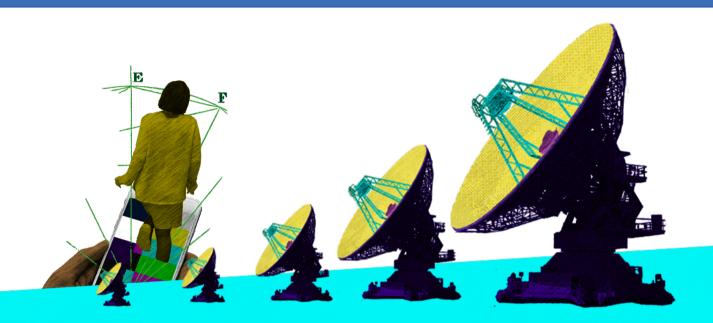


Social Media, Influence and Polarization

A Case study of Somaliland's 2024 Presidential elections



The 2024 presidential elections in Somaliland showcased the rising role and influence of social media in contributing to shaping political discourse and electoral outcomes. Our analysis indicates that TikTok and X (formerly Twitter) played a role, with local and diaspora influencers driving political promotions and amplifying campaign narratives to shape public perceptions. The report analyses how social media has become deeply embedded in Somaliland's political landscape, not only impacting Somaliland elections and peace and conflict dynamics, but also potentially influencing regional dynamics, including Somaliland's relations with Somalia, Ethiopia, and other key actors. When it comes to democracy, this digital shift presents both opportunities for engagement and challenges such as polarization, misinformation, and foreign influence..

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Key Takeaways:

- TikTok has become the most influential platform during the 2024 elections, particularly among young voters. Influencers played a key role in amplifying the key political narratives or sometimes initiating the narratives themselves, with Waddani the main opposition party's candidate Abdirahman Cirro, receiving more visibility online. Unlike X, which hosted more polarised debates, and Facebook, which remained a space for, primarily, official news, TikTok was the primary platform for campaign mobilisation.
- A Key TikTok influencers were amplifying Waddani party campaigns, making the main opposition party more digitally visible than the ruling party Kulmiye. Influencers such as @ qooqaga_qaranka and @ugbaadaragsan34 were more noticeable and drove online engagement, producing viral contents that contributed to Waddani's online visibility. Kulmiye party, on the other hand, relied more on traditional online engagement, through Facebook and X but struggled to match Waddani's online reach, reflecting the increasing power of influencer-driven campaigns.
- The analysis reveals **age-based differences in platform use** and political
 engagement. Younger voters were active
 on TikTok, engaging with influencer-led
 content, while older individuals relied on
 Facebook for structured political discourse,
 preferring official media outlets and party
 pages. Meanwhile, most X users in our
 analysis were members of the diaspora,
 discussing governance and sovereignty.
- Foreign narratives that shaped social media discussions include claims that former U.S. President since then elected as a President- Donald Trump's plan to recognise Somaliland sparked widespread excitement among Somaliland online users. Taiwan's involvement in electoral support divided opinion, with some viewing it as democratic assistance and others as political interference.

- The National Electoral Commission (NEC) largely received positive engagement for its adoption of innovative technologies such as the IRIS Biometric Voter Verification System (IRIS-BVVS). This system was widely credited with reducing voter fraud and enhancing electoral transparency, and its successful implementation attracted broad public support. However, the NEC was not immune to criticism, particularly around delays in result announcements and its management of observer missions issues that, while not dominant, reflected pockets of public skepticism.
- Allegations of voter buying against both Waddani and Kulmiye parties gained traction online. Although these posts were relatively limited in number, they garnered significant engagement, indicating a heightened sensitivity to issues of electoral integrity. The debate around the signing and enforcement of the electoral Code of Conduct also featured prominently, with many users praising it as a key step towards peaceful and credible elections.
- digital space. The platform hosted heated debates around election legitimacy, foreign influence, and territorial sovereignty—particularly in relation to the controversial MoU between Somaliland and Ethiopia. These discussions often intersected with broader regional geopolitics, drawing in issues such as Somaliland's diplomatic recognition, its evolving relationship with Taiwan, and tensions with Somalia, thus intensifying digital polarization.
- Perspective API revealed that online discussions around elections, foreign relations, and clan-based identity politics were the primary drivers of toxicity, with election-related content showing the highest levels of severe toxicity, identity-based attacks, and threats. This indicates that political discourse in Somaliland's digital spaces remains highly contentious, and at times, inflammatory, underscoring the importance of early warning mechanisms and content moderation strategies to mitigate digital harms in future electoral cycles.

Key Recommendations:

- Introducing comprehensive Social Media Policy – The government should develop a comprehensive social media policy to manage harmful digital influence by both local and diaspora influencers. While safeguarding freedom of expression, this policy should not only target journalists but individual influencers as well to establish guidelines for responsible engagement. regulate misinformation, and implement mechanisms to counter digital manipulation. Currently, Somaliland has two key bills related to media and online activity. The first is the Cybersecurity Bill, which, under Article 42, defines a social media influencer as anyone with more than 5,000 followers and imposes a penalty of up to seven years in prison, or a \$7,000 fine, or both for spreading false information. The second is the Media Bill, with Articles 61 and 62 addressing journalists' rights to use social media and the penalties for violations against them. While these provisions primarily focus on journalists in Somaliland, many influencers fall outside this category.
- transparency The National Electoral Commission (NEC) should enhance its online presence by proactively communicating with the public through social media. This includes providing timely and transparent updates, addressing concerns swiftly, and countering misinformation. The NEC is commendable for incorporating social media provisions into the 2024 election code of conduct which anecdotal observation shows to have promoted responsible digital engagement.
- cohesion Civil society should collaborate with government and other stakeholders such as the newly established Peace Committee to build and strengthen the capacity to monitor and analyse digital conflicts and online harms while ensuring the protection of freedom of expression. These stakeholders should also develop a strategy and work plan to liaise with social media platforms to review and moderate harmful content that could incite violence or deepen societal divisions, and develop and deliver public education campaigns to promote digital literacy and counteract mis/ disinformation.

Introduction

Somaliland has a history of credible and peaceful local, parliamentary, and presidential elections, as well as a constitutional referendum, since 2001, with traditional outreach, dialogue, and reconciliation mechanisms playing a key role in the success of these elections. More recently, however, as is the case globally, social media and the online environment have played an ever increasing role in political dialogue in general, and more particularly on by external actors, including those in Somalia, electoral processes.

This study therefore examines Somaliland's digital information ecosystem during the most recent 2024 presidential election period, analysing how social media platforms and online spaces influenced campaign dynamics, voter perceptions, democratic conversations and the political discourse surrounding the elections. During the 2024 election. concerns arose about the role of digital media in the period leading up to, during, and after election day.



Therefore, this study focused on the pre- and post-election period (October-December 2024). The study identifies key online actors involved in influence campaigns, including local and diaspora influencers, political entities, and foreign actors, and examines their approaches amplifying narratives and influencing public opinion. It sheds light on how online communities use a mix of authentic and fabricated strategies to propagate messages, adapt to ongoing political events, and leverage pre-existing cultural, societal and political tensions.

The report begins with a methodology section detailing the study process and tools used including Phoenix. This is followed by an in-depth analysis of influencer networks and their role in shaping the online narratives around the 2024 elections. Using social network analysis, it identifies how these networks engage with followers, amplify specific agendas, and disseminate both factual and sometimes misleading content. A particular focus is placed on how digital creators, including diaspora

influencers on platforms like TikTok and X (formerly Twitter), shaped campaign messaging.

