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Ka Gudubka Kala-Qaybsanaanta **Soomaaliya iyo Waddooyinka Loo Mari Karo Wadahadal Qaran**

HERITAGE INSTITUTE

FBA



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Xuquuqda daabacaaddan © 2026 | Waxa ay u dhawrsan tahay Machadka Daraasaadka Siyaasadda ee Heritage.

Akhristayaasha waxa lagu dhiirrigalinayaa in ay sii tarmiyaan xogtan, oo ay iskood u daabacaan, balse sinaba ugama ganacsan karaan. Xaqle ahaan, Machadka Heritage waxa uu si xushmad leh uga codsanaynaa cid kasta oo daabacaddan sii badisaa, in ay mahadnaq iyo nuqul daabacaaddeeda ka mid ah noo hibayso. Adeegsiga khadka tooska ah, waxa aan waydiisanaynaa akhristayaasha in ay ku xirnaadaan macluumaadka shabakadda.

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Shaxanka Tusmooyinka

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Mahadnaq

Hay’adda Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA) iyo Machadka Heritage ee Daraasaadka Siyaasadda (HIPS) waxay si kal iyo laab ah ugu mahadcelinayaan dhammaan cid kasta oo gacan ka geysatay diyaarinta warbixintan, gaar ahaan kuwii waqtigooda geliyay ka qaybgalka iyo soojeedinta ra’yigooda oo qiimo badan u leh diraasaddan.

Warbixintani suurtogal ma noqoteen haddii aanay bulshada rayidka ah, haweenka, dhalinyarada, iyo bulshooyinka la hayb-sooco fikirkooda ka dhiiban lahayn xilliyadii lagu gudo jirey diyaarinteeda iyo doodwadaagyo kooxeedyadii uu machadku soo agaasimay. Sidoo kale, waxaan si gaar ah ugu mahadcelinaynaa dhammaan xubnaha ka tirsan FBA iyo HIPS ee waqtigooda, xirfaddooda, iyo dedaalkooda u huray hirgelinta diraasaddan.

Aragtiyada iyo fikradaha ku xusan warbixintan waa kuwa qoraaga, mana aha kuwo si toos ah u matalaya siyaasadaha ama mowqifyada rasmiga ah ee hay’adaha ama ururrada ka qayb qaatay diraasaddan.

1. Duluc

Mashruuca dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya waxa uu weli ku jiraa muran qotodheer, tan iyo kadib burburkii dawladdii dhexe, waa in ka badan soddon sano. Khilaafaad siyaasadeed iyo kuwo dastuur oo ah arrimo xasaasi ah iyo xariiqyo lama dhaafaan ah, kuwaas oo si joogto ah u kala qaybiyay jilayaasha siyaasadda Soomaaliyeed. Arrimaha ugu muranka badan waxaa ka mid ah; midnnimada qaranka iyo doodaha ku saabsan gooni-isu-taagga, qaabka federaalka, nidaamka awood-qaybsiga beelaha, nooca nidaamka dowladeed, xaaladda Muqdisho, iyo hab-maamulka kala guurka siyaasadeed. Sannadkan 2026 iyada oo uu dalka waajahayo marxalado siyaasadeed oo xasaasi ah, isla markaana uu jiro is-maan-dhaaf baahsan oo aan weli laga arrinsan, kaas oo lagu laray kalsooni darro ballaadhan oo laga qabo hay'adaha siyaasadeed; arrimahana waxay uga sii dari karaan xaaladda, oo dalku wuxuu banyaal/halis u noqon karaa kala-daadasho iyo xasilooni-darro.

Warqaddan cilmiyeed waxay baadhaysaa suurtogalnnimada iyo sida wadahadal qaran oo Soomaaliyeed, loo dhan yahay isla markaana ay Soomaalidu hoggaaminayso uu u noqon karo hannaan wax ku ool ah oo lagu xallin karo khilaafaadka siyaasadeed iyo kuwa dastuuriga ah ee soo jiitamay. Daraasaddu waxay ku saleysantahay falanqaynta xogaha ku saabsan fikradda wadahadal qaran, oo lagu lammaaniyey xogo lagu helay waraysiyo furan (qualitative data) oo lagu soo uruuriyey hannaanka dood-wadaag kooxeedyada (FGDs), kuwaas oo lagu qabtay meelo kala duwan oo dalka ah. Ka qaybgalayaashu waxay isugu jireen bulshada rayidka ah, haween, dhallinyaro, iyo bulshooyinka la hayb-sooco, kuwaas oo inta badan aan la siin tixgelin iyo ka qaybgal macno leh.

Natiijooyinka daraasaddu waxay muujinayaan in uu jiro shaki weyn oo ku saabsan madalaha siyaasadeed ee jira, kuwaas oo ay hoggaamiyaan kooxaha eliidka ah (Elite) shakigaas oo ah in madalahaasi yihiin kuwo ka fog dhabnnimada iyo xaqiiqada taaganta ah ee bulshada uu ka qaybgalkooduba xaddidan yahay, Inkasta oo wadahadalka loo arko dhabbe muhiim u ah xallinta khilaafaadka iyo taabo-gelinta is-afgarad la taaban karo. Sidoo kale, ka qaybgalayaashu waxay xuseen in Soomaaliya aysan weli qaban wadahadal qaran, marka la eego adduunka iyo micnaha ballaadhan ee wada-tashigu leeyahay. Taas beddelkeeda, shirarka nabadeed iyo kulamada ay dowladdu soo abaabusho ee aan lahayn ka qaybgalin ballaadhan iyo nidaam hirgelineed oo aan lagu kalsoonaan karo ayaa lagu khaldaa wadahadal qaran.

Haweenka, dhalinyarada, iyo bulshooyinka la hayb-sooco ayaa si qayaxan u sheegay in laga reebo ka qaybgalka wada-hadallada micnaha leh ee ku saabsan geeddi-socodka siyaasadeed. Dhalinyarada, oo ah kuwa ugu badan bulshada Soomaaliyeed, waxay tilmaameen ciriiriga fursadaha siyaasadeed iyo matalaad la'aanta haysata. Haweenku waxay carrabka ku adkeeyeen caqabado dhaqan, caqiido iyo kuwo qaab-dhismeed oo ka reebay inay yimaaddaan miiska go'aamada. Sidoo kale, bulshooyinka laga tirada badan yahay waxay sheegeen in uu jiro takoor nidaameed, iyo mid ka qaybgelineed oo ka hor joogsaday inay qayb noqdaan madalaha aayo ka-tashiga ee dalka. Dhanka kale, ka qaybgalayaashu waxay adkeeyeen in ka-mid-noqoshadu aysan ku ekaan keliya metelaad macnawi ah ama qoondooyin aan sii ridneyn, balse loo baahan yahay ka qaybgelin joogto ah, saameyn leh, oo wax ku biirin karta natiijooyinka inta lagu jiro wadahadalka iyo hirgelintooda.

Daraasaddu waxay muujisay jiritaanka kalsooni-darro qotodheer oo ku aaddan hay'adaha siyaasadeed iyo kooxaha elliidka ah, kuwaas oo loo arko inay mudnaanta siiyaan danahooda gaarka ah iyo dano kale oo ku dhisan qabiil, halkii ay hore-marin-lahaayeen danta guud ee qaranka .taasi waxay tusinaysaa in ay aad u hooseyso kalsoonida laga qabo awoodda dowladda ee ku aaddan qabashada iyo agaasinka wada-tashi qaran oo dhab ah. Ka qaybgalayaashu waxay taa beddelkeeda carrabka ku adkeeyeen baahida loo qabo jiritaanka dhinacyo dhexdhexaad ah oo madax-bannaan, kuwaas oo leh awoodda qabashada wadahadalga iyo isu keenidda dhinacyada si cadaalad ah oo hufnaani ku jirto.

Inkasta oo doorka beesha caalamka loo arkay mid wax ku ool ah marka ay timaaddo taageero farsamo iyo mid dhaqaale, haddana ka qaybgalayaal badan ayaa muujiyay walaac ku saabsan in faragelin dibadeed ay dhaawici karto lahaanshaha gudaha iyo sharciyadda geeddi-socodka.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, inkasta oo ay jirto kalsooni-darrada lasoo tibaaxay, haddana dhanka kale, daraasaddu waxay iftiimisay taageero xooggan oo loo hayo wadahadal loo dhan yahay isla markaana lagu kalsoonaan karo, kaas oo loo arko waddo looga bixi karo is-mari-waaga siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya. Gabagabadii, daraasaddu waxay muujisay in wadahadal qaran uu noqon karo hannaan wax-ka-beddel u horseedi kara dhismaha iyo geeddi-socodka dhismaha dowladnnimada Soomaaliya.

Haddaba, haddii wadahadalkaas loo qaabeeyo hab loo dhanyahay oo lagu xoojinayo hannaan qeexan, kaas oo leh hannaano taabogelineed, arrintaasi waxay fursad u noqon kartaa dib-u-dhiska kalsoonidii luntay, wax ka qabashada kala-qaybsanaanta siyaasadeed ee soo jiitantay, isku xirka dedaallada dowlad-dhiska iyo xaaladda taaganta ah ee bulshada rayidka ah. Haseyeeshee, haddii aan la xaqiijin shuruudahaas lagama maarmaanka ah lana ilaalin, wadahadal kasta wuxuu khatar ku yahay inuu dib usoo kiciyo riiqihii ee iskugu jirey awood qaybsiga dheelliga ah, sinnaan la'aanta iyo iskala gurkii wiiqay geeddi-socodka siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya, xaajaduna waxay; "noqon biyo col dhaanshay" ama "milil guudkiis la dhayayo".

2. Hordhac

Hannaanka dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya waxa uu weli ku jiraa muran dhinacyo badan leh, iyada oo ay jiraan arrimo siyaasadeed iyo kuwo dastuur oo lama-taabtaan ah, kuwaas oo muddo ka badan soddon sanno kala qaybiyay hogaamiyeyaasha siyaasadeed ee dalka.[1]

Dhanka kale, Somaliland waxay sii waddaa dedaallada ay ugu jirto helidda aqoonsi caalami ah, welina waxa taagan kala duwanaansho aragtiyeed oo ku saabsan midnimada Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale, is-afgaranwaa salka ku haya arrimaha kala-guurka siyaasadeed ee 2026 iyo wax-ka-beddelladii lagu sameeyay Dastuurkii Federaalka ee Kumeelgaarka ahaa ee 2012-kii kuwaas oo sii kala fogeeyay Dowladda Federaalka iyo mucaaradka qaranka.

Kala-qaybsanaantaasi kuma eka arrimaha aan xusnay oo keliya, balse waxay sidoo kale ku fidsan tahay dib-u-habaynta hay'adaha amniga,[2] qaab-dhismeedka garsoorka, nooca federaalka, hab-qaybsiga awoodaha iyo masuuliyadaha, iyo xaaladda siyaasadeed ee Muqdisho.[3] Waqtiga la qorayo diraasaddan, muddo-xileedka saddex dowlad-goboleed; Koonfur Galbeed, Galmudug iyo Hirshabeele ayaa dhammaaday, halka muddo-xileedka Dowladda Federaalka la filayo inuu ku ekaan doono bisha May 2026-ka.

Inkasta oo nidaamka awood-qaybsiga 4.5 horraantii looga gol lahaa hannaan ku-meel-gaar ah [4], haddana weli wuu sii jiraa, wuxuuna noqday mid aan wax-ku-ool ahayn, iyadoo sidoo kale aan la dhammaystirin hawlihii kala-guurka ee lagama maarmaanka u ahaa hirgelinta doorashooyin toos ah.[5]

Marka la eego caqabadahan qotada dheer iyo maqnaanshaha madal loo dhan yahay oo si furan loogu falanqeeyo arrimahan, waxaa soo baxaya baahida loo qabo hannaano wax ku ool ah oo lagu xallin karo khilaafaadka sii xoogeysanaya. Mid ka mid ah hababkaas waa wada-tashi qaran, kaas oo dalal badan oo caalamka ah u adeegsadeen xalinta khilaafaadkooda iyo maareynta kala-guurka siyaasadeed.

Daraasadu waxay baadhaysaa suurtagalnimada iyo sida wadahadal qaran oo Soomaaliyeed,loona dhanyahay isla markaana ay Soomaalidu hoggaaminayso, uu u noqon karo hannaan wax ku ool ah oo wax looga qaban karo caqabadaha kala duwan ee hortaagan geeddi-socodka dowlad-dhiska Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale, waxay falanqaynaysaa tabar-darrada iyo caqabadaha ku jiray isku-dayadii hore, iyadoo marka hore ku salaysan dib-u-eegis suugaaneed oo ku saabsan wadahadal qaran sida aalad loogu adeegsado xalinta khilaafaadka iyo kala-guurka siyaasadeed.

1. See Elmi, Afyare & Abdi Hersi. (2020). State-Building in Somalia: Role of the Middle East and Horn of Africa Countries. In Giovanni Carbone, Africa's Thorny Horn. ISPI Report, Available at: https://www.ispionline.it/en/pubblicazione/africas-thorny-horn-28197. P. 101.
2. Elmi Afyare with Paul Williams. (2023). Security Sector Reform in Somalia: Challenges and Opportunities. Publication prepared for the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, Somalia.
3. See Elmi, Afyare & Abdi Hersi. (2020). State-Building in Somalia. 2020.
4. This is a clan power-sharing formula that give the four main clans an equal number of parliamentary seats of 61 each and half (31 seats) to several unarmed 'smaller' clans.
5. Key tasks include creating a secure environment, establishing a legal framework, and conducting credible elections in the country.

Intaa kadib, daraasaddu waxay soo bandhigaysaa oo falanqaynaysaa natiijooyinka ka soo baxay dood-wadaagyo kooxeed (FGDs) oo lagu qabtay meelo kala duwan oo dalka ah, kuwaas oo lagu dul istaagay mawduucyo ay ka mid yihiin; fahamka bulshada ee ku aaddan wadahadalga qaran; cidda qabanqaabada yeelanaysa, heerka ka-mid-qaybgelinta; arrimaha siyaasadeed iyo kuwa dastuur ee xasaasiga ah; hirgelinta doorka beesha caalamka iyo casharrada laga bartay.

Ugu dambayn, daraasaddu waxay soo jeedinaysaa talooyin ku saabsan sida hannaanka wadahadal qaran loogu adeegsan karo xallinta khilaafaadka Soomaaliya.

3. Habraaca Daraasadda

Horraantii, cilmi-baaristu waxay adeegsatay labo hannaan oo is-dhammeystiraya. Qaybta koowaad waxay ahayd dib-u-eegis dhigaallo hore, taas oo lagu falanqeeyay aqoonta jirta ee ku saabsan wadahadal qaran iyo sida hannaankan loogu adeegsado xalinta khilaafaadka iyo kala-guurka siyaasadeed, waxa kale oo la eegay waayo-aragnnimada Soomaaliya ee taariikhiga ahayd iyo midda casriga ah ee wadahadal lamoodka ah. Dhanka kale, dib-u-eegistan waxay ku lug lahayd falanqaynta ilo kala duwan, oo ay ka mid yihiin qoraallo cilmiyeed, warbixinno siyaasaddeed, dukumeentiyo, heshiisyo siyaasadeed, iyo xogo la baahiyey oo la xiriira wadahadal qaran iyo geeddi-socodka dhismaha dowladnnimada Soomaaliya.

Qaybta labaad, iyadoo laga duulayo dib-u-eegista suugaanta iyo su'aalaha cilmi-baarista, waxaa la diyaariyay su'aalo loogu talagalay dood-wadaagyo kooxeed (FGDs), kuwaas oo noqday ilaha ugu muhiimsan ee xogta dhabta ah (empirical data) ee daraasaddan. Kadib, cilmi-baarayaal ka tirsan Machadka HIPS ayaa u kala safray dhammaan Dowlad-goboleedyada Federaalka (Puntland, Galmudug, Hirshabelle, Koonfur Galbeed, Jubaland, iyo Waqooyi Bari), iyo sidoo kale Gobolka Banaadir, si ay u ururiyaan xog ka timid 13 kooxood oo koox kastiba dood-wadaag yeelatay.

