



# ARDAA

ALIF RESEARCH AND DATA ANALYTICS ACADEMY



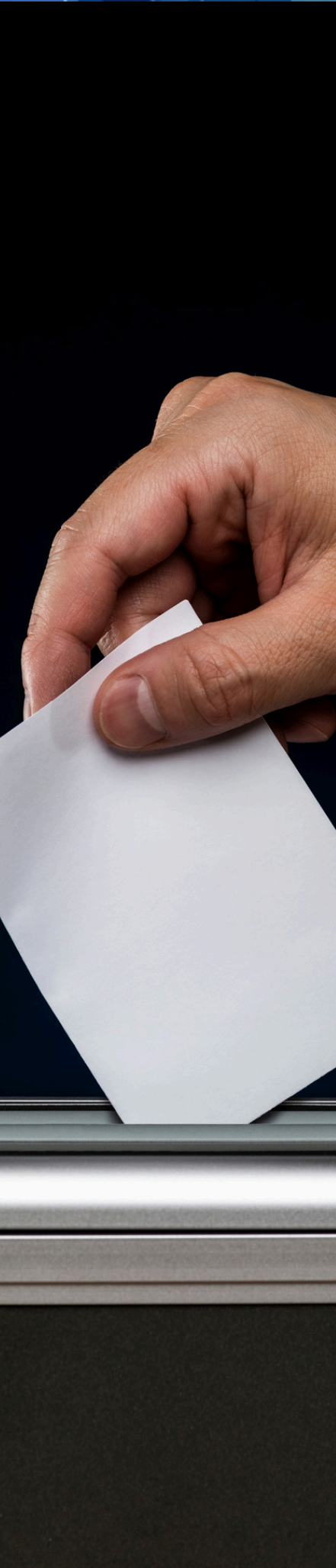
## EVENT STUDY

# Somaliland's 2024 Presidential Election: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook and Consumer Spending

**December 2024**

**How to cite this research report:**

ARDAA. (2024). Somaliland's 2024 Presidential Election: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook and Consumer Spending. Retrieved from <https://ardaa.net/>



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# RESEARCH BRIEF

## Background

Somaliland's achievements, marked by peaceful elections and the use of biometric voter registration, provide valuable insights into how elections influence public sentiment. This study aims to examine the immediate impact of Somaliland's 2024 Presidential Election on public sentiment regarding the economy and consumer spending.

## Methodology

Using an event study approach, it evaluates changes in optimism about economic prospects, job opportunities, and spending behavior by comparing sentiment before and after the election. The study surveyed 290 respondents in Hargeisa, representing diverse political affiliations and demographic groups, to ensure a comprehensive understanding of public sentiment.

## Findings

The findings reveal clear differences based on political affiliation. While overall optimism about Somaliland's future remained steady, significant polarization emerged between party supporters. Waddani supporters, encouraged by their party's electoral victory, maintained or improved their optimism. In contrast, Kulmiye supporters experienced notable declines in optimism about economic opportunities and spending intentions. These shifts underscore how electoral outcomes shape public confidence and perceptions of economic stability.

## Implications

This study highlights the importance of understanding public sentiment during elections and offers valuable insights for policymakers and stakeholders. Efforts to address disparities in economic confidence among different political groups and to promote inclusive economic policies are essential for fostering public trust and long-term stability. Additionally, future research could investigate how similar dynamics unfold in other regions of Somaliland, offering a broader perspective on the connection between political outcomes and public sentiment.

# NUXURKA

## Gogol-dhig

Guulaha Somaliland gaadhay, gaar ahaan doorashada nabdoon iyo horumarka laga gaadhay diiwaangelinta codbixiyeyaasha oo lagu sameeyo farsamada aqoonsiga indhaha ayaa xayndaab fiican u ah in la fahmo dareenka dadweynaha xilliyada doorashada. Daraasaddan waxay baadhaysaa saameynta doorashadii madaxtinimada ee 2024 ee Somaliland ka qabsoontay ku leedahay dareenka dadweynaha ee ku aaddan aragtida dhaqaale ee dalka iyo filashada lacag bixinta (spending intentions).

## Habraaca

Iyada oo adeegsanaysa habraaca daraasadda dhacdooyinka (event study), waxay warbixintani isbarbar dhigaysaa dareenka dadweynaha ka hor iyo kadib doorashada si loo qiimeeyo isbeddelada ku yimid rajada dadka ee fursadaha dhaqaale, shaqo-abuurka, iyo lacag bixinta. Daraasadda waxa ka qayb-galay 290 qof oo ka kala socda magaalada Hargeysa, kuwaas oo matalaya ururada siyaasadeed iyo qaybaha bulshada ee kala duwan si loo gaadho faham qoto dheer oo ku saabsan dareenka dadweynaha.

## Natijjooyinka

Natijjooyinku waxay muujiyeen kala duwanaansho weyn oo ku saleysan taageerada xisbi siyaasadeedyada tartamayay, gaar ahaan labada ugu weyn. Inkastoo rajada guud ee mustaqbalka Somaliland ay ahayd mid aan aad isu beddelin guud ahaan, taageerayaasha xisbiyada waaweyn ee tartamayay waxay muujiyeen falcelin kala duwan. Taageerayaasha xisbiga Waddani, oo dhiirrigelin ka helay guusha doorashada xisbigooda, rajadoodu wey fiicnayd guud ahaan doorashadii kahor iyo kadib. Dhanka kale, taageerayaasha xisbiga Kulmiye waxay muujiyeen hoos u dhac weyn oo ku yimid rajada fursadaha dhaqaale iyo lacag bixinta. Isbedelladan waxay muujinayaan sida natijjooyinka siyaasadeed ay u qaabeeyaan kalsoonida dadweynaha iyo aragtidooda ku saabsan xasilloonida dhaqaalaha.

## Saamaynta

Daraasaddan waxay muujinaysaa muhiimadda ay leedahay fahamka dareenka dadweynaha inta lagu jiro doorashooyinka waxayna bixinaysaa aragtiyo qiimo leh oo ay adeegsan karaan sameeyayaasha siyaasadaha iyo daneeyayaasha kale. Waa in diiradda la saaraa sidii loo yareyn lahaa farqiga u dhaxeeya kalsoonida dhaqaale ee kooxaha kala duwan ee siyaasadda iyo sidii loo xoojin lahaa siyaasado dhaqaale oo loo dhan yahay. Intaa waxaa dheer, cilmi-baadhayaashu waxa ay ballaadhin karaa diraasadan iyaga oo sahaminaya gobollada iyo meelaha diraasaddani aanay gaadhin. Taas ayaa suurto galinaysa in la helo fahan qoto-dheer oo ku saabsan xidhiidhka u dhexeeya natijjooyinka siyaasadda iyo dareenka dadweynaha.



# الملخص

## الخلفية

إنجازات جمهورية صوماليلاند، التي تتمثل في الانتخابات السلمية واستخدام تقنية تسجيل الناخبين البيومترية (تقنية التعرف على قزحية العين) ، توفر إطارًا قيمًا لفهم مشاعر الجمهور خلال فترات الانتخابات. تدرس هذه الدراسة تأثير الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام 2024 في صوماليلاند على مشاعر الجمهور فيما يتعلق بآفاق الاقتصاد الوطني وإنفاق المستهلكين.

## المنهجية

باستخدام نهج دراسة الحدث، تقيم الدراسة التغيرات في التفاؤل بشأن الآفاق الاقتصادية وفرص العمل وسلوك الإنفاق من خلال مقارنة المشاعر قبل وبعد الانتخابات. شملت الدراسة 290 مشاركًا من مدينة هرجيسا، يمثلون انتماءات سياسية ومجموعات ديموغرافية متنوعة لضمان فهم شامل لمشاعر الجمهور.

