



## Xatabadda Doorashada: Taabbagelinta Xisbiyo Badan iyo Baarlaaman Tayo Leh

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Hannaanka xisbiyada badan waxaa weheliya welwel ah in xisbiyadu noqdaan tirabbeel tabar daran, oo aan tayo iyo taag siyaasadeed midna lahayn *'fragmented small-sized parties'*, iyo kala baahid iyo habqan ku dhaca metelaadda dadweynaha ee baarlamaanka *'fragmentation of representation'*. Waa laba arrimood oo xiriir leh, sida badanna horseeda hoos u dhaca kartida iyo karaanka maamul ee xukuumadda, dhaawicina kara deganaanshaha siyaasadeed ee dalka. Sidaas darteed, waa in lafagurid iyo talo ku filan la geliyaa sidii loo dejin lahaa, loona taabbagelin lahaa, hannaan doorasho si habboon oo miisaaman u maareynaya habqanka metelaadda baarlamaanka; waxaana la isku dayaa in la furdaamiyo ama la xakameeyo habqanka xisbiyada tiradhaafka ah.

Habka loo yaqaan *'electoral threshold'* ama *'xatabadda doorashada'* waa hannaan doorashada raaca oo lagu furdaamiyo mushkiladdan ah habqanka metelaadda, si xisbiyada baarlamaanka imanayaana u noqdaan kuwo, illaa heer, waxgal ah.

Siyaasadda Soomaalida Geeska Afrika waxaa lagu adeegsaday, lagana hadalhayaa, laba hab oo lagu xakamaynayo tiradhaafka xisbiyada; habka *'xatabadda doorashada'* iyo habka *'xaddididda dhowr xisbi keliya'*. Maqaalkani waa iftiimin iyo gorfayn kooban, oo arrintan ku aadan.



Sidedaba, siyaasad iyo maamul dawladeed qaangaar ah waxaa taabbagelin kara xisbiyo tayo leh; tayada iyo taagta xisbiyadana waxaa saameyn ku leh hannaanka doorashada. Sidaas darteed, waa lagama maarmaan in laga shaqeeyo jaangoynta iyo hirgelinta hannaan doorasho fiyow oo horseeda xisbiyo tayo leh.

### 1.Xatabadda Doorashada

Hababka ugu caansan ee maareynta habqanka metelaadda waxaa ka mid ah *'electoral threshold'* ama *'xatabadda doorashadu'*.<sup>1</sup> Xatabadda doorashadu waa in xisbiyada lagu shardiyo inay helaan tiro go'an oo ah codadka codbixiyayaasha (sida 01%, 03% ama 05% ee tirada codbixiyayaasha dalka) si ay xildhibaanno ugu yeelan karaan baarlamaanka.

Xisbigii tiradaa ka yar helaa xildhibaanno kuma yeelan karo baarlamaanka, codadkuu doorashada ka helayna way gubanayaan. Tiradaa boqolleyda ayaa ah xatabadda baarlamaanka lagu geli karo, la'aanteed maya. Xatabadda doorashadu waxay leedahay noocyo kala duwan, laakiin nooca loogu adeegsi badan yahay waa habkan boqolleyda ah, waxaana lagu qoraa dastuurka ama xeerka doorashada/xisbiyada, sidaas darteed, waxaa loo yaqaan *'formal threshold'* ama *'legal threshold'*.<sup>ii</sup> Habkan 'xatabadda doorashada' wuxuu aalaaba lagu adeegsada hannaanka doorashooyinka ee *'metelaadda saamigalka'* ama *'proportional representation'*.<sup>iii</sup>

Dalalku way ku kala duwan yihiin boqolleyda xatabadda, qaar yareeya iyo qaar badiyaba. Sida shaxda hoose ka muuqata, dalalka xatabadda yar adeegsada waxaa ka mid ah Nertherlands (0.67%) iyo Uruguay (1%), halka dalalka qaarkood xatabaddoodu aad u sarayso sida Turkiya (7%),<sup>iv</sup> badise dalalku waxay u dhexeeyaan 3-5%. Fiiri shaxda hoose.<sup>v</sup>