Ka qaybgalayaasha doodwadaag kooxeedyada nidaamsan (FGDs) waxaa lagu doortay hab xulasho ujeeddaysan (purposeful sampling), sababtoo ah kooxaha waxaa ka mid ahaa xubno ka socda bulshada rayidka ah, kuwo ka socda haweenka iyo dhalinyarada, odayaal dhaqameed, iyo xubno ka tirsan bulshooyinka la hayb-sooco.[6]

In kasta oo natiijooyinka daraasaddu aysan ahayn kuwo si tirakoob ah loo guudmari karo (statistically generalizable), haddana waxay bixiyaan aragtiyo tayo leh oo qiimo badan leh oo ku saabsan sida bulshada Soomaaliyeed u aragto wadahadalga qaran.

6. Trained moderators conducted the discussions in safe and neutral environments. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, anonymity was ensured, and discussions were audio-recorded. Detailed notes were made from the recordings. The empirical data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The study prioritized confidentiality and the safety of participants. Participation was voluntary, and individuals had the option to withdraw at any time.

4. Dib-u-eegista Cilmibaarisyo Hore: Iftiiminta Wadahadallada Qaran

Wadahadallada qaran waxay noqdeen wadiiqo qiimo leh oo loo maro furdaaminta khilaafaadka iyo kalaguurka siyaasadeed, gaar ahaan xaaladaha ka dambeeya colaadaha ee la xiriira nabadaynta iyo dhismaha dawladnimada.[7] Hannaankan waxa ay dunidu si weyn ugu caanamaalaysay labadii qarni ee lasoo dhaafay. Tusaalooyinkii ugu horreeyay waxaa ka mid ah geeddisocodkii dastuur-samaynta dalka Maraykanka ee sannadkii 1787-kii, shirarkii waayihii gobannimadoonka ee qaaradaha Afrika iyo Aasiya, iyo wadaxaajoodyadii ka dhacay Bartamaha iyo Bariga Yurub dabayaaqadii 1980-meeyadii.[8] Sannadihii 1990-meeyadii, dhawr waddan oo Afrikaan ah oo ay ku jiraan Benin, Mali, Togo iyo Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraaddiga ah ee Congo ayaa gogol u fidiyay wadahadallo heer qaran ah si ay u fududeeyaan kalguurrada siyaasadeed iyo geeddisocodyada nabadeed.[9] Dhowaanahaanna, dalal ay ka mid yihiin Afghanistan, Nepal, Koonfur Afrika, Masar, Yemen, iyo Tunisiya ayaa sidoo kale ku dhaqaaqay hirgelinta wadahadallo qaran.

Buug-gacmeedkooda Wadahadallada Qaran, Blunck iyo qaar kale (iqk), waxay ku qeexeen wadahadallada qaran iyaga oo ku tilmaamay: *"Geeddisocodyo siyaasadeed qaranku leeyahay, kuwaas oo ujeeddadoodu tahay in lagu abuuro is-afgarad dhex mara qayb ballaaran oo daneeyayaasha qaranka ka mid ah waqtiyada ay jiraan dhibaatooyin siyaasadeed oo qoto-dheer, xaaladaha colaadeed-kaddib ama inta ay socdaan kalaguurrada siyaasadeed ee saamaynta fog leh."*[10] Kolka la falanqaynayo ama la qiimaynayo habsami-u-socodka wadahadallada qaran, cilmibaare Xin Guo iqk, waxay soo bandhigeen xayndaab afkaareed ka kooban toddobo halbeeg oo kala ah: Duruufaha hore u jiray, xayndaabka waqtiga, kaqaybgal, yool, geeddisocod, natiijo, iyo saamayn.[11]

Sida ay qabaan cilmibaarayaasha Paffenholz, Zachariassen, iyo Helfer, wadahadallada qaran waxay hiigsadaan in la daweeyo eelka (root cause) khilaafaadka, iyadoo la soo shirinayo dhinacyo aad u ballaaran oo kala duwan, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin; dawladaha, kooxaha hubeysan ee aan dawliga ahayn, xisbiyada siyaasadda, ururrada bulshada rayidka ah, haweenka, dhallinyarada, bahda ganacsiga, culimaa'udiinka, odayaaldhaqameedka, iyo guud ahaan bulshada. Qoraayaashu, waxay sidoo kale carrabaabeen saddex hannaan oo waawayn oo sees u noqon kara wadahadallada qaran: Nabadayn, dastuur-samayn, iyo dibuhabayn siyaasadeed.

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7. Mandikwaza, Edknowledge. "A conceptual framework for national dialogues: applied theories and concepts." African Journal on Conflict Resolution 24.2 (2024): 7-28.
8. Ibid.
9. Paffenholz, Tania, Anne Zachariassen, and Cindy Helfer. What makes or breaks national dialogues?. Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, 2017.
10. Blunck, Marike, Luxshi Vimalarajah, Oliver Wils, Corinne von Burg, David Lanz, Mir Mubashir, Vanessa Prinz, and Damjan Denkovski. "National Dialogue Handbook: A guide for practitioners." Berlin: Berghof Foundation. Available at www.berghoffoundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Other_Resources/NationalDialogue/BF-NationalDialogue-Handbook.pdf (2017). P. 21
11. Xin Guo, Morgan Miller, Perau Victor & Pujya Priyadarshni. Understanding national dialogues." USA, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), P 16 (2015).

- Hannaanka nabadayntu wuxuu beegsadaa soo afjaridda rabshadaha iyo dhiirrigelinta dibuheshiisiin, Tusaale ahaan waxaa loo soo qaadan karaa shirarkii nabadeynta Soomaalida ee Carta (Jabuuti) iyo Mbagathi (Kenya).

- Hannaanka dastuur-samayntu wuxuu ku lug leeyahay qorista ama waxkabeddelka dastuurrada, dhisidda guddiyada, ama ansixinta qoraallo dastuuri ah oo cusub, sida ka dhacday dalalka Nepal iyo Yemen.

- Hannaanka dib-u-habaynta siyaasadeed Wuxuu xoogga saaraa dimuqraaddiyaynta iyadoo loo marayo dib-u-habayn, doorashooyin, iyo dhisidda maamullo kumeelgaar ah, sida ka dhacday dalalka Benin iyo Masar.[12]

Si kale haddii loo dhigo, wadahadallada qaran waxay xambaarsan yihiin kaqaybgal bulsho oo aad u ballaaran si loo maareeyo eelka khilaafka.[13] Hase yeeshee, waxaa muhiim ah in la xuso in aan dhammaan hannanada nabadaynta, dastuur-samaynta, ama dib-u-habaynta siyaasadeed aan loo aqoonsan karin wadahadallo qaran. Qaar ka mid ah hannaannadaas waxaa ka maqan kaqaybgelin bulsheed ballaaran oo loo dhan yahay kaas oo ah tiir lagu baadisooco wadahadallada qaran. Docda kale, sida ay ku doodeen Paffenholz, Zachariassen, iyo Helfer waxku'oolnimada wadahadallada qaran waxaa raadeeya/saameeya arrimo ay ka midka yihiin sharciyadda iyo awoodda wadahadalka, cabbirka, habka go'aan qaadashada, iyo xaaladda guud ee taagan. Tusaale ahaan, wadahadallada leh ku-luglahaansho (participation) ballaran oo dhinacayo kala duwan ah waxay inta badan haystaan fursad wanaagsan oo lagu hanan karo is-afgarad.

Inkasta oo go'aan qaadashadu ay inta badan ku tiirsan tahay is-afgarad guud, haddana dadka xulka ah ee awooddu gacanta ugu jirto ayaa laga yaabaa inay baal maraan habraacyada degsan, sidii ka muuqatay geeddisocodkii nabadaynta Soomaalida ee Mbagathi.[14] Intaas waxaa dheer, hannaannada qaata muddada dheer waxaa guud ahaan loo tiiriyaa fulin taabbagal ah oo heerarkeedu sarreeyo.

Waxaa kale oo qoraayaashu farta ku fiiqeen jiritaanka caqabado la xiriira xaaladda guud iyo habraaca qorshaysan oo wadahadallada wiiqi kara, kuwaas oo isugu jira: taageerada ama is-hortaagga kooxaha xulka ah, saamaynta dibedda, habdhaqanka wadahadalka, xaaladaha taariikheed, iyo rabshadaha jira. Caqabadaha habraaca ee saameeya sharciyadda iyo waxtarka wadahadallada waxaa ka mid ah: matalaadda, kaalinta dhexdhexaadiyayaasha, muddada ay wadahadalladu socdaan, qaabdhismeedka taageerada, iyo dhisidda isbahaysiyada.

12. Paffenholz, Tania, Anne Zachariassen, and Cindy Helfer. What makes or breaks national dialogues?. 2017
13. Blunck, Marike, Luxshi Vimalarajah, Oliver Wils, Corinne von Burg, David Lanz, Mir Mubashir, Vanessa Prinz, and Damjan Denkovski. "National Dialogue Handbook: A guide for practitioners." Berlin: Berghof Foundation. https://www. berghoffoundation. org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Other_Resources/NationalDialogue/BF-NationalDialogue-Handbook. pdf (2017), p. 31.
14. Ibid.

Sida uu soo jeediyay Mandikwaza, wadahadallada qaranku waxay ka duwan yihiin gorgortanka iyo dhexdhexaadinta marka loo eego yoolalkooda iyo dadka ka qaybgalayaba. Dhexdhexaadinta iyo gorgortanku waxay inta badan ku kooban yihiin kaqaybgal xaddidan: dhexdhexaadintu waxay ku tiirsan tahay dhinac saddexaad, halka gorgortanku inta badan dhex maro koox yar oo si toos ah isugu gar dhigata isla markaana khilaafka u jidbixisa.[15]

Taas lidkeeda, wadahadallada qaranku waxay xoogga saaraan kaqaybgelin, matalaad ballaaran, iyo ku-lug lahaanshaha kooxo kala duwan si loo gaaro is-afgarad qaran.[16] Blunck iqk, waxay iyaguna taabteen in wadahadallada qaranka loo qaabeeyo inay ka qayb qaataan daneeyayaal kala duwan oo ka kala yimid heerar iyo dhinacyo badan.

Sida ay qeexeen xeeldheerayaashu, wadaxaajoodyada nabadda waxaa caadiyan loo kala abla-ableeyaa saddex heer oo ku salaysan dadka qaybta ka ah: Heerka 1aad: Waxaa ku jira wakiillada dawladda, xubnaha mucaaradka, madaxda ciidanka, iyo kooxaha hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn. Heerka 2aad: Waxaa ka mid ah hoggaanka heerka dhexe sida wakiillada bulshada rayidka ah, aqoonyahannada, culimada diinta, iyo madaxda ururrada aan dawliga ahayn (NGOs). Heerka 3aad: Waxa uu ka kooban yahay jilayaasha heerka hoose, oo ay ku jiraan hoggaanka deegaanka iyo dadka ka shaqeeya horumarinta bulshada. Xayndaabkan dhexdiisa, jilayaasha Heerka 1aad waxay si toos ah ugu lug leeyihiin wadaxaajoodyada, halka Heerka 2aad iyo 3aad ay gacan ka geystaan wadahadalyada iyo doodaha lagu xoojinayo hannaanka nabadda.[17]

Guusha wadahadallada qaran waxay inta badan ku xiran tahay hay'adda ama iskudubaridaha isugu yeeraya dhinacyada wada hadlaya. Taariikh ahaan marka la eego, doorkaas waxaa soo ciyaaray jilayaal caalami ah, dawlado, xisbiyo siyaasadeed, iyo ururro bulsho oo rayid ah. Dawladaha ayaa inta badan billaysima wadahadallada qaran si ay wax uga qabtaan caqabadaha siyaasadeed iyo kuwa bulsho, sidii ka dhacday dalalka Ruwanda iyo Bartamaha Afrika. Dhanka kale, ururrada bulshada rayidka ayaa iyaguna sidoo kale ciyaaray doorka isugu yeeridda; tusaale caan ah waxaan usoo qaadan karnaa dalka Tunisiya, halkaas oo afar urur oo bulshada rayidka ah, oo marka la isku daro loo yaqaanay "Quartet", ay soo agaasimeen mid ka mid ah wadahadallada qaran ee ugu guusha badnaa taariikhda, iyagoo ku mutaystay abaalmarinta Nabadda ee Nobel-ka sannadkii 2015-kii.[18]

Sidoo kale, Isidore de Souza oo ahaa madaxa bulshada Katooligga ah ee Cotonou ayaa hoggaamiyay Shirweynihii Qaran ee Benin gugii 1990-kii. Wadahadalkii billowga ahaa ee shirka ayaa u xuubsiibatay go'aangaaris rasmi ah, taasi waxay keentay in la kala diro hay'adihii siyaasadeed ee jiray. Nicéphore Soglo ayaana loo igmaday xilka ra'iisulwasaaraha hoggaaminaya dawladda kumeelgaarka ah.[19]

15. Paffenholz, Tania, Anne Zachariassen, and Cindy Helfer. What makes or breaks national dialogues?, 2017
16. Mandikwaza, Edknowledge. "A conceptual framework for national dialogues: applied theories and concepts." 2024, p. 11-12
17. Blunck et al. "National Dialogue Handbook: A Guide for Practitioners." P. 27
18. Blunck, Marike, et. al. "National Dialogue Handbook: A guide for practitioners." 2017. P. 303.
19. Ibid. P. 210-211

Marar kalana, jilayaal kala duwan ayaa iska kaashaday qabanqaabada wadahadallo qaran. Tusaale ahaan, Madaxweyne Cyril Ramaphosa ayaa isugu yeeray wadahadallada qaran ee hadda ka socda dalka Koonfur Afrika, kaas oo ay martigelinayso Jaamacadda Koonfur Afrika.[20]

Dessu iyo Yohannes dhankooda, waxay dib-u-eegis ku sameeyeen wadahadallada qaran ee ka dhacay dalalka Suudaan, Koonfurta Suudaan, iyo Kenya, si ay uga soo dhiraandhiriyaan casharro lagu dabaqi karo wadahadalka qaran ee Itoobiya. Falanqayntoodu waxay iftiimisay in Wadahadalka iyo Dibuheshiisiinta Qaranka Kenya (WDQK) ayaa ka waxtar badnaa kuwa Suudaan iyo Koonfurta Suudaan sababo la xiriira sharciyad qeexan, ka qaybgalin buuxda, iskuduwayaal lagu kalsoon yahay, hoggaan iyo fududeeyayaal haysta kalsoonida dhinacyada iyo istaraatijiyad fulineed cad.

Si ka duwan Suudaan iyo Koonfurta Suudaan, WDQK wuxuu mudnaanta siiyey sidii markiiba wax looga qaban lahaa rabshadihii ka dhashay doorashadii 2007-kii, isagoo isla markaana tixgelinaya yoolalka fogfog ee qaranka. Intaas waxaa dheer, ku lug lahaanshaha Guddiga Midowga Afrika, oo ay ku jiraan shakhsiyaad foolaad ah sida Kofi Annan, Benjamin Mkapa, iyo Graça Machel, waxay labajibbaartay kalsoonida dadweynaha iyo si'aragga ku aaddan in geeddisocodku dhexdhexaad yahay.[21] WDQK wuxuu sidoo kale taabbageliyay mekaaniisamyo hay'adeed si loo fududeeyo hirgelinta heshiisyada oo ay ku jiraan Guddiga Dib-u-eegista, Guddiga Baarista, iyo Guddiga Runta, Caddaaladda, iyo Dib-u-heshiisiinta.[22]

Nchongayi Begealawuh, waxa uu daraasaddiisii doctorate-ka ku lafaguray wadahadallada qaranka ee dalalka Cameroon, Mali, Koonfurta Suudaan, Tunisiya, iyo Kenya, isagoo diiradda saaray hay'adda maxaliga ah, aqoonta duruufaha jira, lahaanshaha, aaminaadda, iyo sharciyadda. Isagoo ka duulaya daraasado isbarbardhig ah wuxuu ku nuuxnuuxsaday in qaybgelinta dhabta ah ay u baahan tahay ku-lugyeelasho macno leh. Tusaale ahaan, wadahadalladii qaranka ee Mali, Cameroon, iyo Koonfurta Suudaan waxay inta badan ahaayeen kuwo run lamood iyo marinhabaabin ah, halka Kenya iyo Tunisiya ay si waxku'ool ah geeddisocodka uga qaybgeliyeen bulshada rayidka ah iyo jilayaasha maxalliga ah.