A key part of the study explores online content related to foreign actors and narratives and how such content could be used in information and political campaigns. The report reveals how narratives about Somaliland's foreign relations, including the contentious MoU with Ethiopia and its strained ties with Somalia, were exploited to manipulate public opinion and potentially destabilize the electoral process. This highlights the intersection of digital narratives, actors and geopolitical interests.

The study further assesses the broader implications of digital influence on Somaliland's institutions. It examines how coordinated online campaigns challenged critical pillars of democracy, such as checks and balances between political parties and the National Electoral Commission (NEC), while either eroding or maintaining public trust in the electoral process

Another critical area of focus is the relationship between online polarization and offline events. The study highlights examples of digital vigilantism, where online campaigns translated into offline actions, such as protests or localized conflicts. It also examines how disinformation, such as fake videos depicting government crackdowns, exacerbated tensions in sensitive regions like Lascanod. These dynamics underscore the tangible impact of online narratives on Somaliland's socio-political landscape. The report also evaluates how emerging technologies, including artificial intelligence, are enhancing the scale and sophistication of influence operations.

The final section provides recommendations to address the challenges posed by digital influence campaigns.

Important terms:

Polarization - Is the division of society into opposing groups with increasingly extreme views, often fuelled by social media and political discourse. It reduces common ground, deepens societal divides, and can lead to political instability or conflict.

Influence operation - Is a coordinated effort to manipulate public perception and shape narratives for political, ideological, or strategic gain. It often involves misinformation, propaganda, and social media campaigns to sway opinions or destabilise opponents.

Methodology

This study employs social media analysis to examine the influence of online communities and key actors associated with Somaliland's 2024 presidential election. The analysis was conducted by a technical working group comprising social media analysts from Somaliland's civil society organizations (CSOs), a technical consultant who had been mentoring them for six months, and one professional researcher. Data was collected and analysed to provide a comprehensive overview of Somaliland's information ecosystem, focusing on the online dynamics during the election period. The analysis involved a structured process and tools for social media analysis, as discussed below.

Data gathering

Using participatory methods, the technical working group framed the research problem and questions. This was followed by a list of keywords and actors developed by the technical working group to be able to analyse narratives and actors. The period between April 2024 and January 2025 was selected as a study period. Data was gathered from open-sources using Phoenix, an advanced social media monitoring tool developed by Build Up, which was used to gather content from platforms such as Facebook, X and TikTok plus additional datasets downloaded from CivicSignal manually uploaded to Phoenix.

Phoenix

Empowering Peacebuilding through Social Media Analysis

These social media platforms were selected due to their prominence in political discourse and campaign activities. Manual searches were conducted to supplement the data and capture emerging narratives and trends on platforms like Instagram and other digital spaces. Boolean search queries and keyword tracking were used to ensure relevance and accuracy in the dataset.

Data analysis

A combination of tools and techniques was used to analyse data gathered from open-source platforms, including network analysis and open-source investigative techniques (OSINT). Using tools such as Gephi for social network analysis, analysts mapped influence communities, highlighting connections between actors and the methods used to amplify narratives. Additionally, key metrics—including account authenticity, follower engagement, and patterns of coordinated behavior—were assessed to evaluate influential accounts.

Limitations and disclaimer

The study gathered and analysed data exclusively from open sources, specifically public accounts on social media platforms such as Facebook, X, and TikTok. Private and encrypted platforms - such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and Signal, often referred to as dark social platforms - were not examined, despite their significant role in shaping narratives.

To maintain anonymity, the study conceals the profile pictures of social media influencers. However, usernames have not been concealed, as doing so would affect the transparency of the analysis. This does not imply that the influencers featured in this study are engaged in any wrongdoing. Rather, the intention is to provide a lens for understanding the role of social media and influencers in public discourse without making value judgments about their contributions.

Background and context

Somaliland, which unilaterally declared its independence from Somalia in 1991, has not only maintained relative stability but has also, since 2001, established functional democratic institutions and held multiple presidential, parliamentary and local council elections. However, its political history and governance are deeply intertwined with its clan dynamics, which form the backbone of Somaliland's social and political structure. While clan allegiances have played a crucial role in fostering stability, they also present challenges, particularly in disputes over political representation, resource allocation, and governance.

Clan dynamics in Somaliland serve as both a source of cohesion and a fault line for social. developmental, and political competition. Some clans, primarily those from the center, are perceived to dominate governance, while others, mainly from the periphery, feel marginalized. Governance in Somaliland operates on a system of 'clantocracy,' where elections, events, territorial administration, development initiatives, and civil service appointments are largely influenced by clan affiliations. This clan-based governance structure sometimes fuels tensions and grievances, which are not only discussed in social circles but are increasingly amplified and polarized on social media, reinforcing entrenched and divisive narratives.

Social media platforms like Facebook, TikTok, and X (formerly Twitter) are playing a pivotal role in both uniting and dividing Somalilanders.

While these platforms have been instrumental in mobilizing diaspora communities and amplifying voices advocating for Somaliland's independence, they have also become breeding grounds for hate speech and inflammatory rhetoric. In the past couple of years there has seen a surge in misleading videos and posts that escalate tensions. Such content not only deepens existing divisions but also risks inciting real-world violence, further destabilizing the fragile peace in the region.

Polarization extends beyond local dynamics to international relations. For example, the recent Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Somaliland and Ethiopia has added another layer of contention. Online narratives surrounding the agreement have sparked divided opinions, not only within Somaliland but also between Somaliland and Somalia.

Somaliland elections and online influence

While Somaliland has made significant strides in its democratization process, the spread of harmful content online poses a threat to its political stability and social cohesion. Somaliland's electoral history reflects its efforts to establish and sustain a functioning democracy despite its unrecognized status in the international community. Since its declaration of independence in 1991, Somaliland has conducted several elections, including presidential, parliamentary, and local council polls. These elections, though often hailed as examples of stability in a volatile region, have not been immune to internal challenges. Additionally, external influences now appear to be playing an increasing role.

Domestically, clan dynamics have historically shaped electoral outcomes, with dominant clans, playing significant roles in mobilizing voters and determining political alliances. Internal influences in Somaliland's elections are deeply tied to its clan-based political structure. Clans often act as political blocs, rallying their members to support specific candidates or parties. While this system fosters social cohesion, it also creates a competitive environment where disputes over representation and resource allocation can escalate into tensions or conflicts.

Externally, neighboring countries and international partners have shown growing interest in Somaliland's political trajectory due to its strategic location and economic potential, particularly its ports. Since the 2017 elections, narratives linked to external actors have increasingly influenced the electoral landscape. For instance, in the 2017 presidential elections, the 30-year concession agreement between Somaliland

and DP World - a UAE-owned port investment and operations conglomerate - played a significant role in the campaign. Similarly, in the 2024 presidential elections, the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Somaliland and Ethiopia - granting Ethiopia access to the Red Sea in exchange for recognizing Somaliland - triggered complex local, regional, and international debates that shaped the election discourse both offline and online.



The involvement of diaspora communities in these digital spaces has added another layer to Somaliland's electoral dynamics. Members of the Somaliland diaspora, who often wield significant economic and social influence, use social media platforms to engage in political discourse and advocate for their preferred candidates or policies. This global connectivity has amplified both positive and negative influences on elections, as wellorganized diaspora groups can drive productive debates or contribute to the spread of divisive narratives. As social media continues to play a central role in shaping electoral processes, it is clear that influence operations, both internal and external, will remain a defining feature of Somaliland's democratic journey, posing new challenges and opportunities for the region's political landscape.