	<i>Dalka</i>	<i>Xatabadda Xisbiga</i>	<i>Xatabadda Isbahaysiga</i>
1	Netherlands	0.67%	-
2	Uruguay	1%	-
3	Burundi	2%	-
4	Bosnia	3%	-
5	Italy	3%	10%
6	Indonesia	4%	-
7	Bulgaria	4%	-
8	Armenia	5%	7%
9	Poland	5%	8%
10	Mozambique	5%	-
11	Rwanda	5%	-
12	Türkiye	7%	7%

Si looga taxaddaro in xisbiyadu si xeeladaysan uga dhuuntaan xatabadda doorashada, dalalka qaarkood xatabad ka saraysa tan xisbiyada ayay u sameeyaan isbahaysiyada doorashada gelaya *'pre-election alliances'*. Tusaale ahaan, dalka Talyaanigu xisbiyada wuxuu u shardiyaa xatabad ah 3%, laakiin isbahaysiyada wuxuu u shardiyaa 10%, halka Poland xisbiyada laga rabo 5%, isbahaysiyadase 8% (Fiiri shaxda kore).

Xatabaddu waxay suurtagelinaysaa in xisbiyada baarlamaanka soo gelayaa noqdaan kuwo dadweynaha ka haysta taageero loo qaateen ah oo cuddoon, xisbiyada aadka u taageerada yarna waa laga riixay inay baarlamaanka metelaad ku yeeshaan; ha soo koraan, hana soo gaaraan inay haaban karaan xatabadda baarlamaanka lagu gelayo!

Dhinaca kale, haddii boqolleyda xatabadda aad sare loogu qaado, waxay dhaawacaysaa mabda'a metelaadda dadweynaha '*representation principle*', oo hannaanka metelaadda baarlamaanka tiirdhexaad u ah. Waxaa gubanaya/khasaaraya codad badan, oo noqonaya '*wasted votes*', waxaana kordhaya heerka isweydaarka u dhexeeya codadkii dadweynaha iyo xildhibaannada kuraasta ku fadhiya.

Tusaale ahaan, doorashadii Jarmalka ee 2013, 15.7% ka mida dadweynuhu waxay u codeeyeen xisbiyo aan ka soo gudbin xatabadda, oo ahayd 5%, sidaasna waxay ku noqdeen codad khasaaray. Doorashooyinkii 1991 iyo 2013 ee Bulgaariya, oo xatabaddu ahayd 4%, 24% codbixiyayaashu waxay u codeeyeen xisbiyo xatabaddu reebtay, sidaasna waxaa ku khasaaray ku dhowaad rubuc codadkii la dhiibtay. Doorashadii Poland ee 1993, oo xatabadda xisbiyadu ahayd 5% tan isbahaysiyaduna 8%, codadka sidaa ku khasaaray waxay dhaafayeen 34%. Doorashadii baarlamaanka Turkiya ee 2002, oo xatabaddu ahayd 10%, waxaa xatabadda soo gaari waayay tiro xisbiyo ah, sidaas darteedna codadkii ay heleen ay sidaas ku gubteen. Codadka sidaa lagu qubay waxay noqdeen 46.33% ee tirada codadkii dadweynaha, waa codad kala bar ku dhow. Sidaas darteed, ayaa baarlamaanka Turkigu xatabadda doorashada hoos u dhigay kana dhigay 7% Maarso 2022, laguna galay doorashadii Meey 2023.<sup>vi</sup>

Haddaba, si codadka khasaaraya loo yareeyo waa in boqolleyda xatabadda la yareeyaa. Sidaas darteed, ayaa Midowga Yurub faray dalalka xubnaha ka ah in doorashada baarlamaanka Yurub ayna xatabaddu marna ka badnaan 5%.<sup>vii</sup>

## **2.Xaddididda Tirada Xisbiyada, Laba ama Saddex**

Habkani waa in dalku ku dhawaaqo inuu ku soconayo hannaanka xisbiyada badan, isla markaana ku xaddido tirada guud ee xisbiyada sida labo ama saddex, ka badanna aan la oggolaan. Habkan, oo aan dunida caan ka ahayn, si buu Geeska Afrika u soo yara maray, haddase wuu ka sii baaba'ayaa.