Begealawuh ayaa sidoo kale xusay in joogitaanka jilayaasha maxalliga ah oo kaliya aysan damaanad qaadayn in geeddisocodka wadahadalku noqdo mid la aamini karo ama mid maxalli ah.

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20. Lesedi Sibiya. The National Dialogue, a turning point for healing South Africa. Diplomatic Insider, 15 August 2025. Available at: https://diplomaticinside.com/2025/08/15/the-nation-dialogue-a-turning-point-for-healing-south-africa/
21. Kofi Annan is a Ghanaian diplomat and the former Secretary-General of the United Nations. Benjamin Mkapa is the former president of Tanzania. Graça Machel is a Mozambican politician and the first woman to serve as first lady of two different countries - Mozambique and South Africa.
22. Dessu, Meressa Kahsu, and Dawit Yohannes. "National dialogues in the Horn of Africa: Lessons for Ethiopia's political transition." ISS East Africa Report 2020.32 (2020): 1-24.

Dalka Cameroon, dawladdu waxay adeegsatay marinhabaabin siyaasadeed iyo cagajuglayn xilli ay wax ka qabanaysay dhibaatada dadyowga Anglophone-ka ah, halka kaqaybgelinta Mali iyo Koonfurta Suudaan ay sameeyeen inta badan ahayd sawir matalaad ah, taasoo xulka siyaasadda u xalaalaynaysay inay xukunka sii haystaan. Taas lidkeeda, ururrada bulshada ee rayidka ah ayaa qayb libaaxle ka ciyaaray fududeynta wadahadalka qaran ee Tunisiya.

Ugu dambeyntii, Begealawuh wuxuu ku baaqay in la qaado tallaabooyin looga gaashaamanayo in xulka siyaasaddu afduubtaan wadahadallada qaran.[23]

5. Falanqeynta Natiijooyinka

Qaybtani waxay soo bandhigaysaa natiijooyinka muhiimka ah iyo falanqayn ka duulaysa dib-u-eegista cilmibaarisyada hore (literature review) iyo dood kooxeedda diiradaysan. Waxay u sahminaysaa fahamka ka-qaybqaatayaasha daraasaddu ka haystaan wadahadallada qaran, gaabiska iyo tabardarrooyinka laga arko, iyo doorka ay wadahallada qaran ka cayaari karaan furdaaminta khilaafaadka siyaasadeed iyo kuwa dastuuriga ah ee Soomaaliya.

Natiijooyinka daraasaddu waxay daaha ka qaadeen aragtiyo kala duwan oo wadahadalka laga qabo, kalsoonidarro baahsan oo ka dhex jirta hay'adaha siyaasadda, kareebista kooxaha bulshada ee muhiimka ah, iyo maqnaanta hay'ad ama abaabule kale oo lagu kalsoonaan karo oo geeddisocodka horkaca. Daraasaddu waxay natiijooyinka ku akhrinaysaa sooyaalka geeddisocodyada nabadeed ee Soomaaliya iyo dadaallada dhismaha dawladnimada. Guud ahaan, natiijooyinku waxay muujinayaan in uu farqi weyn u dhexeeyo mafhuumka aragtiyeed ee wadahadalka qaranka iyo sida dhab ahaan looga hirgeliyo Soomaaliya, iyagoo xoojinaya baahida loo qabo geeddisocod loo dhan yahay, la isku hallayn karo, oo qaranku leeyahay.

5.1 Aragtiyaha Laga Qabo Wadahadalka Qaran

Dood kooxeedda diiradaysan ayaa shaaca ka qaaday in ka qaybqaatayaashu faham iyo aragtiyo isburinaya ka haystaan wadahadalka qaran. Qaarkood waxay u arkaan madal muhiim ah oo isu soo jiidaysa qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada si ay aayahooda uga wada tashadaan. Kuwa kale shaki ayay ka qabaan, waxayna madalaha wadahadal u arkaan inay yihiin naadiyo gaar ah oo loogu talagalay qammaamuurta, halkaas oo muwaadiniinta caadiga ah laga reebay.

Ka qaybgalayaashu waxay u muuqdeen inay isku daraya jaadad kala duwan oo wadahadallo ah.

23. Begealawuh, Nchongayi. "Building Peace Through National Dialogues: What Role for Civil Society Organisations in Cameroon and in Africa?." PhD diss., Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa, 2025.

Qaar badan ayaa sheegay inay ka qayb qaateen wadahadallo maxalli ah, kuwaas oo inta badan lagu xallinayo ummuuro bulshada kusoo kordhay ama lagu fududaynayo yagleelidda dawladaha hoose ama dawlad-goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka. Sidaas darteed, natiijooyinka kasoo baxay doodaha kooxda diiradda la saaray waxay ahaayeen kuwo isku dhex jira.

Kaqaybgalayaal badan ayaa ku warramay in iyaga ama wakiilladoodu ay ka qayb noqdeen wadahadallo, kuwaas oo ay u arkayeen kuwo togan, iyagoo u aqoonsaday inay yihiin fagaarayaal u adeegaya xallinta khilaafaadka iyo iskaashi bulsho oo loo dhan yahay. Mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: "Wadahadalku waa habka ugu wanaagsan ee lagu xalliyo khilaafaadka, xiisadaha lagu yareeyo, laguna gaaro is-afgarad wadajir ah."[24] Si kastaba ha ahaatee, qaar kale waqood wadahadallada kuma lug yeelan, waxayba u arkaan inay yihiin kuwo ay horseed ka yihiin oo keliya xulka falku gacanta ugu jiro, isla markaana aan noloshooda dhabta ah wax xiriir ah la lahayn. Sida uu xusay mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasi: "Fursadaha lagaga qaybgelayo geeddisocodkani ma ahayn kuwo la heli karo, aniga iyo bulshaduna mar walba waan ka qatanayn wadahadallada rasmiga ah ee siyaasadda".[25]

Badi kaqaybgalayaasha ka socday dawlad-gobaleedyadu waxay qireen in ay wadahadallo dhaceen, waxayna soo bandhigeen waaya'aragnimadooda ku aaddan doodaha siyaasadeed. Mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa sharraxay: "Haa, wadahadallo heer deegaan iyo heer gobol ah ayaa ka dhacay deegaanka. Wadahadalladani waxay dhaceen waqtiyo kala duwan, waxaana inta badan loo qabanqaabiyay in lagu abbaaro arrimaha saameynta ku leh bulshada ama in ismaandhaafyada lagu dhammeeyo doodo nabadeed."[26] Kaqaybgale kale ayaa xusay: "Haa, wadahadallo heer deegaan ah ayaa dhacay, inkasta oo inta jeer ee ay dhaceen iyo raadayntooduba ay xaddidnaayeen. Dhacdooyinkan ayaa ah jaranjarooyin muhiim ah oo lagu dhisayo kalsoonida bulshada, islamarkaana loogu diyaar garaynayo ka qaybqaadashada ballaaran ee geeddisocodka heer qaran."[27]

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, jawaab-bixiyayaashu waxay sidoo kale carrabaabeen in wadahadalladaasi ay ahaayeen kuwo aan soo noqnoqon, aan joogto ahayn, ama aan si buuxda ugu furnayn guud ahaan bulshada. Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay carrabka ku adkeeyeen baahida loo qabo in la horumariyo tayada geeddisocodka wadahadallada qaran, iyagoo si gaar ah u iftiimiyay muhiimadda masiiriga ah ee ay leedahay in diiradda la saaro nabadda iyo amniga.

24. FGD Participant, Northeastern State, October 2025.
25. FGD Participant, Banadir Region, November 2025.
26. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
27. Ibid.

Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay rumeysnaayeen in wadahadallada heerka deegaan ah ay siyaabo badan wax ugu biiriyaan geeddisocodka wadahadallada qaran. Mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa faahfaahiyay: "Wadahadalka heerka bulsho wuxuu awood u leeyahay inuu bixiyo xal dhab ah oo ku habboon is-mari-waaga siyaasadeed ee taagan iyo arrimaha masiiriga ah ee qaranka. Kaqaybgelinta codadka deegaanku waxay xoojisaa midnimada qaranka, waxayna dhiirrigelisaa dareen ka-mid-ahaansho oo loo dhan yahay."[28]

Marka loo eego aragtida kaqaybgalayaal badan wadahadallada bulshadu waxay xoojiyaan geeddisocodka heerka qaran ah, iyagoo ka soo dhisaya seeska hoose. Waxay gacan ka geystaan garashada caqabadaha deegaaneed iyo xalalka ka tarjumaya baahiyaha bulshada, taasoo hubinaysa in go'aannada qaranku ay ku qotomaan waaqica dhabta ah ee deegaanka, sidaasna ay sharciyaddoodu ku kororto. Kaqaybgale kale ayaa xusay: "Wadahadallada heerka bulsho waxay geeddisocodka qaranka ugu deeqi karaan sees adag, iyagoo tabantaabinaya midnimada, xasilloonida, iyo ujeeddada la wadaago."[29] Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay ku nuuxnuuxsadeen in wadahadallada noocaas ahi ay kobciyaan ka qaybgelinta, iskaashiga, iyo lahaanshaha deegaaneed, iyagoo gacan ka geysanaya ka hortagga in arrimaha deegaanku ay isu beddeelaan qalalaaso qaran iyo taageeridda dadaallada ballaran ee dawlad-dhiska. Sida uu tilmaamay mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaashu: "Wadahadal heer bulsho ah ayaa gacan ka geysan karaa in goor hore la aqoonsado caqabadaha, lana helo xalal la wadaago oo ka tarjumaya baahiyaha deegaanka. Marka ay bulshadu si furan uga hadlaan tabashooyinka, way sahlanaan doontaa in arrimahaas lagu daro doodaha qaranka iyo in ay saameyn ku yeeshaan geeddisocodka siyaasadeed ee qarada weyn."[30]

Jahawareerka iyo aragtiyaha isburinaya ee ay bixiyeen kaqaybgalayaasha kooxda diiradda la saaray waa kuwo la iska fahmi karo. Dhab ahaantii, Soomaaliya weli ma aysan qaban "wadahadal qaran" sida lagu qeexay daraasaddan. Hase yeeshee, qaar ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa shirarkii nabadda, sida Shirkii Nabadda ee Carta, kaas oo isku ururiyay dhinacyo badan ku khaldaya wadahadal qaran. Qaar kale waxay adeegsanayaan qeexitaan fudud oo koobsanaya dhammaan jaadadka doodaha siyaasadeed, oo ay ku jiraan wadahadallada ay dawladdu maamusho, wadaxaajoodka u dhexeeya Dowladda Federaalka iyo Dowlad-Goboleedyada, iyo dadaallada dhexdhexaadinta ee u dhexeeya Soomaaliya iyo Soomaaliland

Intii lagu gudajiray marxaladdii kumeelgaarka-kaddib (2012 ilaa hadda), madaxda Dowladda Federaalka iyo Dowladaha xubnaha ka ah Federaalka waxay marar badan ka wada xaajoodeen arrimaha muhiimka ah ee la xiriira kumeelgaarka.

28. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
29. FGD Participant, Jubaland State, November 2025.
30. FGD Participant, Banadir Region, November 2025

Wasaarado kala duwan oo federaal ah ayaa soo qabanqaabiyay shirar socday labo ama saddex maalmood oo looga hadlayay arrimo ay ka mid yihiin waxbarashada, amniga,[31] iyo caddaaladda.[32] Si kastaba ha ahaatee, shirarkani waxay ku koobnaayeen taageerayaasha dawladda oo keliya, taas darteedna way ku fashilmeen inay buuxiyaan shuruudihii lagama maarmaanka u ahaa wadahadallada qaranka.

Wadahadallada u dhexeeya Soomaaliya iyo Somalilaan 15-kii sano ee la soo dhaafay ayaa inta badan ka dhici jiray dalka dibeddiisa, sida Abu Dhabi, London, Istanbul, Ankara, Addis Ababa, iyo Jabuuti. Madax kala duwan oo ay ka mid yihiin Isutagga Imaaraadka Carabta, Turkiga, Boqortooyada Ingiriiska, Itoobiya, iyo Jabuuti, ayaa isku dayay inay dhexdhexaadiyaan Muqdisho iyo Hargeysa. Inkasta oo shirar ka mid ahi ay dhaleen is-afgaradyo ku saabsan arrimaha yaryarka ah, haddana su'aalihii masiiriga ahaa ee salka u ku hayay gooni-isu-taagga ama midnimada weli looma jidbixin.[33]

Daraasadda ayaa lagu ogaaday in aan wadahadal qaran oo loo dhan yahay weli Soomaaliya laga hirgelin. Hormuudka siyaasadda Soomaaliya ayaa ugu horreyntii ku tiirsanaa wada xaajoodka u dhexeeya labada heer ee dawladda si wax looga qabto arrimaha ku tacaluqa kalaguurka siyaasadeed. Doodaha kooxaha diiradda la saaray ayaa daaha ka qaaday in ka qaybgalayaashu ay mafhuumka wadahadal qaran ku khaldeen geeddisocodyada nabadeed ee heerka deegaan iyo kuwa qaran, dastuur-samaynta, iyo shirar waaweyn oo ku saabsan arrimo gaar ah.

5.2. Abaabule Madaxbannaan oo Lagu Kalsoonaan Karo

Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay si weyn u doorbideen in hay'aadaha dhexdhexaadka ah iyo kuwa madaxbannaan ay shirarka soo abaabulaan beddelka siyaasiyiinta. Jilayaasha farta lagu fiiqay ee aadka loo aamini karo waxaa ka mid ahaa jaamacadadaha, xarumaha daraasaadka, aqoonyahannada, barayaasha, ururrada bulshada rayidka ah, iyo odaydhaqameedyada. Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay rumaysnaayeen in guddi loo dhan yahay oo ay bulshada soo dooratay oo matalaya kooxo kala duwan (ururada maxalliga ah, hawlwadeennada samafalka, haweenka, iyo dhallinyarada), uu noqon karo midka loogu kalsoonida badan yahay inuu wadahadallada horkaco.

Natiijo kale oo muhiim ah oo ka soo baxday doodaha kooxda diiradda la saaray ayaa ahayd in kalsoonida lagu qabo hay'adaha dawladda ee hadda jira ay aad u yar tahay ama ayba maqan tahay. Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay tilmaameen in madaxda siyaasaddu ay danaha qaranka ka horraysiiyaan danta gaarka ah iyo ajandayaasha qabiileed.

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31. See the communique from the Conference on Education at: https://moe.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/WAR-MURTIYEEDKA-SHIRWEYNAHA-WAXBARASHADA-QARANKA-2023.pdf
32. See the communique from the Reform of the Judiciary, Available at: https://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/somalia-Communique%20-%20April%20 2013-National%20Dialogue-som.pdf
33. The meetings that have taken place so far did not address the main issues of secession or unity. Instead, the mediators started with a confidence-building measure.