## النتائج

كشفت النتائج عن اختلافات كبيرة في المشاعر مدفوعة بالانتماء السياسي. في حين ظل التفاؤل العام بشأن مستقبل صوماليلاند مستقرًا، أظهرت أنصار الأحزاب ردود فعل متباينة. أنصار حزب وطني، مدفوعين بفوز حزبهم في الانتخابات، أظهروا تفاؤلًا ثابتًا أو متزايدًا. في المقابل، شهد أنصار حزب كولمبي انخفاضًا كبيرًا في التفاؤل بشأن الفرص الاقتصادية وإنفاق المستهلكين. تسلط هذه التحولات الضوء على كيفية تشكيل النتائج السياسية لثقة الجمهور وتصورهم للاستقرار الاقتصادي.

## التداعيات

تؤكد هذه الدراسة على أهمية فهم مشاعر الجمهور خلال الانتخابات وتقدم رؤى قيمة لصانعي السياسات في البلاد وأصحاب المصلحة الآخرين. يجب أن تركز الجهود على معالجة الفجوات في الثقة الاقتصادية بين المجموعات السياسية المختلفة وتعزيز السياسات الاقتصادية الشاملة للجميع. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يمكن للأبحاث المستقبلية أن تستكشف الجوانب التي تتناولها هذه الدراسة في مناطق أخرى من البلاد، مما يوفر منظورًا أوسع حول العلاقة بين النتائج السياسية ومشاعر الجمهور.

# INTRODUCTION

Somaliland, a self-declared republic, emerged in 1991 following the collapse of Somalia's central government. Formerly a British protectorate, Somaliland re-gained its sovereignty as the dissolution of a failed union with Somalia, leveraging its distinct colonial history, brief period of independence in 1960, and the violent repression experienced under Siyad Barre's regime. Despite being peaceful since 1997 and exhibiting substantial progress in governance and electoral democracy, Somaliland remains a de facto state without international recognition.

Electoral democracy has been a cornerstone of Somaliland's governance (Pegg & Walls, 2018). Since adopting its constitution via a referendum in 2001, the country has held four direct presidential elections (2003, 2010, 2017 and, more recently, November 2024), two parliamentary elections (2005 and 2021), and three local council elections (2002, 2012 and 2021). These elections have generally been hailed as credible and well-organized by domestic and international observers (Walls, Stevens, Sullivan, Fradgley, & Howell, 2021), despite recurrent delays.

Electoral delays have been a persistent issue in Somaliland, affecting both presidential and parliamentary elections. For instance, the 2008 presidential election was postponed until 2010, while the 2017 election was delayed by over two years, having originally been scheduled for June 2015. The presidential elections originally scheduled for November 2022 were delayed and eventually held in November 2024. Parliamentary elections have experienced even more significant delays, with the last lower house elections initially held in 2005 before the next elections were conducted in May 2021. Meanwhile, the upper house members of the Guurti have not been re-elected or re-selected since 1997, with repeated term extensions continuing to erode public confidence in the institution. Although some election delays were attributed to logistical challenges, including the COVID-19 pandemic, most were political decisions to extend terms, undermining public trust in governance and the rule of law.

Given the central role of elections in Somaliland's governance, this event study examines public sentiment surrounding the electoral process, particularly in relation to economic outlook and consumer spending. By analyzing expectations and perceptions immediately before and after elections, the study seeks to determine whether holding elections positively influences people's hope and expectations for the future. This event-based analysis provides valuable insights into whether holding elections in Somaliland enhances public confidence, particularly in economic prospects.

# METHODOLOGY

## Study Design

This study employs a survey-based event study methodology to analyze changes in public sentiment surrounding Somaliland's election on 13th November. The primary objective is to measure shifts in economic outlook and consumer confidence before and after the election. Surveys were conducted during two distinct periods to capture pre-election and post-election sentiment.

## Sampling Method

A convenience sampling approach was used to recruit respondents. Although this method is non-random, efforts were made to minimize bias by ensuring representation across the following dimensions:

- **Political Party Affiliation:** while political party affiliation was not a factor in sample design, the resulting representation of party supporters in the survey closely aligned with the actual election results. Additionally, the proportions of respondents supporting each party in the pre-election and post-election surveys were similar. Statistical analysis confirmed no significant differences in party affiliation percentages between the two groups, further reducing bias in comparing pre- and post-election sentiment. This natural alignment with both the real election results and consistency across the two survey periods adds credibility to the findings and helps mitigate potential biases from uneven political representation.
- **Demographic Representation:** the sample was balanced across key demographic variables, including age, gender, and geographic location (districts), to ensure a diverse representation of Hargeisa's population.

The study included 145 respondents before the election and 145 respondents after the election, providing a total sample size of 290 respondents. Although convenience sampling inherently limits generalizability, the proportional representation of political affiliations and demographic diversity within the sample strengthens the reliability of the results. The event window was divided into two periods:

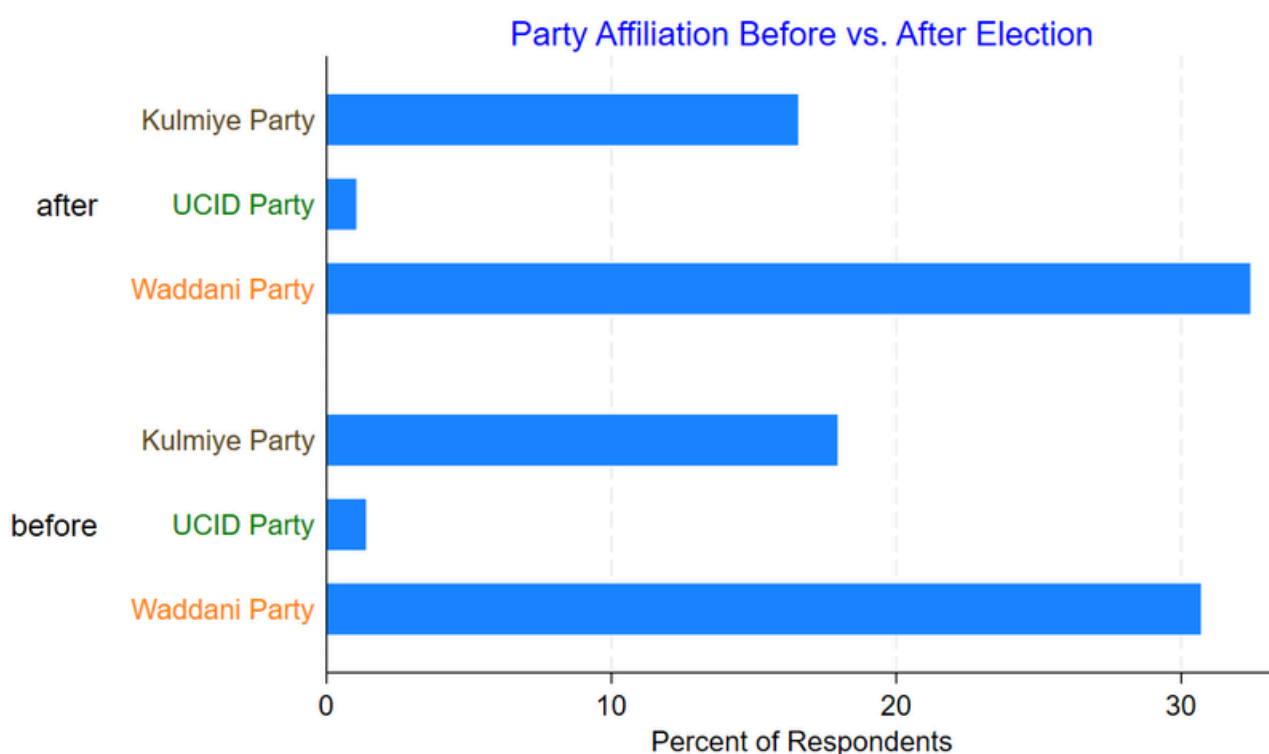
1. Pre-election period: the two weeks leading up to the election on 13th November 2024.
2. Post-election period: the two weeks following the election.

# METHODOLOGY [CONT'D]

The table and figure below illustrate that political party representation in the sample is consistent before and after the election and closely mirrors the actual election results. This alignment reduces bias and ensures fair representation of party supporters, enhancing the reliability of comparisons in public sentiment across the two periods.

