PERCEPTIONS OF UNIVERSITY OF HARGIESA STAFF OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF TRIBALISM ON SOMALILAND’S PEACE AND SECURITY

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

In Somaliland, youth and academics face many challenges based on clan configurations. Most of the youth do not control their own future due to fear of tribalism, nepotism and the existence of few opportunities. Tribal forms and characteristics vary, but in Somaliland societies are characterized by tribal structures that are cephalous (headless). Clan affiliations were the basis for survival, security, and identity in traditional Somali society and continue to be so today for most Somalis. Clan affiliations also continue to provide the moral framework that shapes Somalis’ attitudes and behaviours.

Somaliland’s society applies customary law in their decisions regarding setting out agreements on compensation for deaths and injuries. Importantly in this rural society, xeer also delineates agreements on land and water use. Elders also serve as the main link between rural communities and the district, regional and government authorities, especially in cases of conflict, and disasters. The researcher will demonstrate how this negatively affects society.

This paper undertakes a deep investigation into the impact of tribalism in Somaliland’s society by targeting intellectuals who understand the subject. The University of Hargaisa is selected as a sample since it is representative of the other parts of society as a whole and information about the impact of tribalism in Somaliland can be accessed through the use of key informant interviews. This enables improved understanding of both the negative and positive outcomes of tribalism, its main actors roles in different socioeconomic groups as well as what could have done in order to reduce the effect of tribalism. The researcher will employ key informant interviews as a means of data collection, following which the data will be analysed qualitatively.

To illustrate the impact of tribalism in Somaliland society, the researcher structured this concept paper to provide: a brief description of the research and its background as well as the methodology, scope of the research, ethical consideration and limitations of the research. This is followed by statistical analysis to present the findings of the research and associated recommendations.
Research Question
How does tribalism affect peace and security in Somaliland?

Research: Overall Goal and Specific Objectives
The main Goal of this research paper is to analyse tribalism and its implications in Somaliland for sustainability, peace and security in general.

The specific Objectives of the research paper include:
1. To explore how tribalism negatively impacts on peace and security in Somaliland and provide recommendations about this for the youth, academics, elites and privilege groups in particular.
2. To sensitize and engage Somali research institutions and academics to do further comprehensive research into the struggle to achieve behavioural changes within Somali communities.
3. Somalis see the world through a clan lens which is their indicator for measuring all life spheres. This research paper hopes to introduce black spots and damage to this lens to encourage people to discard it and replace it with the lens of critical and analytical analysis for real situation and trends.

SECTION 2: DESK REVIEW

Somaliland was held up as Africa's only genuine nation-state during the African independence movements of the 1960's, because its population was of one tribe, one religion, and one language. Within this tribe, most scholars identify four major Somaliland clan families believed to have sprung from a legendary Arabian ancestor: Isaaq, Darod and Dir, with few minority clans including Sab (madhibaan) clans and Fiqishini of Hawiye clan.

Isaaq, being the dominant clan in Somaliland, possesses most of power and resides in more than two thirds of the country. After independence, Somali people experienced civil wars based on injustice which influenced and affected every Somalilander and forced the use of the concept of tribalism in both negative and positive ways. Clan affiliations were the basis for survival, security, and identity in traditional Somali society and continue to be so today for most of Somaliland. Clan affiliations also
continue to provide the moral framework that shapes Somalis’ attitudes and behaviours. It is a moral responsibility to assist one’s clan members, whether politically, economically, or logistically. Therefore, what westerners would consider immoral practices in the context of governance – corruption, nepotism, and even the deployment of violence – are moral practices in the Somali context. In this setting, the appropriation of resources for the promotion of clan interests and the well-being of clan members is both logical and ethical.