Dabcan, waxaa jira dalal ku shaqeeya hannaanka xisbiyada badan, qaanuunkuna aanu tiradooda xaddidayn. Laakiin, ay jiraan dhowr xisbi oo dadweynuhu aad u taageeraan, sidaas darteedna hela badiba kuraasta baarlamaanka. Qaanuunku wuu oggol yahay xisbiyo badan, laakiin dadweynaha ayaa dhaqan ahaan dhowr xisbi keliya aad u taageera, sida labada xisbi ee Maraykanka ugu caansan. Tani way ka duwan tahay in qaanuunku tirada xisbiyada ku koobo laba ama saddex keliya.

Sannadkii 1992 ayay Jabuuti go'aansatay inay isaga guurto hannaanka xisbi keliyaalaha ah, oo ay ku socotay siday xorriyadda u qaadatayba. Waxaa la oggolaaday in dalku yeelan karo ugu badnaan afar xisbi keliya, sidaas ayayna ku socotay muddo toban sanno ah, waa 1992-2002. Deedna way isaga guurtay oo waa la furay tirada xisbiyada.<sup>viii</sup> Somaliland ayaa iyana qaadatay hannaan ah saddex xisbi oo keliya; laga soo bilaabo doorashadii Diisambar 2002 ilaa maantana way ku socotaa.<sup>ix</sup> Puntland ayaa iyana tirada xisbiyada ku koobtay saddex keliya, laakiin markay u hollatay taabbagelinta hannaanka xisbiyada badan waxay garawsatay ceebaha waaweyn ee xaddidaaddu leedahay, waxay go'aansatay inay ka guurto.

Rafasho dheer kadib, waxay u guurtay hannaanka ‘xatabadda doorashada’ oo ay ka dhigtay 5%.<sup>x</sup> Dawladda Federaalka Soomaaliya muddaba waxay la rafanaysaa siday u hirgelin lahayd hannaanka xisbiyada badan. Shirkii ‘Golaha Wadatashiga Qaran’ ee Muqdisho ka dhacay Meey 2023 waxay ku taliyeen in dalku u gudbo doorasho dadweyne sannadka 2024, waxayse tirada xisbiyada ku koobeen laba xisbi qaran oo keliya.<sup>xi</sup> Waxaase ka daba yimid diidmo iyo dhawaaqyo badan oo ka dardaarwerinaya xaddididda tirada xisbiyada.

Waxaa xusid mudan, habkan xisbiyadan tiradooda lagu koobayo laba ama saddex wuxuu la bah yahay habka xisbiga keliya, waxayna ka soo horjeeddaa nuxurka hannaanka xisbiyada badan iyo mabda’a wadajirka siyaasadeed ‘*political pluralism*’, waxayna dhaawacaysaa mabda’a tartanka siyaasadeed ‘*political competition*’. Habkani wuxuu fadhiid ka dhigayaa hannaanka siyaasadeed iyo maamul, wuxuuna wiiqayaa ujeeddadii looga gollahaa hannaanka xisbiyada badan ee tartanka iyo isdheellitirka ku dhisan.

### 3. Sooyaalka Xatabadda Doorashada Soomaaliya

Sagaalkii sanno ee xorriyadda xigay, waa 1960-69, Soomaaliya waxay ku socotay hannaanka xisbiyada badan, waxaa u qabsoomay doorashooyin dadweyne ee dawladaha hoose iyo xildhibaanada baarlamaanka. Tan baarlamaanku waxay dhacday laba jeer, Maarso 1964 iyo Maarso 1969; waxaana la raacayay xeerar doorasho oo waayo-aragnimadu kobcinaysay. Afgembigii Oktoobar 1969 waxaa awoodda dalka la wareegay milatariga, oo sannadkii 1976 qaatay hannaanka xisbi keliyaalaha ‘*one party state*’. Yagleeliddii Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka Soomaaliya kadib, dhowrkii sanno ee u dambeeyay waxaa la dardargeliyay dadaallo isa soo taraya oo loogu jiro sidii dalka looga qaban lahaa doorasho dadweyne. Doodaha socda waxaa ka mid ah xeerarka doorashada, oo qeexaya hannaanka doorashada ee la raacayo, oo ay ka mid tahay xatabadda doorahsadu. Aan yara milicsanno xeerarka ama go’aannada arrintan ku aadan ee la gaaray muddadaa 63 sanno ah.

