoor’, and an equivalent of today’s
attorney general named 'Xeerbeegti'. The 'Xeerbeegti' in this case, is a study group scrutinizing the issue in hand and the relevant codes in the customary law. One essential component of the 'xeer' is the "Mag or Diya' (blood money). This is a procedure by which clans use to maintain justice within the communities and this is organized mostly but not exclusively through genealogical lines. As Lewis (1989), argues that the Mag paying group 'is pledged to support each other in collective and jurally responsibility, and in particular, in the payment and receipt of compensation with respect to actions committed by or against their group The 'Mag' paying process can resolve disputes. For instance, a Mag is collected to compensate the relatives of a victim for the loss of another victim's life. The payment of the Mag is a good indicator of the willingness of groups to stay together. There are also other procedures that may be very useful in the future for the main urban centers (Qasim, 2009)

The compensation of a blood between two clans, it is intended to build trust among clans and keeping communities to live in harmony. The decision made during a judicial process, the 'Mag' compensation, certification of marriage and divorce in the case of family matter, are taken collectively with the' witnessing the process. Decisions taken through this process are binding (Gundel, 2006)
4.2 Responses rate

Table 4.1 Response rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responded</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not responded</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table (4.1) the researcher distributed 164 questionnaires to the respondents selected by the study out of the 164 respondents hundred of them returned their correctly filled questionnaire. This meant 61% of the respondents fully attempted the questionnaire, while 39% not attempted. This implies that the fully answered and returned questionnaire were considered reasonable representation to be used in the final data analysis by researcher.

4.3 Demographic information

The first section of the questionnaire distributed captures the bio-data of respondents such as age composition, social/marital status, level of education, occupation, gender and work experience and specific sectors they work on.
4.3.1 Gender

The Study sought to indicate the gender of the respondents; the analysis carried out were presented in below table.

Chart 4.1 Gender of the respondents

According the analysis carried out it is observable that 64% of the respondents were male which is majority of the entire respondents close to two-thirds while remaining 36% of the respondents were female. Many who were interviewed grew; percentage was male and female accordingly.

4.3.2 Age of respondents

The respondents were required to indicate which age bracket they fall.

The results were as presented in the below chart.
From analyses made on the respondents age 39 percent of the respondents were between 35-45 years of age, 27 percent of them were below 30 years of age 46-55 were 20 percent, 60-65 were 12 percent age bracket the minority of the respondents were 65 years and above. The mandatory retirement age of Somaliland is 65 years in that sense research observed that were 2% of Somaliland work force had already reached the retirement age; despite the research not found whether those retired officer who are still serves are public sector or private sector.

It emerges that the respondents were drawn majorly from those below 45 years of age. Specifically those between the ages of 35 and 45 responded the highest. The percentage of responses declines as the age advances up to sixty or sixty five.
4.3.3 Occupation

The researcher sought to know the occupation of the respondents. The results were as presented in below chart 4.3

Chart 4.3: Occupation of the respondents

[Bar chart showing occupation distribution with categories: social worker, business people, politicians, scholars, civil servants.]

Source: author (2013)

The data shows that business persons are the ones who responded highly to the interview constituting 45% of the respondent, followed by closely the scholars making up 27%, 15% were politicians. The civil servants and the social workers gave the least responses; relatively 7% were social workers while civil servants were least participants 6%. With regard to what was initially intended, it is only the business persons, politicians, and scholars groups that met the maximum thresholds.
4.3.4 Work experience

The researcher sought to know the work experience. The results were as presented in chart 4.4.

**Chart 4.4: Work experience**

In line with the analysis carried out, it was observable respondents have got various years of work experience at their work places 38% of clients have worked for between 5-7 years this was followed by 22% followed 2-4 years of work experience 20% were having 8-12 years of worked experience while 5% percent of respondents were having 15 and above work experiences. It is observable that 60% percent were having 2-7 years of work experience, however, study was found that majority of the participants were having less than 7 years of work experiences. There was possibility that due to the technology
many old people losing their jobs because they don’t know how to use modern technology, for instance computers.