Somalilands social media outlook

This analysis faces limitations in obtaining precise social media usage statistics specifically for Somaliland. Due to the lack of dedicated research focusing solely on Somaliland, the available data from sources like DataReportal primarily reflects social media usage within the broader Somalia region. While this provides a general understanding of platform popularity, it's crucial to acknowledge that these figures may not accurately represent the specific usage patterns within Somaliland.

As of February 2024, DataReportal indicates that TikTok is the most popular social media platform in Somalia, boasting 2.92 million users, representing 34.2% of the adult population and 57.4% of internet users. Facebook follows closely with 2.40 million users, constituting 13.0% of the total population and 47.2% of internet users. Instagram has 518,000 users (2.8% of the total population, 10.2% of internet users), while Facebook Messenger enjoys 1.50 million users (8.1% of the total population, 29.5% of internet users). LinkedIn has 300,000 users (1.6% of the total population, 5.9% of internet users), and finally, X (Twitter) has 130,300 users, comprising 0.7% of the total population and 2.6% of internet users.

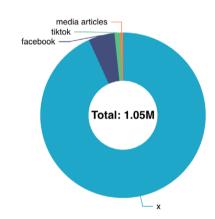
Social media usage in Somalia surged significantly in 2024 compared to 2023. Following the lifting of a government ban in 2023, TikTok experienced a dramatic rebound, indicating a strong demand for the platform. This surge was not limited to TikTok; all platforms represented in the chart showed substantial growth, reflecting a growing trend of social media adoption in the country.

Somaliland's Influence communities

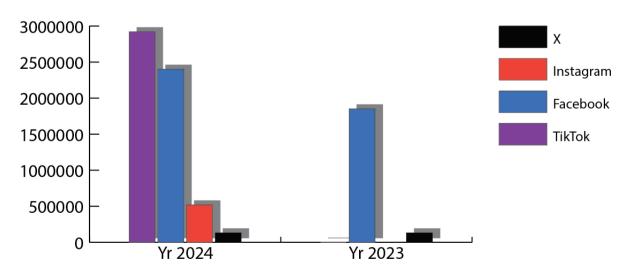
In the initial phase of the study, we conducted a detailed technical analysis of the two most prominent platforms in Somaliland – TikTok and Facebook, plus one politically oriented platform, X (formerly Twitter). The analysis helped us understand the key influence communities and their interactions online.

Between April 2024 and January 2025, a total of 1,054,845 pieces of content from TikTok, Facebook, X and digital articles from traditional media, were sampled. The posts all mentioned Somaliland between the period of analysis and was collected through a combination of data screaped from platforms using Phoenix or data downloaded from X and the media using other tools such as Meltwater and CivicSignal, then subsequently added to Phoenix.

Meltwater provided comprehensive firehorse access to data from X, and included both tweets and retweets, which contributed the highest number of pieces of content analysed.



Social media usageby platform Somalia

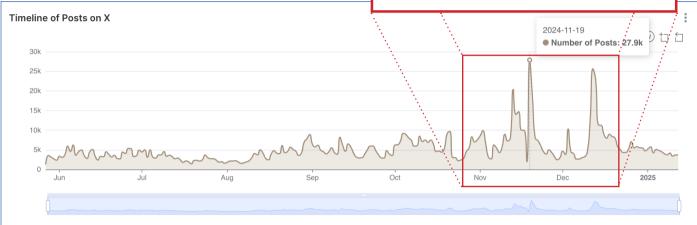


"Important Note: These statistics represent the Somalia region as a whole and may not accurately reflect usage within Somaliland."

On X, the platform that the highest level of political discourse was observed, the discussion around the Somaliland peaked during the electoral period in November 2024, with five major spikes in conversations, spearheaded by two communities from both sides of the political divide.

The spikes were observed on 02 November, 13 November, 19 November and 02 December and 12 December 2024.





- 1. 01-03 November 2024: A spike in social media activity centered on Somaliland's political and security tensions, with polarized language driving narratives around clashes between Somaliland forces and SSC-Khaatumo in the Sool region, described as either "aggression" or a defense of "sovereignty." Accusations of Mogadishu's destabilizing interference and debates over the MoU with Ethiopia, framed as either "essential cooperation" or a "betrayal," further fueled divisions. Posts from SSC-Khaatumo supporters highlighted "oppression" and "disregard for nomadic communities" while fears of "extremism" and "infiltration" were invoked by reports of alleged terrorist activity in the region.
- 2. 12-14 November 2024: The spike in highlighted key the narratives that focused heavily on Somaliland's presidential elections, highlighting themes of voter participation, political legitimacy, and contested territorial claims. Posts celebrated the peaceful start of Somaliland's sixth presidential election, with references to over 1.2 million registered voters, while others emphasized the importance of democratic resilience in the region. Pro-government voices framed the elections as a testament to Somaliland's sovereignty and commitment to democratic values, with terms like "commendable" and "historic" being prominent. Conversely, posts from the SSC-Khaatumo supporters and other opposition voices spotlighted ongoing disputes over territories, with claims of exclusion and marginalization of communities in contested areas. The narratives also included international commentary, with observers acknowledging the electoral process while drawing attention to unresolved regional conflicts and the broader implications for stability in the Horn of Africa.
- **3. 18-20 November 2024:** Activity spiked as narratives focused on the aftermath of Somaliland's presidential election results, with widespread reactions to the defeat of the incumbent president. Posts celebrating the opposition leader's victory highlighted it as a "turning point" for democracy in Somaliland, framing it as an example of peaceful political transition. Pro-opposition voices described the election outcome as a triumph for accountability and the will of the people, while some international accounts, including the U.S. Mission to Somalia, congratulated Somaliland on its "peaceful and credible" electoral process. However, critical narratives emerged, with posts suggesting parallels between Somaliland's political developments and other separatist or contested regions, invoking emotional comparisons with movements like Biafra. Additionally, skepticism surfaced about the inclusivity of the electoral process, with mentions of ongoing territorial disputes and claims of marginalization of certain communities.
- **4. 01-04 December 2024:** Activity spiked slightly with discussions on Somaliland's international relations, trade shifts, and strategic role in the Horn of Africa. Criticism of the U.S. State Department's limited engagement with Somaliland gained traction, alongside praise for recent high-level meetings highlighting Somaliland's democratic achievements. Trade narratives focused on

Somaliland's decision to exclusively import miraa from Kenya, seen as a diplomatic win for Kenya. Posts emphasized Somaliland's growing ties with Western allies while critiquing global hesitation to recognize its sovereignty, reflecting the intersection of economic decisions, diplomacy, and aspirations for international legitimacy.

5. 10-13 December 2024: Activity surged following reports that former U.S. President Donald Trump planned to officially recognize Somaliland as an independent state. Posts discussing this announcement garnered widespread attention, with supporters framing it as a long-overdue step toward legitimizing Somaliland's sovereignty and praising its democratic achievements. Others speculated on the geopolitical motivations behind the move, linking it to U.S. interests in countering Chinese and Russian influence in the Horn of Africa. The announcement also sparked humorous and exaggerated takes, with users joking about Trump's broader international ambitions, such as annexing Canada.

