

The Impact of Civil War on Gender Roles: A Somaliland Case Study

by

Heather Veronica Sye

B.A. (Sociology/Anthropology), University of the Fraser Valley, 2010

PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the

School for International Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Heather Veronica Sye 2011

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2011

All rights reserved.

However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for "Fair Dealing." Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

Approval

Name: Heather Veronica Sye
Degree: Master of Arts (International Studies)
Title of Thesis: *The Impact of Civil War on Gender Roles:
A Somaliland Case Study*

Supervisory Committee:

Chair: Dr. John Harriss
Professor

Jeffrey T. Checkel
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Michael Howard
Supervisor
Professor

Date Defended/Approved: 14 December 2011



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Declaration of Partial Copyright Licence

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada

STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC, Canada

Abstract

This MA Project advances an explanation for the evolving relationships between Somaliland men and women following the civil war in 1991 and the subsequent peace-building process. Drawing from 28 interviews and one month of field research, it develops a case study of the gender roles in Sheikh, Somaliland. In this project I detail my qualitative ethnographic research exploring the roles of men and women in a village in the Somali highlands. I will argue that, while civil war has resulted in a movement towards relative gender equality, it has also forced women out of necessity to adopt duties that were traditionally considered 'men's work' while still maintaining their own responsibilities. As long as the latter continues, I suggest there will be stagnation in the development of Somaliland.

This paper begins with a discussion of the pre-war social structure governing men and women. The analysis will then discuss past and current gender roles in Somaliland. Using these two time frames I will show how the Somali Civil War has shaped the status quo and permanently altered the fabric of Somali culture.

Keywords: Gender; Somaliland; Civil War; Gender Roles; Development

Dedication

For: Mom.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this project would have never been possible if it were not for the support and guidance of many people. First and foremost I would like to thank the faculty and staff at the School for International Studies for assisting me through the entire year and allowing me to reach this stage of my MA. Most notably I would like to thank my senior supervisor, Dr. Jeffrey Checkel, for his expert direction and academic insights throughout the duration of this project.

Carrying out field research in Somaliland would never have been possible without the support and assistance from everyone at Terra Nuova and Sheikh Technical Veterinary School in Somaliland. A special thank you to Lucy, Thomas, Ricardo, Awo, Jocelyn, Nehemiah, Jones, Thomas and Suad; all of you welcomed me into your place of work and into your homes, and for that I cannot thank you enough.

Of course the completion of this project and reaching my MA would never be possible without the support of my family and friends over the last 6 years. Thank you to my parents- mom, dad, Doug and Karynn, to my siblings- Brian, Jessica, Stephanie and Sasha. And of course- thank you to all my friends back home and in the MAIS 2010 cohort, could not have done this without your support!

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
Glossary of Terms and Acronyms.....	ix
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
Project Overview.....	2
Statement of the Problem.....	3
Nature and Purpose of Research and Project.....	4
Chapter 2. Methodology.....	5
Location and Case Selection.....	5
Instruments.....	8
Interview Subjects.....	8
Field Notes.....	9
Methodological Restraints.....	10
Chapter 3. Literature Review.....	13
Theorizing Gender and War.....	14
Sexual Division of Labour.....	17
Women and development.....	18
The ‘other’ gender.....	20
Literature Review Conclusion.....	21
Chapter 4. Historical Creation of the ‘state’ of Somaliland.....	23
The First Independence.....	23
Siad Barre and pre-war Somalia.....	24
“Post-conflict” Somaliland.....	25
Chapter 5. Analysis.....	27
Women’s status and clan identity.....	28
Socio-economic consequences of change.....	32
Men and work.....	38
Drug use and Gender.....	39
Reconciliation and Reconstruction.....	42
Analysis Conclusion.....	44
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....	46

References	48
Appendices	54
Appendix A: Interview Schedule.....	55
Appendix B: Interview Questions.....	56

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Somaliland.....	6
----------------------------------	---

Glossary of Terms and Acronyms

Diya	Blood Payment (Arabic)
Darod	Somali clan inhabiting most of Southern Somalia/Mogadishu area
Haram	Forbidden (Arabic)
Isaq	Somali clan inhabiting most of Somaliland
SNM	Somali National Movement, a rebel group led by the Isaq clan in opposition to Barre's communist regime
Shari'a	Religious Islamic law
Xeer	Somaliland customary law

Chapter 1.

Introduction

This case study of Sheikh, a small village in the Somali highlands, will illustrate how the roles of men and women in Somali society have been disrupted by the civil war. The purpose of this study is to analyze the renegotiation of a Somali woman's position in public life. These renegotiations are products of displacement, loss, and the fight for survival.

This project is framed around two main questions:

- 1) How have the roles of women and men in Somaliland changed since the Somali Civil War?
- 2) What do these changes in gender roles mean for development?

In this paper I will argue that the roles of both men and women have been dramatically altered resulting in both positive and negative results for the development of Somaliland. Since the civil unrest began in 1991, collectively women have formed cooperatives, gained the right to vote, and have been active in the demobilization of combatants and influential in peace-making processes. On an individual level women have gained more authority in decision making in the home, increased their children's access to education, become breadwinners and achieved a higher status in their communities. For women these improvements in equality and standard of living are

products of the evolution of gender roles. However, despite the improvements there are still a number of barriers relating to the roles of men and women in allowing for greater social and economic development. These barriers include but are not limited to: use of the intoxicant khat, the lack of recognition of the state of Somaliland, overburdened work schedule and the absence of economic opportunities. The analysis of the current gender roles can thus show that civil war is capable of bringing both positive and negative effects to a society.

Project Overview

I will begin by situating the problem within the broader literature on changing gender roles. I will discuss theories on war and gender, mainly regarding the various theories of feminist analysis and how they apply to women in war-torn societies. I will close this chapter with a discussion of men's positions within the gender and development discourse. In Chapter 2, I will present the methodology used in this project. I will discuss the subjects and the research instruments I used to gather data as well as the difficulties and possible sources of error occurred from their use. In Chapter 3, I will provide a historical overview beginning from the start of Siad Barre's communist regime in 1969, followed by the collapse of his reign and the civil war that erupted because of it. Finally, I will conclude this section with a synopsis of the present-day events, including the difficulty the nation of Somaliland has had gaining independence from Somalia. Gaining an in-depth understanding of these events provides an understanding of the complex situation that has forced the status quo to be altered. In Chapter 4, I will present

my data and using excerpts from field notes and interviews I will create a complete picture of the daily lives of men and women in Somaliland. This section will allow me to highlight the processes that brought me to my conclusions. The final chapter will deliver the recommendations for action and further research.