#### 3.1 Xeerka Doorashooyinka (Xeer Lr. 13), Juun 1968

Doorashadii baarlamaanka ee 1964 waxaa ka qaybgalay 21 xisbi, afartii xisbi ee ugu korreeyay waxay codadkii dadweynaha ka heleen 91.28% (115 kursi), halka xisbiyadii kale aanu ku jirin mid soo gaaray 1% ee codadka dadweynaha, haddana waxay baarlamaanka ka heleen siddeed kursi.<sup>xii</sup> Waxaa iyana jiray doorashooyinkii deegaanka, oo iyana mushkiladdan ‘habqanka metelaada baarlamaanka’ dhankooda ka muujiyay. Arrintani waxay muujisay mushkilad ah habqanka metelaada baarlamaanka ‘*fragmentation of representation*’, una baahan in la furdaamiyo ama la maareeyo.

Markii loo diyaargaroobayay doorashadii baarlamaaniga ee xigtay (1969), waxaa waxkabeddel lagu sameeyay xeerka doorashooyinka. Xeerkan oo soo baxay Juun 1968 (Xeer Lr. 13), qodobbo faahfaahin ahna la raaciyay Oktoobar 1968, waxaa xisaabinta codadka lagu soo daray hannaanka ‘*qaybta doorashada iyo haraaga*’ ama ‘*electoral quotient and remainder*’ oo heer degmo ah, oo ka qabsoomay 48 degmo doorasho oo dalku ka koobnaa.<sup>xiii</sup> Habkan qaybta doorashada iyo haraagu waa nooc ka mid ah ‘xatabadda doorashada’.<sup>xiv</sup>

Doorashadii baarlamaanka ee dhacday Maarso 1969, inkasta oo tirada xisbiyada tartanka ka qaybgalay ay ahaayeen 64 xisbi, oo ah tiro aad u badan, haddana habkan *'electoral quotient and remainder'* wuxuu yareeyay saameynteedii.<sup>xv</sup>

### 3.2 Soo Jeedinta Xatabadda Doorashada, Juun 2018

Shirkii amniga qaranka ee lagu qabtay Baydhabo, 3-5 juun 2018, oo u dhexeeyay madaxda Dawladda Federaalka iyo madaxda Dawlad Goboleedyada ayaa laga soo saaray in dalka laga qabanayo doorasho dadweyne.

Waxaa la agaasimay diyaarinta xeerar doorasho, xatabad doorasho ayaana loo yeelay xisbiyada baarlamaanka kuraasta ku yeelanaya, waxaana loo shardiya inay helaan ugu yaraan 7% ee codadka dadweynaha.<sup>xvi</sup>

Hase yeeshee, hindisahani ma sii soconin, oo sharci ma noqon. Waa laga guuray hannaankii doorashada ee ku dhisnaa liiska metelaadda saamigalka ah *'proportional representation'*, oo uu aalaaba ku sidkan yahay habkan xatabadda doorashadu; waxaana loo guuray hannaan doorasho cusub; waxaana Febraayo 2020 la ansixiyay Sharci Lr. 23, 'Sharciiga Doorashooyinka Qaranka ee Heer Federaal', oo ku dhisan hannaanka doorashada ee loo yaqaan 'qofka ugu horreeya ayaa guuleystay' ama *'first-past-the-post (FPTP)'*.<sup>xvii</sup> Hase yeeshee, ma qabsoomin doorasho dadweyne, doorashadii 2021/2022 waxay ku qabsoontay hannaan beeledkii la rabay in laga guuro.