Key actors on X

1. <u>@cityofhargeisa</u> - With 7,443 posts, this X account seems to be the most pro-active, actively engaging with election-related narratives, focusing on official updates, congratulatory posts, and mobilization efforts encouraging voter participation. The account demonstrated a neutral stance during the 2024 Somaliland presidential elections.



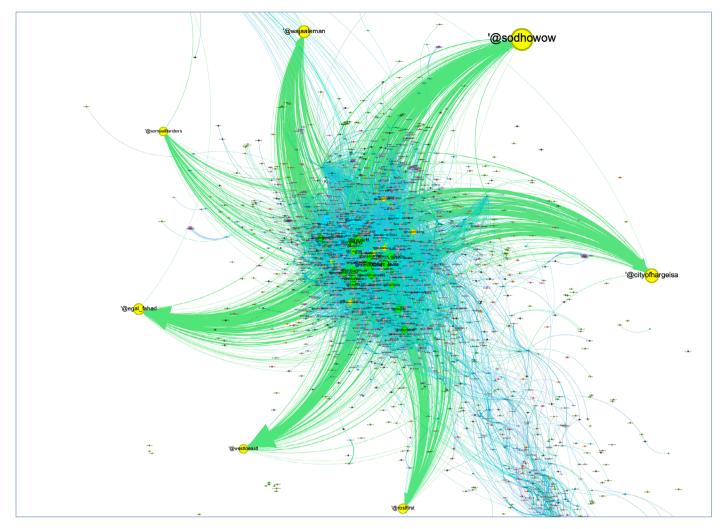


- 2. @wajaaleman With 6,982 posts, the account demonstrated clear support for the Waddani Party. The account frequently amplified narratives favoring the opposition, calling for unity among supporters in regions like Gabiley and promoting the leadership of Waddani's candidate, Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi (Irro). Posts often highlighted themes of justice, clan solidarity, and electoral integrity.
- 3. @sodhowow with 6,592 the account's influence is derived from its role as a disseminator of important updates and narratives related to Somaliland. It frequently retweeted prominent voices and organizations. The account consistently amplified narratives aligned with Kulmiye Party, the ruling party during the 2024 Somaliland presidential elections. The posts frequently praised President Muse Bihi and endorsed his candidacy.





4. <u>@egal fahad</u> - with 5,107 posts, played an important role in amplifying pro-Kulmiye narratives during the elections. The account's consistent promotion of Muse Bihi's leadership and governance served to strengthen the party's messaging and visibility online. Its posts reflected strong loyalty to the incumbent, resonating with Kulmiye supporters and contributing to the digital discourse surrounding the elections.



5. <u>@worldnomad95</u> - with 4,120, has since been deleted, but was actively involved in discussions around the 2024 Somaliland presidential elections but demonstrated a neutral stance, focusing more on broader socio-political and geopolitical issues rather than overtly endorsing a specific political party or candidate. Posts reflected critical commentary on governance, diplomacy, and regional issues, often framed as advice or observations relevant to Somaliland's future.





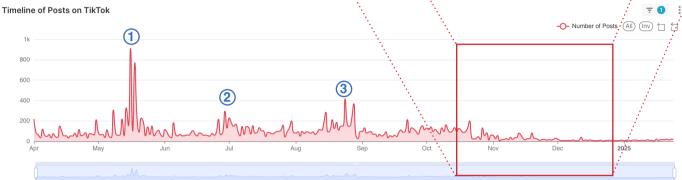
6. <u>@haadka</u> with 625 posts, this Australia-based account had the highest interactions on X, actively amplifying pro-Waddani narratives and mobilizing opposition supporters through emotionally impactful content and critiques of the ruling party. Its consistent engagement and ability to position the Waddani Party as a catalyst for change made it a key contributor to the online election discourse.

7. <u>@somaalilanders</u> - with 1,167 posts, this account based in London, United Kingdom, had the second highest engagement rate during the 2024 Somaliland presidential elections, showing clear support for the Kulmiye Party and incumbent President Muse Bihi. Posts consistently celebrated President Bihi's leadership and highlighted the party's achievements in governance, democracy, and security.



On TikTok, the platform that the highest level of interactions and engagement, the discussion around the Somaliland peaked earlier in the year on 18 May, and election focused discussions subsided immediately after elections were held. There were eight major spikes in conversations, spearheaded primarily by popular influencers on the platform. The spikes were observed on 18 May, 29 June, 24 August, 27 October, 09 November, 13 November and 12 December 2024.

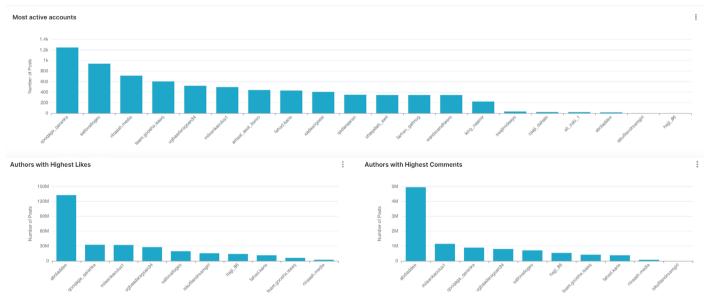




- 1. 16-20 May 2024: The spike was observed due to TikTok posts celebrating Somaliland's Independence Day collectively highlighted themes of national pride, the significance of 18 May, and the global reach of the celebrations. A total of 140 posts reflected these narratives, showcasing cultural heritage, aspirations for international recognition, and the historical importance of the day as a symbol of peace and democracy. The posts, which also celebrated cultural festivities like traditional dances and vibrant displays of Somaliland's flag, garnered significant engagement, with a combined total of 2,830,315 likes, 95,978 comments, 2,195 shares, and 48,025,969 views. 18 TikTok posts promoted the Waddani Party during Somaliland's Independence Day celebrations, garnering over 202,515 likes, 5,439 comments, 4,363 shares, and 3,994,133 views.
- **2. 27 June 06 July 2024**: A surge in social media activity on 26 June marked Somaliland's Independence Day, celebrating its 1960 independence with themes of national pride, history, and international recognition. Simultaneously, Waddani, Kulmiye, and UCID intensified their election campaigns, meeting clan leaders to boost support. Posts reflected political mobilization and voter outreach, merging national identity with electoral momentum. Engagement totaled 1.5 million views, 106.4K likes, 9.6K comments, and 7.1K shares, highlighting the digital impact of both events.
- **3. 22 August 29 August 2024**: The spike was as a result of Kulmiye party's nighttime campaign event in the center of Hargeisa (Khayriyada) on 24 August 2024, where party officials addressed supporters. The event, captured and shared on TikTok, saw Kulmiye campaigners delivering speeches to rally their base. The videos showcased large crowds welcoming Kulmiye officials, demonstrating the party's mobilization efforts. Meanwhile, on 29 August, 2024, TikTok videos highlightedg a Waddani party campaign, where key party leaders delivered speeches to supporters.
- **4. 25 October 29 October 2024**: A surge in TikTok activity was driven by campaign rallies for Waddani and Kulmiye in Hargeisa. Videos from Waddani's rally on October 26, shared by influencers like @zuhaip_, @digaalemusic, and @abdi.ahmed0999, portrayed Cirro as the people's choice, highlighting his humility and connection with the public. Meanwhile, Kulmiye's rally on October 28, featured in videos from @ms.r89 and @sallovalloges, focused on Muse Bihi's experience, bravery, and nationalist leadership. Across all videos, total engagements, including likes, comments, and shares, exceeded 1.2 million