Statement of the Problem

The central problem of investigation in this research is whether the civil war has negatively affected the roles of women or if it has allowed them greater freedoms and equality. The impact of the war on gender roles will be assessed by the increased participation of women in economically productive spheres, in education, and in the home. I will use this to determine if it has an impact on Somaliland's development in general.

The equal inclusion of both men and women in the Somali economy is absolutely necessary for the rehabilitation of the national identity and the creation of sustained economic growth. Without careful analysis of the barriers that have prevented Somaliland women from participating in economic activities in the past, it is impossible to construct an analysis of what is needed for successful development and rehabilitation of Somaliland in the future. For this reason, I will begin the analysis section with a description of the traditional role of women in Somaliland society. From there, I will be able to illustrate how these roles have changed and whether or not they have the potential to facilitate development.

According to the research subjects in this study, the ambiguity and lack of recognition of the 'state' of Somaliland has left Somalilanders to recreate a peaceful society with little assistance from the international community. This study counters that the lack of recognition is problematic and seeks to examine the implication of the existing traditional governance structure (the clan), and the currently unrecognized Somaliland government as it relates to the roles of men and women. Having the independence from Somalia recognized by the international community is crucial for the implementation of transnational work, and is necessary for the development of Somaliland as a nation.

Nature and Purpose of Research and Project

One goal of this study is to contribute to the literature on the women of Somaliland. Topics explored in this project will enrich discussions on what it means to be female and Somalilander. Further, this project will add to the literature on women and development and unravel the issues particular to Somali society that stand as an impediment to development. This project will also identify the importance of equal participation in the home and in the workforce for men and women, and the barriers to achieving this. As Goldstein sets out to prove in *War and Gender* (2002), men and women's roles in war and peace are not consistent across cultures. In order to add to such arguments, case studies are important for giving a voice to a population. The case study on Sheikh will therefore show how men and women in a small village in the Somali highlands negotiate and redefine their positions in a society that is recovering from a tumultuous past.

Chapter 2.

Methodology

This study qualitatively investigates the dynamics of Somalilander gender roles using the ethnographic style of gathering, analyzing and interpreting data in the field. I utilized the methods of semi-structured and open-ended interviews with Somalilander men and women as well as participant observation throughout the duration of my time in the field. The information I gathered through my ethnographic research forms the basis of my case study of the village of Shiekh.

Location and Case Selection

The complex problems in Somaliland demand our urgent attention. Constantly faced with issues such as famine, drought, violence and disease, Somalilanders are an extremely resilient people. Due to the volatile past, Somaliland has had difficulty securing foreign aid. With a lack of international support and recognition, Somalilanders can seldom live beyond subsistence. In order for the Somalilanders to thrive and become economically secure, they need assistance to move beyond subsistence living. The first step towards this is examining literature in order to understand the complex issues affecting Somaliland.



Figure 1: Map of Somaliland. Source: <http://mapsof.net/map/somaliland-map-regions>

The village of Sheikh (indicated in the above map) is located in the Northern Highlands in the Saaxil province of Somaliland. The village is located on the only highway connecting the main cities of Hargeisa and Burao, and the port city of Berbera. The village of Shiekh was a natural choice for my research as I had previously visited the location and had connections to facilitate my travel, accommodation, research and access to interview subjects.

On an international level, the study of Sheikh is relevant to the understanding of the complexities of civil war and its impact on gender relations. The Sheikh case study shows how societies can change and adapt to shifting social and political environments.

While this research is not necessarily generalizable for all instances of civil war, it can allow us a platform from which to begin other research endeavours.

Sheikh Technical Veterinary School (STVS) is currently the only school in Somaliland offering accreditation in Veterinary Studies. The school and curriculum was developed by the Italian non-government organization, Terra Nuova, in order to assist with the sustainable development of the nation by training young Somaliland men and women to treat and vaccinate livestock. This will allow for the livestock to be safely consumed and exported, providing a significant economic opportunity for the 75% of Somalilanders that rely on this industry for their livelihoods (STVS, 2011). This location was chosen for my field work mainly due to my experience working there in summer 2009, and my ability to return there for a work-study position while I conducted research. Additionally, I believe the school has a positive impact on the changing role of women due to the school policy of favouring qualified female students in regards to entrance requirements and providing them with full scholarships to attend. For this reason, STVS is a good place to study the women who occupy untraditional roles in their place of work and contrasting them against those who occupy traditional roles in the village.

The campus of STVS is quite large and encompasses several acres of land on the outskirts of Sheikh village. The campus has a number of free-standing brick buildings making up the classrooms, laboratories, library, student dormitories, slaughterhouse, offices and a conference centre. Currently, there are 90 students attending the school, 20 of which are female Somalilanders. Among the staff are several internationally trained Somali veterinarians as well as expatriates from Kenya. Working at this campus gave me access to interview students and staff during the duration of the work-study.

A sizeable portion of my interviews and field observations took place in a local market in Sheikh. This location was chosen based on my connections to women working in the market as the mother of the STVS security guard was the first woman interviewed there. From there, I used the snowball technique in order to recruit more participants. This location was also chosen based on the population density, the proximity to my office, and finally because I felt that, based on their socioeconomic statuses, these women were representative of thousands of women living in Somaliland. The total area of the open-air market is approximately the size of one football field. Within the market the structures consisted mainly of permanent cement one-room units, temporary/semi-permanent shelters made from tarps and corrugated metal sheets, or stalls that consisted only of a single upside-down crate and an umbrella.

Instruments

Interview Subjects

The interview subjects for this study come from varied socioeconomic positions including both men and women who are either native to Sheikh or are from surrounding areas such as Hargeisa, Burao, and other villages. Several of the participants have emigrated from neighbouring Somalia either due to the war or for school and work prospects. A couple of the participants have received various levels of schooling, but most have little or no formal education. All of the interviewees had been living in

Somaliland for over five years, but not all of them were native Somalilanders (two of the interviewees are from other nations in East Africa).

Many of the questions asked during interviews were open-ended; as such the responses often varied significantly. In starting interviews I asked neutral questions about the number of children they had, their work and education. From there I normally asked questions about their spouses, home life and typical daily activities. I also asked questions about Somaliland development such as “what is the greatest barrier to development?” and “how can the international community assist in its development?”.