4.3.5 Respondents levels of education

The researcher sought to know participants level of education. The findings were as presents in table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2: Levels of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACHELORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: author (2013)

The above table indicates respondents’ levels of education with 12% having attained only primary school, 45% of the respondents had attained Bachelor degree while 38% of the respondents were having secondary level of education the least were those who have attained master levels and above making 6%. This is not meant that majority of Somaliland people have degrees but research selected people who know more about governance problems.
4.4 Traditional governance

The study aimed at to understand the extent to which traditional governance contributes to the modern governance where respondents were asked their views about traditional governance and how it affects on national politics. The reforms required in the future why Somaliland house of elders is still remained unelected representative political institutions? And whether there is any significant role that traditional elders to play in the governance of Somaliland? These issues among others were discussed in this section.

4.4.1 Relationship between traditional governance and modern governance

The researcher sought to know, respondents views on relation between traditional governance and modern governance. The results were as presented in chart 4.5.

Chart 4.5: Relationship between traditional governance and modern governance

![Chart 4.5: Relationship between traditional governance and modern governance](source: author (2013))
The above chart indicated that 56% believe that traditional governance mainly contributed to in the establishment of modern governance followed by 27% indicated that traditional governance contributed to modern governance greatly while 15% of the respondents showed that traditional governance contributes little only 2% of the respondents believe it contributed somehow to modern governance. The research observed from above the chart that more than half of those respondents agreed that traditional governance contributes to modern governance to a great or excellent extent.

Since the traditional elders mobilize the communities to maintain peace which allows the government to promote the level of citizen engagement. The government and elders can affect each other because anything happen like conflict in water resources can be resolved through formal court or traditional elders may agree the way forward on the issue, and then submit their decision to the court to formalize. The traditional governance guided by customary law while modern governance guided by modern constitution but both of them still go hand in hand if the elders do not agreed each other the government takes the case to formal courts (Dharbaxo, 2006).

Exploring for avenues for constructive exchange between state authority and traditional authority focused on not only specific actors embodying these types of authority but also different modalities of governance. Democratization and institutionalization and elections require certain measures of hierarchy fixity and bureaucratic procedures. Traditional authority on the other hand to great extent embedded within network of community self governance in which consultations, immediacy and flexibility are central traits. However
both approaches can cultivate rational connections that can help to produce more integrated socio political framework in terms of enhancing for peace, law and order (Moe, 2013)

4.4.2 Role of traditional elders play in the governance of Somaliland

The research sought to find out the respondents view on the role of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland. The results were as presented in figure 4.4.6.

Chart 4.6: Role of traditional elders play in the governance of Somaliland

![Chart 4.6: Role of traditional elders play in the governance of Somaliland](image)

Source author (2013)

According to the above chart 48% of respondents said that role of traditional elders play in the governance of Somaliland is conflict resolution and peace building while only 34% of entire respondents felt their role is limited to legislation and developing policies. 18% of the respondents agreed that the traditional elders play law enforcement role. It emerges that traditional elders majorly deal with conflict resolution and peace building.
According to Erigavo peace agreement in 1991 elders and Somaliland political movements agreed on that elders should have the responsibility of keeping peace, law and order: *peace, law and order shall be direct joint responsibility of each community's Guurti and the organs of the regional administration and districts. The elders act as organs which responsible maintenance of peace, establishing and recruiting provincial police forces with help of district communities. (Article 9, 1991)*

The Shiekh conference had achieved the goal of building on specific peace agreement that allowed all major northern clans on principles for future conflict resolution. As such, it marked a significance advance towards building a base for establishment of some form administrative framework that acquired legitimacy throughout Somaliland. Mean while elders in Awdal region sponsored to host second phase of reconciliation conference to be held in their Borama town (APD, 2008).

