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SOMALILAND

Somaliland declared independence from Somalia in 1991 after a decade-long, bloody civil war ended in the separation of the northern parts, originally colonized by the British, from the Italian colonized south. After its collapse in 1991, Somalia disintegrated back to the two parts which existed before 1960: the British Protectorate of Somaliland and the Italian Trusteeship of Somalia. While the latter has since been languishing in chaotic fragmentation, with political power struggles involving extremist ideologies, Somaliland has established itself as a relatively stable and constitutional polity in the Horn of Africa—although its independence has not been recognized. Freedom of expression is enshrined in its constitution, and a relatively free and vibrant media culture has evolved over the last two decades. Considering its high illiteracy rate (around 60 percent), it is remarkable that more than thirty news websites, a dozen daily journals, half a dozen online radio stations, and four local television channels originate from Somaliland—serving not only its people, but a wider audience across the Horn of Africa region. Independent media in Somaliland experienced fast growth in 2009, especially the print media. Daily journals grew by at least 30 percent, reflecting increased activity in anticipation of elections.

The elections, originally slated for 2009, were delayed twice, and eventually put off until 2010. The delays led to political turmoil and protests. In this climate, the broadcast media did not grow as rapidly as the print media—perhaps due to more stringent government licensing restrictions. The elections clearly impacted media licensing, with government restrictions on licenses for the independent broadcast media—all, presumably, to limit the influence of independent television during the elections. Furthermore, in its annual review of media freedom, Freedom House noted that the political upheaval led to “...increased political harassment of journalists and government sensitivity over media reports” in advance of the elections.<sup>1</sup>

Still, Somaliland’s media community looked ahead to the 2010 elections with hope that a change in government could ease many points of contention between the authorities and the media. In particular, the media outlets would like to see licensing of private radio stations relaxed, and the government radio and television stations to function more in the spirit of public media, with fair, balanced programming. The overall MSI scores reflect the struggles between the media and the government in 2009, as well as the clear need to elevate weak professional standards and improve business management. However, the strongest scores were given to Objective 1, reflecting that the Somaliland constitution guarantees free speech—and most importantly, that the people of Somaliland strongly support and agitate for free speech.

*Somaliland has not been recognized as a sovereign country by any nation or international organization. However, the many differences between it and Somalia, including different legal and regulatory regimes, warrant a separate study of media in Somaliland.*

<sup>1</sup> Freedom House. *Freedom of the Press: Somalia (2010)*. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&year=2010>