Field Notes

As Elizabeth Jean Wood (2009) shows in her chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, field research as a qualitative methodology involves carrying out field work including interviews and participant observation, among other techniques. She shows that this type of inquiry is “the only source of adequate description of social, economic, or political processes that are not evident in documents or other data already gathered” (p.124). In the case of Somaliland, documentation of the past and current situation is scarce, so field research is an important method that can be used to achieve an adequate understanding of the situation. Beyond this, field research is also able to prove or disprove an existing theory by showing it is not applicable in every case.

Field notes were taken over the course of one month. During this time I acted as a participant observer while I held a work-study position at Sheikh Technical Veterinary School (STVS). Notes were normally taken during my work hours (between 0700-1700 hours) from various locations on campus including my office, the library, the garden and colleagues’ offices. In addition to taking notes at STVS, I also made observations in

transit to and from work and at Sheikh Market. I avoided openly writing field notes as the observations occurred for fear that I might miss something important or that the people would feel uncomfortable with my note-taking and possibly alter their behaviour. To avoid this I made brief notes throughout the day and compiled more extensive field notes in the evenings.

Methodological Restraints

During my research in this setting I experienced various difficulties. My field observations were limited due to the security restraints of being in a post-conflict environment. In addition, my observations of a new and relatively unfamiliar culture were coloured by my own experiences, biases and interpretations. Also, in order to perform many of my interviews I had to use the services of a translator which can jeopardize the results due to cultural misinterpretations. Finally, there are fundamental concerns with the generalizability, reliability and validity of the case study as a research method. These concerns will be highlighted and accounted for in the following section.

Due to the volatility of the region, it was necessary to have the assistance of 24-hour security guards. As a foreign researcher my mobility was limited due to the logistics of organizing transportation, a driver, two security guards and a translator. This limited the opportunity to go into the market for longer than one hour because of time and scheduling restrictions. In addition, I found it was difficult to gain the trust of women and their uninhibited responses to interview questions due to the intimidating demeanour of the guards, and the social restrictions of voicing opinions around men. It is possible that because of these limitations, my research is not fully representative of the wider

population. A longer duration in the field could possibly have offset these limitations as I would be able to get to know more of the participants on an individual level and therefore gain more of their trust.

The majority of my research difficulties came with using a translation service. Using a translator was absolutely necessary in this study as most participants did not speak English and I do not speak Somali. The English language is only spoken amongst those who have had the opportunity to pursue postsecondary education. Several issues arose using a translator including the reliability and the accuracy of the translations. Despite having held several training sessions before entering the field, my translator was not a professional so I fear some of the translations were not completely accurate. During the first few interviews, the answers were not always translated verbatim. Beyond this, it was clear the emotional interpretations of some questions did not have the same meaning across our respective cultures. For example, when asking the question, “how has the relationship between men and women changed since the war?” she would translate the answer as “the relationship is good”, when clearly the participant had elaborated further. Her translation came out as such because the term ‘relationship’ is subjective and does not necessarily mean the same in Somali as it does in English.

In addition, the depth of my research was limited due to time and resource restrictions. Because the fieldwork was self-funded I did not have the means to extend my time in the field beyond one month which some researchers would argue is not enough time to fully immerse myself in a foreign culture (Warren & Karner, 2005). Also, throughout my research I had developed unequal relationships with women and men in the setting. I had found it was far easier to gain access to interview groups of women rather than men and that women were more receptive to my interview questions. This is

most likely due to the cultural taboo of unrelated/unmarried men and women speaking to one another in public. As such, I have an unequal sample of interviews with women relative to men. This fact has not allowed me to gain a sufficient understanding of the male interpretation of gender roles, thus resulting in a possible bias in the information gathered. Perhaps in future studies a male perspective of gender roles in Somaliland should be explored.

There are several possible challenges that using a case study as a research method can present. A single village case study might be criticized for not being representative of the wider Somaliland population or the international arena. McGloin (2008) for example, argues that since case studies often deal with individuals, generalization can be applicable to only to the specific context, not necessarily to the entire subject. Because of this, case studies risk evaluating circumstances rather than discovering facts. However, this case study is important in that, as Blattman and Miguel (2009, p. 29) show, “generalizable or not, a single case can illustrate possible causal mechanisms, generate new hypothesis for testing, and stimulate innovative data collection”. The Sheikh case study can highlight the correlation between the transformations in the political sphere and the changes in the gender order. It can expose the relationship between war and gender in order to generate further research.

Chapter 3.

Literature Review

To fully understand the relationship between war and gender roles and what they mean for development, a range of literature will be surveyed in this chapter. Women and men's roles are constantly evolving in both developed and developing countries across the world. These changes come from a number of sources, including technology, war, revolution and globalization, among many others (FAO, 2011). As will be discussed, it is believed that the roles women play in the home and workforce are indicators in the level of gender equality in a nation. Furthermore, greater gender equality is an overall contributor to economic, political and social development. The purpose of this section is to convey to the reader what knowledge has already been established on the topic of civil war and gender roles and on women's roles in development. This will serve as a starting point on the discussion of gender roles in Somaliland.

This literature review chapter will look firstly at theories on women and men's roles during times of war and peace building processes. Following this, I will look at the literature on the sexual division of labour and examine how a number of authors have analysed the specialization of tasks based on gender. A section on 'women and development' will give a brief synopsis of the reasoning behind the development

initiatives focused on improving the lives of women around the world. The next chapter will delve into men's experiences of gender and development and account for the absence of attention paid to their particular experiences of poverty. In the conclusion of this section, I will identify areas for further research needed to fill the gaps in the existing body of literature.

Theorizing Gender and War

Currently, there has been limited research analyzing the impact of war on gender, and vice versa. In fields focusing on war such as political science and history, the subject of gender is pushed aside or left for discussion by the feminists of each discipline. There have been a few theories developed which offer explanations on the relationship between war and gender, but many of these theories contradict one another. Fundamentally, it is agreed that war fuels and rewards hypermasculine behaviours and attitudes while justifying male supremacy. At the same time, women are perceived as 'delicate and soft', and are therefore left out of any direct contact with war (Barrett, 2011). Along with looking at typical gender roles during conflict, there is a body of literature that analyzes what these roles look like following it. Through examining this literature, and subsequently comparing it with my own observations, I will be able to determine if the existing theories hold true in the case of Somaliland.