Somaliland elders played crucial role during the early years of Somaliland establishment. With absence of lack of formal recognition of Somaliland state has had its costs; it is also given the people of Somaliland opportunity to craft a system of government rooted on their local culture and values that appropriate with their needs. This was characterized by formalization of council of elders in the governance of Somaliland as well as peace building and political reconstruction processes, (International crises Group, 2003).

4.4.3 Pioneers of Somaliland establishment

The analysis carried according to respondents view on the elders pioneering role in the establishment of Somaliland. The findings were as presented in chart 4.7
The above chart showed that 90% of the respondents had the opinion that traditional elders were pioneers established Somaliland state while remaining 10 percent said that they had no leading role in the establishment of Somaliland state. It overwhelmingly emerged that the traditional elders were the pioneers who established Somaliland state.

For example in Borama peace conference elders stepped to re-establish peace by convening two major warring clans' conference that was significant to resolve Berbera port conflict and confirmed its status as public asset which assured Somaliland government to have a source of revenue also elders regional and district administrations in most districts of Somaliland. The conference marked a positive step for helping to minimize fear and enmity of national scale. Around 2,000 delegates including 150 voting delegates of tradition elders attended conference (Farah and Luwis 1998).
The numerous localized negotiations between traditional elders from different clans settled grievance of hostilities from civil war, paved the way for the length and inclusive clan reconciliation conference, which set Somaliland road to state formation (Moe, 2013).

4.4.4 Redefinition role of traditional elders

The respondents were asked to express their opinion the ways can be redefined in the role of traditional elders. The results were as presented in chart 4.8.

Chart 4.8: Redefinition roles of traditional elders

![Chart showing redefinition roles of traditional elders]

Source author (2013)

From the analysis of above chart the research revealed that 60% of respondents confirmed that new laws to be designed to provide clear legal framework for work of traditional elders. 40% of participants said policies should be developed to reform the
role of traditional elders play in governance of Somaliland. The majority of the respondents believed that the role of traditional elders can be redefined or specified by enacting new laws, while the remainder believed that the same could be accomplished by making policies.

The public think poorly the Guurti today because they see them as increasing concerned fulfilling the wishes of the executive branch of the government. They are seen as rubber stamp for the government. The Guurti used to repeatedly extend the term of the government as well as their term in office (Rakia, 2010)

4.4.5 Elders re-appearance in political stage

The Study sought to examine emergence of elders as political leaders. The participants were required to express their opinion on how elders came into political stage. The analysis made were, as represented in chart 4.9.
It is clear from the above chart that 52% of the respondents said that elders re-appeared in political stage due to inheritance of political vacuum in Somaliland; followed by 26% that indicated that elder re-appeared in political stage because of being indigenous authority in the area and finally 22% of the respondents confirmed that traditional elders were the only credible local leaders entrusted with governance affairs. Most of the respondents indicated that traditional elders came into political stage by inheriting political vacuum. The rest of respondents maintained that traditional elders came into political stage being the local credible leaders entrusted with country's political reconstruction.
For example when Siad Bare government overthrown in 1991, there was a gap of who should run community affairs to that effect elders emerged as actors who can be trusted with political leaderships due to their neutrality. Elders established regional district administrations and district, where elders were responsible transfer of power from post-conflict military administration to an elected civilian government in which had been achieved within the process led by elders (walls and kibble, 2010)

4.4.6 Positive impact of traditional elders in the establishment of Somaliland state
The study sought to establish whether traditional elders have had a positive impact in the establishment of the Somaliland state. The analysis carried out was as presented in chart 4.10.