- **5. 08 November 10 November 2024**: This spike occurred because those dates marked the final three days of the rallies, during which every party shared videos to attract more voters. The Waddani presidential candidate, Abdirahman, had a biography video circulating in the two days leading up to voting day. Meanwhile, the Kulmiye presidential candidate, Muse Bixi, had a video showing him holding hands with and receiving respect from an elderly woman in Salaxley district. This video circulated on the last day of the Kulmiye rally, with his supporters widely sharing it for maximum reach.
- **6. 12 November 14 November 2024:** The Presidential and Political Party elections took place on 13 November 2024. The spike on 12 and 13 of November was encouraging citizens to go out and vote, while the continued spike on 14 November was likely speculation and discussion of possible results, which were eventually announced on 19 November 2025. TikTok accounts @sallovallogesand @moh_qalinle74 were instrumental in driving engagement on this day.
- 7. 11 December 13 December 2024: A surge in videos showcasing newly elected Somaliland President Cirro as influencers highlighted his early engagements in office. Key narratives included his efforts to peacefully resolve the Laascaanood conflict, his visit to injured individuals from the Dacawalaye battle in Ethiopia, and his official opening of a training session for his new government council, signaling the start of governance operations. Other widely shared videos featured his meeting with the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and his invitation to the family of late President Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud "Siilaanyo", portraying him as a leader focused on unity, diplomacy, and institutional collaboration. These videos played a significant role in shaping online discussions, amplifying Cirro's early presidential activities, and influencing public perception of his leadership.

Key actors on TikTok



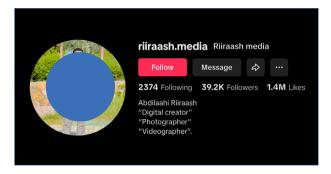
1. @qooqaga_qaranka - With 1,246 videos garnering 2.12M likes, 615K comments and 327M views, this TikTok influencer was a strong supporter of the Waddani Party, actively shaping digital narratives during the elections. The account currently has over 500K followers, and was part of Waddani's hired TikTok influencers for Cirro's campaign. He traveled to different regions, documenting campaign events, engaging with supporters, and using his platform to boost the party's visibility, agenda and for voter mobilization efforts.

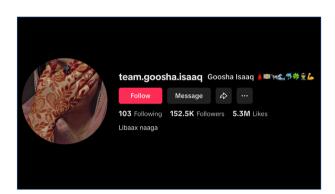




2. @sallovalloges - With 937 videos garnering 9.05M likes, 309.7K comments, and 118M views, this TikTok influencer was a strong Kulmiye Party supporter, playing an active role in its digital campaign. With 170K+ followers, he consistently amplified pro-Kulmiye narratives, engaging supporters and highlighting key campaign moments. Closely following Muse Bihi, he frequently recorded and documented Kulmiye's election activities, capturing campaign events and speeches to enhance the party's visibility and voter outreach.

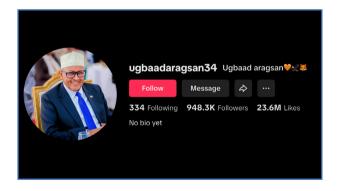
3. @riiraash.media - With 911 videos garnering 1.2M likes, 41,469 comments, and 20.1M views, this TikTok influencer actively supported the Kulmiye Party, shaping its digital presence during the elections. With 40K+ followers, he played a key role in reinforcing the party's messaging online. As a pro-Kulmiye photographer, he traveled with the party, capturing and sharing key campaign moments to enhance its visibility and engagement on social media.

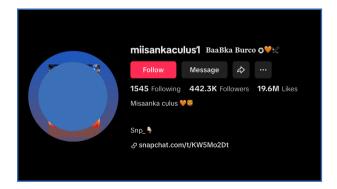




4. <u>@team.goosha.isaaq</u> - @team.goosha.isaaq - With 911 videos, 4.9M likes, 338,345 comments, and 79.9M views, this TikTok account was a key digital supporter of the Kulmiye Party and Muse Bihi Abdi. Currently with 156K+ followers, the account actively engaged its audience through coverage of campaign rallies, speeches, and political commentary, amplifying pro-Kulmiye narratives. Its videos captured key moments, from enthusiastic supporter gatherings to Muse Bihi's speeches, helping enhance the party's online visibility.

5. <u>@ugbaadaragsan34</u> - With 520 videos, 13.7M likes, 414,832 comments, and 216M views, this TikTok account belongs to a popular musician, who used her TikTok platform to actively support the Waddani Party and its candidate, Cirro. Notably, she performed several campaign songs for the Waddani Party, including "Cirro Doorta," which became an anthem for the campaign. Her content includes performances of these songs and other campaign-related material, significantly enhancing the party's digital presence and engaging a wide audience.

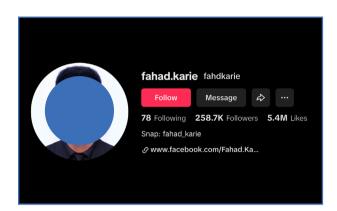




6. @miisankaculus1 - With 493 videos garnering 13.9M likes, 463,583 comments, and 136M views, is a prominent TikTok influencer, also known as Baabka Burco, who actively supported the Waddani Party. Traveling alongside the Waddani Party, he posted short videos to enhance the party's visibility, capturing key moments from campaign events. His content includes footage of rallies, speeches, and behind-the-scenes glimpses, effectively engaging a broad audience and enhancing the party's online presence.

7. @amaal_asal_burco - With 439 posts, 6.1M likes, 221,879 comments, and 105M views, this TikTok influencer played an active role in promoting the Waddani Party during the 2024 Somaliland presidential campaign. With 370K+ followers, she consistently shared campaign trail footage, including rallies, speeches, and candidate engagements, amplifying Abdirahman Cirro's messaging. Her videos captured supporter enthusiasm, key policy discussions, and moments from major Waddani events





8. @fahad.karie - With 430 posts, 4.9M likes, 164,082 comments, and 81.9M views, this TikTok influencer was deeply embedded in the Waddani Party's digital campaign, traveling alongside Cirro and his team to document key moments. Currently with 250K+followers, he played a direct role in shaping Waddani's online presence, sharing footage of major campaign rallies, and Cirro's speeches. Following the election, he transitioned into a formal role as one of President Cirro's media officers, continuing to manage digital communications.

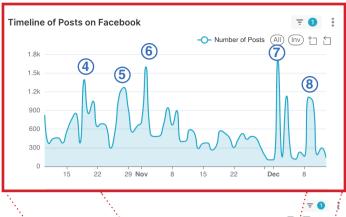
9. <u>@xadaarigeesi</u> - With 405 posts, 6.8M likes, 188,879 comments, and 81.8M views, this TikTok account one of the influencers on Tiktok, known for his short drama skits and advertisement. He used his creative platform to engage audiences with pro-Kulmiye content. Traveling alongside former President Muse Bihi Abdi's campaign, he recorded and shared footages of campaign rallies, and speeches, amplifying the party's message to its supporters. The account currently has over 1 Million followers.