In order to breakdown these various approaches, Goldstein in *War and Gender* (2003) divides theories into three main camps as they pertain to war and peace: liberal feminism, difference feminism and post-modern feminism. The first of these, liberal feminism, contends that men and women are equal in ability and as such, the dichotomy

of male-female roles in war and peace is inherently sexist. For liberal feminists, women's exclusion from militarization is a reflection of the continued discrimination against women in all areas of life, be it education, politics or otherwise. Difference feminism, on the other hand, acknowledges the biological, physical and mental differences between the sexes. Accordingly, the problem is not in the exclusion of women but in the devaluation of 'feminine' qualities. For example, traditional 'women's work' is disproportionately under- or unpaid compared to that of men's and is therefore valued less. The final strand, post-modern feminism, sees gender as fluid, contextual and more or less arbitrary, meaning that gender is a social construction and as such a person adopts the role to which they have been socialized based on the situation. For example, boys are socialized to be aggressive and perhaps violent so they are naturally 'good at' war. Should girls have been socialized in the same way, post-modern feminists believe that they too would be just as successful in the military. For post-modern feminists, gender is more of an identity than a biological reality. (Goldstein, pg. 42, 2003)

Within the larger body of literature on gender roles and war, we see there are numerous roles that women have adopted. Notably, women are seldom portrayed as the perpetrators of violent acts; however as Parita Mutka (2000) shows in *Gender, Community and Nation: The Myth of Innocence*, women are very much capable of involvement in conflict. More commonly, though, women are seen in auxiliary positions in the military or factory positions at home. At the same time, women have been both the primary targets and the offenders in genocides in Rwanda, Mexico and Bosnia. Beyond this, rape as a weapon of war has become renowned as a reality in many conflicts and disproportionately affects women across the globe (El-Bushra, 2000;

Goldstein, 2003). War is very much a gendered phenomenon as the various female 'roles' in conflict show. However gender roles in war and in peace are not always similar across cultures. Therefore, a case study of every situation is needed in order to fully understand each context.

As an example of how gender roles in war are context specific, Goldstein (2003) explains that, during World War II, gender roles were significantly disrupted in Britain, but once the war ended things went back to normal. He says that any changes that were made in gender relations were only temporary. Once men returned from the war, hostility towards women in 'men's roles' became heightened so the women who had experienced a shift in responsibilities were immediately torn from their new positions and placed back in domestic roles. However, this is often not the case in many developing countries after experiencing conflict. For example in post-genocide Rwanda, women obtained positions in management, the police force and in parliament. Such positions were seldom held by women in other generations. Following the genocide and reconciliation processes, women in Rwanda still hold the same positions today as they did immediately after the genocide. They also make more money and have greater involvement in politics and within their communities (El-Bushra, 2000). So, while we know that war will certainly have an impact on gender roles, it is only through research that we can discover exactly how that is with each case.

Sexual Division of Labour

The division of labour is the specialization of tasks in a given society in order to maximize output. The sexual division of labour is when these tasks are divided based on gender, or into the categories of 'men's work' and 'women's work'. In many societies, the division is often based on women's ability to conceive children and a man's inherent "toughness, endurance of hardships, aggressiveness... [and] unemotional logic" (Barret, pg. 81, 2001). For many feminist writers, the sexual division of labour represents a structure that is inherently oppressive and functions solely to maintain the current status quo. Gasson (1988), in a report on changing gender roles, sums up the economic relationship in the following statement: "when activities become more important for the economic success and survival of the enterprise, they are taken over by men" (p.301). That is, only the valuable and the lucrative tasks are handled by men while women maintain underpaid and undervalued positions.

In a recently published document by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the authors show that the gender gap in the labour force limits a woman's productivity and reduces their ability to contribute to production and achieve the broader social and development goals. They argue that "closing this gap and allowing women to participate on the same level as men would produce significant gains for society by increasing agricultural productivity, reducing poverty and hunger and promoting economic growth" (FAO, 2011, p.3). It is often assumed in project implementation that men and women face the same issues and have the same limitations to infrastructure

and market access, when it has been proven that they do not. Despite this, in development project implementation, women and men's different limitations and access to opportunities are often neglected.

Women and development

A portion of literature on Women and Development focuses on the forces which limit women's capabilities including cultural norms and practices, religious beliefs, inheritance laws, education, resource allocation, the legal structure, power in decision making and labour practices (for example see: Gardner, 2004; Kapteijns, 1995; Ahmed 1995; Goldstein, 2003; Braunstein & Folbre, 2001). However, the experiences of women vary greatly across the globe. In highly patriarchal societies, especially those which follow Shari'a law, women are often constrained to certain occupations or relegated to the home. These positions often place women in an economically inferior position, or are perceived as less valuable than the positions commonly held by men. A 2009 report from UNWOMAN shows that the positive changes in employment associated with the changes in economic growth have been larger for women than for men (Luchsinger, 2009). This means that as a nation develops, so do opportunities for women. At the same time, there are growing debates on the effectiveness of engendering development practices. Critics claim that the heavy focus on women has been injurious to the very same people it sets out to assist. In this section I will give a synopsis of the debate surrounding the issue of engendering development practices.

Currently, development organizations are acknowledging the importance of gender inclusiveness for achieving economic and social growth. Following the

Millennium Summit in 2000, the United Nations along with representatives from numerous international non-government and civil society organizations constructed a set of goals to monitor the progress of membership countries along their paths towards development. These goals came to comprise the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which focus on increasing standards of living, bolstering human capital and ensuring economic, political and social freedoms. Central to several of the goals are targets directly addressing specific issues women in developing nations face; these targets include: increasing female enrolment in schools, decreasing maternal mortality rates, and increasing female representation in parliament, to name a few. Since the creation of the MDGs, efforts in the field of development have reflected the importance of analyzing gender roles in an effort to achieve growth. (United Nations, 2011)

On the other side of the debate, Lakwo (2006) in his article discussing women and microfinance in Uganda, argues that the association between women's empowerment and economic development is weak. He states that the correlation between women becoming economically prosperous and increasing their social capital simply has not been proven. Similarly, he argues that while in some cases a gendered lens can be beneficial in a project it can also be a bureaucratic distraction in the projects that have nothing to do with gender.

Within the literature on Women and Development, a large focus is on women being productive resources. There is substantial evidence that shows that investing in female human capital will yield greater benefits for the nutrition, education and health of the children and the rest of the family (FAO, 2011; UNWOMAN, 2011). For this reason, the benefits of focusing on female involvement in development initiatives outweigh the

potential negatives as outlined in Lakwo's argument. My argument, therefore, reflects the approach that developing societies do benefit from focussing resources on women. At the same time, gender focused policy must come full circle to include the needs of marginalized men in the developing world, as the following section will detail.