Chart 4.10: Positive impact of traditional elders in the establishment of Somaliland state

Source author: (2013)
The researcher established that 85% of the participants indicated that traditional elders have had positive impact in the establishment of Somaliland state followed by 15% confirmed that traditional elders had no positive impact in the establishment of Somaliland. It is overwhelmingly clear from the outcome that the traditional elders have had a positive impact on the establishment of the Somaliland state. Elders were most reliable go betweens who reconciled different factions after collapse of the Siad Barre regime due to the absence of national authority, elders' filled vacuum to replace government.

For example the Erigavo Grand reconciliation conference in 1991 elders succeeded to establish peace between Esa Musa and Habaryonis clans and agreed on ceasefire which facilitated for elders of those clans to unite their militia and handover elders so as to be train and incorporate them in national police releasing prisons of war from two clans was a part of agreement. During the Borama conference elders negotiated to establish peace by agreeing ceasefire and returning looted properties among all Somaliland clans. They developed accord called peace charter which assured the stability of early years of Somaliland foundation. It is readily apparent that, in the line with output in revised framework of national charter was a collective constitutional artifact which established codified collective choice and permitted the election new civilian government (Walls, et al. 2008).
4.4.7 Participation of elders in the writing of the constitution

The participants were asked their opinion on participation of traditional elders in the writing of Somaliland constitution. The results found were as presented in chart 4.15

4.11 Participation of elders in the writing of the constitution

As results presented in above chart (4.15) indicates 55% of participants believe that elders participated in writing of constitution by sensitizing and mobilizing as far as voter registration is concern followed by 38% confirms that elders participation in the writing of the constitution was to do advocacy and lobbying and only 7% of the respondents thought that elders role in the writing of the constitution was to do civic education. The key roles, as demonstrated by the feedback, that elders have played in the writing of Somaliland constitution, include those of advocacy and lobbying as well as voter registration.
registration, with the latter leading. It appears there is less participation of the elders in civic education.

The main role of elders in the constitutional writing was in helping to facilitate the re-emergence of constitutive sphere in which all relevant actors could resume participation in the deliberation that was identified as meta-constitutional and constitutional situations.

The elders mobilized the scholars and prominent lawyers to participate drafting Somaliland constitution. Elders also sensitized the communities and educating them benefits of the constitution and how it promotes peace and development (walls, 2007). In so doing, they made a number of decisions like appointment of committee of constitutional experts to do final review of the constitution.

Ismail Ali is a journalist who has been working in Somaliland for last decade, maintained that elders were leading in the process of writing Somaliland constitution. Although they were not knowledgeable in the governance affairs, but they tried to sensitize the scholars and politicians since the elders have a mandate to represent the Somaliland communities. Before the constitution was adapted elders were responsible for writing national interim charter which defined political and institutional structures of government for a transitional three year period (interview, 2014).

4.5 Challenges affecting role of traditional elders

The researcher sought to find out the kind of challenges affecting role of traditional elders issues like replacement of Sultans by group of elders, illiteracy, and lack of political will, among other issues. Institutionalization of traditional elders and risks associated with it.
Finally this section sought to find out the best strategies to reform role of traditional elders.

4.5.1 Factors affecting the role of traditional elders

The study sought to identify factors affecting the role of traditional elders. The participants were asked to provide their views on the challenges affecting role of traditional elders in the national politics. The results were as presented in chart 4.12.

Chart 4.12 Factors affecting the role of traditional elders

![Chart showing factors affecting the role of traditional elders]

Source author: (2013)

According to above chart (4.16) the 40% of participants indicated that illiteracy is the major factor affecting performance of traditional elders followed by 29% of respondents.
said that elders’ lack of political will can be one of the main factors affecting role of traditional elders, 26% indicated that replacement of Suldans by groups elders is a factor which hugely affect the roles and responsibilities elders while 5% of the respondents agreed that traditional elders had integrity issues.

Fatuma, is businesswoman based in Nairobi and frequently travels to Somaliland. She is one of the women who are conversant in Somaliland governances. She believes that increasing number of elders where the former Suldans replaced by a group of elders can low jeopardize the integrity of elders in the community. Fatuma suggested to the government to come up policy which restricts the number of elders in each district and also set out educational qualifications to maintain quality and integrity of eldership (interview, 2014).