Kaqaybgale ka socday Koonfur Galbeed ayaa yiri: "Siyaasiyiintu waa inaysan hoggaamin wadahadalka qaran, maadaama intooda badani ay leeyihiin dano gaar ah ama kuwo qabiil oo saameyn ku yeelan kara geeddisocodka."[34] Mid ka mid kaqaybgalayaasha Gobolka Banaadir ayaa ku daray: "Hay'adaha lagu kalsoon yahay sida jaamacadaha, xarumaha daraasaadka, iyo barayaasha waxbarashada waa inay hoggaanka noqdaan, maadaama ay dhawri karaan dhexdhexaadnimada iyo caddaaladda."[35]

Sidoo kale, qaar ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa ku dooday inay aamini lahaayeen siyaasiyiinta haddii ay dawladda iyo mucaaradku ka wada shaqayn lahaayeen danta qaranka. Mid ka mid ah waxa uu xusay in Dowladda Federaalku "ay hoggaamin karto oo kaliya haddii si cadaalad ah lagu soo doorto, oo ay u dhaqanto si dhexdhexaad ah islamarkaana oo ay mudnaanta koowaad siiso danta qaranka."[36]

Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay rumeysnaayeen in jilayaasha ka fog siyaasadda maalin laha ah ay yihiin kuwo aad loogu kalsoonaan karo, isla markaana taabbagelin kara wadahadal hufan oo caddaalad ah. Hay'adaha ay ka midka yihiin xarumaha daraasaadka, jaamacadaha, xeeldheerayaasha, iyo aqoonyahannada waxbarashada ayaa loo arkaa inay yihiin kuwo dhexdhexaad ah. Jilayaashan waxaa loo arkayaa inay leeyihiin kalsooni, dhexdhexaadnimo, iyo karti ay ku fududayn karaan wadahadal loo dhan yahay oo daahfuran, si ka duwan hay'adaha dawladda oo inta badan si weyn looga aamin baxay.

Waxay kaqaybgalayaashu u aqoonsadeen ururrada bulshada rayidka ah iyo odayaasha dhaqanku inay yihiin jilayaal dhexdhexaad ah oo la isku hallayn karo. Dadka u dooda xuquuqda bulshada, gaar ahaan kuwa u ololeeya haweenka iyo dadka laga tirada badan yahay, waxay gacan ka gaystaan kor u qaadista caddaaladda iyo kaqaybgelin loo dhan yahay, sidaas darteed waa in laga qaybgeliyo geeddisocodka. Mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: "Aqoonyahannada iyo odayaasha dhaqanku waxay geeddisocodka ku biiriyaan haybad akhlaaqeed, sharciyad dhaqameed, iyo aqoon qoto dheer oo ku saabsan daynaamikada xaaladaha deegaanka, taas oo ka dhigaysa jilayaal muhiim u ah sugidda caddaaladda iyo daahfurnaanta hawlaha."[37] Mid kale ayaa raaciyay: "Haweenka ayaa marba marka ka danbaysa loo arkayaa inay yihiin jilayaal muhiim ah oo qayb libaaxle ka ciyaari kara geeddisocodka wadahadal loo dhan yahay oo dheellitiran. Kaqaybgalkoodu wuxuu soo siyaadinayaa aragtiyo kala duwan, wuxuuna xoojinayaa caddaaladda doodaha."[38]

34. FGD Participant, Southwest State, November 2025.
35. FGD Participant, Banadir Region, November 2025.
36. Ibid.
37. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025
38. FGD Participant, Northeastern State, November 2025.

Intii hore, abaabulayaal dibedda ah ayaa martigelinayay saddex ka mid ah geeddisocodyadii ugu waaweynaa ee nabadaynta Soomaaliya. Madaxweynaha Jabuuti, Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle, ayaa isugu yeeray Shirkii Nabadda ee Carta, kaas oo isugu yimaaddeen in ka badan 2,500 oo Soomaali ah. Shirkaas ujeeddadiisu waxay ahayd in la soo afjaro colaadihii hubaysnaa ee Soomaaliya, lana yagleelo dawlad kumeelgaar ah. Kaqaybgalayaasha, oo u badnaa wakiillada bulshada rayidka ah, odayaasha dhaqanka, culimada diinta, aqoonyahannada, ganacsatada, iyo sidoo kale hoggaamiyeyaasha bulshada ee heerarka hoose waxay isku afgarteen gundhigga heshiiska siyaasadeed ee Jamhuuriyadda Saddexaad. Heshiiskaas waxaa ka mid ahaa nidaamka baarlamaanka, saamiqaybsiga qabiilka ee 4.5, iyo maamul dimuqraaddi ah. Shirku wuxuu ku guulaystay in la ansixiyo Axdiga Qarameedka Kumeelgaarka ah, wuxuuna dhisay Golaha Qaranka ee Kumeelgaarka ah, kaas oo markii dambe doortay Madaxweyne Cabdiqaasim Salaad Xasan si uu u hoggaamiyo Dowladda Kumeelgaarka ah ee Qaranka (DKMGQ).[39]

Ururgoboleedka IGAD ayaa shir nabadeed dabasocday ku qabtay magaalada Mbagathi, dalka Kenya, intii u dhaxaysay 2002-dii ilaa 2004-tii. Inkasta oo ay ka qaybgaleen xubno ka tirsan bulshada rayidka ah iyo odayaasha dhaqanka, haddana shirkii Mbagathi wuxuu isu keenay DKMGQ iyo hoggaamiye-kooxeedyadii ka soo horjeeday. Muddo labo sano ah gudahood, Shirkii Nabadda ee Mbagathi wuxuu dib u xaqiijiyey heshiisyadii siyaasadeed ee muhiimka ahaa ee ka soo baxay Carta, oo ay ku jiraan nidaamka baarlamaanka, saamiqaybsiga qabiilka ee 4.5, iyo maamul dimuqraaddi ah isagoo dhanka kale faderaalkii ku bedelay nidaamka ismaamul goboleedka sidii ay isku raaceen kaqaybgalayaashii Carta.[40] Sidoo kale, shirku wuxuu dhaliyey Axdiga Federaalka ee Kumeelgaarka ah, Baarlamaanka Federaalka ee Kumeelgaarka ah, wuxuuna dhisay Dowladda Federaalka ee Kumeelgaarka ah bishii Oktoobar 2004-tii, taas oo uu hoggaaminayay Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed.[41]

Sannadkii 2008-dii, shir nabadeed oo ay Qaramada Midoobay garwadeen ka ahayd oo lagu qabtay Jabuuti ayaa la isugu keenay Isbaheysiga Dib-u-xoreynta iyo Dowladda. Hoggaamiyihii Islaamiyiinta, Shariif Sheekh Axmed ayaa noqday madaxweynaha DFKMG ah. Xafiiska Siyaasadda ee Qaramada Midoobay ayaa horlkacay wadaxaajood lagu soo afjarayo xilliga kumeelgaarnimada oo ay ka qayb galeen lix hoggaamiye siyaasadeed oo kala ah: Madaxweynaha, Ra'iisulwasaaraha, Guddoomiyaha Baarlamaanka DFKMG, Madaxda Puntland, Galmudug iyo Ahlu-Sunnah Wal-Jamaaca. Doodahaas waxaa ka soo baxay Dastuurka KMG ah ee Federaalka Soomaaliya.[42]

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. See also Elmi, Afyare Abdi. Understanding the Somalia conflagration: Identity, political Islam and peacebuilding. Pluto Books, 2010.
41. Christian Webersik explains the reasons that multiple peace processes have failed. See Webersik, Christian. "Bargaining for the spoils of war: Somalia's failing path from war to peace." African Security 7, no. 4 (2014): 277-302.
42. See BBC. Somali election: Hassan Sheikh elected as president. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-19540325

Waxaa cad in ay Soomaaliya ka maqan tahay hay'ad ama cid kale oo shir-abaabule ah oo lagu kalsoon yahay, taas oo ay wada aamminsan yihiin jilayaasha siyaasadeed ee kala duwan. Dalku wuxuu ku jiraa jawi kalaqaybsanaan ah oo ay awoodda dawladdu ku xaddidan tahay, ururrada bulshada rayidka ahna ay weli daciif yihiin. Shaki baahsan oo laga qabo faragelinta jilayaasha dibedda ayaa sii murjinaya xaaladda. Sidaas darteed, natiijadu waxay tahay helitaanka abaabule sumcad leh oo awood u leh inuu dhammaan dhinacyada isugu keeno madal qura ayaa weli ah caqabad weyn oo hortaagan qaranka.

5.3. Kaqaybgelinta Haweenka, Dhallinyarada, iyo Dadyowga La Haybsooco

Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay si aqlabiyad leh u tibaaxeen in haweenka, dhallinyarada, iyo dadyowga la haybsooco oo ay ku jiraan dadka baahiyaha gaarka ah qaba, si joogto ah looga reebo wadahadallada muhiimka ah. Mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: "Haweenka iyo dhallinyaradu waxay ka mid yihiin kuwa ugu badan ee laga reebo, inkasta oo ay door weyn ku leeyihiin bulshada, isla markaana ay ka yihiin qaybta ugu badan."[43] Kaqaybgale kale ayaa ku daray: "Kooxaha laga tirada badan yahay iyo dadka baahiyaha gaarka ah qaba, oo inta badan la kulma takoor, waxay sidoo kale ku dhibtoodaan inay si macno leh uga qaybqaataan wadahadallada."[44]

Qaar ayaa tilmaamay in ururada bulshada rayidka ah iyo aqoonyahannada mucaaradka ah sidoo kale la iska indhatiray, taasoo keentay in doodaha ay inta ugu badan ka qaybqaataan dawladda iyo taageerayaasheeda oo kaliya. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: "Codka bulshada rayidka ah iyo xitaa madax dhaqameedka, sida odayaasha sare ama wakiilada beelaha qaarkood, mararka qaarkood ma helaan booskii ay u qalmeen."[45] Mid kale ayaa ku daray: "Xubnaha bulshada rayidka ah, odayaasha faca weyn, wakiillada qabiillada, kooxaha nugul, aqoonyahannada, iyo kooxaha hiddaha iyo dhaqanka ayaa iyagana marar badan la iska indhatiraa."[46]

Caqiidooyinka dhaqameed iyo kuwa diineed ayaa inta badan loo tiiriyaa inay yihiin sababaha ugu waaweyn ee haweenka iyo dhallinyarada (kuwa ka yar 35 sano) looga saaro golayaasha go'aannada masiiriga ah. Dhaqanka iyo sheekooyinka Soomaalida, haweenka waxaa inta badan lagu tilmaamaa kuwo caaddifad badan, dhallinyaradana kuwo talo ka bood ah; marmarsiiyadaas oo inta badan loo cuskado in lagu xaddido kaqaybgalkooda.[47] Sida uu xusay kaqaybgale: "Caqiiddooyinka dhaqanku waa caqabad weyn.

43. FGD Participant, Northeastern State, November 2025
44. FGD Participant, Jubaland State, November 2025.
45. FGD Participant, Southwest State, November 2025.
46. FGD Participant, Galmudug State, November 2025.
47. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.

Dad badan ayaa weli rumeysan in haweenku aysan ka qaybgelin go'aan-gaarista, dhallinyaradana waxaa loo arkaa kuwo aan waayo'aragnimo lahayn." Mid kale ayaa ku taageeray: "Caadooyinka dhaqanka, oo ay ku jiraan caqiiddoyinka doorka haweenka hoos u dhigaya, waxay weli caqabad ku yihiin oo ay wiiqayaan kartidii ay si waxku'ool ah nolosha wax ugu biirin lahaayeen."[48]

Caqabado siyaasadeed, qaabdhismeed iyo kuwo dhaqaale oo ay ka mid yihiin maqnaanshaha fagaag siyaasadeed dumarka iyo dhallinyarada taageeraya, nidaamka awood qeybsiga beelaha ee 4.5, hirgelinta qoondada oo daciif ah, iyo awood dhaqaale oo xaddidan ayay sidoo kale kasooqaybgalayaashu sheegeen in ay xaddidayaan ku lug yeelashada haweenka iyo dhallinyarada.

Kaqaybgalka haweenka ee Geeddisocodkii Nabadda ee Carta ee sannadkii 2000, wuxuu ahaa mid xusid mudan. Caasha Xaaji Cilmi shirguddoonka ka mid ahayd, haweenkuna waxay door muhiim ah ka ciyaareen u qareemidda nabadda. Ergooyin badan oo haween ah ayaa ka yimid ururrada bulshada rayidka ah, iyadoo qaarkoodna ay ahaayeen fannaaniin iyo hobollo caan ah. Cabdidhuux Yuusuf, oo ahaa abwaan si weyn loo ixtiraamo, ayaa curiyay riwaayad loogu magac daray Darajo iyo Xil Yaa Mudan, taas oo ay masraxa ku soo bandhigeen fannaaniin caan ah.[49] Sidoo kale, haweenku waxay dalbadeen in si siman looga qaybgeliyo geeddisocodka siyaasadda. Inkasta oo aan markaas la siin qoondo rasmi ah, haddana 25 haween ah ayaa ku biiray baarlamaanka oo ka koobnaa 245 xubnood, laba haween ahna waxay ku soo biireen golihii wasiirrada iyagoo loo magacaabay wasiir kuxigeenno.[50]

Dumar badan ayaa sidoo kale ka qaybgalay shirkii Mbagathi ee Kenya 2004. Inkasta oo qabqablayaasha dagaalka ay maamulayeen shirka, haweenku waxay ahaayeen kuwo khibrad iyo firfircooni ku sifaysan. Taageerada beesha caalamka, haweenku waxay heleen kootada 12%, taasoo aad uga hoosaysa 30% ay codsadeen.[51] Haweenka ayaa sidoo kale ku biiray golaha wasiirada iyo hay'adaha kale ee dawladda oo ay ku jiraan guddiyo. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, 2012-kii, intii lagu jiray wadaxaajoodka Dastuurka KMG ah ee Federaalka, haweenku waxay lumiyeen qoondadii gaar ahayd. Dastuurka waxa ku yaal qodob guud oo dhigaya in haweenku qaban karaan dhammaan jagooyinka la doorto iyo kuwa la magacaababa.[52] Iyadoo ay taasi jirto, haddana kaqaybgalka siyaasadda ee haweenka ayaa sii kordhayay. Intii u dhaxaysay 2016-kii iyo 2022-kii, matalaada haweenka ee baarlamaanka waxay gaartay meeshii ugu sarraysay 24%. Baarlamaanka hadda jira, haweenku waxay ka yihiin ku dhawaad 20%.[53]

48. Ibid.
49. See the play at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAXCeVEbJ34.
50. The first parliament of the Third Republic consisted of 245 members. Somalia's clans divided 225 members using the 4.5 rule. The President of Djibouti was given 20 seats for resolving outstanding issues.
51. See the Transitional Federal Charter, 2004.
52. See the Federal Provisional Constitution. 2012, Available at: https://icric.gov.so/.
53. See Ladan Affi and Zainab Hassan. Women and Politics. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2024, Available at: https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Women-and-Politics-July-2022.pdf, p. 4. See also Affi, Ladan. "The Old Men Who Hold Us Back: Clan Elders, Elite Bargaining and Exclusionary Politics." Journal of Somali Studies 7, no. 2 (2020); See also Affi, Ladan. "Excluding women: the clanization of Somali political institutions." CMI Brief (2020).