The 'other' gender

In the broader literature, a great deal less attention is paid to the role of men to that of women. When speaking about gender it is often wrongfully assumed that there is only one side to the spectrum and only one gender that can be marginalized, when in fact authors have shown that violence, addiction, HIV/AIDs, injury and incarceration disproportionately negatively affect men (Jacobsen, 2002). The problem is that as long as men are excluded from gender-focused policy, their position within male-female relationships does not evolve, so neither can their respective roles. In addition, it is difficult to address the marginality of women without a careful analysis of men's roles. In *The Other Half of Gender* (2006), a World Bank Publication, contributing authors explore the gender and development issues that affect men. The goal is to bring the discussion full circle in order to include men in the gender paradigm. Overall, the literature shows a delayed recognition that men too are a part of the equation.

The following excerpt from Bannon and Corriea's (2006) edited text sums up the overall role of men in development and the importance of their inclusion in policy: "Globalization, economic change, poverty and social change have eroded men's traditional roles as providers, causing men to seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways (for example, unsafe sexual practices and domestic and social violence),

which affects not only men, but also their partners, families and society at large” (p.xix). As a result, policy that positively discriminates against women has the potential to cause backlash for the same women it is trying to assist.

For example, in the case of Rwanda, while the genocide has produced valuable achievements for the rights of women, Rwandan men had not fared so well. Marc Sommers (2003) notes that nearly 18% of the male population perished between 1990 and 1996, many of which were disproportionately young, uneducated and unemployed. Over a decade has passed since the genocide, yet not much has changed in terms of boys’ access to education and their job prospects. Furthermore he notes, African men are too commonly depicted as drunks, thieves, angry and violent. Likewise, Zarkov (2005) in *The Body of the Other Man* looks at the seldom reported sexual abuse of men and boys in former Yugoslavia. She points out that men are almost always seen as the rapist, but never the raped, and this has incredible ramifications for the victims and their families. She contends that due to the construction of masculinity in this society, men simply are not ‘allowed’ to be rape victims. However, the rape of men does occur and there are rarely any institutions set up to rehabilitate and seek justice for the victims. Accordingly, in my research I have attempted to acknowledge the impact that the war has had on the male population and what this has meant for their well-being.

Literature Review Conclusion

After a comprehensive assessment of literature on this topic, it has become apparent that there are a number of gaps that must be filled. Through this review, I have found that much of the literature has focused primarily on women’s subordinate roles

and their positions within the home, community and political arena. However, I believe there needs to be a more nuanced analysis of women's roles in particular societies as they are certainly context specific. Beyond this, while literature on gender and war has not been extensive, the authors that do approach the subject (for example see Goldstein, 2003; El-Bushra, 2000; Bannon & Correia, 2006) expose how both women and men are equal recipients in the effects of war. Despite the events of war affecting both men and women, there has been less attention paid to men's experiences of change. For this reason, my analysis, while focusing mainly on women's roles, will include the agency of men in creating the current situation. Above all, this literature review has shown us that there are many conflicting views within the research, and as such, my research will attempt to expose what is accurate in the case of Somaliland.

Chapter 4.

Historical Creation of the 'state' of Somaliland

The First Independence

From 1827 to 1960, European powers had a great influence over the creation of both Somalia and Somaliland. At the time of colonization, the Horn of Africa was a stateless society with the inhabitants sharing common cultural identities. The Europeans, along with the aid of Asian and Arabic traders, brought language, a system of governance, borders and trade routes to this region. During this time, the Horn of Africa was divided into five nations under the power of European colonists which included the former colonies of Djibouti and Kenya. The area which is now Somaliland was colonized by the British and named the British Somaliland Protectorate. While Somalia, or Somalia Italiana, became occupied by the Italians. The two nations remained separate under their respective colonizers until independence in 1960. (Bradbury, 2008)

In February 1960, Britain, who had been criticized for being a negligent colonizer for the lack of investment in Somaliland's development, signed an agreement with clan elders to allow for Somaliland's self-government. For the following five days, Somaliland was completely and officially self-governing for what would be the only time since the

19th century. After this, the former British Protectorate of Somaliland signed a unification agreement with Somalia under the pretences that it would be beneficial to all to unite all Somali-speaking communities under one Somalia. (Bradbury, 2008)

Siad Barre and pre-war Somalia

In her article, *Moral Economies of Mass Violence: Somalia 1988-1991*, Bakonyi (2009) focuses on a short period of time she claims was an integral point in Somali history and led to the culmination of the conflict. It is through looking at this period of time that we can understand the patterns of mobilisation and the dynamics of violence between clans. However, before this time there had been significant indicators that civil war was inevitable. In 1969, a military coup led by General Siad Barre overthrew the government and socialism was brought to Somalia. Throughout his presidency, Barre nationalized banks, businesses, promoted cooperative farms and built hospitals, schools and roads. However, because of the clan-based nature of Somali society, socialism never took a true form. Barre was known for his nepotism for his clan, the Darod. Because of this, the Darod, located mostly in Southern Somalia, enjoyed greater access to Barre's development programs, while the Isaq in the North were largely neglected.

Barre was also responsible for countless human rights violations including rape, arbitrary arrests and torture (de Waal, 2006). Women and young girls were often the target of the abuses since a young girl's sexual purity is regarded as of the utmost

importance (Musse, 2004). Eventually in 1991 Barre was forced by oppositional militia, the Isaq-led SNM in the North, to flee the country. The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was then instilled and it still remains in power in the South of Somalia. These events mark the collapse of the Somali state and the outbreak of civil war. (Bakonyi, 2009)

“Post-conflict” Somaliland

Somaliland can be referred to as being in a “post-conflict” situation because peace agreements and peace settlements have been made and the movement towards independence from war-torn Somalia has begun. Since the outbreak of war the Republic of Somaliland has been seeking self-determination, however, this is currently unrecognized by the United Nations. Since independence from Somalia in 1991, Somaliland has successfully developed its own constitution, system of governance and central bank. This lack of recognition presents Somaliland with numerous barriers to achieving social and economic growth. These problems with this are substantial- namely that the association with Somalia means that Somaliland is still technically ‘in conflict’ despite efforts to maintain peace.

Severine Autesserre in *The Trouble with the Congo* (2010) describes the post-conflict environment as “a return to some kind of normality, notably the decline of violence throughout the country as well as the presence of a unified government that supposedly controls the state’s territory” (p.100). Autesserre’s description adequately sums up the current political, economic and social environment in Somaliland. In

Managing Post-Conflict Recovery (2009) Ajakaiye and Ali claim that most of the post-conflict sub-Saharan African countries have young populations, and are predominately rural and poor. They also suffer from a lack of what Amartya Sen (1999) refers to as fundamental freedoms: the freedom from fear and the freedom from want. The development problems in such countries must be treated differently than those in peaceful undeveloped nations, and from those still at war. For this reason, proper classification of Somaliland as an independent state in the process of post-conflict recovery is important for its development.