**Table 1: Representation of Political Parties in the Sample vs. Actual Election Results**

Political Party	Sample Representation		Actual Presidential Election Results
	Before sample= 145	After sample= 145	
Waddani Party	61%	65%	64%
Kulmiye Party	36%	33%	35%
UCID Party	3%	2%	1%



**Figure 1: Party Affiliation of Sample Participants (before vs. after the election)**

# METHODOLOGY [CONT'D]

## Survey Instrument

The survey instrument was designed to capture key indicators of public sentiment on economic outlook, consumer spending, and election-related perceptions before and after Somaliland's 2024 Presidential Election. It consisted of two main sections: economic and electoral perceptions and demographics, with structured, close-ended questions presented in Somali to enhance accessibility and accuracy of responses.

### Section 1: Economic and Electoral Perceptions

This section assessed respondents' views on Somaliland's economic outlook, job opportunities, consumer spending intentions, and the anticipated impact of the election on the economy. Respondents were also asked about their general optimism regarding Somaliland's future over the next five years. Questions were structured on a Likert scale to measure levels of optimism or pessimism, allowing for detailed analysis of sentiment.

## Questions included:

### Group: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook

**A.** *Rejo intee leeg ayaad ka qabtaa mustaqbalka dhagaale ee Somaliland sanadka soo socda?* (How optimistic are you about Somaliland's economic future over the next year?).

- **Response scale:** *Aad baan ugu rajo weynahay* (Very optimistic), *Waan ku rajo waynahay* (Somewhat optimistic), *Rejo fiican iyo mid xun toona ma qabo* (Neutral), *Waan ka rejo xumahay* (Somewhat pessimistic), *Aad baan uga rejo xumahay* (Very pessimistic).

**B.** *Intee in leeg ayaad ku rejo weyn tahay fursadaha shaqo ee Somaliland sanadka soo socda?* (How optimistic are you about job opportunities in Somaliland over the next year?)

- **Response scale:** *Aad baan ugu rajo weynahay* (Very optimistic), *Waan ku rajo waynahay* (Somewhat optimistic), *Rejo fiican iyo mid xun toona ma qabo* (Neutral), *Waan ka rejo xumahay* (Somewhat pessimistic), *Aad baan uga rejo xumahay* (Very pessimistic).

**C.** *Intee in leeg ayaad ku rejo weyn tahay, guud ahaan, mustaqbalka Soomaaliland ee shanta sanno ee soo socda?* (How hopeful are you about Somaliland's overall future over the next five years?)

- **Response scale:** *Rejo fiican ayaan ka qabaa* (Hopeful), *Shaki ayaa igu jiraa iyo madmadaw* (Uncertain), *Rejo xun ayaan ka qabaa* (Pessimistic).



# METHODOLOGY [CONT'D]

**D.** *Intee in leeg ayaa laga yaabaa inaad samayso wax iibsi weyn ah (tusaale, baabuur, guri, qalabyo waaweyn) lixda bilood ee soo socota gudahooda? (How likely are you to make a major purchase (e.g., car, home, large appliances) within the next six months?)*

- *Response scale: Aad baa looga yaabaa (Very likely), Waa laga yaabaa (Somewhat likely), Ma Hubo (Unsure), Lagama yaabo (Unlikely), Marnaba iima qorshayna lixdan bilood (Not planned in the next six months).*

## Section 2: Demographics and Voting Behavior

- This section captured demographic characteristics, including political affiliations, sex, employment status and age group.

The details of all the questions included in the survey questionnaire are detailed in the appendix.

### Data Collection

The survey link was distributed through online platforms, including social media and local networks, to maximize reach within Hargeisa. Respondents were encouraged to participate by emphasizing the importance of their input in understanding public sentiment during this critical period in Somaliland's history.

### Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using statistical techniques in STATA and Python's NumPy Library to identify significant changes in public sentiment. In addition to descriptive graphs and tables, the Mann-Whitney U test was employed to compare responses from the pre-election and post-election groups. This non-parametric test was chosen because the two groups consisted of different individuals and the data may not meet normality assumptions.

### Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to ethical research principles, including:

- **Voluntary Participation:** respondents were informed that their participation was entirely voluntary.
- **Anonymity and Confidentiality:** no personally identifiable information was collected to protect respondent privacy.
- **Transparency:** the study's purpose and how the data would be used were communicated clearly to participants.

# FINDINGS

## Demographics Overview

The demographics of the survey sample reflect a diverse composition across age, gender, political party affiliation, and employment status. The majority of respondents (76.55%) were aged between 18 and 34, with the largest group (51.72%) in the 25–34 age bracket. Respondents under 25 accounted for 25.52%, while those aged 35–44 represented 20.34%. Only 2.41% of respondents were aged 45 or older, highlighting a strong representation of younger and middle-aged individuals in the sample. In terms of gender distribution, male respondents comprised 78.62% of the sample, while female respondents accounted for 21.38%. This skewed representation remained consistent across both pre-election and post-election surveys. Most respondents supported Waddani Party (63.10%), followed by Kulmiye Party (34.48%) and UCID party (2.41%). Additionally, the majority of respondents were employed (60.34%), followed by self-employed individuals (19.31%). Unemployed respondents accounted for 11.72%, while students made up 8.62% of the sample. Employment status proportions were consistent across the pre-election and post-election periods.

A statistical comparison (not reported) revealed no significant differences in demographic factors or party affiliation proportions before and after the election, ensuring consistency in political representation throughout the survey.