Kaqaybgalka haweenka ee geeddisocod dastuur-samaynta xilligii KMG kaddib wuxuu ahaa mid kor-u-kac iyo hoos-u-dhacba leh. Maryam Cariif Qaasim iyo Caasha Geelle ayaa markii hore hogaaminayay Guddiga Madaxabannaan ee Dib-u-eegista iyo Hirgelinta Dastuurka iyo Guddiga Kormeerka Baarlamaanka. Qabyo-qoraalka dastuurka ee 2016-ka oo ay hormuud ka ahaayeen haween, ayaa waxaa lagu soo daray qodobbo ku saabsan qoondada jinsiga, waxaana si gaar ah u xusnaa qodob u oggolaanaya haweenka Soomaaliyeed ee guursada ragga aan Soomaalida ahayn inay muwaaddinimada carruurtooda u gudbiyaan. Hase yeeshee, markii la gaaray 2016-kii, matalaadda haweenka ee guddiyadaas waxay noqotay mid aad u yar, waxaana qodobkaas dib u beddelay guddiyadii dambe oo ay u badnaa qabqablayaashii hore iyo madaxdii ciidamada.[54]

Kaqaybgalka haweenka ee guddiyada dastuuriga ah ayaa weli ah mid aad u yar. Guddiga Madaxbannaan ee Dib-u-egista iyo Hirgelinta Dastuurka[55] (ICRIC) oo ka kooban 10 xubnood ayaa waxaa ku jira haweeney qura, sidoo kale Guddiga Kormeerka Baarlamaanka waxaa ku haween kaliya. Guddigan ayaa wax ka beddel ku sameeyay afarta cutub ee ugu horreeya dastuurka, iyagoo meesha ka saaray qoondadii jinsiga iyo xuquuqdii haweenka ee ahayd inay dhalashada muwaaddinimada u gudbiyaan carruurtooda.

Xogta kasoo baxday DXD waxay soo jeedinaysaa dhawr istaraatijiyadood oo kor loogu qaadayo kaqaygelinta. Kaqaybgalayaashu waxay ku taliyeen in la kobciyo wacyiga dhaqameed ee ku saabsan muhiimadda ka qaybgalka, iyo sidoo kale in haweenka, dhallinyarada iyo kooxaha la haybsooco la siiyo waxbarasho iyo taageero dhaqaale.

Waxay sidoo kale u qareemeen dib-u-habayn dhanka qaabdhismeedka ah, oo ay ka mid yihiin hirgelinta qoondooyinka, ballaarinta fagaagyada siyaasadda, iyo taabbgelinta barnaamijyo macno leh sida olole wacyigelineed, hindisayaal kaqaybgelinta taageeraya, iyo u qareemid loo maro warbaahinta iyo hoggaamiyayaasha bulshada si loo wajaho loogana hortago dabeecadaha takoorka.Tallaabooyinka sharci iyo kuwa hay'adeed waa inay xaqiijiyaan sinnaanta, dammaanad qaadaan matalaadda, isla markaana abuuraan fursado lagu kobcinayo awoodda dhaqaale iyo aqoonta siyaasadeed. Sida uu xusay mid ka mid ah kaqaybgalayaashu: "Qoondada haweenku inta badan kuma filna, lamana socoto awoodsiin dhab ah ama taageero dhinacyo kale ah."[56]

Ugu dambayntii, kaqaybgalayaashu waxay soo jeedinayaan in nidaamka qabiilka ee 4.5-ka lagu beddelo nidaam xisbi oo ku dhisan doorasho "qof iyo cod" ah, si loo xoojiyo kaqaybgalka dimuqraaddiga ah.

54. See Article 8 of the draft constitution that the Oversight Committee of 2016-2022.
55. See the members of ICRIC at their website. Available at: https://icric.gov.so/guddiga/.
56. FGD Participant, Northeastern State, November 2025.

5.4. Arrimaha Mudnaanta Sare Leh: Arrimaha Siyaasadeed iyo Qodobbada Dastuur ee aan laga tanaasuli karin

Ka qaybgaleyaasha dood kooxeedku (FGD) waxa ay cadeeyeen, in caddaaladda, matalaadda, iyo daboolidda baahiyaha aasaasiga ah ay yihiin mudnaanta koowaad bulshooyinkooda. Waxay muujiyeen in baahi xooggan oo loo qabo caddaalad, iyo in si siman muwaadiniinta loogu wada dhaqo sharciga, iyaga oo sidoo kale farta ku fiiqay,muhiimadda ay leedahay balaarinta fursadaha, ka qaybgalka siyaasadeed iyo helitaanka adeegyada dadweynaha. Qaybo ka mid ah bulshada ayaa dareemaya in matalaadda laga reebay ama aan si caddaalad ah loogu darin, taasoo ay sabab u tahay cilladaha ka jira habraaca ama hannaanada metalaadda siyaasadeed.

Sidoo kale, ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay xuseen, in baahiyahooda aasaasiga ah aan weli si ku filan loo daboolin, iyaga oo tusaale u soo qaatay, dhibaatooyin ay ka mid yihiin, shaqo la'aanta, kaabayaasha dhaqaale oo aan ku filnayn, adeegyada dadweyne oo tayo iyo tiro ahaanba hooseeya. kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin, adeegyada caafimaadka iyo waxbarashada. Dhammaan arrimahan waxay si toos ah oo muuqata u saameeyanaan nolol maalmeedka iyo fayo-qabka bulshada.

Ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay sidoo kale tilmaameen, sababaha ugu waaweyn ee khilaafaadka siyaasadeed iyo isfaham-waaga siyaasiyiinta keena in ay yihiin danta shaqsiyadeed iyo cilladaha nidaamka siyaasadeed.[57] Badankooduna waxa ay sheegeen, in hoggaamiyayaashu badanaa mudnaanta ay siiyaan ajendayaasha qabiilka, badalkii ay ka ilaalin lahaayeen danaha qaranka. Sida mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha uu sheegay: "Marka hoggaamiyayaashu danahooda shaqsiyeed ka hormariyaan danaha qaranka, khilaafaadku si xooggan ayuu u sii bataa." Intaa waxaa dheer, tartanka khayraadka, nidaamka awood qaybsiga 4.5 ee kala qaybsan, iyo caddayn la'aanta dastuurka, waxa ay sii hurinayaan khilaafaadka u dhexeeya jilayaasha siyaasadeed. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu wuxa uu u sharaxay sidan : "Nidaamka 4.5 sidoo kale wuxuu ka qayb qaataa khilaafka, sababtoo ah murannada ku saabsan awood qaybsiga iyo tartanka awoodda iyo khayraadka ayuu uga sii daraa."[58]

Qayb kale waxa ay iftiimiyeen musuqmaasuqa iyo qabyaaladda in ay kamid yihiin caqabadaha, iyada oo mid ka mid ahi uu yidhi: "Musuqmaasuqa[59] iyo qabyaaladdu, waa labada caqabad ee wiiqay dowladnimada isla markaana kala qaybiyay bulshada. Mid kale ayaa carrabka ku adkeeyay in "dastuurka aan si buuxda loo dhaqangelin, isla markaana meelaha mugdiga uu ka jiro ay sahlayaan in fasiraado kala duwan ay hoggaamiyayaashu ka bixiyaan."[60]

57. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
58. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
59. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
60. FGD Participant, Galmudug State, November 2025.

Natiijooyinka FGD-gu waxa ay muujiyeen sida ka qaybgalayaashu u arkaan Somaliland, federaalka, iyo nidaamka awood-qaybsiga 4.5 inay yihiin arrimo siyaasadeed oo muhiim ah oo u baahan in fiiro gaar ah loo yeesho. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha ayaa yidhi; "Arrimaha qaran sida su'aasha Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland, awood-qaybsiga beelaha, federaalka, nidaamka dowladeed, iyo kala guurka siyaasadeed runtii waa arrimo aasaasi ah oo mudan in si dhab ah loo tixgeliyo. Mawduucyadani waxa ay hagaan jihada dalka waxayna saameyn ku leeyihiin xasilloonida heer kasta.[61]

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, markale ka qaybgaleyaashu waxa ay muujiyeen walaac ah in hoggaamiyeyaashu inta badan arrimahan u adeegsadaan danahooda siyaasaddeed ee gaarka ah, halkii ay ka noqon lahaayeen qodobo lagu hormariyo danta guud. Bulshadu waxa ay si xooggan u adkeeyeen baahida loo qabo in la helo isu-dheellitirnaan u dhexeysa doodaha siyaasadeed ee heer qaran iyo arrimaha degdegga ah ee si toos ah u taabanaya nolosha bulshada ee heer deegaan, sida amniga, waxbarashada, adeegyada caafimaadka, iyo caddaaladda. Sidoo kale, wax ay muujiyeen, taageero ku aaddan in laga gudbo nidaamka 4.5 loona wareego hannaan siyaasadeed oo ku dhisan xisbiyo siyaasadeed ama nidaam dimuqraadi ah oo salka ku haya mabda'a qof iyo cid ah.

Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgaleyaasha oo aragtidiisa ka dhiibanaya arinkan ayaa yidhi: "Waxaa jira dhibaatooyin ka sii mudan maadaama ay si toos ah u saameeyaan nolosha maalinlaha ah ee dadka. Arrimaha sida waxbarashada, caafimaadka, caddaaladda, iyo amniga ayaa loo arkaa kuwa koowaad ee baahiyaha dhabta ah ee bulshada isla markaana aad lama huraan u ah, gaar ahaan muwaadiniinta caadiga ah ee wajahaya caqabadaha la xiriira daboolidda baahiyaha aasaasiga ah."[62]

Marka loo eego hab-dhismeedka dowladeed ee Fukuyama, geeddi-socodka horumarka siyaasadeed waxaa uu muujinayaa hannaan taariikhi ah, isla markaana ku salaysan bislaansho hay'adeed oo is dabajoog ah. Sida uu Fukuyama ku doodayo, horumarka siyaasaddeed laguma soo koobi karo oo keliya jiritaanka dowlad magac ahaan u taagan, balse wuxuu ku tiirsan yahay dhismaha iyo adkaynta saddex tiir oo hay'adeed oo aasaasi ah, kuwaas oo kala ah: dawladda (fulinta), sarraynta sharciga (xeer dajinta), iyo isla xisaabtan daahfuran (garsoorka). Saddexdan hay'addood marka la isu geeyo waxa ay laf dhabar u noqdaan waxa loo yaqaan nidaamka siyaasadeed (political order), kaas oo suurtogeliya xasillooni siyaasaddeed, sharciyad maamul iyo joogtaynta kala dambayn bulsho oo waarta. keliya waa marka ay ku dhisan yihiin isu-dheellitirnaan qaabdhismeed iyo shaqo-wadaag hay'adeed.

61. FGD Participant, Northeastern State, November 2025.
62. FGD Participant, Galmudug State, November 2025.

Dhinaca kale, Max Weber, oo ka mid ah aas-aasayaashii cilmiga bulshada casriga ah, wuxuu dawladda ku qeexay in ay tahay, qaab bulsho-daddeed ahi ay si guul leh u la keliyowdo, adeegsiga awoodda jidheed si sharciyeysan gudaha xuduud dhuleed oo cayiman."[63] Qeexitaankan Weber wuxuu iftiiminayaa in dawladnimadu aanay ku koobnayn jiritaan hay'adeed oo muuqaal ah, balse ay salka ku hayso awood sharciyeysan oo ay dawladdu u leedahay xakamaynta, nidaaminta, iyo hagidda isticmaalka xoogga gudaha dhulkeeda.[64] Sidaas darteed, awoodda dawladdu ma aha oo keliya mid ku dhisan amar siyaasaddeed, balse sidoo kale waxa ay ku qotontaa sharciyad, aqbalaad bulsho iyo awood maamul oo muuqata.

Fukuyama waxa uu sareynta sharciga (rule of law) ku qeexaa: isu gaynta xeerar dhaqan iyo hab dhaqan ah oo ka tarjumaya is-afgarad bulshada dhexdeeda ka jira, kuwaas oo xitaa ku waajibaya jilayaasha siyaasadeed ee ugu awoodda badan bulshada, sida boqorrada, madaxweynayaasha iyo ra'iisul Wasaareyaasha.

Sidoo kale waxa kale uu tilmaamayaa, haddii madaxdu awood u yeeshaan inay sharciga u beddelaan si uu danahooda ugu adeego, markaas sareyta sharciga waa uu buray, xitaa haddii sharciyadaas si siman loogu dabaqo bulshada inteeda kale.[65] Hay'adaha sida maxkamadaha iyo guddiyada garsoorka waxa ay ka mid yihiin qaybtan, maadaama ay door muhiim ah ka ciyaaraan ilaalinta iyo meel marinta xeerarka iyo sarreynta sharciga. [66]

Ugu dambayn, isu-dheellitirka hay'adaha dimuqraadiyadeed (democratic accountability institutions) waxa ay xaqiijiyaan in dawladuhu ka jawaabaan baahiyaha muwaadiniinta. Iyadoo loo marayo doorashooyin muddeysan (periodic elections), muwaadiniintu waxa ay awood u leeyihiin in ay la xisaabtamaan hogaannadooda, taas oo ka dhigaysa xisbiyada siyaasadeed iyo doorashooyinka tiirarka ugu muhiimsan ee hay'adahan.[67]

Mashruuca dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya waxaa hareeyay muranno badan oo dhinacyo kala duwan leh. Jilayaasha siyaasadeed waxa ay ku kala duwan yihiin hababka dib loogu dhisayo saddexda nooc ee hay'adaha kor lagu soo sheegay, waxaana jira khilaaf weyn oo ku saabsan aasaaska dhismaha dowladnimada. Mid ka mid ah tusaalooyinka ugu waaweyn waa sida loo abuuri karo jawi nabdoon, iyada oo ciidanka qaranka, booliiska, iyo hay'adaha sirdoonka ay dhammaantood yihiin arrimo uu muran ka taagan yahay qaab dhismeedka ay yeelanayaan.

63. Fukuyama, Francis. Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy. Macmillan, 2014. P. 21.
64. Max Weber, The Vocation Lectures. Edited and with an Introduction by David Owen and Tracy B. Strong. Published by Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. P. xlix.
65. Fukuyama, Francis. Political order and political decay: 2014. P. 22.
66. Ibid. P. 22.
67. Ibid.

In badan kalsooni kuma qabaan dawladda federaalka, sidaas darteedna waa ay ka gows qabsadaan in ay Muqdisho kala shaqeeyaan arrimaha la xiriira hub ka dhigista, kala dirista, iyo dib u dhaqancelinta maleeshiyaadka. Marka laga hadlayo xeerka hay'addaha , waxaa weli socda dood u dhaxaysa xeerka Islaamka iyo xeerka madaniga ah, iyada oo Soomaali badan ay doorbidayaan Shareecada Islaamka, badiilka maxkamadaha sharuucda madaniga ah. Marka laga reebo Somaliland, waxaa weli jira muran ka taagan in dalka uu qaato nidaam maxkamadeed mideysan ama nidaam maxkamadeed federaal ah.[68] Iyada oo aysan jirin amni la wadaago iyo hay'addo sharciyeed oo si wax ku ool ah u shaqeeya, hirgelinta isla xisaabtan dimuqraadi ah oo heer qaran ah waxa ay sii ahaan doontaa caqabad baaxad leh oo taagan.[69]

Arrimaha lama dhaafaanka ah ee siyaasadda ugu muhiimsan ee ay xuseen kooxaha doodaha diiradaysan ee ka qayb galay cilmibaaristan waxaa ka mid ahaa doodda u dhaxaysa Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland, qeybsiga awoodda beelaha, nidaamka federaalka, doodda u dhaxaysa shaqada baarlamaanka iyo tan Xafiiska Madaxweynaha, iyo siyaasadaha marmarka qaar la sameeyo.