Chapter 5.

Analysis

In this chapter I will discuss the information gathered during my field work and interviews in Sheikh, Somaliland and illustrate how gender roles have evolved since the outbreak of war. My research will be situated within other literature on the topic and using the data I have collected I will extract themes which will highlight the main findings. Through my research I have found that women have experienced a shift in their duties at home and in public and this has potential to create both positive and negative impacts on the larger society. The following thematic groups were found in the data and will make up the sections of this chapter: women's status and clan identity, socio-economic consequences of change, men and work, drug use and finally the reconstruction processes. Within these five groups are two key questions that underlie the research and key findings of the study. These questions are:

- 1) How has the civil war changed the roles of men and women?
- 2) What is the potential impact of this on development?

In order to illustrate trends or common themes found in the data I use personal stories from research participants to support my argument. To assist in differentiating between the roles of women now and before the war, I asked open-ended questions

about how things have changed in the participant's personal lives and consulted publications on the social structure of Somali society before and after the war.

I begin this chapter by discussing women's status and position within the clan in order to illustrate past and present gender relations and the social and political organization of Somaliland society. I will then look at men's position within this society and present my research about how they are involved in making change. In the fourth section, I examine the use of the khat, a drug used frequently by men in the community, and its impact on gender roles as well as the consequences it has on the social, political and economic growth of the nation. In section 5 titled "Reconciliation and Reconstruction" I will analyze the advancements made in Somaliland since the civil war. I then will conclude with a summary of my findings.

Women's status and clan identity

In both Somalia and Somaliland, kinship relations are fundamental in all aspects of society. By maintaining social organisation and political structure, clan membership delegates marriage rituals, trade, and customs as well as many other aspects of daily life. Somali society is divided into clans and sub clans and as a member of a clan, it is a Somali's duty to protect, maintain the honour of, seek vengeance for and financially support fellow kin. Across Somalia, which has a population of nearly 10 million people, there are only four clans. Somaliland in the North is inhabited primarily by Isaqs;

however, clan borders are now ill-defined since the war caused an influx of internal migration. Since clan membership is such an important aspect of the culture, this section of the analysis will look at how issues of clan membership have played a role in the construction and deconstruction of traditional Somaliland gender roles. Also, through looking at research about the pre-war social structure (Lewis, 1994 for example) we can see what changes, if any, have been made.

Within each clan there are several sub-clans consisting of as many as a thousand to a hundred thousand people (Lewis, 1994). While there is not necessarily a hierarchy between different clans, there is a distinct social order within them. The internal social order is constructed on the basis of sex, age and capital (Krujijk, 1997). At the top of the hierarchy, older men, called Sheikhs, maintain significant social, political and economic power over the rest of the clan members, whereas young women and girls are of the lowest standing. Women are always lower than their male counterparts, and often have less political power than their sons. Clan membership in Somaliland is patriarchal so descent is passed through the male bloodline. As an unmarried girl, a female Somali belongs to her father's clan and once she is married she adopts her husband's clan as her own. Despite being responsible for reproducing clan members, children born to the woman legally belong to the husband under Shari'a law, so all of the children will solely be members of their father's clan. However, only in the case of mistreatment during marriage, the woman is permitted to return to her original clan and only upon the approval of the clan elders can she take the children with her (Ahmed, 2004).

As members of a clan, it is the primary duty of a woman to reproduce sons that will be strong and will be good leaders of the family unit. Within the literature and especially within Somali poetry there is a clear theme which shows giving birth to girls is less desirable than giving birth to boys. There is an old Somali proverb that states that “one boy is equal to four girls” (Gardner, 2004, p.99). During a personal communication with Owa¹, she mentioned that culture stands as a barrier to gender equality since “boys are preferred to girls because Somalis are nomads and are moving around all the time and fighting, boys are better at this”. It is known that the duties assigned to young girls, mainly household chores, do not contribute to capital accumulation. Since girls will be eventually married off into other clans they represent a long-term investment that will have little or no pay-off. While the husband’s family will pay a bride price to a girl’s parents, they must also pay a dowry. As such, there is no perceived financial benefit to having a girl child married off into another clan (Lewis, 1994). Boys, on the other hand, are revered as a blessing as they are assigned the prestigious task of taking care of camels as children and once they are old enough, they will bring wives and several children into the family. So, not only do they bring financial opportunity to the clan, they also bring more labour (Ahmed, 2004). Since traditionally women and girls were perceived as less valuable than men, little investment was made in terms of education or preparing them with skills to join the labour force. However, as I will elaborate in a subsequent section, there have been remarkable improvements in job creation and access to education since the war.

¹ In order to protect identity, all names have been disguised through the use of pseudonyms.

Women's subjugation throughout Somali history is undoubtedly rooted in the social and political organization of the society. With no formal government in place, political power, social norms and behaviour are all regulated under Xeer or Shari'a law. The Xeer system is an informal set of laws and customs particular to Somali society, while Shari'a is the religious law of Islam. As a system that focuses on compensation rather than punitive measures, Xeer involves compensation in the form of marriage, blood, or goods such as camels. Issues such as property rights, warfare, and economic transactions are enforced and regulated through this process. Decisions for retribution are always made by male clan elders and women are not included in the political processes of this system; however, they are very much recipients of it (Kapteijns, 1995). Within Xeer there is a custom which is known as the *diya* blood payment system, wherein, if a murder is committed the victim's clan will seek retribution usually in the form of a payment of blood. The perpetrator's clan must sacrifice a member either through marriage or through death. By doing this, the two clans create political harmony and avoid a more serious conflict (Lewis, 1994).

In the *diya* blood payment system, we get a sense of what women are perceived to be worth in Somalia society. Since the economy rests largely on the exchange of livestock, most economic transactions are made through camel prices. Instead of proposing death or marriage on the occasion of a murder occurring, wealthier families can opt to give a donation of camels. In the occasion that a woman is the victim of murder, the perpetrator's clan must give 50 camels to the victim's family. However, if a man is a victim, his life is worth a minimum of 100 camels (Gardner & Warsame, 2004). The reasoning behind this is that since women do not have access to the means of

production so they do not produce an income and therefore their lives are not worth as much capital. While I did not find any evidence that this practice has become obsolete now that women are producing incomes, it can be assumed that their 'worth' would increase with their prosperity.