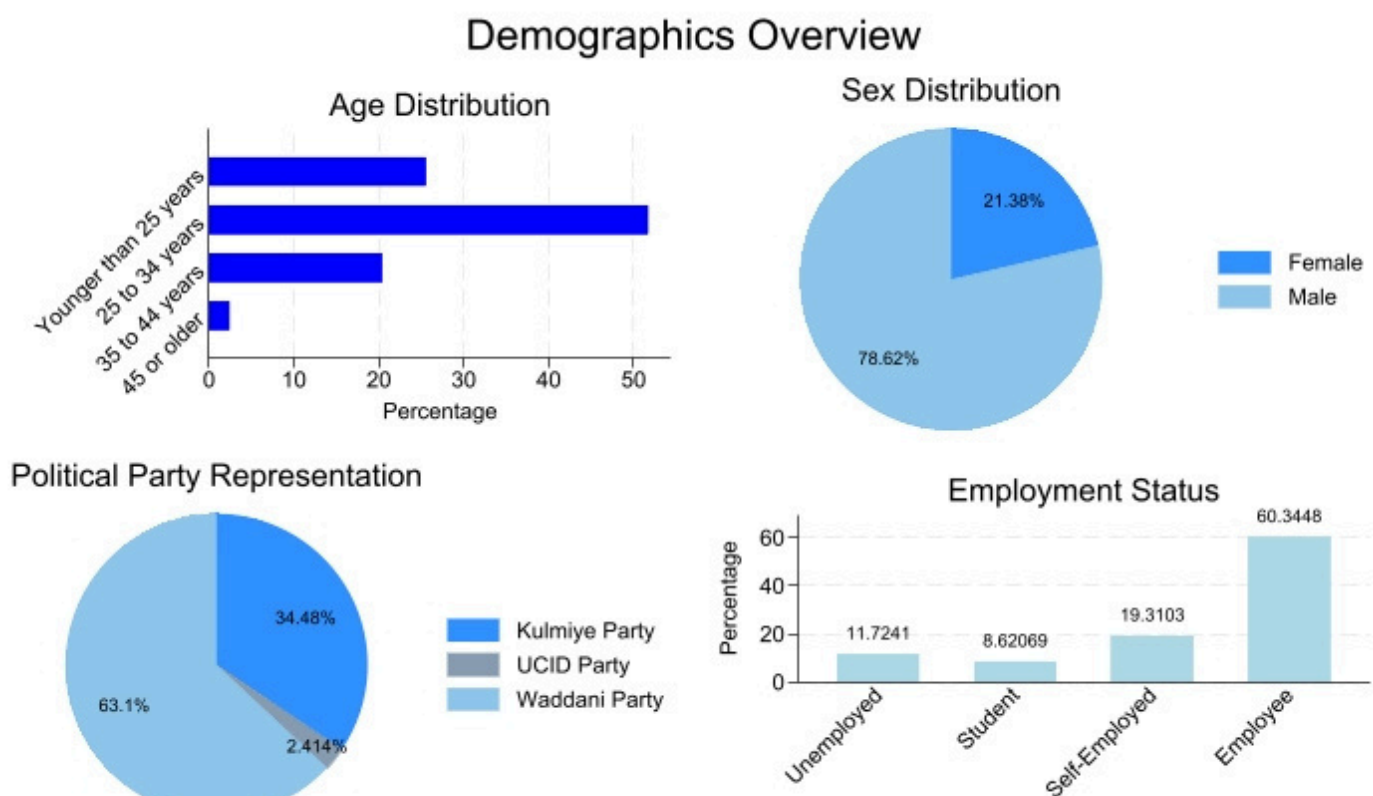
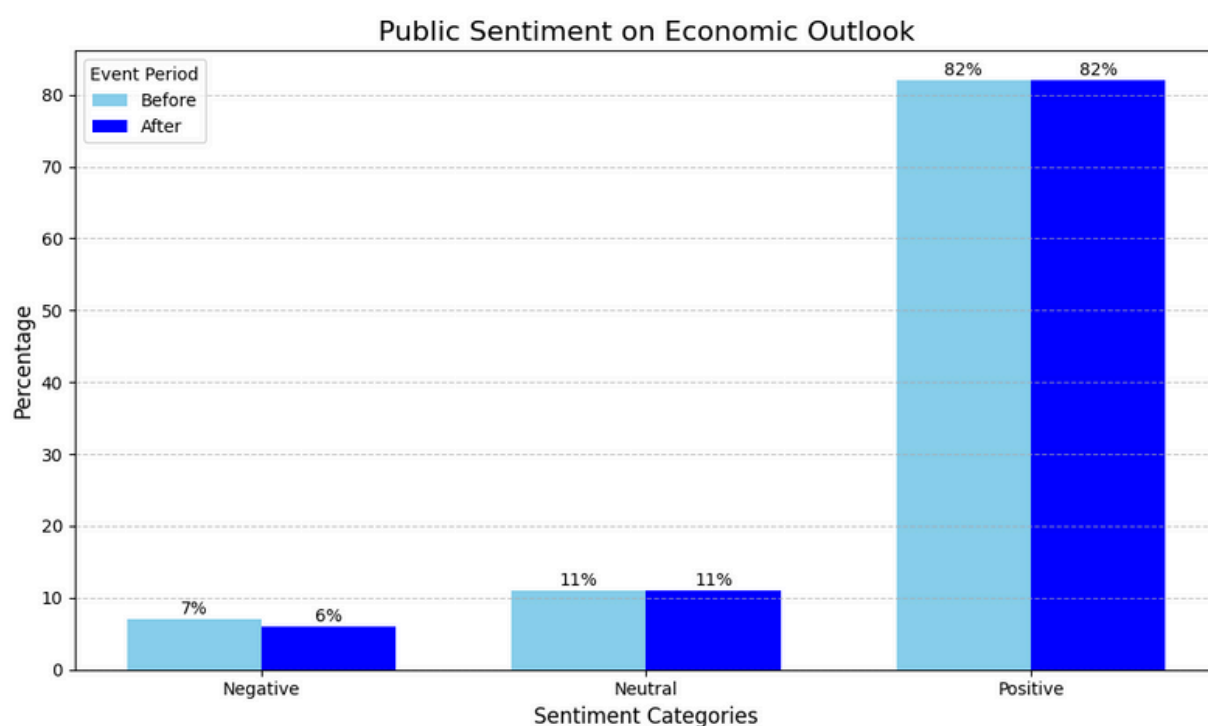


Figure 2: Demographic Overview

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 1. Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook in the next 12 months

The graph below corresponds to the question in the questionnaire: "*How optimistic are you about Somaliland's economic outlook in the next 12 months?*" It shows that public sentiment remained largely positive before and after the election. Among the general population, optimism remained steady, with 82% expressing positive sentiment both before and after the election. Neutral and negative sentiments showed minor changes, with neutral responses stable at 11% and negative responses slightly decreasing from 7% to 6%. This stability indicates a generally optimistic and resilient outlook among the wider population, regardless of the political transition.



**Figure 3: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook**

Party affiliation, however, showed contrasting trends, for the largest two political parties. Kulmiye supporters' optimism dropped from 79% to 64%, with increases in neutral and negative sentiments post-election. In contrast, Waddani supporters' positive sentiment rose slightly from 92% to 94%, with negative sentiment declining to 2%. These shifts underscore the strong influence of electoral outcomes on economic sentiment, especially among party supporters.

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 1. Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook in the next 12 months [Continued]

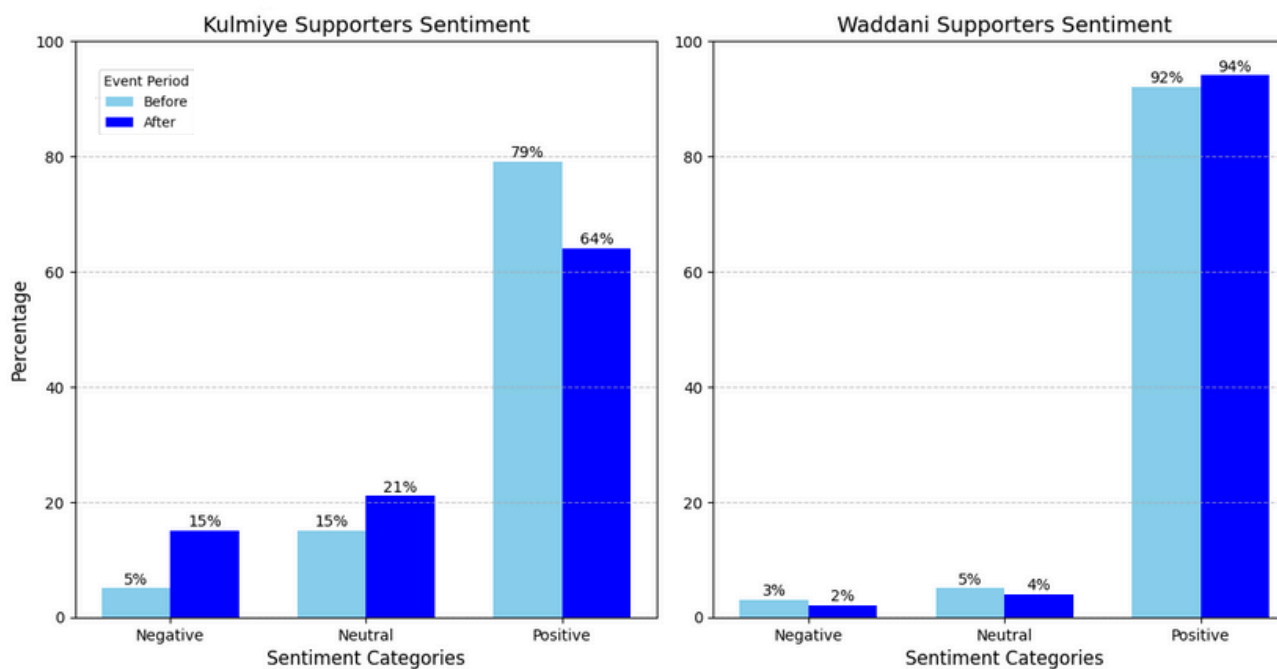


Figure 4: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook by Political Party Affiliation

The public sentiment on the economic outlook remained largely unchanged before and after the election. The table indicates a weakly significant difference in sentiment on economic outlook for Kulmiye supporters ( $p\text{-value} < 10\%$ ) but no significant change for Waddani supporters.