Ka qaybgalayaasha FGDs-ku waxa ay u arkeen arrinta Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland mid ka mid ah arrimaha ugu muhiimsan ee saameeya mashruuca dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya. Si loo caddeeyo asalka arrintan, riyada Soomaali Weyn waxa ay xoogaysatay 1940-meeyadii markii boqortooyadii Ingiriiska ay deegaanno Soomaaliyeed siisay Itoobiya, taasoo dhiirrigelisay rabitaankooda madax-bannaani iyo raadinta midnnimo ka dhaxaysa dhammaan shanta Soomaaliyeed. Dedaalladan waxa ay ugu dambeyntii horseedeen aasaaska Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliya sanadkii 1960, taasoo ka koobnayd Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland oo xornimadooda qaatay.[70]

laba sano gudahood midowgii kedib, hoggaamiyeyaasha Somaliland waxa ay dareemeen in la khiyaameeyay markii caasimadda, calanka, madaxweynaha, raysal-wasaaraha, iyo jagooyin muhiim ah oo kale ay heleen hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya. Sanadkii 1961, saraakiil militari ah oo ka soo jeeday Somaliland ayaa isku dayay afgambi fashilmay oo ay doonayeen in ay dib ugu qabsadaan Somaliland.[71] Cabashooyinka ka dhashay ka saarista siyaasadeed ee bilaabmay 1960-meeyadii, oo ay weheliyeen cadaadiska dowladdii milatariga ahayd 1970-meeyadii, waxa ay horseedeen alkumidda Dhaqdhaqaaqii (SNM) oo 1980-meeyadii[72] dagaal hubeysan la galay nidaamkii milatariga. 1991[73] kadib dagaal sokeeye oo dheer, khasaare badanna u gaystay Hargaysa iyo Burco, SNM waxaa u suurta gashay qabsashada badi dhulkii loogu yeedhi jirey Somaliland.

68. The Federal Government and the Federal Member States signed an agreement. But this has not materialized
69. Somaliland conducts periodic elections without the involvement of Mogadishu. Puntland has also held local elections and indirect elections without Mogadishu. The rest of Somalia uses indirect elections.
70. See the 1960 Constitution, titled the Constitution of the Somali Republic, Available at: https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/1960-Constitution-Som-English.pdf. See also Article 1 of the Act of Union between Somalia and Somaliland in 1960, Available at: https://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Somalia-and-Somaliland-Union-Law-1960.pdf. For the analyses of the Act of Union, see Contini, Paulo. The Somali Republic: An experiment in legal integration. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1969; and Mohamed I. Trunji. "Somalia: The untold history 1941-1969", Published by Looh Press. P. 365 -367.
71. See the analyses of this event: Contini, Paulo. The Somali Republic. 1969; and Mohamed I. Trunji. "Somalia: The untold history 1941-1969." 2015. P. 405 -408.
72. A group of political and intellectual leaders from Somaliland established the Somali National Movement in 1981 in London. Initially, their aims did not include secession but to remove the dictatorship through armed struggle.
73. When the military regime collapsed and President Mohamed Siyad Barre fled the capital, the Somali National Movement took control of most of Somaliland.

1991 bishii Janaayo, markii dhaqdhaqaaqii (USC) ay Madaxweyne Siyaad Barre ka eryeen caasimadda, waxa ay ku dhawaaqeen, Cali Mahdi Maxamed in uu hoggaamin doono Dawlad ku meel gaar ah, iyaga oo aan arrinkaas cidna kala tashan.[74] Jawaabtii ay ka bixiyeen arrinkaas dhaqdhaqaaqii SNM waxa uu noqday in ay iyaguna si iskood ah ugu dhawaaqaan madax banaani iyo in ay ka laabteen midowgii 1960-kii.[75] 26-kii December 2025, Israel waxay noqotay waddankii ugu horreeyay ee si rasmi ah u aqoonsada Somaliland, arinkaas oo ay cambaareesay dawladda Soomaaliya.

Cilmibaaristan, arrinta siyaasadeed ee ugu muhiimsan waxa ay ku saabsan tahay haddii labadii qaybood ee midoobay jamhuuriyaddi Somaaliya 1960 ay sii wadi doonaan midnnimada ama ay kala tag ku danbeyn doonaan.

Sida laga soo xigtay ka qaybgalayaasha FGDs-ka, qodob-siyaasadeedka labaad waa qeybsiga awoodda beelaha. Kadib burburkii dawladdii milatariga ee 1991, bulshada qaybaheeda kala duwan ayaa kulmay dhowr jeer si loo xalliyo khilaafka loona dhiso Dawlad ku meel gaar ah. Kulamadan waxa ay ka dhacayeen dalal kala duwan, oo ay kamid yihiin: Jabuuti, Itoobiya, Kenya, Masar, iyo Yemen, balse ma aysan jirin heshiis laga gaaray habka qeybsiga awoodda. Sanadkii 1996, kooxihii Soomaaliyeed ee ku kulmay Sodere, Itoobiya. Waxa ay isla garteen in la qaato qaacidada qeybsiga awoodda beelaha, inkastoo waqtigaas aan la hirgelin.[76]

Sannadkii 2000, Hannaankii Nabadeynta Carta ayaa si rasmi ah loogu hirgeliyey nidaamka qeybsiga awoodda beelaha, iyada oo kuraasta baarlamaanka loogu qaybiyay afar beelood oo waaweyn si siman, halka beelaha aan hubaysnayn ama yar-yar lagu siiyay badh ka mid ah hal kursi(0.5).[77] Maanta, Soomaaliya waxa ay leedahay baarlamaan laba Aqal ka kooban: Golaha shacabka oo ka kooban 275 kursi[78] , iyada oo afarta beelood ee waaweyn—Darood, Digil iyo Mirifle, Hawiye iyo Dir—mid kasta helayo 61 kursi, halka beelaha yar-yar isu gayn la siiyay 31 kursi. Aqalka Guurtida (Senats) , oo ah aqalka sare, isaguna waxa uu ka kooban yahay 54 kursi[79] , oo min saddex kursi loogu qoondeeyay 18-ka gobol ee ay aasaastay dowladdii dhexe ee milatariga.

Nidaamka qeybsiga awoodda beelaha ayaa markii hore loogu talagalay inuu noqdo xal ku meel gaar ah inta lagu guda jiro muddada kala guurka Soomaaliya, si loo gaaro doorasho qof iyo cod ah, kadib marka amniga la xasiliyo lana sameeyo tirakoob qaran. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, 25 sano kadib, dalka weli waxa uu ku jiraa kala guur, waxaana qaacidada 4.5 ee beelaha ay noqotay dhaqan siyaasadeed ku xididdoobay dawladnimada oo joogto ah.

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74. Ali Mahdi became an interim president on January 28, 1991. See: "New President of Somalia Is Sworn In", January 29, 1991, Available at: https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-01-29-mn-417-story.html
75. The Somali National Movement leadership seceded from the Somali Republic on May 18, 1991. SNM chairman, Abdirahman Ahmed Ali, "Tur" became the interim president of Somaliland.
76. See the Sodere Agreement at: https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/default/files/document/files/2024/05/solemn20declaration20adopted20on20320january20199720by20the20high.pdf
77. See Afyare Elmi, Understanding the Somalia Conflagration: Identity, Political Islam and Peacebuilding. London: Pluto Books.
78. See chapter six of the Federal Provisional Constitution, 2012. Available at: https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/2012-Adopted_Constitition_ENG_Final-for-Printing_19-SEPT12-1.pdf.
79. Ibid.

Aragtida soomaalida ee arrinkan waa ay kala duwan tahay. Qaarkood waxa ay u arkaan qaacidada 4.5 inay ahayd heshiis lagama maarmaan ah oo gacan ka geystay xallinta xaaladdihii xayirnaa, iyaga oo ku dooday in ay u suurtagelisay beelihii dagaalamayay inay isla meel dhigaan cabirka iyo saamiga bulshada ee mid kasta.[80] Qaar kalena waa ay dhaleeceeyeen, iyaga oo ku tilmaamay dhaqan takoor ku saleysan oo sii xoojiyay xidhnaanshaha masraxyada siyaasadda isla markaana uga sii daray kala qaybsanaantii jirtay . Jilayaasha siyaasadeed, sida dawladda Puntland, si joogto ah ayay u taageereen joojinta qaacidadan.[81]

Natiijooyinka ka soo baxay FGD-yadu waxa ay muujinayaan is-afgarad ballaaran oo ka dhex jiray ka qaybgalayaasha, kuwaas oo aaminsanaa in nidaamka awood-qaybsiga beelaha ee 4.5 uu noqday mid duugoobay oo aan la jaanqaadi karin baahiyaha dowladnnimo ee casriga ah. Ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay ku doodeen in halkii nidaamkani uu fududeyn lahaa u gudbidda dowladnimo ku salaysan muwaadinnimo, uu si tartiib tartiib ah ugu dhex milmay hay'adihii loo baahnaa in ay ku shaqeeyaan mabda'a karti, aqoon, iyo hufnaan. Sida ay tilmaameen, hab-fikirka ku dhisan qaybsiga khayraadka dowladda ee beelaha ayaa si weyn u saameeyay hay'adaha muhiimka ah ee dawladda, sida maamulka rayidka, ciidamada qalabka sida, adeegga diblomaasiyadeed, iyo baarlamaanka. Arrintaas awgeed, inta badan ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay soo jeediyeen in meesha laga saaro nidaamka 4.5 laguna beddelo hannaan dowladeed oo ku dhisan caddaalad, sinnaan, iyo mudnaan.

Federaalku waxa uu ka mid yahay qodobbada siyaasadeed ee ugu xasaasisan, isla markaana loo arko xariiq siyaasadeed oo aan si fudud looga gudbi karin marka laga hadlayo kooxaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliyeed. Arrintan waxaa ka dhalanaya shan Su'aalood oo aasaasi ah oo u baahan falanqayn iyo go'aan siyaasadeed: Marka koowaad, federaalku ma yahay hannaan dowladeed oo ku habboon duruufaha Soomaaliya?[82] Marka labaad, haddii la aqbalo, noocee federaal ah ayaa ugu habboon in la qaato? Marka saddexaad, imisa heer oo dowladeed ayaa habboon in la dhiso? Marka afraad, waa maxay halbeegyada lagu salaynayo qeexidda dowlad goboleedyada? Ugu dambayn, sidee ayaa awoodaha, waajibaadka, iyo masuuliyadaha loogu qaybinayaa heerarka kala duwan ee dowladda?

Inkasta oo ergadii ka qayb gashay shirkii nabadda ee Mbagathi ay isku raaceen in Soomaaliya ay qaadato nidaam federaal ah[83] , haddana weli waxaa taagan is afgarad la'aan la xiriirta dhismaha federaalkaas. Dastuurka federaalka kumeel gaarka ah, waxa uu si cad u qeexayaa laba heer oo dawladeed[84] , kuwaas oo kala ah dawladda federaalka iyo Dawlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka.

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80. See Afyare Elmi who summarized the debate on the 4.5 issue in his "Decentralized Unitary System: A Possible Middle Ground Solution for Somalia". Doha Institute. Available here: https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS- PDFDocumentLibrary/UPDATED_Somalia_Decentralization_Paper.pdf
81. In the Garowe Agreement, Puntland included the following article, "The 4.5 formula shall never become the basis for power sharing in any future political dispensation after the above-mentioned term concludes." See: https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/default/files/document/files/2022/07/sogaroweprinciplesen2011.pdf
82. See Elmi, Afyare. "Decentralized Unitary System: A Possible Middle Ground Model for Somalia." Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Issue May (2015). Available at: https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/UPDATED_Somalia_Decentralization_Paper.pdf; See also Afyare Elmi, Reviewing Somalia's Federal Constitution, Available at: https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Constitution-Report-English.pdf
83. See Article 11 of the Transitional Federal Charter, 2004. Available at: https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/2004-Feb-Transitional-Federal-charter-English.pdf.
84. See Federal Provisional Constitution, Article 48.

Haseyeeshee, dawladda federaalka Soomaaliya ee uu hoggaaminayo Madaxweyne Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud ayaa sameysay wax ka beddel dastuur, kaas oo ujeeddadiisu ahayd, in la hirgeliyo Saddex heer oo dawladeed oo kala ah, dawladda dederaalka, Dowlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka, iyo dowladaha hoose.[85] Isbeddelkan ayaa sii xoojiyay khilaafka siyaasadeed ee u dhexeeya dawladda federaalka Soomaaliya iyo Dowlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka. Dastuurka federaalka kumeelgaarka ah, waxa uu dhigayaa in laba iyo ka badan oo ka mid ah gobolladii jiray ka hor 1991 ay samaysan karaan Dawlad goboleed xubin ka noqda federaalka. Xuduudaha u dhexeeya Dawlad goboleedyadaasi waxa ay ahaanayaan kuwii gobollada maamul ee hore, halka gobolladuna ay si iskood ah oo ikhtiyaari ah iskugu biiri doonaan.[86]

Puntland, oo ahayd Dawlad goboleedkii ugu horreeyay, waxaa la aasaasay sannadkii 1998. Galmudug, oo qaabkeedu yaraa, waxa ay noqotay Dawlad goboleedkii labaad sannadkii 2009. Intii lagu jiray muddadii koowaad ee Madaxweyne Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud (2012–2016), Galmudug waa la ballaariyey, waxaana sidoo kale duruufo kala duwan ku soo baxay saddex Dawlad goboleed oo kale: Jubbaland (2013), Koonfur Galbeed (2014), iyo Hirshabeelle (2016). Bishii Agoosto 2025, dawladda federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) waxa ay dhammaystirtay dhismaha maamulka Waqooyi Bari, inkasta oo lagu eedeeyay in dowladdu aysan raacin habraacyadii uu dastuurku dhigayay.[87] Bulshooyinka ku nool Banaadir, Shabeellaha Hoose, Hiiraan, iyo Gedo ayaa dhammaantood muujiyay cabashooyin la xiriira habka ay dawladdu u wajahday dhismaha Dawlad goboleedyada federaalka, taas oo sii jiiday xariiqdii khilaaf siyaasadeed.

Mawduuc kale oo muran badan dhaliyay, kuna xidhan federaalka, ayaa ah sida ay dawladdu u wajahayso qaybsiga awoodaha iyo masuuliyadaha u dhexeeya heerarka kala duwan ee dawladda.[88] Dastuurka federaalka kumeelgaarka ah, waxa uu dawladda Federaalka u xilsaarayaa arrimaha dibadda, difaaca, siyaasadda lacagta, jinsiyadda iyo socdaalka[89], iyada oo lagala tashanayo Dawlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka, marka ay timaaddo arrimo saamaynaya danahooda.[90] Sidoo kale, dastuurku waxa uu farayaa in labada heer ee dawladda ay ka wada xaajoodaan habka loo qaybinayo awoodaha iyo masuuliyadaha. Bishii Diseembar 2022, Golaha Wadatashiga qaranka (oo ay ku mideysan yihiin hoggaamiyeyaasha dawladda federaalka Soomaaliya iyo Dawlad goboleedyada), waxa ay ku heshiiyeen qaybsiga awoodaha iyo masuuliyadaha. Heshiiskaas sida uu dhigayo, dawladda federaalka waxa ay yeelanaysaa awood gaar ah oo ku kooban 44 qodob, halka ay 20 awoodood iyo masuuliyadood la wadaagayso Dawlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka.

85. See the four chapters the government changed in 2024. Available at: https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Nuqulka-Rasmiga-ah-Final-Print.pdf
86. See Chapter 5 of the Federal Provisional Constitution, 2012.
87. Puntland, Galmudug, and Northeast changed the boundaries of the 18 regions that the military government left behind. Hirshabelle, Jubaland and Southwest also violate the "voluntary agreement" criterion. The government was largely interested in the federal seats that would be placed in these regions and therefore it established these states to meet election deadlines and manipulate the process.
88. See the Federal Provisional Constitution of 2012.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.