4.5.2 Challenges associated with institutionalization of traditional elders

The study sought to investigate challenges associated with institutionalization of traditional elders. Results were as presented in chart 4.13
Chart 4.13: Challenges associated with institutionalization of traditional elders

Source: author (2013)

The analysis carried out from the above chart indicates that 50% of the respondents felt that elders are conservative to be formalized as political or legislative modern institution. Women membership 32% expressed that the view dominance of only male gender in the house of elders can be risk if institutionalized, 18% of the respondents showed that politicians resist institutionalization of elders, which can undermine in the formalization of the traditional elders. It emerges that the greatest challenges associated with the institutionalizing traditional governance have mostly to do with the conservative nature of the elders. Close to half of the respondents had confirmed the same opinion. Women membership is another major challenge associated with the same issue. Political resistance cannot, as well, be underestimated as far as institutionalization is concerned.
Halima is retired civil service in based in Nairobi. She criticize how women excluded in the membership of the house of elders since woman form a great part of Somaliland population. She would like to see women actively participating in the governance of their country. Women are no longer to be house wives, they are participating almost all walks of life in Somaliland. They are in education, business, advocacy and peace building. Halima was unhappy how women were excluded as members of most political representative institutions. Halima proposed to the government to put in place laws that stipulate women membership and give specific quota for woman as practiced some other countries, Kenya for instance (interview, 2014).

4.5.3: Unelected house of elders

The study sought to find out why Somaliland traditional elders remained unelected representative institution. The responses provided by participants were as presented in chart 4.14.
According to above chart 39% of the respondents were on view of that the house of elders remained unelected institution due to financial and technical matters. This is followed by 30% of the respondents had the opinion that house remained unelected institutions because of reluctance of house members. While of the 26% of the respondents see that the house of elders remained unelected is absence of election laws and only 5% of the respondents believe other reasons. It would appear that there is probably a lack of technical know-how and difficulty in financing, are reasons that prevent holding election house of elders.

Mohamed is 71 years old Suldan from Hargeysa, he had opinion that elders cannot compete for political seat. They only want to hold the granted seats in the house of elders. Suldan Mohamed did not see more important elders to be elected through popular votes,
but he suggested that government not intervene community’s culture and traditions which permit that elder of the clan can hold leadership position till death (interview, 2014).

4.5.4 Best strategies to reform role of traditional elders

The analyses carried out indicated that close to half of the respondents supported to develop required election laws. The presentation of results were as presented in chart 4.15

Chart 4.15: The best strategies to reform role of traditional elders

![Chart Image]

Source: author (2013)

According to the above chart the responses of participants in relation to reforming elder’s functions. 40% of the respondents were on fallen suggested designing of elections laws; followed by 40% of respondents who advocated for women to be members for house elders while 20% of the participants recommended accountability of house elders to general public.
During the establishment of Somaliland government Elders were nominated by their clans through their participation of reconciliation conference in 1993 but since that time the house of elders remained unelected (Yusuf, 2005). The research sought to find out reasons that hindered the house elders' election so as to be fully formalized institution. According to analysis from the respondents the reasons sabotaged election house of elders is either elder resist to the elections because of some of elders can lose their seats after election or electrol law/acts are not yet in place.

4.5.5 Traditional elders' credibility

The respondents were asked to express their views about credibility of traditional elders they overwhelming confirmed that traditional elders still enjoy highly considerable credibility. Analysis were carried were as presented in chart 4.16

Chart 4.16: Traditional elders' credibility

![Chart 4.16: Traditional elders' credibility](chart.png)

Source author: (2013)
The research found out that 84% of the participants indicated that elders enjoy their credibility. The public still has a lot of confidence in them and their leadership. This is consistent with an earlier assertion that less of integrity issues affect their roles. The remaining 16% of respondents expressed that they don’t enjoy credibility they had before.