Table 2: Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook by Political Party, Mann-Whitney Test

Sentiment	Kulmiye Party Supporters		Waddani Party Supporters	
	Before	After	Before	After
<b>Negative (%)</b>	5.77	14.58	7.87	2.13
<b>Neutral (%)</b>	15.38	20.83	6.47	5.32
<b>Positive (%)</b>	78.85	65.58	85.39	92.55
<b>Number of respondents</b>	52	48	89	94
<b>Mann-Whitney z Test</b>	<b>-1.674 *</b> (significant at 10% level)		<b>1.604</b> (Not significant)	

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 2. Optimism about Job Opportunities in the next 12 months

The graph illustrates public optimism regarding job opportunities in Somaliland before and after the election. Optimism declined overall, with positive sentiment dropping from 82% before the election to 72% after. Neutral sentiment increased slightly from 12% to 16%, while negative sentiment doubled from 6% to 12%. These changes reflect a shift in public perception, with a decline in confidence about job opportunities post-election.

Among Kulmiye supporters, positive sentiment dropped sharply from 81% to 54%, while neutral sentiment increased significantly from 14% to 25%. Negative sentiment rose substantially from 5% to 21%. These results highlight a pronounced decrease in optimism among Kulmiye supporters, likely tied to their party's electoral loss

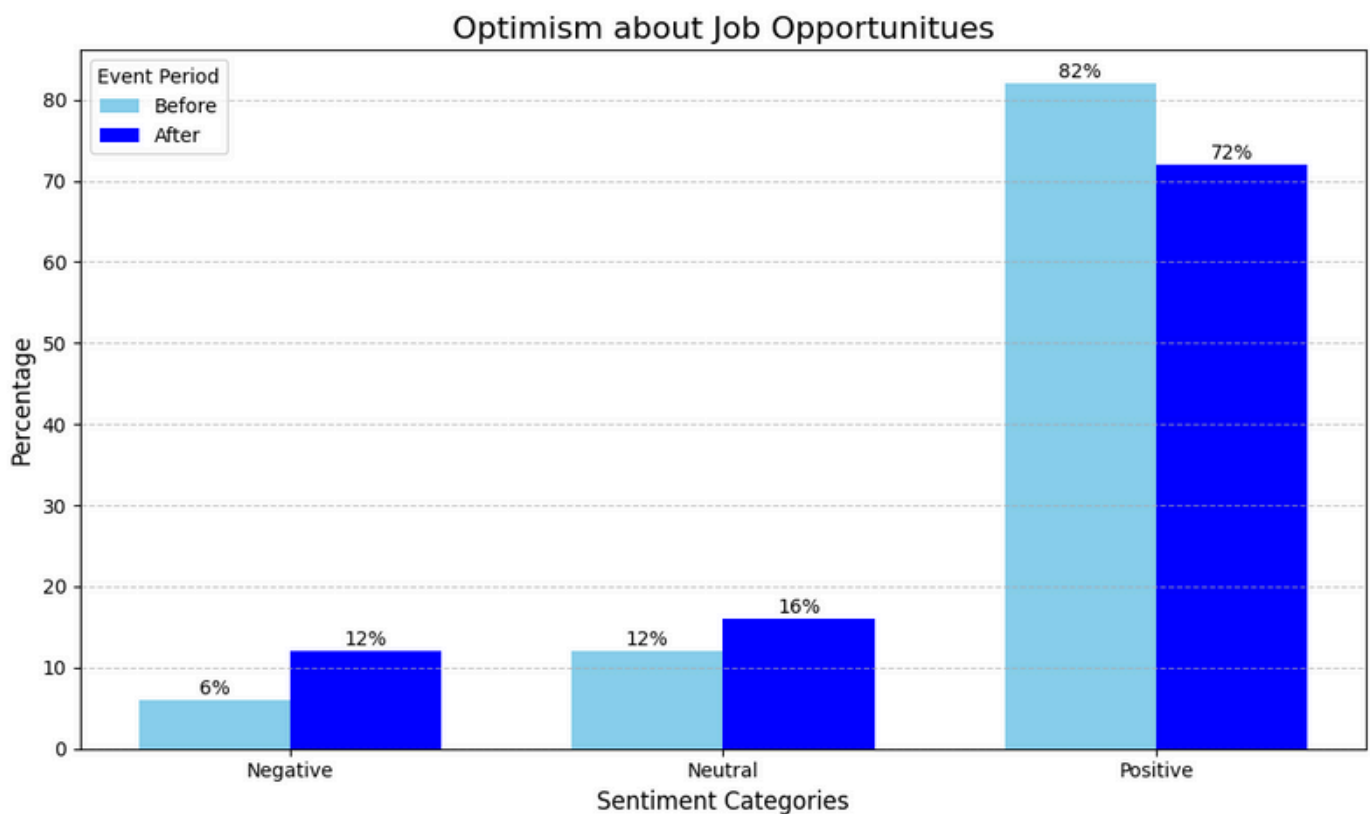


Figure 5: Optimism about Job Opportunities



# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 2. Optimism about Job Opportunities in the next 12 months [Continued]

In contrast, Waddani supporters exhibited stable optimism, with 83% expressing positive sentiment both before and after the election. Neutral sentiment remained steady at 11%, and negative sentiment stayed constant at 6%. This stability underscores confidence among Waddani supporters, reflecting their party's electoral success.

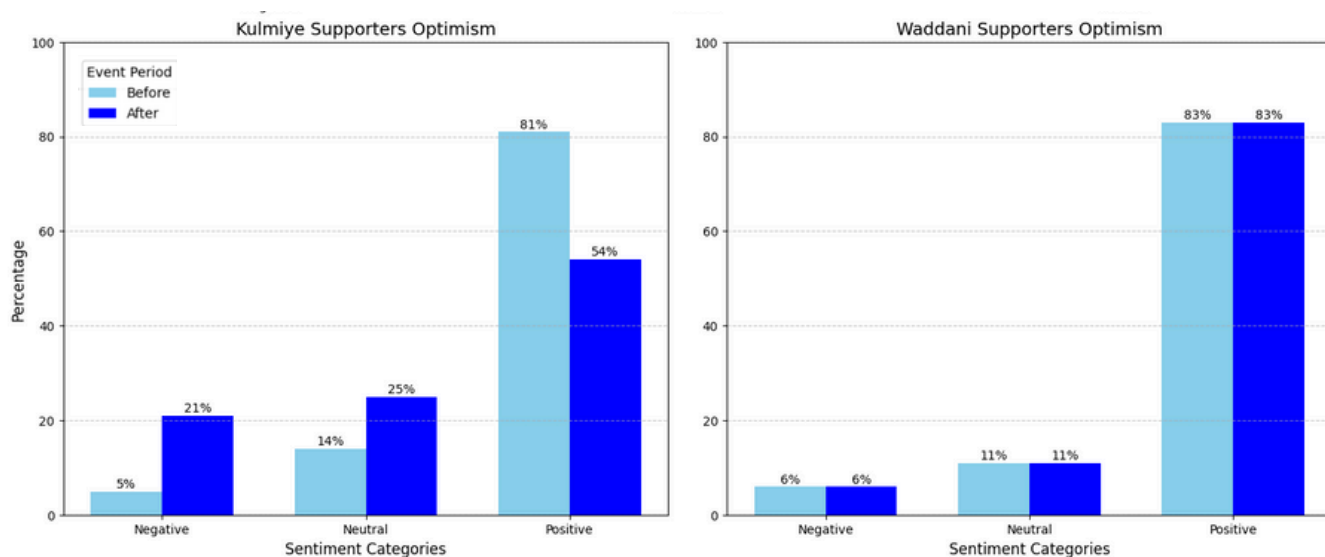


Figure 6: Optimism about Job Opportunities (by party affiliation)