After the civil wars, Somaliland reconstructed its governance and continued to develop in a democratic way. The people living in the northern regions specially (particularly the Isaac clan) started to harbour feelings of injustice and targeted prosecution, and feel that they were subjected to nepotism, corruption and tribalism. They felt they were denied resources and power sharing within the government this ultimately led to the Isaac clans giving moral and material support to the newly formed Somali National Movement ‘SNM’ in 1980. This support did not only encompass moral and material support but there was a council of Elders formed to advise the leaders of the movement. This was subsequently followed by an increasingly harsher and more indiscriminate brutal persecution of the civilians by the military government in the north as the government started to crack down on the movement. As civilian suffering and resentment increased, more and more people crossed the border to Ethiopia to join the movement, armed clashes between the government and the movement became rampant, and this started a civil war in which tens of thousands of people lost their property and lives. After more than a decade of war and eruption of violence in the south, the military government was ousted from power in 1990. In early 1991, clan leaders and elders were a prime factor in SNM and Somali-north societies and convened reconciliation conferences and built government structures and framework. On 18 May 1991 Somaliland elders together with SNM declared the Republic of Somaliland. The war was not ended with the ousting of Siyad Barre (President of Republic of Somalia). There followed civil wars which broke out within Somaliland clans (Isaaq-sub-clans). Elders again took the lead in reconciliation conferences between all Somaliland’s tribes, both SNM tribes and other tribes not involved with the SNM movement. Thirty community conferences were held between 1991-1996, and the civil wars were brought to an end by the clan leaders without external intervention.

In 2001 a constitutional referendum was held in Somaliland. 97% of the people voted for Somaliland to be independent from the rest of Somalia. A system of political parties was formed and developed and these political parts participated in different elections at the municipality, parliamentary and presidential levels.
On the other hand, political parties are the leading tribalism escalators in Somaliland. They use clan-based campaigns and propaganda which induced people to fear each other and increased violence based on tribes.

In main cities where universities and higher institutions were developed, education acts as the main tool for youth to fight against poverty. However most face unemployment related to tribalism. This situation has led Somaliland’s youth to be desperate, fearful and hopeless for their future, opening up possibilities including human trafficking and bad behaviours like the utilization of drugs and clan based violence.

Currently people in Somaliland are becoming more democratic; they are technologically advanced and aware of things occurring globally. However, tribalism exists and develops its roots. It is the turning point for all aspects of life in both a positive and negative manner. Mostly it results in tangible and advantageous achievements because most conflicts are solved by traditional elders through cultural and clan based system, aggressive people are controlled by their elders, and put it in a nut shell, tribalism acts as a source of right.

In large cities, tribal codes operating in villages remain unchallenged by rule of the central government (although there are notable exceptions to this). In times of warfare and chaos, individuals have used the social safety net that is provided through norms of reciprocity in tribal life, further solidifying their prominence in rural society. At the same time, however, warfare has damaged village governance as tribal elders have been assassinated or fled to the anonymity and comfort of urban centres. It is at the village level where development initiatives are most likely to come into direct contact with tribal structures. In many cases, development agencies employ facilitated participatory community-based self-assessments such as “Participatory Rural Appraisals” or “Community-Based Planning Assessments”. Norms and reporting targets of such programs emphasize participation of all members of society.

A council of elders comprised of lineage heads negotiates *xeer* for a village, forging collective decisions in active consultation with their constituencies. The elders in Somaliland apply customary law to settle disputes within their communities; it’s their responsibility to cooperate whenever a crisis occurs. The designation of elder is earned by any adult male who has demonstrated good judgment and leadership (though some elders can be corrupt and venal). An elder’s status also derives from the lineage level they represent and the influence of members of the lineage in other realms, including top business
people, professionals, civic leaders, clerics, and militia leaders. Thus, an elder’s status can wax or wane as circumstances and reputation dictate. The government of Somaliland pays the heads of lineages to undertake liaison, but vests formal authority in the village administrations in order to safeguard the interests of the state. The village council continues to be viewed by the village residents as the most important source of political and judicial authority.

SECTION 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
The methods employed in this research paper will be an exploratory approach. The researcher will contact University of Hargeisa staff through direct visits and meetings to gather relevant information on this matter. A technical and professional desk review will also be undertaken through online-based systems to extract relevant sources for the investigation.

The field data collection method is key informant interviews of key individual members among targeted groups to explore very technical, complex and concrete information which can produce the desired and expected insights. The aim is to inspire people by arriving at valid, reliable and generalizable research findings. The use of desk review will achieve triangulation in the research. Formal and informal observations will also be utilised while data collection is being executed.