It is interestingly important to note from the findings that traditional elders still enjoy the credibility and impartiality they had before.

4.5.6 Factors that might affect traditional elders’ credibility

The study sought find out whether there were factors affecting the credibility of traditional elders. The results were as presented in chart 4.20

Chart 4.17: Factors affecting traditional elders’ credibility

![Chart showing factors affecting traditional elders' credibility](image)

Source: Author (2013)
According to the above chart (4.20) 45% of the respondents were concerned that party politics might affect the credibility and impartiality of the elders, issues associated with the credibility and impartiality of the elders, followed by clanism making 35% while corruption 20% said might affect the impartiality of traditional elders.

The 2010 Somaliland presidential election, elders from Borama fully supported the candidature of incumbent president Dahir Rayale who was from their clan as he his party gained more than 50% of votes casted in Borama region, while elders of East and central regions advocated for current Somaliland president who was from opposition’s party. This can be an example how elders divided by both clan lines and party politics (Farah, 2011)

It is observable that party politics and clanism are the factors negatively affecting the same, the former being the leading. Corruption ranks the least. Thus there is need for action to overcome factors like clanism and party politics which undermine the credibility of elders, if indeed the credibility and impartiality of the eldership is to be restored. As the number of elders has increased rapidly and former sultans replaced group of elders that allow political leaders lure up the new elders to achieve their political purposes.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction
This chapter summarizes the outcome of the study. It provides a summary of findings and then lays down the conclusion drawn from the findings. The researcher then provides recommendations based on the study findings and conclusions. Lastly, the researcher gives recommendations for future studies to be carried out in this area.

5.2 The summary of the findings
The study sought to find out role of traditional elders in Somaliland governance. The study was carried out in Hargeysa, Somaliland as research locale. The study found that traditional governance contributes crucial parts in the modern governance. In Somaliland traditional governance was the base that modern governance stepped in. The researcher established that the role traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland the respondents expressed that elders played the role of settling conflict between clans as peace building and policy development got less role then former.

The researcher found that traditional elder were pioneers in the establishment of Somaliland state. The majority of participants indicated that traditional elders have significant role in governance of Somaliland in terms of conflict resolution. It found that traditional elder significantly contribute modern governance of Somaliland such as law enforcement and legislation. There was need that elders role in governance to be
reformed. The findings of the research suggest that new laws or clear policies should be
developed.

The researcher aimed to investigate how traditional elders reappeared prominently in the
political state. It was interesting that most participants indicated that traditional elders
were only local leaders while other were in agreement they inherited political vacuum,
this came when Somalia’s central government collapsed. Traditional elders became the
authority that runs affairs of people in the north-west region of former Somalia now
Somaliland. The research found that traditional elders were participated constitution
writing process such as advocacy and lobbying, voter registration and civic education.
The results of data analyzed shows that mobilized the respective clans in the exercise of
voter registration as winning strategy for elections.

It was found that elder face a number of challenges such as elders’ lack of political will
illiteracy, replacement of Suldans by group of elders among others. The participants
indicated that illiteracy is most pressing challenge that hinders function of traditional
elders. Traditional elders worked over the years as informal leaders in the areas of
governance, thus formalization their work should the challenged one. A number of
factors associated institutionalization of the functions of traditional elders including
politicians resist because they are new comers in political field, thus politicians are
reluctant to give chance traditional elder because they wanted to keep them social affairs
like reconciliations and peace building. Elders are conservative to change their roles in
traditional life style into modern governance where issues of women membership in the
house of elders remained another challenge because they elected through the nomination and women membership were not allowed due to the culture bearers.

The research established that house remained unelected representative institution for number of reasons including lack of financial and technical matters, absence of election laws, reluctance of house members among other reasons. The technical knowhow came in the highest in followed by that reluctance of the house members.