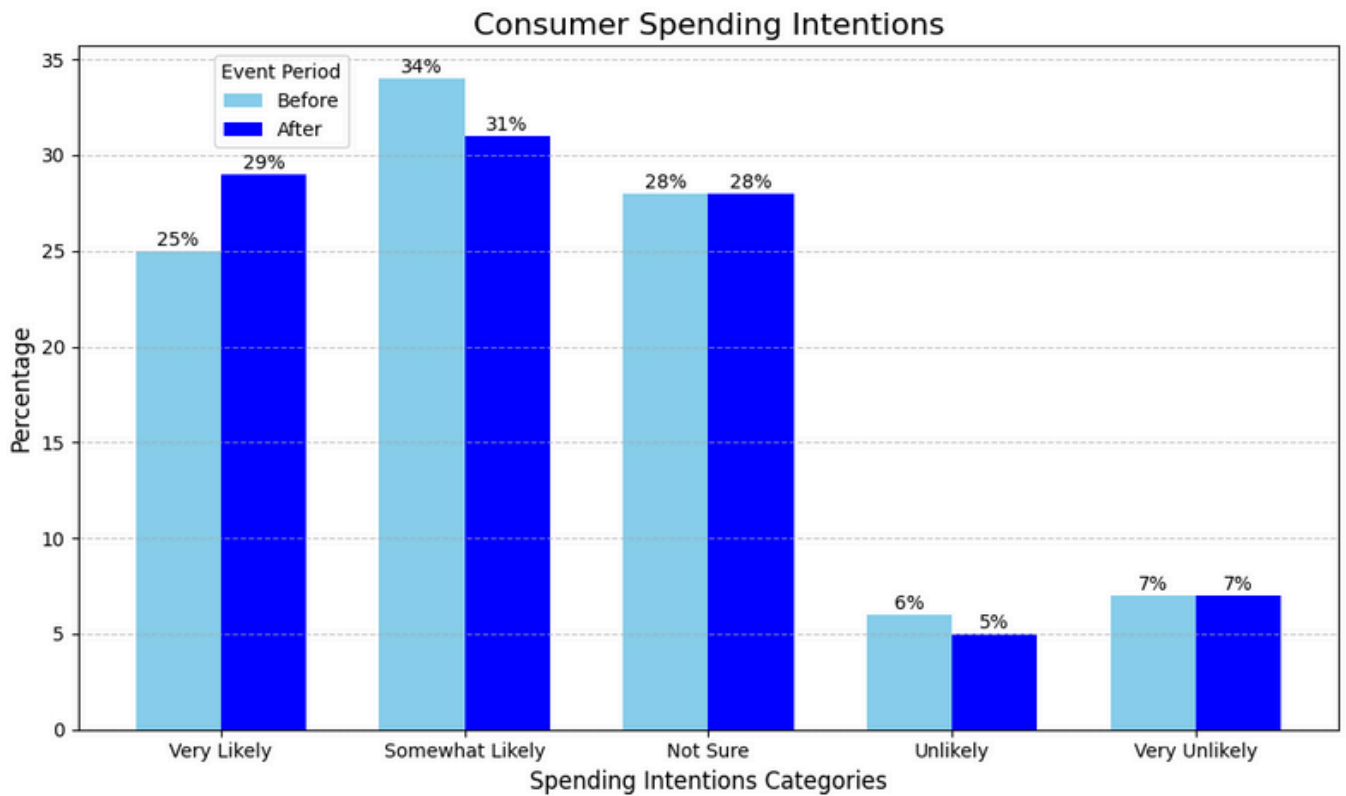
The findings demonstrate a clear polarization of sentiment by political affiliation. Indeed, the tests in Table 3 shows that while Kulmiye supporters experienced a significant decline in optimism about job opportunities ( $p < 0.01$ ), Waddani supporters maintained their positive outlook with no significant changes before and after the election.

Table 3: Optimism about Job Opportunities by Party Affiliation, Mann-Whitney Test

Optimism about Job Opportunities	Kulmiye Party Supporters		Waddani Party Supporters	
	Before	After	Before	After
<b>Negative (%)</b>	5.77	20.83	5.62	6.38
<b>Neutral (%)</b>	13.46	25.00	11.24	10.64
<b>Positive (%)</b>	80.77	54.17	83.15	82.98
<b>Number of respondents</b>	52	48	89	94
<b>Mann-Whitney z Test</b>	<b>-2.927 ***</b> (significant at 1% level)		<b>-0.051</b> (Not significant)	

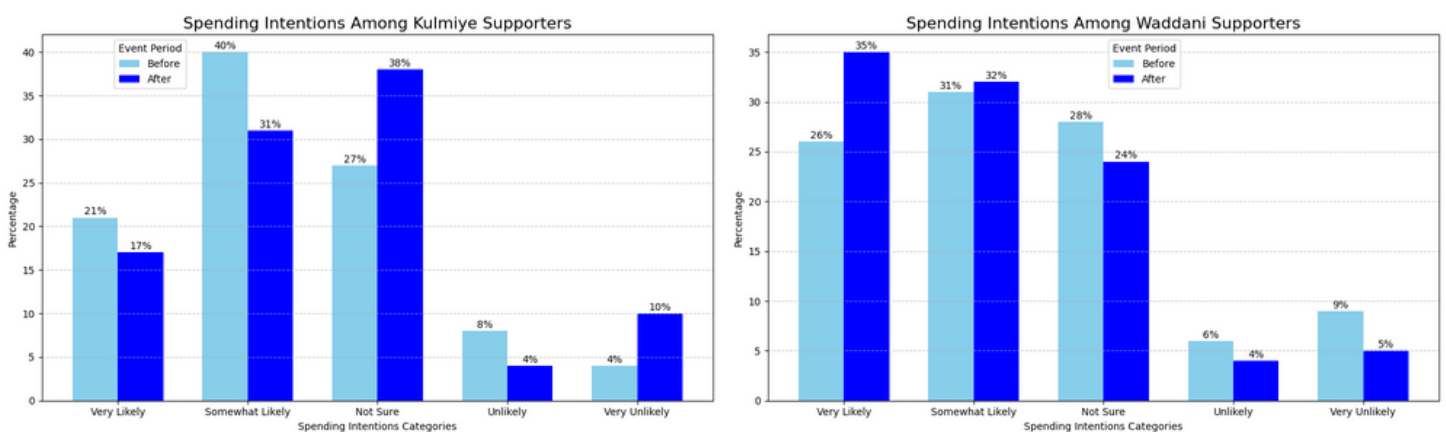
# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 3. Consumer Spending Intentions



**Figure 7: Consumer Spending Intentions**

Overall, consumer spending intentions remain relatively stable, with minor shifts across categories. The percentage of respondents who are "Very Likely" to spend increased slightly from 25% before the election to 29% after. The "Somewhat Likely" category saw a slight decline.



**Figure 8: Consumer Spending Intentions by Political Party Affiliation**

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 3. Consumer Spending Intentions [Continued]

When disaggregated by political affiliation, spending intentions among Waddani supporters show a positive shift. The proportion of respondents who are "Very Likely" to spend rose from 26% to 35%, while those in the "Somewhat Likely" category increased marginally. However, the "Not Sure" and "Very Unlikely" categories saw decreases, suggesting greater certainty and optimism among Waddani supporters post-election.

In contrast, spending intentions among Kulmiye supporters demonstrate a different trend. The "Very Likely" category decreased from 21% to 17%, while the "Not Sure" category increased significantly from 27% to 38%. The "Very Unlikely" category also grew from 4% to 10%, indicating increased uncertainty and reduced confidence in spending among Kulmiye supporters after the election.

These changes, although not statistically significant ( $p\text{-value} > 10\%$ ), may reflect the impact of Waddani's presidential victory on the economic outlook of supporters from both parties.