# SOMALILAND AT A GLANCE

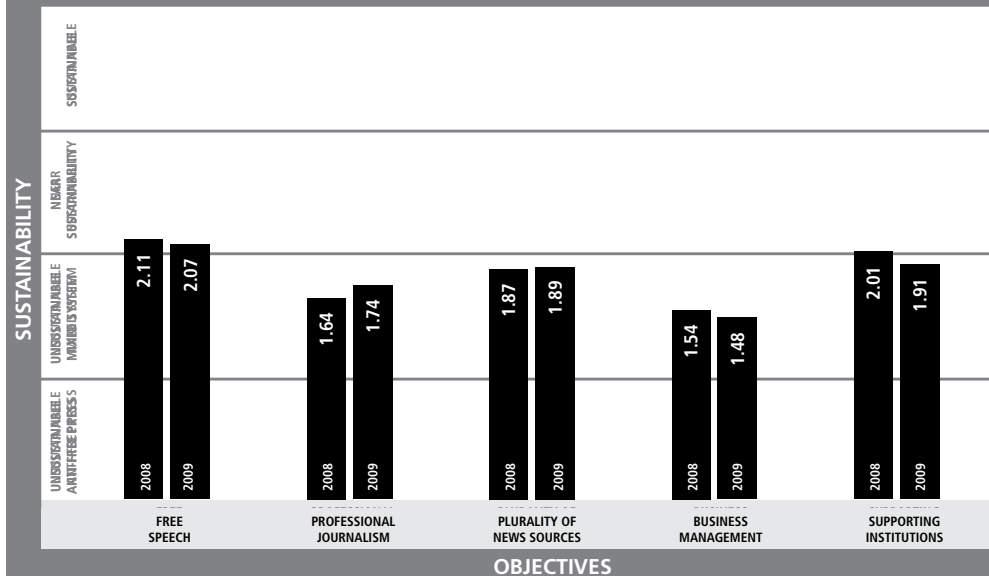
## GENERAL

- > **Population:** Estimated at between 2.5 and 3 million
- > **Capital city:** Hargeisa
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** 100% Somali, with 3 major clans: Isaaq (majority), Dir, and Harti
- > **Religions:** Sunni Muslim
- > **Languages:** Somali (official), Arabic and English used for business purposes
- > **GNI (2009-Atlas):** N/A
- > **GNI per capita (2009-PPP):** N/A
- > **Literacy rate:** Estimated at 37.8%
- > **President or top authority:** President Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud (Silanyo) (since June 26, 2010)

## MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:** Print: 5 daily newspapers; 6 weekly/semi-weekly; 1 monthly magazine; Radio Stations: 1 station in Hargeisa, 2 international FM stations available; Television Stations: 4 local: Somaliland National TV, Horn Cable TV, Somaliland TV, (Somaliland Space Channel); 2 satellite, 1 cable provider, and 1 international (Universal TV)
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** Top three by circulation: *Geeska Africa* (private, 1,200 est. circulation), *Haatuf* (private, 1,000 est. circulation), *Jamhuuriya* (private, 950 est. circulation)
- > **Broadcast ratings:** Top radio station: Radio Hargeisa (state-owned); Top three television stations: Universal (private), Somaliland National TV (state-owned), Horn Cable TV (private)
- > **News agencies:** Somaliland National News Agency (state-owned)
- > **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A
- > **Internet usage:** N/A

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: SOMALILAND



### Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1):

Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

### Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2):

Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

### Near Sustainability (2-3):

Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

### Sustainable (3-4):

Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

## OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

### Somaliland Objective Score: 2.07

The score for this objective remained essentially unchanged. However, indicators scores did vary widely. Indicator 3 (market entry) scored three-quarters of a point higher than the objective score, and indicators 8 (media access to other news sources is unrestricted) and 9 (entry into the journalism profession) scored more than a point higher. However, indicators 2 (media licensing) 4 (attacks on journalists) and 6 (libel laws) all scored more than half a point lower than the objective score, with indicator 5 (legal guarantees of editorial independence for public media) coming in more than a point lower.

Somaliland's constitution guarantees free speech, under Article 32. There is also a press law, which is not implemented, but it is hoped that it will be revived after the 2010 elections. Additionally, the panelists agreed that there are strong social norms that protect journalists, especially against excesses from authorities.

However, in 2009, the government continued to heavily restrict licensing of the broadcast media. A ministry of information decree banned radio licensing, and the television stations were also restricted to those already in existence. There were several new applicants, such as RAAD TV, who were refused licenses. During the election season, the authorities

#### LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

##### FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- > Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

*Libel cases are usually settled outside the courts, through the clan system of arbitration, which often kicks in if compensation payments will result from the case. Compensatory payments are settled collectively by the clan of the accused.*

attempted to shut down HCTV, allegedly for its independent broadcasting. Its head office was closed for a while, but the government could not control the satellite broadcasting and later accepted mediation. The government also banned a representative of an international satellite channel from operating.

Market entry, on the other hand, is relatively free in other respects—especially for the print media. Taxation on media products is virtually non-existent, and it is even more favorable than other industries.

Freedom House reported that at least 10 journalists were arrested during the year—generally on charges of spreading false information or inciting violence, and that in August 2009, a freelance journalist, Ali Adan Dahir, was beaten badly—and four men arrested in connection with the attack were released without charge. Freedom House also noted that reporters for the online news services Baadiyenews and Berberanews were detained, and that, “In August, Yasin Jama Ali of the Berberanews website was banned from practicing journalism for 10 years for committing a ‘crime against the Somaliland nation.’ The site’s editor-in-chief was sentenced to three years in prison, and the outlet was barred from operating in Somaliland.”<sup>2</sup> Crimes against journalists are not prosecuted vigorously; in fact, they tend to go unpunished, especially when the involvement of government officials is suspected. Journalists often see little point in bringing cases to court, as such bids rarely succeed.