The study revealed that elders still enjoy the credibility as well as impartiality they had before. Most of participants of the study indicated that traditional elders have considerable good reputation. This confirms that traditional elders were the only credible leaders in the country during establishment of Somaliland. A small number of participants said that traditional elders don’t enjoy their credibility and impartiality due to some factors like corruption, calnism and party politics which chiefly affects their impartiality and trustworthiness.

5.3 Conclusion

Somaliland was once a part Somali republic since the union and independence of two protectorates; British Somaliland and Italian Somalia thought Somaliland unilaterally declare its break away from the rest of Somalia in 1991. With absence Somaliland international recognition it has a growing economy and democratic political system that works better than many others on the African continent.
Thus, it is observable that Somaliland pioneered a governance case of bottom up nation building that rooted in their Social norms and energized from it. The collapse of wider Somalia’ government affected hugely Somaliland lost everything, but traditional structures were the only thing that did not collapse in Somaliland as they provided only protection people could get.

The main role of the council of elders has been to maintain peace. They have been able to resolve conflicts in ways that are familiar to them and to avoid military intervention. Somali culture provides that elders are representatives of the clans. They speak on behalf of their clan and also have full authority to make decisions on its behalf. They have enormous power that they can exert on two conflicting parties.

It is generally believed that Somaliland elders were master minds behind that establishment of democratic maturity in their country. The approach they practiced was always different from Somalia’s approach which was top down approach by imposed by international community. The factors made possible the restoration of law and order as well as peace and stability, include community financing of peace conference, key leaders of affected clan participated voluntarily and adaption of resolutions after broad consultations.

All in all the formalization of traditional elders into legitimate modern political organ can pose several challenges. The gender issue in eldership is problem by itself because of cultural barriers. The current 82 members of house of elders are men, while women were
left unrepresented. In this regard allowing membership of women in this house of elders can step forward but it has difficulty ramifications.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations could inform Somaliland government, the various stakeholders and policy makers to ensure that the role of traditional Elders in governance of Somaliland is enhanced:

- It is clear from analysis made that traditional governance contributes modern governance in Somaliland. In this regard traditional governance should be incorporated into the modern governance with the clear roles and responsibilities not only upper house but up to the local councils.

- The government should develop the subsidiary laws that provide clear timeline for the elections of house of elders as well as term of the office.

- The researcher established that women left over under represented most elected political institutions in Somaliland. For instance, house of elders women are unrepresented at all. So that, the researcher suggests that women should be allocated specific quota like but not limited 20% of house members.

- It is clear from the findings that illiteracy is the most pressing challenge affecting the work of the traditional elders. To minimize these challenges the government should put in place relevant plans for capacity building that enhances the skills and the knowledge of traditional elders in the modern governance.

- Government should make sure the measures that stipulate criteria for traditional elders, for example secondary level education and above.
The elders enjoy higher degree of credibility and impartiality. Thus, it could be an asset for elders to give full political participation in the current constitution limits the elders only in upper house membership. It would be helpful for government to decentralize the role of traditional elders by creating district house elders.

The researcher revealed that sultans replaced by group of traditional elders which was regarded as one of burning issues. However, the government in particular the ministry of home affairs should regulate the number of traditional elders. Each district should have designated number house of elders both nominated and elected ones.

5.5 Suggestion of further research

- This research was limited to specific time and not captured many areas required to be tapped due to time and finance. A further research ought to be conducted in the governance of Somaliland.
- Similar research ought be conducted on role traditional elders in peace building and reconciliation.
REFERENCES


Goth, Bashir, Somaliland Wisdom again frustrates doomsayers; editorial Awadal news 1st November, 2005.


http://www.arabnews.com/somaliland-and-democracy%C2%AD%E2%80%94relentless-perseveran
Dear Respondent,

I am a postgraduate student in Kenyatta University doing a Master of Public Policy and Administration (MPPA). I am currently carrying out a research project on “The Role of Traditional Elders in Somaliland Governance”. This questionnaire has been designed for data collection Purpose concerning above mentioned topic title. The purpose of the questionnaire is only for academic reasons meant for data collection. The information you will provide will be treated with utmost confidential anonymity. Your cooperation will add value the success of this research project.