Dhanka kale, dowladaha hoose waxaa loo qoondeeyay 32 awoodood iyo masuuliyadood oo gaar u ah, halka Dawlad goboleedyaduna ay yeelanayaan 29 awoodood iyo masuuliyadood oo u gaar ah.[91]

Dhaqan ahaan, inkasta oo dastuurku si cad u farayo wada shaqayn iyo iskaashi, haddana heer kasta oo dowladeed marar badan waxa uu faragelin ku sameeyaa waajibaadka iyo awoodaha heerarka kale.[92] Tusaale ahaan, Puntland iyo Jubbaland waxa ay inta badan u dhaqmaan si la mid ah maamulo ka madax bannaan dawladda federaalka, iyaga oo maamula xiriirkooda dibadeed, qaata go'aanno saameynaya arrimaha lacagta iyo difaaca, isla markaana xitaa samaysta nidaam u gaar ah oo la xidhiidha jinsiyadda ama aqoonsiga muwaadinnimada. Dhanka kale, dawladda federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) waxa ay isku daydaa in ay maamusho ku dhowaad dhammaan arrimaha dowladeed, taas oo ka tagaysa awood iyo door aad u kooban oo u bannaan Dawlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka. Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, Koonfur Galbeed, iyo Waqooyi Bari waxa ay si weyn ugu tiirsan yihiin Dowladda Federaalka, sidaas darteedna waa kuwo intabadan u hoggaansan oo raacaa awooddeeda iyo hagitaankeeda.[93]

Maqaamka Muqdisho ayaa weli ah arrin muran badan dhaliya. Magaaladu waxa ay noqotay caasimad markii Soomaaliya la aasaasay sannadkii 1908, xilligii gumaysigii Talyaaniga.[94] Markii la gaaray 1990, Muqdisho waxa ay ahayd magaalada ugu weyn dalka , ayna kajirto kala duwanaansho bulsheed, sidoo kalena ahayd xarunta ugu muhiimsan ee qaranka, halka deegaannada kale ay ahaayeen kuwo ka durugsan xudunta maamulka iyo horumarka. Xiligaas, Muqdisho waxa ay ka koobnayd 14 degmo. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dagaalkii sokeeye ayaa carqaladeeyay kobacii dabiiciga ahaa iyo wada noolaanshihii magaalada. Xasuuqyo iyo tacaddiyo ay geysteen hoggaamiye kooxeedyadii gacanta ku hayay Muqdisho ayaa sababay in boqolaal kun oo qof ay ka barakacaan magaalada, iyaga oo dib ugu barakacay gobolladoodii iyo deegaanadoodii asalka ahaa. Tani waxa ay horseeday kobaca magaalooyin kale[95] oo badan, oo ay ka mid yihiin: Hargeysa, Boorama, Burco, Garoowe, Boosaaso, Gaalkacyo, Beledweyne, Baydhabo, iyo Kismaayo.

Si kastaba, Muqdisho waaa ay sii koraysay cabbir ahaan iyo tiro dadweyne ahaan. Maanta waxa ay ka kooban tahay 20 Degmo, waxa ayna weli tahay magaalada ugu weyn dalka.[96] Si kastaba ha ahaatee, sababta oo ah dagaalkii sokeeye iyo dib u heshiisiin la'aanta, qaar ka mid ah jilayaasha siyaasadeed ayaa ku doodaya in Muqdisho aanay hal mar isla ahaan karayn in ay caasimad u noqoto dalka oo dhan, isla markaana ay ahaato, mid si gaar ah ay u leeyihiin beelo gooni ah.

91. See the NCC agreement on December 2023. https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Heshiiska-Astaynta-Awoodaha-saxiixan-28-Dec-2022.pdf.
92. See Mohamed Riyad M. Almosly, "Comparative Analysis of the Constitutions of the Federal Member States of Somalia and the Federal Provisional Constitution of Somalia", Max Planck Institute Report, 2020; see Afyare Elmi and Abdirizak Muhumed, On Reviewing Somalia's Provisional Constitution: Background, Challenges and Future Prospects, Published by the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2022. Available at: https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Constitution-Report-English.pdf
93. The leaders of these regions officially joined the ruling party in 2025. See "Justice and Solidarity Party Officially Launched", Available at: https://www.ftlsomalia.com/justice-and-solidarity-party-officially-launched-ahead-of-2026-elections-in-somalia/. See the NCC Rebranded as Ruling Party as President Launches Bid for Re-election. Available at: https://icric.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Heshiiska-Astaynta-Awoodaha-saxiixan-28-Dec-2022.pdf
94. See Mohamed I. Trunji. The Untold Story, 2015
95. Many residents of Mogadishu fled the city, seeking a refuge in the regions and beyond, including Kenya and Ethiopia.
96. See Afyare Elmi and Faisal Ali. Mogadishu: Synthesis Report. University of Manchester, Available at: https://www.african-cities.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/ACRC_Working-Paper-20_August-2024.pdf.

Sidaa awgeed, saddex soo jeedin ayaa laga dooday: Muqdisho in laga dhigo sidii magaalo caasimad (sida Washington, D.C.), ama in laga dhigo sidii magaalo ku dhex jirta dowladgoboleed (sida Ottawa), iyo in sidii dowlad goboleed xubin ka ah federaalka laftiisa (sida Berlin) loo qaabeeyo.[97] Gabagabadii, maqaamka Muqdisho weli waa mid murankiisu taaganyahay.

Doodaha ku saabsan nidaamka baarlamaanka iyo nidaamka madaxweynaha ayaa sidoo kale ka mid ah kala qaybsanaanta siyaasadeed ee ugu weyn ee kooxaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliyeed. Arrintan ayaa si rasmi dood uga dhex dhalisay dadweynaha sannadkii 2024, markii dowladda ay soo jeedisay in dalka laga beddelo nidaamka baarlamaanka kuna dhaqmo nidaamka madaxweynaha. Ergada ka qayb gashay Habraacyadii Nabadda ee Arta[98] iyo Mbagathi[99] ayaa isku raacay in Soomaaliya ay qaadato qaabka semi-baarlamaanka ee 1960-kii loogu talagalay Jamhuuriyadda Saddexaad. Qaabkan, shacabka ayaa dooranaya baarlamaan, kaas oo iyaduna doorata madaxweynaha, isla markaana kalsooni siisa ra'iisul wasaaraha iyo golaha wasiirada.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, helitaanka xasillooni fulineed ayaa noqotay mid adag.[100] Khilaafaad joogto ah ayaa ka dhex dhacay madaxweynayaasha iyo ra'iisul wasaarayaasha, taasoo keentay caqabado dhismeed. Madaxweyneyaasha, oo ay doorato baarlamaanka, waxay magacaabaan ra'iisul wasaareyaal aanay awoodin inay xilka ka qaadaan. Dagaalkan awoodda oo sii socda ayaa abuuray muuqaal ah hubin iyo isu-dheelitir nidaamka ah, hase yeeshee ugu dambeyn wuxuu hakiyay shaqada dowladda.

Si looga jawaabo caqabaddan, bilowgii muddadii labaad ee xukunkiisa sannadkii 2022, Madaxweyne Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud wuxuu doonayay in nidaamka baarlamaanka lagu beddelo nidaamka madaxweynaha iyadoo la adeegsanayo isbeddelo dastuur.[101] Inta badan xubnaha fasalka siyaasadeed ayaa diiday tallaabadan, taasoo keentay xaalad siyaasadeed oo istaag ah.[102] Bishii Agoosto 2024, madaxweynuhu wuxuu muujiyay diyaar garow uu ku joojinayo habkan, in kasta oo ay weli jiro mugdi weyn. Sidaas darteed, su'aasha ah in Soomaaliya ay sii hayn doonto nidaamka semi-baarlamaanka ama u gudbi doonto nidaamka madaxweynenimo weli lama xallin, taasoo calaamad u ah xariiq kale oo muhiim ah oo ah kala qaybsanaan dhanka siyaasadda dalka. [103]

97. See the Options Report of the Constitution Commission, under the leadership of Maryan Arif Qasim. 2016.
98. See the Transitional National Charter, 2000
99. See the Transitional Federal Charter, 2004.
100. With the exception of 2022 to the present, Somalia's presidents have experienced internal power struggles with their prime ministers, frequently changing prime ministers.
101. See Chapter 4 of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's changes to the constitution.
102. Somalia's national opposition and some federal member states such as Puntland and Jubaland rejected the government approach.
103. The government signed an agreement with some members of the opposition, but did not present the changes to the parliament. See TRT, "Somali opposition's breakaway faction strikes election deal with president". Available at: https://trt.global/afrika-english/article/b1fa1596d307

Kala guurka siyaasadeed ee ku dhaca xukuumadaha kala duwan ayaa ah xariiqda siyaasadeed ee lixaad ee ka dhex taagan kooxaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliyeed. Jamhuuriyadda Saddexaad ee Soomaaliya, waxaa lagu yaqaanaa in ay hirgeliso isbeddel siyaasadeed dhammaadka muddada xukuumad kasta, oo ah afar illaa shan sano. 25-kii sano ee la soo dhaafay, lix xukuumadood ayaa is bedalay. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, u gudbida xukuumad cusub ayaa noqotay caqabad weyn, taas oo u baahan taageero ka timaadda beesha caalamka.[104]

Xukuumadaha xilka haya badanaa waxay isku dayaan in ay kordhiyaan muddo xileedka ay xilka hayaan ama ay wax ka beddelaan habka doorashada madaxwaynaha. Dalka waxaa ka maqan amni dhamaystiran, sharci doorasho oo la aqoonsan yahay, iyo guddi doorasho oo si hufan u shaqeeya. Khilaafaadka u dhexeeya dawladda federaalka iyo dowlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka ayaa sii adkeeya xaaladdan. Hadda, madaxweynaha iyo kooxdiisu waxa ay wax ka beddeleen dastuurka, iyaga oo abuuray sharci doorasho iyo guddi doorasho oo u adeegaya danahooda gaarka ah.[105]

Mucaaradka iyo qaar ka mid ah dowlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka, gaar ahaan Puntland iyo Jubbaland, ayaa diiday isbeddeladan, waxa ayna ku hanjabeen in ay samayn doonaan maamul ka madax bannaan kan dowladda dhexe. 2-da Oktoobar 2025, mucaaradka dawladda, oo ay wehliyaan Jubbaland iyo Puntland, ayaa ku kulmay Nairobi, iyaga oo ku heshiiyay in la sameeyo golle qaran oo looga arinsado mustaqbalka dalka. Horumarkan welwelka leh wuxa uu muujinayaa in Jamhuuriyadda Saddexaad ay burburayso, waxaana muuqata in geeddi socod madax bannaan uu ka socdo Garoowe.

Xilliga qoraalka warbixintan la diyaarinayo, xubnaha mucaaradka ayaa ku kulmay Kismaayo bishii Diseembar 2025, iyaga oo dowladda u gudbiyay digniin kama dambays ah si loo bilaabo wada hadallada ku saabsan habraacyada 2026. Waxa ay ka digeen in haddii dawladda aysan u hoggaansamin, ay bilaabi doonaan geeddi socod ka madax bannaan oo ay ku dhisayaan maamul u gaar ah.

Nasiib wanaag, dowladda ayaa ku marti qaadday xubnaha Gollaha Mustaqbalka (Isbahaysiga Mucaaradka) Muqdisho si loogu qabto wada hadallo. Inkasta oo ay dowladdu keligeed go'aamisay qaabka wada hadallada, xubnaha Gollaha Mustaqbalka, oo ay ku jiraan madaxweynaha Puntland iyo Jubbaland, ayaa aqbalay casuumaadda, waxa ayna u safreen Muqdisho.

104. At the end of each mandate, the UN, the Troop Contributing Countries, IGAD, the European Union, the United Kingdom and the United States have been instrumental in helping Somalia transition to the next stage.
105. See the Electoral Law, Political Parties Law and Election and Boundaries Law that the government approved in 2024. Available at: https://parliament.gov.so/?eeFolder=Shuruuc%2FSHURUUC%2FShuruucda-2024&eeFront=1&eeListID=1&ee=1

Wada hadallada ayaa bilaabmay bishii Febraayo 2026, hase yeeshee kama ay soo bixin natiijooyin dhab ah. Xilliga qoraalkan uu socdo, dowladda iyo kooxaha mucaaradka ayaa ku guul darreystay in ay gaaraan heshiis ku saabsan arrimaha doorashooyinka iyo dastuurka. Arrintan ayaa la xiriirta maamulka kuraasta 57-da ah ee ay hayaan beelaha Dir ee waqooyi iyo kuraasta loo qoondeeyay beelaha aan hubaysan iyo haweenka. Villa Soomaaliya, cid kasta oo markaa ku sugan, waxa y si weyn u maamushaa doorashada wakiillada beelaha Dir ee waqooyi iyo sidoo kale kooxaha Banaadir.[106]

Sidoo kale, hoggaamiyeyaasha dawladda federaalka iyo dawlad goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah federaalka ayaa inta badan wax ka beddela kuraasta loogu talagalay haweenka.[107] In kasta oo ka qaybgalka haweenka uu sii kordhayo, haddana fasalka siyaasadeed ayaa diiday hirgelinta qoondada dumarka, muddo 25 sano ah.[108] Guud ahaan, wax ka beddelka habka doorashada ayaa dhaawacaya shaqada baarlamaanka. Kuwa ka shaqeeya wax ka beddelkan waxa ay inta badan diiradda saaraan doorashada madaxweynaha, iyaga oo aan si dhab ah u eegayn aqoonta iyo kartida kuwa loo diro baarlamaanka. Sidaas darteed, baarlamaannadu waxa ay noqdaan kuwo hakad galay, ugu dambeyntiina u adeegaan sida shaabadd ka shaqaysa xeerarka ay keensadaan awoodda fulinta.

Ka-qaybgalayaasha dood kooxeedka diiraddeysan (Focus Group Discussions) ayaa sheegay in khilaafaadka siyaasadeed ay si toos ah u saameeyaan noloshooda. Khilaafaadka ka dhex dhaca kooxaha kala duwan ee ku saabsan arrimaha siyaasadda ayaa mararka qaar isu beddela isku dhacyo rabshado wata, taasoo ay ka dhalato dhimasho. Qof ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: “Mararka qaarkood, khilaafaadka siyaasadeed waxa ay isu beddelaan rabshado, taasoo keenta dhimashada qaraabada iyo dad aan waxba galabsan. Masiibooyinkan waxa ay ka tagaan dhaawacyo nafsiyeed oo la socda qoysaska sannado badan.”[109]

Khilaafaadka siyaasadeed sidoo kale waxa ay horseedaan khasaare dhaqaale, taasoo ay ka dhalanayaan kor u kaca shaqo la’aanta, maalgashiga oo yaraada, iyo carqalad ku timaada adeegyada aasaasiga ah sida waxbarashada. Qof ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha ayaa sheegay; “Shaqo la’aanta sare waa mid ka mid ah cawaaqibka ugu weyn, taasoo banaanka dhigaysa dad badan oo aan haysan dakhli joogto ah ama fursado.” [110]

106. Villa Somalia is the presidency of the country. Presidents often manipulate and gerrymander the process by selecting their friends for the seats without the due process.
107. Government leaders often favor men over women and not respect quotas. Women are often excluded from seats occupied by powerful businessmen and major clans
108. See Ladan Affi and Zainab Hassan. Women and Politics. 2023.
109. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
110. FGD Participant, Southwest State, November 2025.

Qof kale ayaa intaa ku daray; "Xitaa adeegyada aasaasiga ah sida shahaadooyinka waxbarashada, dukumentiyada maamulka iyo habraaca fiisaha ayaa adkaada in la helo marka nidaamyada ay saameeyaan carqaladaha siyaasadeed." [111] Ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay sheegeen in khilaafaadkani abuuraan dareen rajo beel iyo hubanti la'aan ah.

Ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay si joogto ah u xuseen in musuqmaasuqa iyo eexda qabiilka (nepotism) ay yihiin musiibooyin siyaasadeed oo waaweyn oo naafeeyay hay'adaha maamulka. Waxa ay soo jeediyeen in wadahadallada qaran diiradda lagu saaro musuqmaasuqa iyo qabyaaladda. Ka qaybgalayaashu waxa ay adkeeyeen baahida loo qabo isbeddello ku saabsan arrimaha dastuuriga ah iyo maamulka, sida federaalka iyo qaybsiga kheyraadka si siman, oo ah mudnaanta ugu weyn. Qof ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaasha ayaa yiri: "Qaybsiga awoodda beelaha, gaar ahaan qaabka 4.5, wuxuu u baahan yahay xal waara in loo keeno. In kasta oo uu door xasilin ah ka ciyaaray waagii hore, haddana waxaa sii kordhaya aqoonsiga in uu xadido ka qaybgalka siyaasadeed ee dhammaan dadka, islamarkaana uusan taageerin maamul waara. [112]

5.5 Doorka Beesha Caalamka

Marka la eego doorka beesha caalamka ee wadahadallada qaran, natiijooyinka laga helay dood-wadaag kooxeedka nidaamsan (FGDs) waxay muujinayaan aragtiyo kala duwan oo mararka qaar is-khilaafsan. Qaar ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu waxay u arkeen beesha caalamka kuwo door wax ku ool ah ka qaadan kara taageeridda wadahadalka, dhexdhexaadinta, iyo dhiirrigelinta ka-mid-noqoshada haweenka, dhalinyarada, iyo bulshooyinka la takooro. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu wuxuu xusay: *"Ka-qaybgalkoodu wuxuu keeni karaa taageero farsamo, garab istaag dhaqaale, iyo cadaadis dibadeed oo gacan ka geysan kara xasilloonida."* [113]

Dhanka kale, qaar kale ayaa muujiyay walaac xooggan, iyagoo ku doodaya in beesha caalamku mararka qaarkood madmadow geliyaan codadka gudaha, isla markaana ay si toos ah ama dadban u saameeyaan dejinta siyaasadaha, gaar ahaan kuwa ku xiran mudnaanta maalgelinta. Tani waxay muujinaysaa in doorka beesha caalamku uu sidoo kale dhalin karo kalsooni-darro iyo kala-qaybsanaan. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu wuxuu yiri: *"Mararka qaarkood beesha caalamka waxaaba loo arki karaa inay qayb ka yihiin dhibaatada, maadaama maalgelintooda iyo saameyntoodu ay go'aamin karto sida siyaasadaha iyo dastuurka loo dejinayo."* [114]

111. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
112. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
113. FGD Participant, Jubaland State, November 2025.
114. FGD Participant, Banadir Region, November 2025.

Sidoo kale, qaar ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu waxay qabaan in wadahadalka qaran uu yahay arrin gudaha ah oo u baahan in ay hoggaamiyaan Soomaalida lafteedu, iyagoo ka digay faragelin dibadeed oo ka baxsan kaalinta taageero iyo farsamo. Mid ka mid ah ayaa sheegay: *"Taageerada beesha caalamka waa inay kaabid noqotaa, balse aanay beddelin hoggaanka gudaha."* [115] Mid kale ayaa isna intaas ku daray: *"Xalka qaran waa inuu ka yimaadaa gudaha bulshada Soomaaliyeed."* [116]

5.6 Tallaabada xigta: ka gudubidda is-mari-waaga iyo u-gudubka wadahadal

Qaybtan, ka qaybgalayaashu waxay ka doodeen aragtidooda ku aaddan sida looga gudbi karo is-mari-waaga u dhexeeya daneeyeyaasha Soomaaliyeed, loona bilaabi karo wadahadal qaran oo lagu kalsoonaan karo, kaas oo wax ka qaban kara arrimaha siyaasadeed iyo kuwa dastuur ee lama dhaafaanka ah. Natiijooyinku waxay muujinayaan muhiimadda ay leedahay in wadahadal qaran loo adeegsado xallinta khilaafaadyada kala duwan, iyadoo sidoo kale la xoojinayo baahida loo qabo abuuridda doodo furan oo laga dacaad yahay, isla xisaabtan, tanaasul siyaasadeed, iyo in diiradda laga wareejiyo danaha gaarka ah iyo kuwa beeleysan laguna wareejiyo danaha guud ee qaranka.

Waxaa sidoo kale la xusay baahida loo qabo in laga gudbo hababka awood-qaybsiga ku-meel-gaarka ah, loona jeedsado xalal wax lagaga beddeli karo qaab-dhismeedka awood qaybsiga, kuwaas oo waari kara. Dhanka kale, ka qaybgalayaashu waxay carrabka ku adkeeyeen muhiimadda amniga, isla xisaabtanka dadweynaha, iyo jiritaanka hannaan wadahadal oo loo dhan yahay, iyagoo soo jeediyay in la dhiso guddi dhexdhexaad ah oo lagu kalsoonaan karo.

Sidaas darteed, haddii wadahadalka qaran aanuu weli si buuxda uga mid noqon hababka loo adeegsado nabad-dhiska, qorista dastuurka iyo wax ka beddelkiisa ama wax ka qabashada arrimaha leh mudnaanta qaran ee dalkeenna. Isku-dayadii ugu dhowaa in wadahadal qaran la yeesho waxaa ka mid ahaa shirarkii Carta iyo Mbagathi, kuwaas oo labaduba lahaa xaddidaado muuqda. Tusaale ahaan; Midkoodna laguma qaban gudaha dalka. Inkastoo bulshada rayidka ahi si weyn uga qayb qaadatay shirkii Carta, haddana waxaa ka maqnaa hoggaamiyeyaasha maleeshiyaadka iyo kooxaha hubaysan. Dhanka kale, shirkii Mbagathi waxaa si weyn u maamulayay hoggaamiyeyaashaas, halka ka qaybgalka bulshada rayidka ahi uu aad u koobnaa. Ilaa hadda, ma jiro wadahadal qaran oo loo dhan yahay oo horseeday heshiis wax ku ool ah oo loo hirgelin karo.

115. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
116. FGD Participant, Galmudug State, November 2025

Marka la eego duruufahan, tallaabada ugu horreysa ee loo qaadayo si loo abaabulo wadahadal qaran ma aha oo keliya muujinta faa'iidooyinkiisa, balse waxay u baahan tahay fahan dhab ah oo ku saabsan caqabadaha ka jira dhinacyada kala duwan ee jilayaasha iyo daneeyayaasha siyaasadeed. Sababta oo ah dhinacyadaas kala duwani waxay la iman karaan sababo kala duwan oo ay ku hor-istaagi karaan ama iskaga diidi karaan hannaankan. Taas macneheedu waa is-mari-waaga hadda jira wuxuu ka tarjumayaa xaddidaadahaas aan kor ku xusnay, hadana weli wadahadal qaran in la yeesho waa habka ugu muhiimsan ee dhif iyo naadirka ah ee lagu furdaamin karo caqabadahan.[117]

Si arrintani u hirgasho, dowladda dhexe waa inay door hoggaamineed qaadataa ama si macne leh uga qayb qaadataa geeddi-socodka arrintan. Inkastoo wasaaradaha dowladdu qabtaan shirar kala duwan, haddana badanaa kulamadaasi waxay ku koobnaadaan taageerayaasha dowladda, taas oo ka dhigaysa kuwo aan loo aqoonsan karin wadahadal qaran. Dhanka kale, mucaaradku inkastoo ay tiro badan yihiin, haddana waxay ku kala firirsan yihiin madallado kala duwan, taas oo keenta in dooddoodu noqoto mid aan majare lahayn.

Casharrada laga bartay daraasadaha waxay muujinayaan in Soomaaliya ay u baahan tahay inay qaadato hannnaanka wadahadal qaran, loona adeegsado hannaan rasmi ah oo lagu xalliyo khilaafaadka, maareynta kala-guurka, iyo wax ka qabashada arrimaha kale ee muhiimka ah. Sidoo kale, wadahadalladan waxaa lagu dabaqi karaa heer dowlad-goboleed, maadaama ay jiraan caqabado gaar ah oo aan lahayn madallo lagu falanqeeyo, sida xaaladaha ka jira Jubaland, Hirshabelle, iyo Koonfur Galbeed.

Natiijooyinka dood-wadaagyo kooxeedka nidaamsani waxay sidoo kale muujinayaan baahida loo qabo hannaano qaab-dhismeed iyo kuwo dhaqan oo suurtagelin kara hirgelinta natiijooyinka ka dhalan kara hadddii la abuuro wadahadalka. Ka qaybgalayaashu waxay carrabka ku adkeeyeen in geeddi-socodkani u baahan yahay daacadnimo, isla xisaabtan, aqbalaad, iyo hufnaan ka timaadda dhammaan hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadeed. Sidoo kale, waxay xuseen in wadahadalku uusan noqon karin dhacdo hal mar la qabto, balse uu yahay geeddi-socod joogto ah.

Daraasaddu waxay si gaar ah u iftiimisay muhiimadda ka qaybgelinta haweenka, dhalinyarada, bulshooyinka laga tirada badan yahay, bulshada rayidka ah, iyo aqoonyahannada.[118] Marka dhammaan qaybahaasi ka qayb qaataan, waxaa kordhaya lahaanshaha geeddi-socodka, waxaana yaraada suurtagalnimada in natiijooyinka la iska indho-tiro, la beddelo, ama ay noqdaan kuwo madhaleys ah.[119]

117. At the time of writing, the government and the opposition are not engaging with each other. The National Salvation Forum has been meeting with traditional elders, businesspeople and intellectuals while the government and likeminded politicians are speaking to each other. Puntland and Jubaland are not in either conversation.
118. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
119. Ibid.

Khibradaha Carta iyo Mbagathi waxay muujinayaan in ka-reebitaanka qaybahaasi ay si weyn u wiiqday sharciyaddii geeddi-socodka. Marka la eego duruufahan, waxaa muhiim ah in wadahadalka qaran ay ka qayb qaataan dhammaan dhinacyada muhiimka ah, oo ay ku jiraan dowladda, mucaaradka, dhinacyada ka baxsan nidaamka sida Somaliland, ururrada bulshada rayidka ah, aqoonyahannada, iyo xitaa kooxaha saameynta leh ee aan nidaamka ku jirin.

Qaar ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu waxay ka sii digeen in la adeegsado hannaanka awood-qaybsiga ku saleysan beelaha, si loo fududeeyo ka qaybgalka, iyagoo ku baaqay in hoggaamiyeyaashu ka tanaasulaan danahooda gaarka ah iyagoo u tanaasulaya danaha qaranka.[120] Waxaa sidoo kale la adkeeyay baahida loo qabo wadahadal wax ku ool ah oo diiradda saaraya xalal waaraya oo wax ka qaban kara arrimaha ay salka ku hayaan khilaafaadku, kuwaas oo laga xusi karo caqabadaha qaab-dhismeedka dawladda, karaan yarida hay'adaha, iyo kalsooni xumada baahsan ee dawladdu ay waajahayso. [121]

Si loo bilaabo wadahadal qaran oo loo dhan yahay, waxaa lagama maarmaan ah in la dhiso guddi dhexdhexaad ah oo madax-bannaan laguna kalsoonaan karo.[122] Sidoo kale, la dejiyo hannaano cad oo isla xisaabtan iyo hirgelin min bilow ilaa dhammaad. Intaa waxaa dheer, dhammaan dhinacyadu waa inay aqbalaan in danta qaranku noqoto saldhigga wadahadalka.[123]

Ugu dambayn, ka qaybgalayaashu waxay aaminsan yihiin in ka gudbidda is-mari-waaga ay horseedi karto xasillooni, dowlad shaqaynaysa, iyo maamul wanaagsan, iyadoo sidoo kale kor loo qaadayo horumarka dhaqaale iyo bulsho.[124] Tani waxay abuuri kartaa fursado shaqo, oo kobcin kara maalgashiga, hagaajin karaa adeegyada bulshada sida waxbarashada iyo caafimaadka, isla markaana yareyn karta tahriibka. Mid ka mid ah ka qaybgalayaashu wuxuu yiri: "Xasillooni la isku haleyn karo waxay yareyn kartaa baahida loo qabo in loo tahriibo dibadda, waxayna joojin kartaa soo noqnoqshada barakaca, iyadoo dadka u oggolaanaysa inay mustaqbalkooda ku dhistaan dalkooda gudihiisa."[125] Mid kale ayaa intaas ku daray: "Marka xasilloonidu hagaagto, waxaa furmi doona fursado shaqo iyo suuqyo ballaaran."[126]Ka qaybgaleye kale ayaa isaguna raacay, isagoo sheegay: "Xasilloonidu waxay sidoo kale kor u qaadi doontaa sumcadda Soomaaliya ee caalamka, iyadoo muujinaysa in dalka uu noqon karo dal wax-soo-saar leh oo nabad ah."[127]

120. FGD Participant, Banadir Region, November 2025.
121. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
122. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
123. FGD Participant, Puntland State, November 2025.
124. FGD Participant, Hirshabelle State, November 2025.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.

6. Gunaanad

Mashruuca dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya ma aha oo keliya mid hakad ku jira, balse sidoo kale si qotodheer ayaa loogu kala aragti duwan yahay. Waxaa weli jira arrimo siyaasadeed iyo kuwo dastuur oo xasaasi ah oo aan laga tanaasuli karin, kuwaas oo kala qaybiyay bulshada iyo jilayaasha siyaasadeed, sida midnimada iyo gooni-isu-taagga, qaabka iyo hirgelinta federaalka, nooca nidaamka dowladeed, Dastuurka 2012 iyo isbeddellada la soo jeediyay, xaaladda Muqdisho, iyo maaraynta kala-guurrada siyaasadeed ee soo noqnoqda, oo ay ku jirto kala-guurka 2026.

Jawigan aadka u kala qaybsan, daraasaddu waxay muujinaysaa in wadahadal qaran oo dhab ah uu weli yahay hannaan muhiim ah oo lagu xallin karo khilaafaadka isla markaana lagu maareyn karo kala-guurka siyaasadeed, inkastoo aanu weli si buuxda uga mid noqon hababka loo adeegsado geeddi-socodka dowlad-dhiska ee Soomaaliya. Iyadoo laga duulayo casharro laga bartay waayo-aragnnimada dalal kale, daraasaddu waxay adkaynaysaa baahida loo qabo abaabulidda wadahadal qaran oo ay Soomaalidu leedahay, isla markaana loo dhan yahay.

Si geeddi-socodkaasi u noqdo mid wax ku ool ah oo sharciyad leh, waa inuu xaqiijiyaa ka qaybgal ballaaran oo ka yimaada dhammaan dhinacyada muhiimka ah, oo ay ku jiraan jilayaasha siyaasadeed, bulshada rayidka ah, iyo aqoonyahannada, isla markaana si dhab ah loogu daro haweenka, dhallinyarada, iyo bulshooyinka la hayb-sooco, kuwaas oo door muhiim ah leh balse inta badan laga reebay geeddi-socodyadii hore sida nabad-dhiska iyo qorista dastuurka. Ka-mid-noqoshadoodu waxay muhiim u tahay kalsoonida, lahaanshaha, iyo sharciyadda wadahadalka.

Sidoo kale, waxaa lagama maarmaan ah in la helo dhinac abaabuleyaal ah oo dhexdhexaad ah, madax-bannaan, laguna kalsoonaan karo, si ay u hoggaamiyaan geeddi-socodka, gaar ahaan marka la eego heerka kala-qaybsanaanta ee jira. Haddii si habboon loo abaabulo, wadahadal qaran oo noocan ahi wuxuu noqon karaa saldhig muhiim u ah dib-u-dhiska kalsoonida, xoojinta wadajirka qaranka, iyo abuuridda mustaqbal siyaasadeed oo xasilloon.

Hase yeeshee, haddii aan la xaqiijin ka-qayb-gelin dhab ah, isla xisaabtan, iyo hannaano hirgelin oo lagu kalsoonaan karo, waxaa jirta halis ah in wadahadal kasta uu dib u soo celiyo isla ka-reebitaannadii iyo sinnaan-la'aantii hore u wiiqday geeddi-socodka siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya muddo dheer.

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