**Table 4: Consumer Spending Intentions by Party Affiliation, Mann-Whitney Test**

Spending Intentions	Kulmiye Party Supporters		Waddani Party Supporters	
	Before	After	Before	After
<b>Very Likely (%)</b>	21.15	16.67	25.84	35.11
<b>Somewhat Likely (%)</b>	40.38	31.25	31.46	31.91
<b>Not Sure (%)</b>	26.92	37.50	28.09	23.40
<b>Unlikely (%)</b>	7.69	4.17	5.62	4.26
<b>Very Unlikely (%)</b>	3.85	10.42	8.99	5.32
<b>Number of respondents</b>	52	48	89	94
<b>Mann-Whitney z Test</b>	<b>-1.238</b> <b>(Not significant)</b>		<b>1.621</b> <b>(Not significant)</b>	

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 4. Optimism About Somaliland's Future

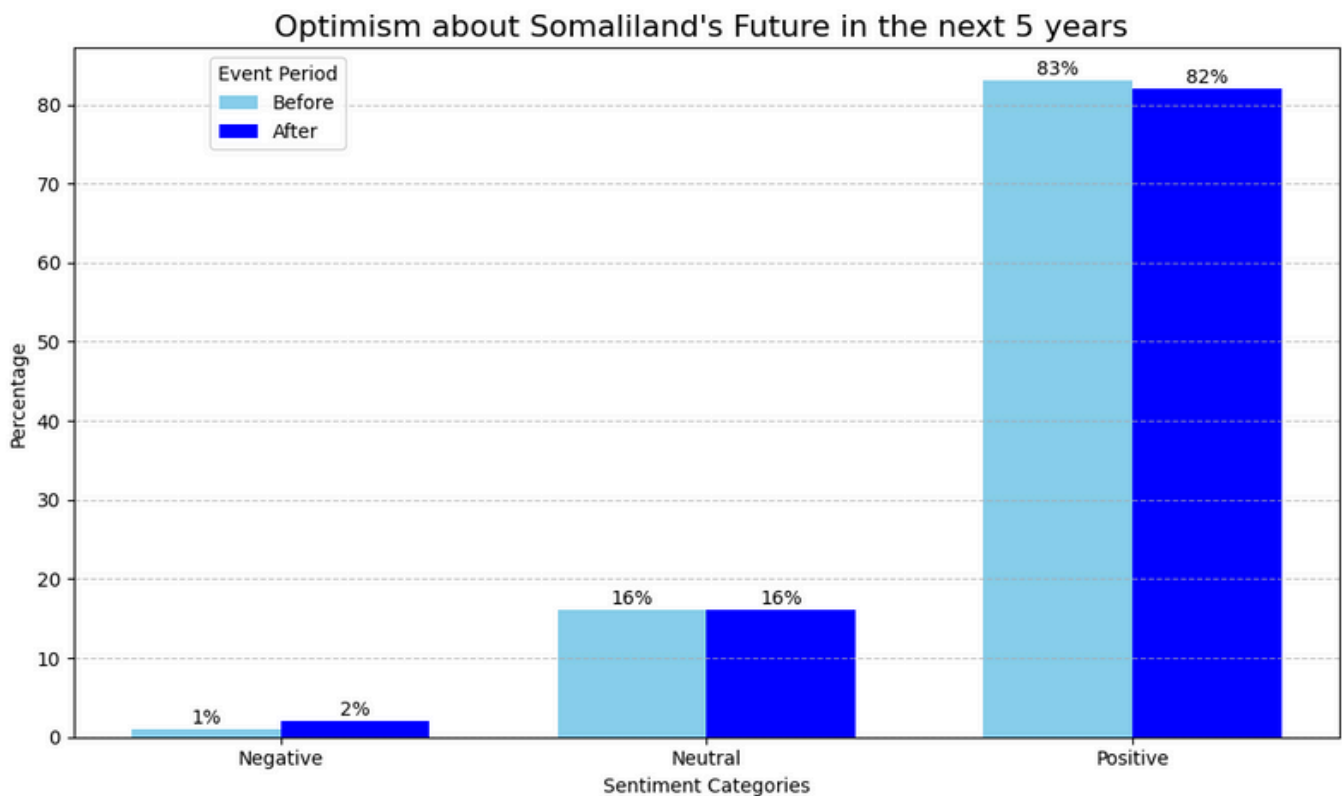


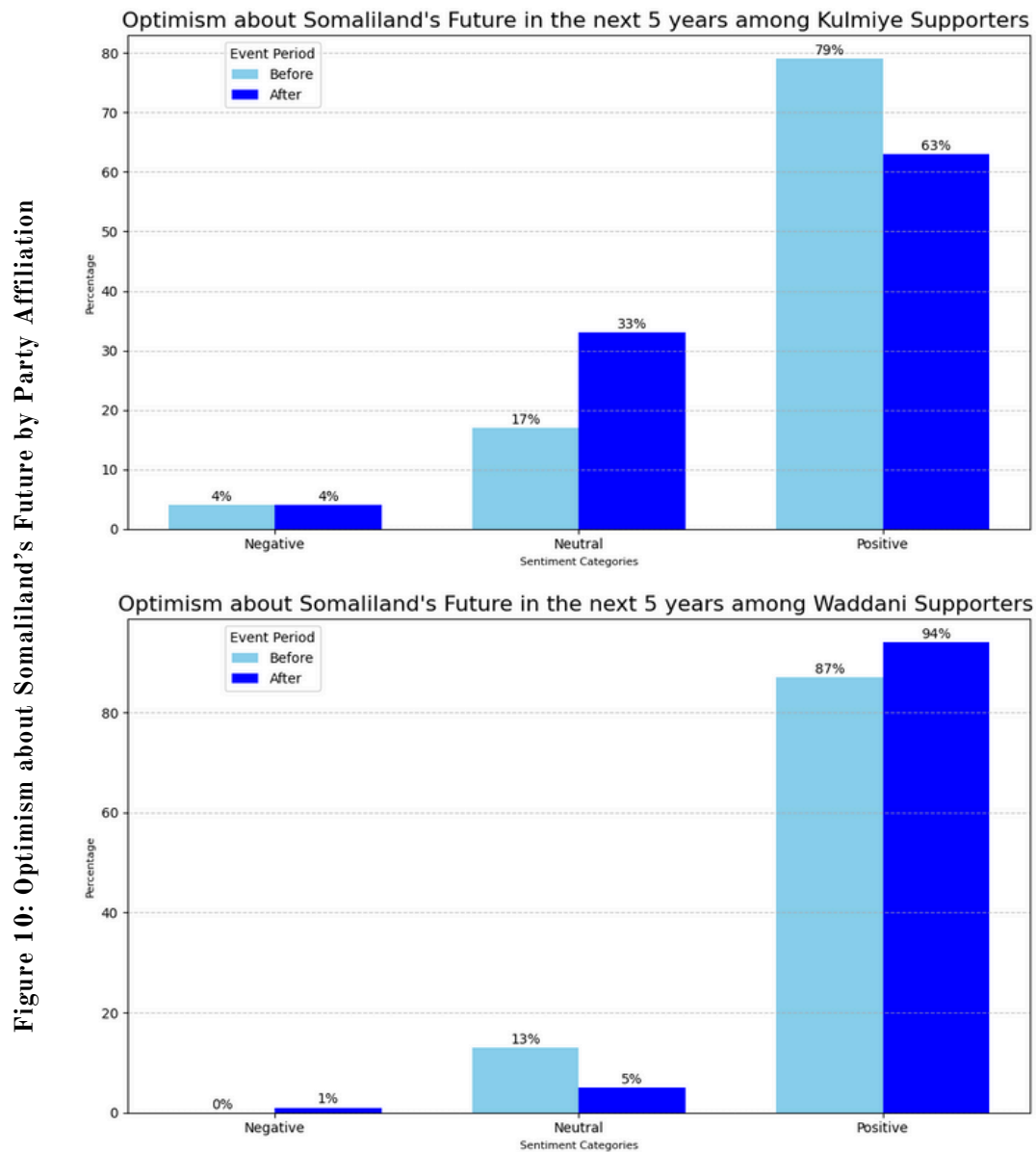
Figure 9: Optimism about Somaliland's Future

The above graph highlights the public's optimism about Somaliland's future over the next five years, in general. The other two graphs on the next page disaggregate optimism by political party affiliation.

Overall, optimism remained consistently high, with 83% of the public expressing positivity before the election and 82% after, reflecting a stable and hopeful outlook. However, trends diverge when analyzed by political alignment. Among Waddani supporters, optimism grew significantly from 87% to 94% following the election, with neutral responses declining and negative sentiment virtually absent. In contrast, optimism among Kulmiye supporters dropped from 79% to 63%, accompanied by a rise in neutral responses from 17% to 33%. Negative sentiment for Kulmiye supporters remained unchanged at 4%. These shifts may reflect the broader impact of Waddani's presidential victory on the confidence of supporters from both parties, with Waddani supporters becoming more hopeful and Kulmiye supporters exhibiting a more cautious or uncertain outlook.