Sidaan hore u tilmaamay, shirkii Golaha Wadatashiga Qaran ee Muqdisho ka dhacay Meey 2023 ayaa mar kale doodda soo dhex geliyay xisbiyo tiro xaddidan leh, wuxuuna ku koobay laba xisbi keliya; waxaase ka daba yimid diidmo iyo dhawaaqyo badan oo ka digaya in xisbiyada lagu koobo laba keliya. Tanina weli waa dood socota.

### 4. Gunaanad & Talo

Marka loo kuurgalo waayo-aragnimada dunida iyo gobolkaba, lana qiimeeyo xaaladda bulsho iyo siyaasadeed ee Soomaalida iyo waayaha ku xeeran, waxay ila tahay in hannaanka ugu habboon ee doorashooyinka dadweynuhu yahay hannaanka metelaadda saamigalka ah *'proportional representation'*, iyadoo xisbiyada loo samaynayo xatabad doorasho. Waliba, waxaa habboon in xatabadda doorashadu yeelato laba heer, mid xisbiyada ah iyo mid isbahaysiyada ah.

Xatabadda doorashada ee loo shardinayo xisbiyadu si ay baarlamaanka kuraas ugu yeeshaan waa inay noqotaa 3% tirada codadka dadweynaha ee dalka guud ahaan, xatabadda isbahaysiyaduna noqotaa 5%. Haddii loo arko in lambarkani uu hooseeyo, oo uusan ku filayn maaraynta habqanka metelaadda, waxaa tan xisbiyada laga dhigi karaa 4% ama 5%, tan isbahaysiyadana 6% ama 7% ee tirada codadka dadweynaha. Yacnii waa in xatabadda doorashada ee xisbiyadu ayna marna ka badnaan 5% tan isbahaysiyaduna ka badnaan 7%.

Waa in laga fogaadaa, oo meesha laga saaraa in tirada xisbiyada lagu koobo laba ama saddex iwm. Waayo, wuxuu ka soo horjeeddaa nuxurka hannaanka xisbiyada badan, wuxuuna la bah yahay habka xisbi keliyaalaha; wuxuu dhaawacaysaa mabda'a tartanka siyaasadeed *'political competition'*.

Mar kasta oo la soo yareeyo garoonka tartanka, ama xakamaha lagu giijiyo, waxaa kordhaya maridda waddooyin kale, oo aan hannaanka tartanka furan ahayn, taasina, dhowaan ama fogaan mid ay noqotaba, waxay horseedaysaa qulqulatooyin iyo deganaansho la'aan siyaasadeed. Sidaas darteed, xeerarka iyo hay'adaha dalku waa inay u adeegaan dhowrista iyo kaabidda xisbiyada badan.

Xatabadda doorashadu waxay ka mid tahay arrimaha kaalinta weyn ka qaadan kara taabbagelinta xisbiyo badan oo waxtar leh iyo baarlamaan tayo leh, oo Soomaalida u horseeda maamul dawladeed qaangaar ah iyo siyaasad fiyow oo si habboon ugu hagta nolosha.

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### **Tilmaamo (Notes)**

1 'Electoral threshold' ama 'العتبة الانتخابية' 'eraybixinta ugu habboon ee lagu Soomaaliyeyn karo waxay igula habboonaatay 'xatabadda doorashada'. Luqad ahaan, xatabad (ama catabad) waa jaranjarrada loo sameeyo albaabka aqalka, waa loo adeegsadaa jaranjarrada oo dhan ama hal tallaabo oo jaranjarta ka mid ah.

2 Fiiri Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly & Andrew Ellis. (2008). 'Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook'. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2005, Reprinted 2008, Sweden. Pp. 57-59.