In relation to the sampling strategy and plan, the research study will cover the entire staff of the University of Hargaisa through applicable sampling strategy. In accordance with the research nature and objectives different faculties under the University of Hargiesa will be focused upon as different strata through a sampling stratification procedure. The sampling unit from each stratum will be different proportions in regard to their relevancy of theoretical research concepts through ratio and proportion techniques based on sampling determination procedures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>College/School</th>
<th>Strata</th>
<th># of sampled</th>
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<td>College of Medicine and Health Science (CMHS)</td>
<td>32</td>
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**Total** | 434 | 22 | 100% |

To manage the data I will develop a data management plan which details the time of data collection for key informant interviews, where data is to be collected, and who will be interviewed. Before any data collection visits there should be an appointment one day ahead, to enable planning and carrying out data quality control technicalities, and the formulation of data designing steps. In the analysis stage data shall be analysed in the Limesurvey package for quantitative data, with themes analysed through Atlas.ti for qualitative data.

The findings and recommendations of the research paper shall be presented and disseminated mainly through written reports, policy briefings in both English and Somali and any other methods recommended by the mentor.

**ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

In the course of all research activities, from the planning to the dissemination process, ethical considerations will be addressed. The first ethical consideration is **integrity** of the research, meaning that the research avoids plagiarism and any information referred to shall be cited. All content in the research, whether data gathering information, tools that will be used to gather the data, quality control supervision forms and the rest of the information that will be in this research paper, shall be mainly from the creativity of the researcher and any other information that belonged to other writers whether direct quotation or paraphrasing shall be identified by a proper citation. During the data collection process both **written and oral consent** will be obtained. The respondents will first be provided with general information and the objectives of the research, and any individuals who are happy and willing to participate will be interviewed. There will be no coercion of the individuals to participate in the research, data collection will held in a private place to keep the respondent's **privacy**, and the collected data from all respondents will be not shared with any other people except the concerned institutions to preserve
The data **confidentiality**. The data will entered into computer files with **anonymity** and **coded** within protected computer files. No questionnaires will left unprotected on tables and shelves, and hard copies of the questionnaires will be protected and placed in a proper place. The findings of the research paper will be **presented and disseminated** focusing on the overall results of the study and with individual’s arguments and perceptions anonymized.

**LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

1. There are plethora of sultans and it is difficult to reach all sultans
2. There are many self-declared sultans, who are neither registered by the government nor have the confidence of their clan
3. Some of sultans were just nominated by the government, and do not have the confidence of their clan and sub clans
4. There are many clans and sub-clans who nominate more than one sultan, and it is difficult to identify the right one registered by the government, and it can limit the reliability of the data if interviewed
5. The research focused on University of Hargiesa staff, in the case of teachers there is the possibility of overlapping as some of the teachers teach in more than one faculty.

**SECTION 4: RESULTS/FINDINGS**

This section presents the results of the research, to explore the effects of tribalism on Somaliland’s peace and security. The information in this chapter is an insight into an area about which there is so far no study. There were no existing studies into the correlation between tribalism and security according to my information while I was performing the desk review. The target respondents were University of Hargeisa instructors. The interview process continued for 6 days during which randomly sampled instructors from 2 faculties were interviewed per day. The interview was mainly unstructured since it sought to explore subjective information. The target instructors were 22 individuals (17 men and 5 women). The ratio of men to women is so different because at both public and private institutions men outnumber women in job positions and placements.
1.1. Demographic Information

Graph 1: Gender Of Respondents
Of the 22 respondents 17 (77%) of them are men, while 5 (23%) of them are women.

Graph 2: Qualifications of instructors
Of the 22 instructors, 10 of them have graduated from a degree program, 5 of them from a masters program, and 4 of them hold double masters, while 3 of them hold higher diplomas.

1.2. The concept of Tribalism and its preferences
Tribalism is a chronic disease that has badly affected Somali communities in general, and particularly in Somaliland's societies. It seriously damages Somaliland’s population from an individual level to the national level, physiologically psychologically and in terms of productivity, as Dr. Ahmed mentioned.

Geographically Somaliland is dominated three main clans Isaaq clan which is first majority, Samaroon clan which is second majority and Hartti-Darod sub clan which is third majority and some other minor clans including Ciise and Gabooye. Each clan has clan units, while each clan unit has sub-clan levels.
In common with clanism, tribalism has no limit: sometimes it stands between the main clans, another time it stands between the clan units, while it sometimes stands between sub-clan levels. Hitherto it reaches two siblings who shares solely father or mother, according to Mr. Mohamed Ali’s word “tribalism is a just like onion tree which has no limit until it disappeared”.