While state and public officials do not receive preferential treatment, there is still no culture of editorial independence—to the contrary, owners often influence editorial content. There are no official censorship laws or practices in place in Somaliland, but the government-owned radio and television tend to follow government directions strictly.

Libel cases are usually settled outside the courts, through the clan system of arbitration, which often kicks in

<sup>2</sup> *Freedom in the World: Somaliland (Somalia) 2010*, Ibid.

*According to Saeed Ahmed Mohamoud, a media development representative for Interpeace, "Reporting and opinions get mixed up in Somaliland journalism."*

if compensation payments will result from the case. Compensatory payments are settled collectively by the clan of the accused. There is no formal insurance system in Somaliland to provide coverage against legal damages from journalists (or for that matter, in any other industry).

Somaliland journalists usually obtain print information through interviews and telephone confirmation from public officials, but the panelists agreed that public officials generally only divulge information favorable to the government. Otherwise, it is still not easy for independent media to get information from government departments. The panelists attributed this to the lingering culture of censorship developed under Siad Barre's two decades of dictatorship, from 1979-1991, which still influences the attitudes of public officials—especially the older generation. The lack of a freedom of information act in Somaliland further compounds access.

On the other hand, media outlets have unrestricted access to international news and sources, especially through the Internet and from international news networks. There are no restrictions on the entry into the journalism profession. In fact, the saying goes in Somaliland that anybody who can get a cheap digital camera can operate as a journalist.

## OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

### Somaliland Objective Score: 1.74

The score for this objective inched up this year, and individual indicators showed both relative strengths and weaknesses. Indicators 4 (journalists cover key events) and 6 (entertainment news balance) both received scores that placed them highest in this objective, coming in three-quarters and more than a point higher than the objective score, respectively. However, indicators 5 (pay levels for journalists), 7 (modern facilities and equipment), and 8 (niche and investigative journalism) all scored about three quarters of a point lower.

Professional and ethical standards are still evolving in Somaliland. According to Saeed Ahmed Mohamoud, a media development representative for Interpeace, "Reporting

and opinions get mixed up in Somaliland journalism. In spite of the fact that journalists received a lot of training from international agencies and experts, the tendency in many parts of the media outlets is to advance one's own opinion at the expense of objective reporting." The panelists agreed that while improvements are underway, fair and objective reporting is a distant goal. The independent media outlets provide more objective reporting than the government-owned radio and television, which are known to toe the government line.

The panelists acknowledged that there are no clear ethical rules and recognized standards to guide Somaliland journalism. In spite of that, many journalists try to report responsibly in this clan society, where one can easily incite conflict. They also respect their own codes of conduct, especially in covering elections.

As reported in last year's MSI, no formal censorship laws or practices are imposed on the media outlets in Somaliland, and journalists do not work in an atmosphere of fear or external pressure. However, journalists working for private media outlets have more freedom than their counterparts in the government-owned press, who work in a more restrictive atmosphere. Furthermore, business interests frequently drive self-censorship more than official sources of pressure.

Regarding coverage of key events and issues, the panelists agreed that journalists cover a limited range of issues. Politics receives disproportionate attention, while social, economic and cultural development issues are neglected. Issues of interest to the majority rural population, consisting largely of pastoralists and farmers, receive little attention from the

## JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

### PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- > Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- > Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

media. As Abdi Ahmed Nur, an educator with the Forum for Peace and Governance observed, “Eighty percent of the media work is limited to the urban areas, while people in the villages and rural areas get just limited news sources from the BBC Somali Services and only recently from the VOA Somali service.” Yet last year’s MSI panelists pointed out that there is little justification for neglecting rural issues, given the cheap and ubiquitous mobile telephone coverage provided by telecommunication companies across Somaliland.