I kindly request you to fill the questions honestly as much as possible to the best of your knowledge. Your assistance will be highly appreciated.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Ahmed Musse Mohamed

Master candidate Kenyatta University
APPENDIX II
QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: BIODATA OF RESPONDENTS

1- What is your gender?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2- Within which age bracket do you fall?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>30 and below</th>
<th>35-45</th>
<th>46-50</th>
<th>55- 60</th>
<th>65 and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3- What is your marital status?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4- What is your occupation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Social worker</th>
<th>Businessperson</th>
<th>politician</th>
<th>scholar</th>
<th>Civil servant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5- How long have you been working in your sector?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of years</th>
<th>2-4 years</th>
<th>5-7 years</th>
<th>8-12</th>
<th>15+ years and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6- What is your highest education standard?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic level</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Bachelors</th>
<th>Masters</th>
<th>Masters and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section B: Traditional governance

7- To what extent do you think traditional governance contributes to modern governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>great</th>
<th>some</th>
<th>little</th>
<th>No effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8- To what extent do you think traditional elders affect national politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Great</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>No effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9- What are the roles of traditional elders in Somaliland Governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Conflict resolution</th>
<th>Peace building</th>
<th>Developing policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Do you think that traditional elders were pioneers established Somaliland state?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

11 Is there any significant role that traditional elders play in Somaliland Governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

12- If your answer is YES, what percentage do you think best describe the involvement in governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>0-10 %</th>
<th>11-20%</th>
<th>21-30%</th>
<th>31-40%</th>
<th>41-50%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13- In which areas do you think elders contribute in terms of governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of influence</th>
<th>Legislation resolution</th>
<th>Conflict resolution</th>
<th>Peace making</th>
<th>Law enforcement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14- Is there any other area of governance that elders may act on?

1: ________________________________

2: ________________________________

3: ________________________________

15 Are you aware constitutional functions for traditional elders?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 If yes list them Up

- ________________________________
- ________________________________
- ________________________________
- ________________________________
- ________________________________
- ________________________________

17 In which ways do you think that role of traditional elders can be redefined or specified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Way</th>
<th>New laws to be developed</th>
<th>Policies should be made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75
18. How did traditional elders reappear prominently in the political stage?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>They were indigenous authority in area</th>
<th>They inherited Political vacuum</th>
<th>They were only credible local leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Do you think that traditional elders have positive impact on the establishment of Somaliland State?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. How often do elders participate in the writing of Somaliland National constitution?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation</th>
<th>Advocacy and Lobbying</th>
<th>Voter registration</th>
<th>Civic Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section C: Challenges affecting role of traditional elders

21. What are the factors that affecting role of traditional elders?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Political will</th>
<th>illiteracy</th>
<th>proliferation</th>
<th>Integrity issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22- What are the challenges associated with the institutionalizing traditional governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Politicians resist</th>
<th>Elders are conservative</th>
<th>Women membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23- Why did Somaliland house of elders remain unelected representative institution?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Absence of election laws</th>
<th>Financial and technical matters</th>
<th>Reluctant of house members</th>
<th>Other reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24- What are the best strategies would you suggest to reform the role of traditional elders in the governance of Somaliland?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Develop required election laws</th>
<th>Accountability of the house to the public</th>
<th>Allowing women membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77
25- Do you think that traditional elders still enjoy credibility and impartiality they had before?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26- If the answer is NO, which of following factors is affecting their credibility?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Corruption</th>
<th>Clanism</th>
<th>Party politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES