



PROGRESSIO

People powered development

RESEARCH PROJECT: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN SOMALILAND: A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE.

CILMI –BAADHIS KU SAABSAN DEJINTA HABKA IYO MAAMULKA SIYAASADA IYO LAMAANAHA EE SOMALILAND.

9<sup>th</sup> of August 2015, Hargeysa

**Hordhac,**

***Dejinta Habka iyo Maamulka Siyaasada (political settlement):*** Siyaasadu waa habka ay bulsho isku maamusho iyo hab kasta oo qof udhigto nidaam nololeed. Haddaba waxa loo fahmi karaa ***dejinta habka iyo maamulka siyaasada*** geedi socodka xal iyo heshiisyada u dhexeeya kooxaha deegano kala duwan. Waxa kale oo habkani suurto gal ka dhigaa xeerar ay ku heshiiyaan si loo joojiyo rabshado ama khilaaf dhacaya ama aan wali dhicin.

Dejinta siyaasadu ma aha arrin ka dhexeysa kooxa gaar ah, hadana inta badan waxa ka qeyb gala kooxo in dheer-garad oo is urursaday wixii intaa ka baxsan badanaaba waa laga rebaa ama tagaa. Waxa muhiim ah in la fahmo in koox kasta oo ku jirta geedi socodka ***dejinta habka iyo maamulka siyaasadu*** ay leeyihiin dano u gaar oo la xidhiidha dhinaca awoodda ama khayrad kala duwan oo u garah.

Bulshooyinka gobolka geeska Afrika oo dhan waxey ku dhisanyahiin in raggu maamulka hayo, dumarku ma laha xuquuq la siman ta ragga waxaana si nidaamsan looga dhigay in xalaadda dumarka ka duwan tahay ta ragga marka loo eego dhinaca kartida iyo garaadka sidaa darteed inta badan dumarka waa laga rebaa ka qayb-kagalka ***dejinta habka iyo maamulka siyaasada*** .

Haddii aan Somaliland dib u eegno, laga bilaabo sannadkii 1991 oo aheyd markii lagu dhibidda loo taagey Somaliland ilaa iyo intii ka dambaysay waxay lasoo marey marxalado kala duwan oo oo dib-u-heshiin beelaha dega Somaliland, sameyntii Dastuurka, xisbiyada siyaasada iyo ugu dambeyna waxaa la galey doorashooyin madaxbanaan oo dadweynuhu ku soo doorteen dadka hogaanka u qaban lahaa.

Inta badan dadka darsa a nidaamka siyaasada iyo hab-maamulka Somaliland waxay ku qiimeeyaan in uu yahay nidaam ku saleysan dhaqanka Somaliga oo weliba salka ku haya nidaamka qabaliga ah ee Ragga uu hogaamiyo u hayo, taasina waxay meesha ka saartey kaalinta ay haweenku ku lahaayeen horumarinta iyo hogaanka dalka.

Haddaba ujeeddadda cilmi-baadhistani waxa ay ku saleysan tahay fahamidda kaalinta iyo ka qaybgalka dumarka ee *dejinta habka iyo maamulka siyaasada* ee Somaliland, waxayna si gaara ah u eegeysaa:

1. Dooraka ama kaalinta **lamaanaha** (Ragga iyo Haweenka) iyo saameynta ay ku leeyihiin ka qayb ka-galka nidaam bulsho-siyaasadeedka iyo **tacadiyada loo geysto haweenka** (*socio-political and violence against women*) iyo sida ay taasi saameyn ugu leedahay taabogalinta xasagoonida iyo hanaqaadka nidaam siyaasadeed oo laga wada muuqdo.
2. In la asteeyo caqabadaha dhinaca **gaab dhismeedka haa'yadaha** ee hor taagan ka qeybgalka haweenka ee nidaam bulsho-siyaasadeedka iyo sidii hoos loogu dhigi lahaa tacadiyada loo geysto haweenka, iyo weliba qaababka ugu haboon ee kor loogu qaadi lahaa sidii mashaariicda horumarinta ahi u noqon lahaayeen qaar ka midho dhaliya in la helo nidaam siyaasadeed lagu wada jiro si loo xoojiyo nabada iyo xasagoonida.

## English summary

Recent research recognises the importance of political settlements -ongoing, adaptable political processes- in determining the equitability of development and the level of stability in societies. However, little research on political settlements analyses the different roles that women and men play in determining a given settlement. Political settlements themselves frequently and systemically exclude women, despite the fact that they are the majority in post-conflict situations, and high levels of gender inequality and violence against women and girls (VAWG) make local instability more likely.

It is thus critical that policy makers understand both specific settlements and their gender dimensions, so that development interventions can be designed in a way that works within and on them to enhance equitable and consequently more sustainable development. This would reduce the risks and impact of violence and instability, increasing the effectiveness of interventions in fragile states. This project focuses on Somaliland as an excellent case for analysis of power relationships between formal and informal actors in a relatively stable environment, but with strong applicability across a wider area: the Somali Horn of Africa, and with insights that are also useful elsewhere.

A post-conflict territory, Somaliland's political settlement has been characterised by 23 years of state building. Although it has enjoyed sustained peace since 1997 and held a series of popular elections, the settlement remains unresolved. Somali society is based on a patriarchal system that largely excludes women from formal political decision-making. As in many post-colonial societies, a clan-based structure coexists and is diversely incorporated into state building and politics. This dual governance system retains kinship structures on the one hand, while adopting nation-state systems on the other.

Importantly, research indicates that, while women's political marginalisation reflects this patriarchal system, it has also worsened as a result of conflict and been slow to improve in the period following it. In addition, conflict has exacerbated VAWG. Gender inequality and violence form a barrier to the effectiveness of interventions promoting inclusive development: as well as critical problems in their own right, they contribute to long-term fragility and undermine sustainable development. Analysis is therefore needed as to whether and in what ways gender identities (masculinities and femininities) affect socio-political participation and VAWG in contemporary Somali society.

This is to ensure that the development of policies (national or international) and other measures aimed at tackling gender inequality and the elimination of VAWG are appropriately adjusted to ensure successful implementation. The project will use a gender aware analysis of the political settlement in Somaliland to explore ways in which policy and interventions could contribute to

more effective and equitable development and increased stability as well as increasing women's political participation.

This will include an analysis of how gender identities are perceived, and how they influence socio-political participation and VAWG and how this has contributed to, or undermined a stable, inclusive post-conflict political settlement. The gender aware analysis will also be used to examine how specific development interventions have interacted with and influenced the settlement, and to assess measures that might improve their effectiveness. It will specifically focus on institutions, as politics and the overall political settlement cannot be separated from the performance and functioning of institutions, which are also gendered.

By basing politics at the core of institutional power analysis, the political settlement lens offers the potential for a more nuanced view of institutional arrangements, thus permitting better-informed choices between different types of development interventions.

This research which has been jointly developed by DPU and Progressio, will seek to meet two separate but interlinked objectives:

#### **OBJECTIVE 1:**

To analyse how gender identities (masculinities and femininities) are practiced and how that practice influences sociopolitical participation and violence against women and girls in contemporary Somali society; and how this has impacted on the evolution of a stable, inclusive post-conflict political settlement in Somaliland.

Within this objective we will explore whether deconstructing current masculinities and femininities could help to address negative social attitudes towards women and girls in Somaliland with a view to eliminating violence against women and girls, and hence supporting gender equality.

#### **OBJECTIVE 2:**

To identify the structural and institutional barriers to women's increased socio-political participation and to reduced levels of violence against women and girls, and thereby to identify ways in which development interventions can be more effective in enhancing the inclusiveness and stability of the political settlement in Somaliland.

Key phrases in English and af Somali:

**Political Settlement:** Dejinta habka iyo maamulka siyaasada

**Gender:** Lamaanaha - Qoondaynta bulshada ee kaalinta iyo xidhiidka laamaanaha

**Violence against women:** Tacdiyada (violence) loo qeysto haweenka