The panelists agreed that both public and independent journalists are severely underpaid, and thus vulnerable to corruption. Most of the young journalists—especially reporters—operate as freelancers, with little job security, and thus might be especially tempted to accept bribes or gifts for favorable coverage. Although some claim that media outlets do not turn enough profit to provide decent wages, some journalists believe that media owners need to improve their hiring practices and provide merit-based rewards.

News and information programming continue to dominate content in both print and broadcast media. Television stations and Radio Hargeisa broadcast entertainment programs, but this is driven more by a need to fill programming space than by the profitability of entertainment. In the print media, sports and advertisements sometimes crowd out news articles in newspapers.

The media continue to work with very basic equipment, especially in terms of technology. While many of the satellite television and online radio stations use modern technology, the Internet, and advanced software, the print media lags behind. Last year’s MSI noted that the poor technology is reflected in the low quality of print products on the market. For example, layout techniques and use of graphics and color have not improved since antiquated printing machines were reintroduced to Somaliland in the post-war years.

The level of investigative reporting is low, largely explained by the poor professional capacity of most journalists. Quality niche reporting on important topics, such as economics, is rare. The panelists suggested that improved training offerings and exchanges could prove beneficial in this respect, by offering exposure to more advanced journalistic environments.

### OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

#### Somaliland Objective Score: 1.89

This objective remained static, and most indicators scored close to the objective score. The exceptions are indicator 2 (citizen access to media), which scored about a point higher than the objective score, and indicators 3 (state media are nonpartisan) and 4 (news agencies), which scored a point and half a point lower, respectively.

There are a number of sources of news for Somaliland’s people. As Mohamoud observed, “The level of literacy of Somaliland people is low, therefore, the print media mainly serves the elite and the urban population. By far, the radio is the most widespread source of news and is accessible to more people—but, unfortunately, the national radio reach is limited to the environs of the capital city.” The panelists said that the Somaliland people are savvy news consumers, and hence there is strong demand for plurality of sources of news. Broadcast media choices include international radio services such as the BBC Somali Service, which has been around since the early 1950s, and can claim to have become ingrained in the Somali culture and psyche. Newer to the scene, but also strong, is the VOA Somali Service. There are also several online radio stations to choose from. Popular television channels include Somaliland National TV and Somaliland TV (both state-owned), the Somaliland Space Channel and Horn Cable TV, which are all owned locally. The international Universal TV channel has also acquired a wide audience in

#### MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

##### PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- > A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.
- > Citizens’ access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
- > Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.



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the local television market. There are no community radio or television stations, however.

On the new media front, use of the Internet remains largely unrestricted, evidenced by the common sight of Internet cafés in Somaliland cities. As Freedom House noted, “The Internet is widely available at competitive prices and serves as an active forum through which the diaspora contributes to the local media environment.”<sup>3</sup>

Print media offerings include over a dozen daily Somali language papers, and several English language sister papers. The main local daily or semi-daily papers include: *Ogaal*, *Haatuf*, *Jamhuuriya*, and *Geeska Africa*. All but the first have weekly English language sister papers. Other English language weekly or bi-weekly publications are appearing rapidly on the market. To date, there is only one monthly magazine on the market. However, all print media is concentrated in the capital city of Hargeisa. Even the regional capitals lack established publications. There are also more than twenty news websites, all focusing on Somaliland news and targeting an audience in Somaliland.

The media outlets usually reflect the opinion of their owners, but there are ample choices for audiences to obtain alternative viewpoints. There are established papers and websites that are considered mainstream. There are also new entrants into the market that take fringe views but tend to move to the center eventually.

Citizens’ access to all these media sources is not typically restricted by the authorities or any other actors. However, in addition to the difficulty that rural citizens experience accessing news, cost is an obstacle for an overwhelming majority—as noted in last year’s MSI, 40 percent of households in the capital city are dependent upon

<sup>3</sup> *Freedom in the World: Somaliland (Somalia) 2009*, Ibid.

remittances from abroad. The price of a newspaper, around 2,000 shillings (or \$.30) is out of reach for many.