In *Women and the Biological Reproduction of 'the Nation'*, Yuval-Davis (1996) discusses how women bear the duty of being cultural reproducers and are responsible for passing on their heritage, language and customs to their children. As Yuval-Davis (1996) argues, the positioning and obligations of women to their ethnic and national societies also affect and can sometimes override their reproductive rights. In Somali society, women are born to bear children and it is their responsibility to nurture and teach their children until they have become old enough to marry, which is often as young as age 14. Once a girl is married, she must drop out of school and start having children of her own. This has a stagnating effect on her ability to become economically independent in the future. Boys on the other hand, often do not marry until their late twenties and are encouraged to finish school and develop their careers. This, however, is slowly changing. As I will discuss in the next section, the war has created a need for women to pursue their own careers.

Socio-economic consequences of change

In the past twenty years since 'independence' there have been significant and often contradictory changes in the daily lives of women. Due to the absence of men because of war, women's work opportunities have increased. However, these opportunities have come with increased responsibility and less time for participating in

activities that can lead to development. In addition, immigration has allowed for a wave of remittances which is a main source of income for many Sheikh families. With these two changes it could be assumed that the average Somalilander is more financially secure than before the war; however this is not necessarily so. As I will show in these next two sections, although women are making more money than in previous generations, their incomes are merely replacing men's lost income.

A Somalilander's position within their clan dictates their access to the means of production. By virtue of being born female, Somali women have a predetermined set of expectations within the household and a set of tasks to contribute to the well-being of the immediate family. For women, these are traditionally limited to tasks of child rearing, food production, household construction and animal husbandry- all of which are not capable of producing an income. Before the war, women were thus completely economically dependent on the male head of household for their livelihoods (Kaptein, 1995). This next section will explore whether or not this remains true for Sheikh women.

In Sheikh there is a noticeable fusion of traditional and modern roles of women. For example, the market is operated almost entirely by women which traditionally would be seen as taboo. In previous generations, working a stall in the market would mean that a woman must interact with men with whom she is not related and such a practice would not be allowed. Now, many women walk alone or with other women day and night while interacting with other men. At the same time, some women are still forbidden from being seen by other men. High cement walls are placed in front of windows to let light in but preventing men to see in. The following excerpt shows how Mark, a respected community leader, maintains a traditional relationship between him and his second wife:

Mark is a father of 14 and a husband of two; his second wife is more than 50 years younger, his first wife is much older and lives alone in Puntland. Upon visiting Mark's house, his second wife approaches the door. Almost immediately he jumps in front of her and pushes her inside, quickly closing the door behind her. He then proudly states, "she is very beautiful", insinuating that her beauty should not be seen by the other men nearby.

Although the woman was fully clothed in traditional clothing, Mark would not allow his wife to be seen in public, much less work outside of the home. So, while some women have been able to pursue various endeavours outside the home, many women are still not permitted to do so by their husbands.

In the past, Somalilander women held mostly low or unpaid positions as housewives or cleaners. Since the war, women have been obtaining employment in various fields including business, education and in hospitals. During my participant observations and interviews in the Sheikh Market, I talked with 22 women about their careers, families and daily lives. Out of those 22 women, 19 (86%) of them are the primary breadwinners in their household, 14 of which are sole breadwinners. The women mentioned a variety of reasons for being the sole breadwinners including male unemployment due to drug use, lack of jobs, or laziness. Otherwise, many of these women were war widows, divorcees, separated or never married. None of the women that are currently working in the market or at STVS were doing so before the war suggesting they were unemployed at that point. The women's ability to create their own employment suggests that there have been social changes made within the household to permit them to become in charge of their own finances and be involved with business. It also shows that interaction between unrelated men and women has become more permissible out of the necessity for women to bring in an income.

Many of these women also have other employment beyond their full-time work in the markets. Daos, along with her two teenage daughters, runs a small grocery store along the main road of Sheikh. In comparison with other shops in the area, Daos' shop is quite large and well stocked. Unlike many other vendors, she has been able to obtain western goods such as Cornflakes and Coca-Cola which she is able to sell for a higher profit than local goods. In addition to operating her store, Daos also works as a nurse in a tuberculosis hospital in Hargeisa. She is the main breadwinner in her household but would not comment on the status of her husband. Between her two jobs, Daos is wealthier than most women in the village, but has very little free time outside of work.

Another woman, Luol, is the primary operator of a corner store in the center of the village. She first opened the shop during the war when her husband left to fight with the SNM and she needed extra income to support her family. At first, her business consisted only of buying and selling milk for the local population, but over the past twenty years she has grown the business to include other consumer goods including household goods, shoes and other supplies. With her profits, she was able to buy a sewing machine which has allowed her to expand into the more lucrative market of making women's clothing and shoes.

While Doas and Luol have been exceptionally successful in their businesses, many other Sheikh women have not. For other women in the market, remittances sent from family abroad supplements their income. Since most of them are the sole breadwinners in their households, we can see that the income from their businesses is not enough to sustain their livelihoods, much less allow for savings, expanding their businesses or sending children to school. Before the war, men were the sole

breadwinners and they too were unable to afford education, much less save for the future. In that capacity, we can thus assert that the income created from women in the market is simply replacing what men had been making in previous generations. Therefore, in order for Somaliland families to become less reliant on outside funds and to move beyond subsistence living, there must be a combined effort from both women and men in creating a sustainable income.

Beyond achievements for women in the production sphere, the interviewees suggest there have been significant advancements in access to education, particularly for women and girls. Before the war, girls' education was considered less a valuable investment than that of boys. There was an estimated 22% female elementary school enrolment rate, the lowest in the world, and even less for secondary and tertiary school enrolment (World Bank, 2004). While there are no current figures for female enrolment in Somaliland schools, 79% of the women and men interviewed stated that girls have an increased access to education. All of the 22 women interviewed in the market were not able to go to school, yet of 12 women with school aged children, 8 have allowed their girls to attend school. While there is still favouritism towards sending boys to school before girls, there is evidence that access to education is becoming more equitable. At the same time, there is an overwhelming demand for increasing access to and the quality of education for both boys and girls. The interviewees have stated this is for reasons including pride, the perceived monetary return and the wider relationship between education and the economic progress of Somaliland. For these reasons, many of the market women described their hard work as a means to be able to afford to send

their children to school, and therefore an investment in their own future since their children must later take care of them.