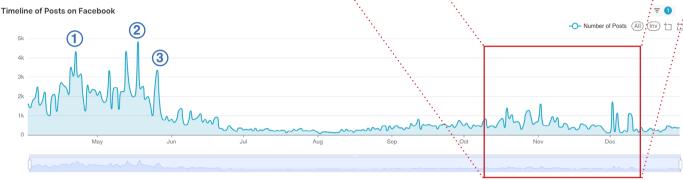




10. @qadanqaran - With 351 posts, 11.8M likes, 417,861 comments, and 179.3M views, this TikTok influencer actively supported the Waddani Party during the 2024 Somaliland presidential campaign. She traveled across all regions, sharing videos to boost the party's visibility. Her content includes political discussions and campaign coverage, engaging her 1M+ followers in the party's initiatives. Notably, she addressed political issues, providing insights and commentary that resonated with a broad audience. Her efforts significantly enhanced Waddani's online presence and supporter engagement during the campaign.

On Facebook, the platform that the highest level of interactions and engagement, the discussion around the Somaliland peaked earlier in the year and then ramped up again slightly during the electoral period. There were eight major spikes in conversations, spearheaded primarily by popular influencers on the platform. The spikes were observed on 22 April, 18 May, 26 May, 19 October, 28 October, 02 November, 02 December and 09 December 2024.



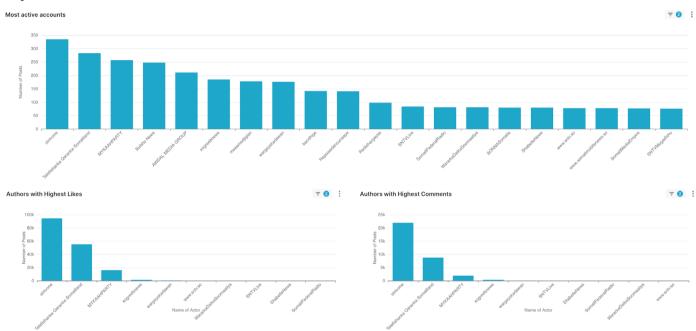


- 1. 21 April 23 April 2024: The spike spike was primarily driven by discussions surrounding the announcement of Somaliland's election date, set for 13 November 2024. A total of 421 posts explicitly referenced election-related topics, including the electoral commission (Komishan), candidates (musharax), political parties (xisbi), and voting (cod). These posts collectively garnered 57,350 engagements (likes, shares, and comments), indicating widespread public discourse and debate. The spike reflects heightened political interest and engagement, as stakeholders and citizens reacted to the upcoming elections, raising concerns, supporting candidates, and discussing the electoral process.
- **2. 17 May 19 May 2024:** The spike was as a result of hightened political discussions on Somaliland's independence day which was on 18 May 2024.
- **3. 25 May 27 May 2024:** The spike, with a total of 307 posts and over 40k likes and 10k comments engagements appears to be driven by heightened political and security tensions, particularly related to inter-regional disputes and key figures' statements, which resonated strongly with online audiences. The most engaged post discussed the tense situation between Somaliland and Puntland, highlighting the intensity of the conflict and drawing 8,064 likes and 395 comments. Another highly interacted post reported on an incident in Ceerigaabo where two young individuals were injured, attracting significant public concern with 2,962 likes and 593 comments.
- **4. 18 October 20 October 2024:** The spike was due to intense discussions surrounding electoral activities and political party strategies, with 201 posts generating a total of 21k likes and over 4k comments. The period saw heightened competition among political parties, with posts reflecting growing factionalism and strategic positioning ahead of the elections. A widely engaged post centered on the competition between the ruling Kulmiye party and Waddani, as discussions on their political strategies and alliances gained traction.
- **5. 27 October 29 October 2024:** The spike, was as a result of the intensifying political rivalry as elections approached. The surge in online activity reflected a crucial moment in the electoral process, where political parties were doing the last round of campaign ralies in Hergeisa. A total of 661 posts garnered over 138k likes and 25k comments.
- **6. 01 November 03 November 2024:** The spike, with 309 posts garnering 28k likes and over 3k comments, was largely driven by discussions on political legitimacy, governance promises, and strategic party positioning in the lead-up to elections. The dominant narrative

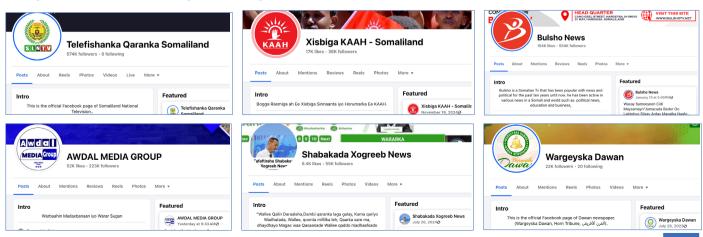
focused on Wadaani's electoral agenda, with significant engagement surrounding its promises to amend the Somaliland constitution if elected.

- **7. 01 December 03 December 2024:** The slight spike was largely driven by conversations surrounding political transitions, and Waddani party consolidation efforts. The most engaged discussions revolved around expressions of support and endorsements for newly elected president.
- **8. 08 December 10 December 2024:** The spike was not related primarily to elections or politics with the most engaged discussions centered on polarizing narratives around gender and cultural norms, with posts debating the traditional expectations of women, particularly in relation to marriage and dowry customs, drawing significant reactions.

Key actors on Facebook



The Facebook pages with the highest engagement were predominantly media entities and journalists, underscoring the crucial role of established news sources as the primary go-to platforms for individuals closely following the elections. This trend suggests that the majority of Facebook users seeking election-related updates preferred credible, structured reporting over influencer-driven content, which is more prevalent on platforms like TikTok, where younger audiences engage with less formal sources of information. The prominence of these media pages indicates that Facebook remains a central hub for political discourse, particularly among users who value in-depth coverage, analysis, and real-time updates from professional journalists and institutional sources. The top accounts with the highest number of posts and engagements included Telefishanka Qaranka Somaliland (sIntvone), Xisbiga KAAH - Somaliland (mykaahparty), Bulsho News (BulshoNewsTv), Awdal Media Group (Awdalmediagroup), Shabakada Xogreeb News (xogreebsomalitv), Jiglan media (maxamedjiglan), Wergeyska Dawan (wargeyskadawan), Bandhige (bandhige) and Najax Aadan Cunaaye (Najaxaadancunaaye).



Key electoral narratives across the platforms

1. National Electoral Commission (NEC) receives more positive commendations with limited criticism - With 6,259 posts mentioning the institution, the most popular narratives that received the highest level of engagement were primarily positive, with critical posts receiving minimal engagement compared, suggesting that public sentiment leaned heavily in favor of the NEC or that criticisms failed to gain traction in the analyzed posts.

Some of the positive narratives included:

a. NEC praised for selecting top students for electoral support - Between 01 April and 30 April,

a total of 462 posts highlighted NEC's decision to recruit topperforming students to support the election process, earning 462 interactions. This narrative emphasized NEC's innovation and commitment to professionalizing its operations. Accounts such as @ rabdianalyst were central to this narrative, frequently amplifying posts celebrating the decision as a move that enhanced credibility and efficiency. For example, @ rabdianalyst posted, "Somaliland's NEC picked the smartest students from universities to manage elections. A model for Africa!"

b. NEC praised for implementation of IRIS Biometric identification system - Retween October 3 to November 29

system - Between October 3 to November 29, 2024, 325 posts highlighted public trust in NEC due to the biometric voter verification system (IRIS-BVVS), accumulating over 28,600 likes and 9,800 comments. Posts noted that IRIS-BVVS had significantly reduced duplicate registrations and improved election security. Supporters viewed the system as a technological safeguard against voter fraud, reinforcing NEC's credibility as an independent electoral body.

Negative narratives included:

c. NEC criticised over observer Mission

Controversy - Between 01 April and 30 April, 437 posts criticized NEC's handling of observer missions, gathering 437 interactions. Influential accounts like @tobias_tilas, @somalilander0, and @mwastafari_drove this narrative, questioning whether observer missions enhanced the election's credibility or

created complications. A representative post by @mwastafari_ read, "Observer mission in the Somaliland election slows down NEC operations. Biased or unprepared?"

d. Criticism of Delays in Announcing Results

- 233 posts lamented NEC's delays in announcing election results, receiving 233 interactions. Central accounts like @rabdianalyst frequently expressed public frustration, sparking discussions about transparency and efficiency. A popular post from this narrative stated, "I get asked, 'Why is the announcement taking so long?' NEC must expedite to avoid speculation."

2. Habarjeclo support for Waddani gains prominence online Between 01 October and 20

Top Hashtags

2751

2465

2211

1667

944

817

792

722

707

597

515

418

418

371

329

325

275

240

236

234

232

220

#Somaliland

#BREAKING

#SomalilandVotes

#SomalilandDecides

#Somalilandelection2024

#SomalilandElections

#SomalilandElections2024

#somalilandelections2024

#Ethiopia

#Biafra

#Africa

#USA

#Hargeisa

#Taiwan

#Eritrea

#Egypt

#Washington

#Democracy

#FPWorld

#Waddani

#RutoMustGo

#BREAKING_NEWS

October 2024, a total of 48 posts on TikTok, X and Facebook generated over 95,300 engagements and 1.7M views due to a heated discussion surrounding a gathering of one of the largest clans in Somaliland, known as Habarjeclo. The assembly included Habarieclo sultans (tribal chiefs), traditional elders, elite politicians, former parliament members, and ex-ministers, all convening in CeelafWeyn, Sanaag. On the 9th of October 2024, they issued a communique announcing their unified support for the Waddani party in the presidential election, while also backing Kaah in the party election. This declaration sparked varied reactions and responses.

Many sultans from other clans endorsed this agreement, applauding Habarjeclo for prioritising the common good of Somaliland and aiming to maintain peace while minimising potential casualties that could arise from the elections. However, opposing voices emerged, notably from the ruling Kulmiye party, with Mohamed Kaahin, the chairman of the Kulmiye party, expressing disapproval. Kaahin argued that the representatives from Habarjeclo did not accurately represent the entire larger Habarjeclo clan. Supporters of the Waddani party greeted the news with jubilation, already celebrating the anticipated victory and asserting that the results of the elections were essentially secured with the backing of Habarjeclo for Waddani.

3. The signing of the electoral Code of Conduct sparks positive reaction on social media -

Between 29 September 2024 and 03 October 2024, discussions on X and Facebook spiked with 141 posts, accumulating over 46,000 views. The

conversations centred around the signing of the Code of Conduct for Somaliland's 2024 elections, a move widely praised by social media users. This development was seen as a major milestone in promoting peaceful and transparent elections, with many users emphasising the importance of the Code. The National Electoral Commission (NEC), alongside the main political parties, formalised the Code, which is designed to ensure fairness and prevent violence or electoral misconduct. In addition, users stressed the need for political parties to uphold the spirit of the agreement and to respect the outcome of the elections.

4. Divergent Views on Biometric IRIS Identification for Somaliland's Elections - Social media conversations in Somaliland saw a significant spike in debates around the use of biometric IRIS identification for the elections with over 1.9k posts gaining over 6.7k likes. These conversations reveal diverse views, with the majority of the users supporting the use of the biometric system due to its potential to reduce the number of fraudulent votes, such as those cast in the names of 'deceased' individuals. However, other voices opposed its use, and cited concerns over the time that would have been required to implement such a system and doubts cast by some political parties on its efficacy in ensuring free and fair elections.

5. Taiwan's role in Somaliland's elections: A boost for democracy or political interference? -Between September and December 2024, over 14k posts with over 49k likes highlighted discussions on Taiwan's involvement in Somaliland's elections. with narratives both praising and criticizing its role. The majority of the accounts highlighted Taiwan's contributions to NEC, particularly in providing biometric voter registration equipment, cybersecurity training, and other technical support that strengthened the credibility and security of the electoral process. Civil society organizations such as SONSAF commended Taiwan's engagement, noting that it ensured greater transparency and efficiency. Supporters framed Taiwan as a neutral development partner committed to Somaliland's democratic progress, drawing parallels to its previous assistance in healthcare and infrastructure projects. In response to concerns raised by opposition figures, government-aligned commentators defended Taiwan's involvement, emphasizing that its support was openly acknowledged by NEC and international observers. Conversely, some framed Taiwan's involvement as politically biased, arguing that its assistance primarily benefited the then ruling Kulmiye party. Some critics accused NEC of collaborating with Taiwan in a way that could suppress dissent, particularly in the realm of election

security and digital monitoring. Posts questioned the transparency of Taiwan's engagement, arguing that it was not widely debated among political stakeholders before implementation. Additionally, discussions linking Taiwan to broader geopolitical tensions emerged, with some opposition narratives portraying Taiwan's engagement as part of a larger strategy to counter China's influence in the region. These posts warned that Somaliland's deepening relationship with Taiwan could provoke diplomatic or economic retaliation from China, potentially impacting Somaliland's long-term interests. The debate over Furthermore, mis/ disinformation circulated about alleged incidents involving Somaliland officials and Taiwanese citizens, intensifying debates and raising questions about transparency and ethical conduct in the relationship. This convergence of narratives highlights the complex and often contentious dynamics between Somaliland and Taiwan, with social media serving as a critical space for public discourse, both supportive and critica.

6. Allegations of voter buying ignite online controversy in Somaliland's elections - As Somaliland's elections progressed between October and December 2024, only 62 posts on social media had allegations of voter buying, however these posts received quite substantial engagement with over 51,000 views, particularly targeting both the ruling Kulmiye party and the opposition Waddani party. Posts accused Kulmiye of leveraging government resources to influence voters, with claims that financial incentives and gifts were distributed in key districts to secure votes. Some posts specifically referenced accusations against President Muse Bihi's administration, asserting that funds meant for development projects were redirected toward influencing voter behavior. These narratives gained significant traction on platforms such as X, where posts alleging government-backed voter buying, fueling political tensions ahead of the elections Conversely, pro-Kulmiye accounts countered these allegations by accusing Waddani of engaging in similar voter-buying tactics, particularly in regions where they held strong support. Posts suggested that Waddani operatives had allegedly distributed cash and gifts to sway undecided voters in key urban areas. Some supporters framed these claims as evidence that opposition leaders were equally guilty of electoral misconduct, undermining their criticisms of the ruling party. Additionally, posts highlighted skepticism regarding the authenticity of these accusations, with some users questioning whether voter buying allegations were politically motivated propaganda rather than grounded in verifiable evidence.

Toxicity and polarization

To enhance electoral monitoring and mitigate digital harms, this framework leverages Google's Perspective API to categorize social media content based on attributes like toxicity, severe toxicity, identity attacks, insults, and threats. Each attribute is scored between 0 and 1, representing its likelihood of being harmful. To facilitate structured analysis, scores are grouped into four probability buckets: low (0.00–0.25), medium (0.26–0.50), high (0.51–0.75), and very high (0.76–1.00). This classification helps identify escalating online hostility, enabling timely interventions against hate speech, incitement, and other risks that could undermine electoral integrity and social stability.