There are no independent news agencies, and media outlets depend on their in-house news gathering capacities from international or from local sources. Papers usually share news—and invariably cite the same sources. Independent broadcast media, such as the television stations and Internet radio stations, all produce their own news programs.

The government-owned media has demonstrated partisan tendencies for the last decade, but the media community remains hopeful that this could change after the election, as the opposition campaigned to restore objectivity in the public media. In particular, journalists would like to see an independent public media commission instated to regulate the field, which could ensure media independence from the government.

As reported in last year’s MSI, media ownership is generally considered transparent, and no conglomerates monopolize the media in Somaliland. They do not attract the interest of serious investors, as they are generally not operated as profitable businesses.

As was mentioned earlier, the Somaliland media is mainly urban based and is fixated on politics at the expense of social, economic, or cultural issues. It is also focused mainly on Hargeisa, and therefore, issues important for the rural people, especially development issues, are barely addressed. Even more marginalized are the interests of the minorities and peripheral communities. Journalists also experience pressure from clans in this regard; the rule of the clan trumps the rule of law, and sometimes journalists feel compelled to back away from covering minority issues that go against the wishes of a powerful clan. Language is not considered problematic, as everybody speaks Somali, and Somaliland does not have the dialect variations experienced in Somalia.

#### **OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT**

#### **Somaliland Objective Score: 1.48**

Indicator scores varied to a great degree in this objective. On the low side, indicator 1 (media are well-managed businesses) scored slightly more than half a point behind the objective score. Indicators 6 (market research) and 7 (audience and circulation measurement) both scored a point lower. However, indicators 4 (balance of advertising revenue with other sources of income) and 5 (government subsidies for private media) both scored a point higher.

The panelists assigned their weakest score to Objective 4. Overall, the panelists do not believe that media outlets are managed as professional businesses, despite the fact that the bulk of them are privately owned. Media outlets are not perceived as profit-generating enterprises.

There are no major investors in the sector, which is run on shoestring budgets, and the motivations for opening media outlets in Somaliland are not often business-driven. There is no access to bank credit for entrepreneurs, whether they are in the media sector or in other industries. Therefore, businesses are established mostly through individual savings, or, in some cases, through a group of partners pooling their personal money. Many of the outlets are established to provide politicians, groups, or even clans with greater political influence. As a result, owners often do not feel bound by laws or norms of respecting editorial independence for the benefit of their audience. As noted in last year's MSI, the beginnings of the media in war-devastated Somaliland in the early 1990s can be traced mainly to amateur journalists and diaspora groups driven more by patriotic goals than profit-seeking motives.

Advertising is growing more relevant as a source of revenue for the media houses—but the market is still rudimentary. A few advertising agencies are being launched, including SAGAL Jet, ASAL, Code Media Centre, and the Madar Advertising Center, and they cater mostly to the television channels. Media outlets solicit advertising contracts directly from companies, and often develop the content and layout themselves. That is true of both the broadcast and print media.

**INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.**

**BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:**

- > Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
- > Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
- > Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.
- > Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

*Many of the outlets are established to provide politicians, groups, or even clans with greater political influence.*

The main sources of revenue fueling the media include advertising from both public and private sources, election campaign messages, and educational programs paid for by non-profit organizations. In Nur's opinion, "The advertising market is gradually picking up, and is the main source of revenue for the independent media. However, it is of lesser significance for the government media outlets, which depend more on direct financing from the public coffers." There are no subscription fees for news websites and radios—they are still free services for the news consumer.

Somaliland media outlets still lack the resources to undertake market research to enhance their advertising revenue and to tailor their products to the needs and preferences of their audiences. Furthermore, no reliable circulation figures are available, and there are no independent agencies to provide such services. Newspaper sales are weak; rough estimates suggest circulation in the range of 1,000 copies for the most popular dailies. For the broadcast sector, no listenership and viewership statistics—or even rough estimates—are available.

**OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS**

**Somaliland Objective Score: 1.91**

This objective scored a bit less than it did last year. Indicators 1 and 4 lagged behind the objective score by more than a point. Indicators 5 and 6 exceeded the objective score by about three-quarters of a point.

There are no true trade associations to speak of. Somaliland does, however, have various professional associations that represent journalists in the independent media; they include the Somaliland Journalists Association, Somaliland Women Journalists' Association, Union of Somaliland Journalists, Media Monitoring Group, and the Somaliland Online Association. These associations usually advocate on behalf of journalists when they run afoul of the authorities; they also advocate for or against legislation that might affect journalists' work. They successfully lobbied parliament to scrap debate of draft Law No. 27, which would allegedly clamp down on free speech—as the prior government viewed press law No. 17 as too lenient and toothless to regulate or control the media sector. The media professional associations



*Also, journalists complain that the same basic trainings are offered over and over; they would like to receive training on the business management side of media instead, for example.*

also uphold the existing press codes of conducts, especially those guiding election coverage.

The panelists were divided over whether the NGOs support free speech. While most panelists view NGOs positively, there is a prevailing view that NGOs do not focus sufficiently on important issues such as legislation supporting the media. Suad Ibrahim Abdi, a researcher at the Academy for Peace and Development, explained, "There is some

#### SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

##### **SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:**

- > Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- > Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.
- > Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

advocacy collaboration between the media and individuals representing NGOs. However, there is little advocacy involving legislative reviews and advocacy on media laws by NGO as institutions."

There are no journalism degree programs in Somaliland. As Abdi explained, "As far as training journalists is concerned, there is not a single training institution in the country. There was a one-time online training course offered at Hargeisa University, from which some of our panelists benefited, but it has since been discontinued."

However, journalists and media workers receive short-term training, both locally and in the neighboring countries, from international institutional arrangements. Somaliland journalists are often invited to attend training programs run in Nairobi, Addis Ababa, and Kampala. High-caliber journalists also interact with international journalist institutions in the UK (such as the BBC) and in other EU countries to participate in short courses, seminars, and conferences.

One shortcoming of training offered to date is that journalists often receive training on upgraded equipment, which they have no access to in their jobs. Also, journalists complain that the same basic trainings are offered over and over; they would like to receive training on the business management side of media instead, for example.

Somaliland has both government and private printing facilities, and newspapers have a choice. Although printing facilities are generally considered private, apolitical, and unrestricted, even private owners have been known to interfere in content if controversial topics are broached.

While print media distribution channels are also private, apolitical, and unrestricted, the radio transmitters are in the hands of the government, and subject to their control.

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## List of Panel Participants

**Yusuf Gabobe**, editor and owner, Haatuf Media Network, Hargeisa

**Abdi-weli Jambir**, editor and owner, *Ogaal*, Hargeisa

**Kaise Digaale**, editor and owner, Togdheer website, Burao

**Abokor Hassan Caafi**, reporter, Somaliland TV/Radio, Borame

**Ibrahim Jama**, lawyer and member of parliament, Erigavo

**Abdi Ahmed Nur**, educator, Forum for Peace and Governance, Hargeisa

**Hodan Abdi Elmi**, civil society representative, NAGAAD, Hargeisa

**Suad Ibrahim Abdi**, researcher, Academy of Peace and Development, Hargeisa

**Khadar Akule**, media associate, Universal TV, Hargeisa

**Saeed Ahmed Mohamoud**, media development representative, Interpeace, Hargeisa

**Mohamoud Abdi Ilig**, reporter, Horn Cable TV, Hargeisa

**Mustafe Mohamed Abdi**, editor and owner, Hadhwanaagnews website and online radio, Hargeisa

## Moderator and Author

**Mohamed Osman Fadal**, director, Social Research and Development Institute, Hargeisa

## Observer

**Khadar Abdillahi**, assistant, Hargeisa

*The Somaliland study was coordinated by, and conducted in partnership with, the Social Research and Development Institute, Hargeisa.*