Referring to the responses of the interviewers, fundamentally Somaliland’s population is structured by clan systems which are based on a long term history of Somali societies where in clans, clan-units, and sub-clan levels were under conflict, thereby the main sources of conflict of interest were camel lootings, water and pasture and the main weapons of that period were horses, crossbow and curve and AK-47 guns. The media of attack and defence was poems, stereotypes, propaganda and prejudices. Currently, some regions of the country are quite vulnerable to clan conflicts focused on water, pasture and land disputes, but the legacies of past wars produce a conflict-sensitive environment which can at any time affect the peace and security of Somaliland at community, district up and regional level.

The sampled instructors agreed people do prefer tribalism for three main reasons. The only insurance facility and law which can defend their humanity, political rights, economic interests, trusteeship, guarantee, dignity and life is a tribalism, as Prof Ibrahim Sa’ed from Faculty of Economics and political science noted: ‘if a person killed another person his/her clan paid the compensation for the dead body since there are blood-dia-groups. If a person’s property is looted, the clan of the looter return back the property and if someone wants to marry his/her relatives supported this financially and morally’. Therefore tribalism is the only accessible insurance facility Somalis have. Through it communities are compelled to take actions regardless of the negativity and positivity of the outcomes whilst they are in clan environment. In addition the political situation of the country is a major contributor to the pull of tribalism, Abdi Hakim Bashe from Faculty of Applied Science reported. A Judge from Faculty of Law and Legal Clinic reported that Somalis employ tribalism as a mechanism for enforcing their rights legally or the rights of someone else illegally by getting more than their rights.

1.3. The Effects of Tribalism on Somaliland peace and Security
Tribalism has multi-faceted effects on peace and security including the following four inter-related ways, as organized and summarized from interviewer’s perception and attitudes:

1. **Socially**
Geographically, each tribe of Somali clans was concentrated and resided in a particular area for the purposes of clan interest such as preparedness for wars, co-existence, economic collaboration and
genealogy matters. Fundamentally the structure and management of clan systems were predominantly ruled by clan elders such as sultans and Akils. Ecologically and geologically there were long historic wars among Somali tribes which were based on clan superiority/inferiority, water, pasture and land conflicts along with regular and frequent propaganda, prejudices and stereotypes through poems and traditional dances. These excessive prejudices weakened the social bonds and interactions between the clans as they are located in different areas for the purposes of their genealogical settlements and this negatively impacted social integrations, confidence, co-existence, and collaboration which created a conflict sensitively environment. The very feeble and fragile stability among neighbouring tribes included one of the worst recent cases of violence between two sub-clans under Harti-Dhulbahante. In June 2016 in Dharkeygeenyo village under Las-Anod town, around 10 people were killed and many more wounded on both sides. The case began because one person killed another, and the war did not stop for more than two months.

2. Politically
In Somaliland’s political system, key and prime positions in the government can only be filled by individuals from particular clans, and people select and vote for candidates on the basis of clanism. Even though it is a democratic process structurally, all political figures including the president, ministries, parliamentary, and intelligence officers are nominated by their clan superiority regardless of their qualifications and experiences. In the Somaliland context, customary laws dominate over national laws. Central government is hugely affected by clan organizations and leaders, who undertake bargaining with the government using both peaceful and less peaceful methods. The poor political representation and feeble government structures brought about clan rainbow structures, which challenged the governments and created conflict sensitivity and clan tensions. Extravagant and mismanaged funds, sky rocketing corruption, lack of accountability, injustice and weak government systems and acts are also common in the country and this leads to ongoing insecurity. People follow clan issues and interests rather than their individual and national issues and interests, as Sh. Mohamed noted.

3. Economically
As a majority of the interviewees reported, since Somali communities are structured by tribal systems their social mobility and integration in business is hampered, which might cause limitations in economic growth as well as the ability to share business ideas and investments. This might cause economic disparity among tribes since not all tribes have similar financial sources and capability. The results of
economic disparity include youth employment within certain clans which will remain as long as the method of job searching is a tribe tips. So long as job placements are determined by tribe systems rather than qualifications and experience, the capability and movement of business will be feeble and a failure. Thereby, business being structured by clan systems halted international investments and banking which could provide tangible youth employment in the country. For instance, one of the recent cases is PD World investment in Berbera Port on Aug 2016 which brought conflicts and turmoil between one of the Berbera clans and the central government of Somaliland. This case has still not been solved and it is unclear whether DP World will invest in Berbera Port (which is the interest and decision of the government) or leave the country (which is the interest and decision of one of the Berbera town clans), as A.Kadir Haybe reported.