Content in the low range is minimally harmful, while medium probability content may contain indirect hostility or sarcasm. The high category includes explicit insults, identity attacks, or threats that contribute to rising tensions. Very high probability content is almost certainly harmful, containing severe toxicity, direct threats, or incitement to violence.

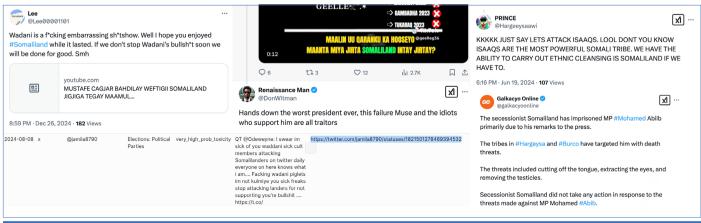
Below we show a set of posts categorsied into these ranges.



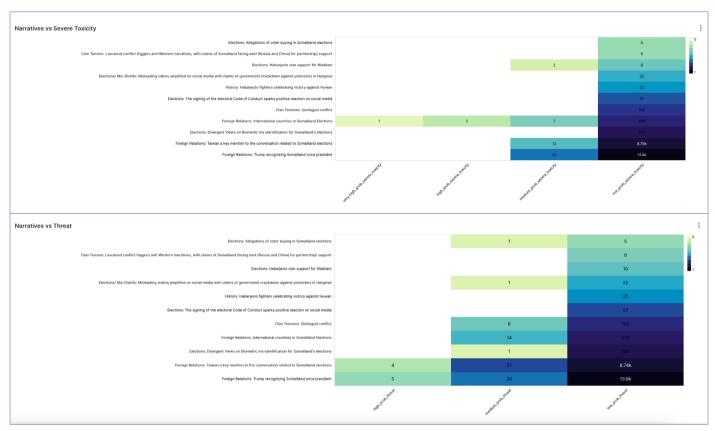
The analysis of social media discussions in Somaliland using PerspectiveAPI reveals that elections, foreign relations, and identity-based topics generate the highest levels of toxicity. Election-related content had the most severely toxic posts, indicating that political discourse is highly contentious, often fueled by mis/disinformation and ethnic-based divisions.

The analysis of the social media posts using attributes such as insults, identity based attacks and threats across different topics in Somaliland's discussions reveals that elections and foreign relations are also the primary drivers of hostile discourse, with these categories generating the highest number of insults, identity-based attacks, identity based attacks and threats.



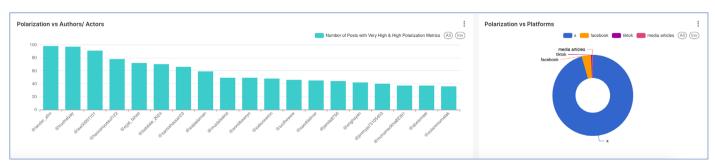


The analysis of toxic narratives in Somaliland's online discourse, as identified through PerspectiveAPI, reveals that discussions on elections, foreign relations, and clan tensions are the most polarizing and prone to toxicity, identity attacks, and threats. Election-related content, particularly allegations of voter buying, and biometric IRIS identification debates, exhibited high levels of severe toxicity, reflecting how electoral integrity concerns fuel division and hostility. Similarly, foreign relations narratives, such as Somaliland's diplomatic positioning with Taiwan, , as well as discussions about potential U.S. recognition, attracted significant toxic engagement, indicating heightened sensitivities around Somaliland's international legitimacy. Additionally, clan-based conflicts, such as those in Lascanod and Qorilugud, were heavily associated with threats and identity-based attacks, highlighting how historical and territorial grievances continue to drive toxic discourse.



The analysis also highlights that a small group of highly active accounts drive the most polarized narratives, with certain individuals consistently posting content that fuels division. The bar chart below reveals that a handful of users, such as @lander_afro, @truehalay, and @lee00001101, were responsible for a significant number of posts flagged for very high and high toxicity, threat, identity attacks and insult attributes. This suggests that polarized discourse is often amplified by a concentrated network of actors.

X is the dominant platform for polarized discussions, significantly outpacing Facebook, TikTok, and media articles. However, it is important to note that this could be influenced by the higher number of posts collected from X compared to other platforms, which may have skewed the results in favor of identifying more polarization there. Nonetheless, the data suggests that X remains a primary battleground for political discourse, ideological conflicts, and real-time reactions to events.



Conclusion

This report presents the first in-depth social media analysis of its kind in Somaliland, focusing on three major platforms: X (formerly Twitter), TikTok, and Facebook. It examines online and offline events that triggered spikes on these platforms, identifies influential actors, and unpacks the dominant narratives shaping public discourse.

The findings highlight the growing influence of social media on political engagement and narrative control. While this influence appears decentralised, it remains largely concentrated in the hands of a few influential social media figures.

X (Twitter) is primarily used for political commentary, with spikes in activity corresponding to major offline and online political events such as elections or the signing of the MoU. TikTok content is more dynamic and trend-driven, often blending political and non-political themes. Its influencers tend to focus on emotionally charged and sensational topics to boost engagement. Notably, TikTok influencers are largely unregulated by existing media laws, including digital media provisions in current election and cybersecurity draft bills. Facebook, by contrast, remains more traditional. Its most influential users are media houses, political parties, and organisations—actors who are more easily regulated.

The report also analyses the dynamics of toxicity and polarization on social media, using indicators such as severe toxicity, identity attacks, insults, and threats. The analysis reveals that election-related content, foreign relations, and identity-based narratives generate the highest levels of toxicity. Among these, election discourse stands out for its severe toxicity, often driven by misinformation, disinformation, and ethnically charged narratives.

Overall, this report underscores the urgent need for inclusive digital governance, media literacy, and regulatory frameworks to ensure that social media fosters informed engagement rather than division

About the consortium members

Build Up

Build Up uses new tools for old problems, and old tools for new problems. We implement programs, conduct research, and develop technical solutions to engage with conflict and build societies in which everyone can thrive. We are a digital-first organization, which means we both use digital technologies throughout our peacebuilding work and deeply understand the impact of technology on conflict. We leverage digital technologies, designing and adapting new tools to implement interventions that transform conflict with more connection, collaboration, and inclusion.

The Institute for Strategic Insights & Research (ISIR)

ISIR is an independent, non-partisan think tank registered as a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Somaliland. ISIR seeks to promote policy relevant researches and the formulation of sound public policies leading to positive outcomes in the fields of peace and security, governance and democracy, and climate change.

Academy for Peace and Development (APD)

APD has over two decades of experience in inter-clan conflict resolution, peacebuilding through traditional mediation approaches, and community rehabilitation and integration. APD mediated, intervened, and transformed over 20 interclan conflicts, and still continues to work with local peace committees in post-conflict areas to eliminate and address any confrontations. In addition, APD has an extensive knowledge in policy development, policy education, and public policy dialogue. As well as in capacity building for public institutions and political parties.

Media Ink

MedialNK is the first effective Somali media development organization in Somaliland, set-up under the aegis of Free Press Unlimited in 2011, and spun-out as an independent entity in 2016. Media Ink is experienced in the area of media, communication and public awareness.

Barwaaqo Voluntary Organisation (BVO)

BVO is a non-political, non-governmental and non-profit making development action-oriented and advocacy organization that was founded in 1996 by a committed gender balanced group in Somaliland. The organization understood that its domain needs to be as wide as the issues faced by the millions of underprivileged throughout the country. Barwaaqo Voluntary Organization strives to perform social development work in Somaliland. BVO nurtures the status of being a formal NGO.