3 'Proportional Representation' ee doorashooyinka waxaa mararka qaar loo adeegsaday eraybixinta 'metelaadda isu-dheellitiran', laakiin waxaa igala habboonaatay eraybixintan ah 'metelaadda saamigalka'. Waayo erayga 'saamigal' ayaa ah eraybixinta cilmiyeed ee hore ugu hirgashay 'proportional'; oo nus qarni kahor uu dejiyay Xafiiskii Manaahijtu, kuna adeegsaday waxbarashada, siiba maaddooyinka Xisaabta iyo Fiisigiska. Hannaankan 'metelaadda saamigalka' wuxuu saamigal toosan 'directly proportional' ka dhexeeyaa boqolleyda xisbigu uu codadka dadweynaha ka helo iyo kuraasta uu baarlamaanka ka helayo; xisbiga hela 20% codadka dadweynuhu wuxuu helayaa 20% ee tirada kuraasta, kii hela 35% codadkuna wuxuu helayaa 35% ee tirada kuraasta. Saamigalkaas ayay metelaaddani magaca ka wadataa. Habkani wuxuu u daneeyaa xisbiyada yaryar ee soo koraya, waana ka loogu adeegsi badan yahay hababka lagu soo doorto baarlamaannada dunida.

4 Türkiye iyo Kazakhstan waa labada dal ee xatabaddooda doorasho tahay 7%, waa xatabad aad u sareysa.

5 Fiiri 'Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook' & [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electoral\\_threshold](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electoral_threshold), accessed on 07 August 2023

6 Fiiri 'Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook', p. 83 & 'Wasted Votes' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wasted\\_vote](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wasted_vote)

7 Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook, p. 142

8 Fiiri 'Elections in Djibouti' <https://africanelections.tripod.com/dj.html>. Adeegsaday 18/7/2023.

9 Fiiri Dastuurka Somaliland 2001, qodob 9(2).

10 Fiiri Dastuurka Puntland 2009, qodob 46(3); & Wax-ka-bedelka Dastuurka Puntland, 25 Luulyo 2023.



- 11 Fiiri Heshiiska Hannaanka Doorashooyinka Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka Soomaaliya. 27 Maajo 2023. Muqdisho, Soomaaliya
- 12 Waxaan ka soo dhiraandhiriyay xogta doorashooyinka ee ‘Elections in Somalia’  
<https://africanelections.tripod.com/so.html>; adeedsaday 12/7/2023
- 13 Fiiri Maarten Halff. ‘The Electoral legislation of Somalia 1953-1969’, 2016; pp. 189-220
- 14 Habkan ‘electoral quotient and remainder’ waa nooc ka mid ah xatabadda doorashada, qaddarkiisa waxaa soo saaraya xisaabta ‘mathematical calculations’ ee xeerku tiro go’an uma qeexo sida uu u qeexay boqolleyda ‘formal threshold’.
- 15 Maadaama ‘qaybta doorashada iyo haraagu’ ahaa heer degmo, sida muuqata, Xisbigii SYL ama Leegada ayaa si weyn ugu faa’iiday qodobkan; codadkii uu helay oo ahaa 33.24% ee codadka guud ee dadweynaha, wuxuu ku helay 73 kursi oo u dhiganta 59.35% tirada kuraasta baarlamaanka. Doorashadii hore ee 1964, xisbigani wuxuu helay 51.67% ee codadka dadweynaha, wuxuuna ku helay 69 kursi. U fiirso, doorashadii 1969 wuxuu helay codad yar iyo kuraas badan marka la barbardhigo doorashadii 1964 oo uu helay codad badan iyo kuraas yar. Hoosudhaca ku yimid codadka uu helay waa 35.67%, halka kuraastu u korortay 5.8%! Haddii la raaci lahaa hannaanka boqolleyda xatabadda doorashada oo heer qaran ah ‘national legal electoral threshold’, waxaa iyana kuraastu u kordhi lahayd xisbiyada heerka dhexe ahaa, waxaana hari lahaa oo keliya xisbiyada aadka u yaryar.
- 16 Fiiri Elmi, Afyare (2021) “The Politics of the Electoral System in Somalia: An Assessment,” Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies: Vol. 21, Article 10. Pp. 107. Available at:  
<https://digitalcommons.mcalester.edu/bildhaan/vol21/iss1/10>
- 17 Fiiri Sharci Lr. 23, Sharciga Doorashooyinka Qaranka ee Heer Federaal, 20 Febraayo 2020