The combination of economic disparity among tribes can bring youth gangs, constant youth unemployment could also lead anti-governmental demonstrations and barriers against internal investment and banking which could also cause civil wars. The outcome of these three forces is negatively contributing to instability throughout the country.

4. Legally
Clan superiority among Somali tribes, political representation and nomination based on clan superiority and stereotypes rather than personal qualifications, experiences and efficiency, economic disparity among Somali tribes, and the domination of customary law over national laws, produces feeble government, ruins accountability and exacerbates corruption which could lead to injustice, nepotism, favouritism, conspiracy, murder, and tribe conflicts all the way to civil wars.

Turning to the other side of the arguments, towards the effects of the tribalism on peace and security, a majority of the scholars pointed out that tribalism is a double-edged sword. They reported that tribalism is contributing positively to the peace and the security of the country and provided as an example the reconciliation conferences in 1991 to 1995 that were mobilised by clan leaders. These were successful in accomplishing stability and securing the country without external forces and interventions. Not only that but from 1991 up to recent cases of conflicts, clan leaders are the prime actors whose solutions and decisions are sine qua non.

1.4. How to measure socio-economic dynamics and development in Somaliland
According to the arguments of the scholars interviewed by the researcher, in the Somaliland context there is no statistical data on economic prosperity or recession, business movement and stock markets,
youth employment or unemployment rates, person per capita data and realistic socio-economic data for population dynamics and developmental spheres, but there is a very rough data available in particular government institutions though it is not organized or published and the responsible persons of those institutions claim that this erroneous data is a confidential and not intended to share with interested groups/individuals apart from government bodies. As the scholars interviewed agreed, the socio-economic dynamics of Somaliland’s population was measured by their perception and opinion, through physical evaluations such as the construction of buildings, infrastructure and augmented health clinics and education centres regardless of their quality of services and outcomes as Dr. Hamze emphasized. In this scenario, physical assessments of people are far different due to clan constraints because the majority of the people believed that every person is happy unreasonably. They suggest that the minister from his/her clan is doing the greatest job and is efficient, while others are not performing and there is rampant corruption and nepotism.

1.5. Barriers against Somaliland Academics

As the instructors reported, there are a number of challenges and barriers faced by Somaliland’s academics as the below chart illustrates. On the issue of tribalism Dr Ahmed quoted ‘if you apply for a vacancy, recruitment committee are usually very interested to know the tribe of the candidates during the selection process, according to my practical experience the majority of the government and private institutions are not only screening person’s educational background and experiences, but also tracing a person’s tribe through informal referencing methods, as they say usually, in this term the position is belonging to tribe ‘X’, but not tribe Y or Z. The possibility of selecting the right person to the right position is almost at risky or null.

Graph 3: Barriers for Somaliland’s Academics

1.6. Methods of reducing the negative impact of tribalism through behavioural changes

The sampled scholars interviewed explicitly expressed that there are approaches for reducing the negative impacts of tribalism, but before we take any actions to decrease the bad influence of tribalism
we need to understand and analyse the nature and behaviour of the society, because tribalism recently became a social norm and unless we address this feudal systems nothing will change, Dr. Hamze said. After tracing the nature of the problem a number of actions and plans is appropriate:

I. To get alternative sources of income such as micro-finance institutions to minimize clan insurance dependence

II. To get international banking facilities and systems which guarantee to the borrowers that while they are lending money/investment they will ignore clan guarantee and trustee ships

III. To create and engage in job creation and placement through very standardized procedures and to get rid of clan influence, nepotism and favouritism

IV. To engage in social interactions and integration through sports, school competitions, experience sharing and lessons learned

V. To minimize the role and the power of traditional leaders by enlarging the role of government institutions

VI. To consider educational background and experience rather than person’s tribe

VII. To nominate and select government officials due to their experiences and qualifications rather than their clan superiority and representations