# FINDINGS [CONT'D]

## 4. Optimism About Somaliland's Future [Continued]



The Mann-Whitney U test (not reported) revealed no significant change in general optimism after the election. This suggests that Somaliland's public, regardless of political affiliation, remains hopeful about the country's future over the next five years.



# CONCLUSION

This study highlights the critical role that political outcomes play in shaping public sentiment, particularly regarding economic expectations and consumer behavior. The findings demonstrate that, while general optimism about Somaliland's economic future remained stable overall, party affiliation had a significant impact on public sentiment. Waddani supporters, buoyed by their party's electoral victory, exhibited a continued or improved outlook on economic prospects and consumer spending. On the other hand, Kulmiye supporters showed a notable decline in optimism, both in their expectations about economic opportunities and their willingness to make significant purchases.

These shifts in sentiment underscore the influence of political events on the economic confidence of the public. The disparity between Waddani and Kulmiye supporters reflects the polarization that often accompanies electoral outcomes, highlighting how political affiliation can shape perceptions of economic stability. The results are consistent with previous studies, such as Pegg and Walls' (2018) analysis, which suggested that campaign rhetoric and the influence of social media play key roles in shaping public opinion, particularly during election periods.

The insights drawn from this study provide valuable implications for policymakers and stakeholders in Somaliland. To sustain public confidence and ensure long-term economic stability, efforts should focus on addressing the gaps in sentiment between different political groups. This could include initiatives aimed at enhancing economic opportunities for all, regardless of political affiliation, and fostering greater inclusivity in the political and economic processes. Furthermore, continued improvements in electoral transparency and governance will be essential in building public trust.

## SOURCES CITED IN THIS REPORT

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- Pegg, S., & Walls, M. (2018). Back on track? Somaliland after its 2017 presidential election. *African Affairs*, 117(467), 326-337.

## APPENDIX: SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESPONSE SCALES

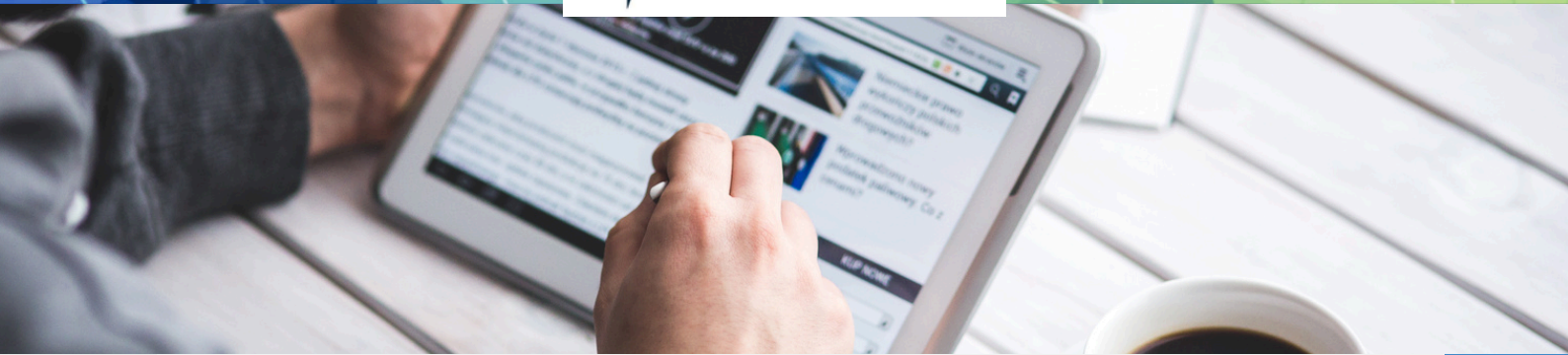
Section 1	Question	Response Scale	Details
Public Sentiment on Economic Outlook	How optimistic are you about Somaliland's economic future over the next year?	Very optimistic, Somewhat optimistic, Neutral, Somewhat pessimistic, and Very pessimistic.  The first two categories are grouped as 'positive sentiment,' while the latter two are grouped as 'negative sentiment.' The variable was categorized into a three-level scale: 2 (positive sentiment), 1 (neutral), and 0 (negative sentiment).	Measures respondents' optimism regarding Somaliland's economic future over the next year.
Public Sentiment on Employment	How optimistic are you about job opportunities in Somaliland over the next year?	Very optimistic, Somewhat optimistic, Neutral, Somewhat pessimistic, Very pessimistic.  The first two categories are grouped as 'positive sentiment,' while the latter two are grouped as 'negative sentiment.' The variable was categorized into a three-level scale: 2 (positive sentiment), 1 (neutral), and 0 (negative sentiment).	Assesses optimism about job opportunities in Somaliland over the next year.
Consumer Spending Intentions following the election	How likely are you to make a major purchase (e.g., car, home, large appliances) within the next six months?	Very likely, Somewhat likely, Unsure, Unlikely, very unlikely or not planned in the next six months	Assesses likelihood of making major purchases within six months.
Optimism About Somaliland's Future	How hopeful are you about Somaliland's overall future over the next five years?	Hopeful, Uncertain, Pessimistic	Captures long-term optimism about Somaliland's future over the next five years.

**Note:** after the election, the questionnaire was slightly modified to reflect the post-election context. For instance, the question about political party support was updated to ask "Who did you vote for or who would you have voted for?" instead of "Which political party do you support or would you vote for?". All other questions and response options remained the same to ensure consistency in measuring public sentiment and economic outlook across the pre-election and post-election periods.

## APPENDIX: SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESPONSE SCALES (CONT'D)

Section 2	Question	Response Scale	Details
Political Party	Which political party do you support or would you vote for in the upcoming election?	UCID, Kulmiye, Waddani	Identifies respondents' political party affiliation.
Age	What is your age group?	Younger than 25, 25–34, 35–44, 45 or older.	Captures respondents' age groups.
Sex	What is your gender?	Male, Female	Captures respondents' sex.
Employment Status	What is your current employment status?	Employed, Self-employed, Unemployed, Student	Captures respondents' employment status.
District	Which district in Hargeisa do you live or vote in?	26-ka June, Gacan Libaax/MacaIn Harun, Ibraahim Koodbuur/ Gacmadheere, Axmed Dhagax, Maxamuud Haybe/Maxamed Mooge	Identifies respondents' voting districts within Hargeisa.

*ARDAA acknowledges that this manuscript includes text refined and proofread with the assistance of AI tools for language accuracy. The authors declare full responsibility for the intellectual content and interpretation presented.*



# ABOUT ARDAA

ARDAA is a pioneering, independent, non-profit research institute dedicated to producing high-quality, objective, and impactful research on critical social, health, economic, and political issues affecting Somaliland. Established in May 2022 by Dr. Mubarak Ahmed Mohamed (MBBS) and Dr. Saed Ahmed Sulub (PhD), ARDAA is the first institute of its kind in the region, striving to become the leading center for rigorous research and analysis that shapes informed policymaking and public discourse.

Our mission is to bridge the gap in scholarly literature on Somaliland and the broader Horn of Africa, contributing to national and regional development through evidence-based research.

By providing insightful, data-driven analysis, ARDAA seeks to address pressing societal challenges, support informed decision-making, and foster sustainable progress.

**Contact us at [info@ardaa.net](mailto:info@ardaa.net)**



## Research Team:

**Saed A. Sulub**  
**Abdirahman I. Hassan**  
**Abdirizak E. Yousuf**  
**Hamdi H. Farah**

## Reviewed by:

**Abdirahman Saeed, PhD**  
**Yasin A. Sulub, PhD**

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**ARDAA Academy**

info@ardaa.net  
drsulub@ardaa.net



Musa Bihi Abdi, Former President  
*Kulmiye Party*



Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillaahi, Elected President  
*Waddani Party*

**Contact us: [info@ardaa.net](mailto:info@ardaa.net)**