VIII. To implement national laws and to avoid the use and engagement of customary laws

IX. To organize the society regionally instead of through clanism

1.7. Existing challenges that Hinders to Reduce the Negative impact of Tribalism

According to the arguments of the majority of the scholars there are huge existing challenges which hinder attempts to reduce the negativity of tribalism including but not limited to:

I. Poor education among societies

II. Feeble existing government systems

III. People are not aware of the hazards of prolonged tribalism

IV. Community prejudices are encouraging the continuity of tribalism

V. Very weak national legal frameworks

VI. Rampant corruption and mismanagement of government sources and facilities

VII. Poor leadership and governance styles

1.8. Actors and Areas Can reduce the Negative impact of the tribalism

Drawing on the responses of the scholars, and in particular Dr. Hamze who says ‘the actors that can reduce the negativity of the tribalism are include government officials, academician/scholars, youth,
women and elders’, but three different ways can be used to reduce the catastrophic influence of tribalism:

1. **Government officials**: The voting in the presidential, parliamentary and local municipality elections should be based on ideology and competency of the candidates, not nepotism and clan superiority. Also the nomination of the ministers and other governmental officials should be based on their capability, experience, and qualifications but not a clan representation system. For job placement and hiring of staff it should be publicly widespread to employ recruitment policies and procedures and to avert poor transparency, lack of fairness, nepotism, and favouritism.

2. **Community level**: Engagement of the community members through social integration and interactions; particularly people should be all open to one another in the period of marriage (some of the minor clans could be married to major clans but oppositely a foreign man/woman could marry man/woman from major clans); and also reduce the dependency on clan leaders by employing national laws rather than customary laws.

3. **Individual level**: According to Dr. Hamza’s words ‘a person should seek his/her own capability but not through his/her clan elders because of nowadays living CV is more common than written CV’.

**1.9. Is there any anti-tribalism policy in Hargiesa University**
The entire sampled scholars agreed that there is no anti-tribalism policy in Hargiesa University or even any relevant documents.

**SECTION 5: CONCLUSION**

Tribalism badly affects Somaliland’s society from different angles including socially, politically, economically and legally, which can also influence the safety and security of local communities, the most vulnerable individuals being the youth and women who have felt its impact as a barrier to their rights and induced them to be desperate concerning their future.

Tribalism discourages free market business, blocks clan integration, promotes nepotism and self-interest, lowers justice, escalates conflicts among clans and results in domination of one clan over the others. In other words, only major clans can survive since they have access to all resources over the others; unemployment of qualified youth is mostly caused by tribalism, this results in youth being desperate for education and leads them to participate in human trafficking to Europe which they feel as
the only way to develop their future. Others who cannot afford to stow away become drug addicted and participate in youth violence activities which can also affect peace and security in Somaliland since it’s difficult to travel dark streets in Somaliland’s towns at night.

The effect of tribalism can be felt by anyone and its course continues due to poor leadership and governance institutions, lack of quality education, poor perception, belief by people in the power of clans, denial, as well as corruption and mismanagement of resources for government.

The negative impact of tribalism in Somaliland society can be reduced through a combination of several efforts including increasing the role of government in preparing anti-tribalism institutions which will conduct awareness raising about the negative effects of tribalism, disseminate information related to government policy on tribalism as well as punishment for any tribalism activist.

People should be shown their talent and induced to believe their capacity rather than seeking their rights through a clan system as well as mobilising local communities to share resources by discouraging customary law systems and emphasising the use of tribalism in a positive manner only.

Somaliland’s society can be discouraged from the use of tribalism in their surroundings by carrying out and conducting well organised anti-tribalism activities; by mobilising all involved actors from governmental bodies to the individual level; by illustrating its negative impact compared to the positive side of sharing resources regardless of ethnicity; by the creation of jobs or vocational training for youths which could eliminate the use of tribalism and encourage them to believe in their capability; by linking local communities to micro-finance institutions and the banking system for investment; and engaging social interactions and integration through sports, school competitions, experience sharing and lessons learned.

The combination of above efforts could act as a grass root behavioural change mechanism, which could lead Somaliland communities to enjoy the positives of tribalism.
WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ANNEXIES

WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY


ANNEXIES

ANNEX 1: GUIDELINE OF THE RESEARCH

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE.docx

ANNEX 2: LIST OF THE INTERVIEWERS