Idbac, whose husband is unemployed, owns a makeshift meat shop in the market. She works every day selling meat for an irregular source of income. She has eight children, five of which attend primary and secondary school and three of them attend university overseas. When asked 'what is the greatest barrier to Somaliland's development?' she responded, "Education. So many people are like me and didn't get to go to school, I send my children to school so they can get a good job and the economy will be better". Despite Idbac living barely above subsistence, she has made it a priority to ensure all of her children receive an education in order to improve their livelihoods.

The stories of Daos, Luol and Idbac are similar to the stories told by many women that work in Sheikh Market. From these stories the reader can get a sense of what the daily life of women in the Somali highlands is like, as well as what the barriers may be for increasing their social freedoms. According to discussions with several of these women, being the breadwinner has had negative impacts on their personal lives, most notably the lack of spare time and the tension between them and their unemployed husbands. Being the sole caregivers of between 2 and 14 children leaves these women with little time to pursue other endeavours like becoming involved in the community and pursuing further education. However, because they do earn an income (often more than their husbands) they now have more voice in how the money is spent. All three of these women have chosen to send all their children to school, something which seldom occurred in the past (World Bank, 2004).

Men and work

In *What About Us*, Jacobsen (2003) notes that often men are not as capable of adapting to changing social situations as women. She suggests that workplace injury and posttraumatic stress have severe consequences on men returning to work. Based on discussions with both men and women in Sheikh, this hypothesis could be correct as men have found it difficult to find and maintain employment. This can also be attributed to drug use (as will be discussed at greater detail in the following section) and lack of employment opportunities in Sheikh. From this, we can see that while women's incomes have increased, men's have decreased.

According to the interviews with people living in Sheikh, there is an absence of men. Many male Somalis died during the Somali war or due to directly related affects of war. Another portion of men who served in the SNM have immigrated abroad or to other regions in Somalia. 15 of the women interviewed stated that their husbands were either dead, they did not know where they were or they were not working because they were "just chewing the green grass [khat] all day", meaning instead of working they were spending all of their times at cafes becoming intoxicated. We can see then that these women have created employment not necessarily in an effort to gain equality, but out of necessity.

While women in Sheikh have created their own employment by building stalls in the marketplace, most men have not. According to women in Sheikh, the most common jobs for men are in construction, cooking, livestock trading or the army. Other women did not know what their husbands did for work, but whatever they did they would sometimes

send money home from out of town. During my field work I was able to interview two male shop owners in Sheikh and they both agreed that women now earn more money than men. One of these men, Medah, boasted that his wife who was both a shop keeper and a teacher, made more money than him. He says, “since the war, women and men have become more equal. Now women are more educated and richer than men”. The other interviewee and shop keeper, Demmahom, did not show as much acceptance towards the changes stating rather dismissively, “women make more, but men are smarter”. It is possible that the two contradictory responses show there could be hostility between men and women in regards to women’s earnings and evolving roles. This hostility towards women becoming more financially independent supports Jacobsen’s (2003) argument that men’s ability to provide (and therefore, masculinity) is being questioned by the changing gender roles. Her thesis also would explain the increase of drug use amongst Somali males as a result of their inability to cope with change, as I will explain in the following section.

Drug use and Gender

Under the Siad Barre regime, the consumption, growing and selling of khat, an amphetamine-like stimulant, became illegal. Khat fields owned mostly by the Isaq in the North (Somaliland) were destroyed, which was seen by the clan as an act of violence. Resultantly, the Somali National Movement (SMN) was formed by Isaqs in order to take control of the sale of the drug. In response, government forces bombed Isaq territory including Sheikh, and the cities of Hargeisa and Burao. Affected populations fled to neighbouring Ethiopia where they were forced to live in refugee camps or become

involved in the conflict. The refugees increased Khat use as a means of coping with frustration and stress and in order to preserve Somali identity. Odenwald et al. (2007) reports a positive correlation between increased khat use and post-traumatic stress disorder amongst Somali ex-combatants. Currently, an estimated 95% of Somaliland men use the narcotic which presents major issue for their relatives and for the social and economic development of the nation (Hansen, 2010).

Since the increased use of khat in Somali society, gender roles have been significantly altered. Since men are increasingly absent in the home and are often unemployed or underemployed due to their use of khat, it has been the woman's duty to absorb the financial and social burdens. 60 percent of the respondents consistently referred to the use of khat during their interviews as one of the largest problems in the community. The societal problems with the widespread use of khat are numerous. For starters, khat use is habitual and the users reportedly secure their daily supply prior to their families' vital needs. The women in the community repeatedly expressed disdain for the drug and the fact that men were consistently using it. One woman, Asirah, compares men who sit around chewing khat to children stating, "they cannot do anything, they have no responsibilities, they are infants". The bitterness in her statement was echoed by numerous participants so it soon became clear that the use of khat was a major problem in the lives of these women.

Moreover, women's roles in society are altered in that, as Hansen (2010) shows, women are the primary dealers of khat in most markets. Traditionally, it is seen as taboo for women to be seen in public engaging with men who are not relatives. The behaviour of selling and bargaining over khat bills with men is seen as unclean and unbecoming to a

'good Somali woman', and often they are seen as prostitutes (Hansen, 2010). Furthermore, female khat vendors must be away from home in the early morning until late at night, forcing them to neglect their household duties of cleaning and childcare.

Above all, khat is seen as a major hindrance on economic development. For instance, khat use reportedly lowers the efficiency of the workforce, leads to passivity and indifference, and because of this renders users unproductive (Feyissa & Kelly, 2008). Beyond this, the majority of khat consumed in Somaliland is imported from Ethiopia so it contributes little to the Somaliland economy, yet absorbs much of the income (Hansen, 2010). Neurologically, the effects of khat are similar to other amphetamines and can induce psychosis, personality disorders, depression, schizophrenia and aggression, all of which can hamper a user's ability to function in the workplace (Feyissa & Kelly, 2008). Because of this, khat must be considered as a great impediment to Somaliland's social and economic development.

While no reports such as the two mentioned above have been released in Somaliland, the relatives of those who use khat echoed the same findings. Several women complained simply that the drug made their husbands lazy and unwilling to work. Other stories emerged (although not directly from the victims themselves) that khat use had been behind violent outbursts, paranoia and anger directed at their children and wives. Under Islamic law, chewing khat is considered *haram* (forbidden) much like drinking alcohol. However, this consideration is overridden by the acceptance of khat as a social activity and an important aspect of Somali culture. The excuse that khat is an integral part of Somali culture and that all doctors, teachers and politicians chew is used amongst the men to justify the drug abuse.

Reconciliation and Reconstruction

Somalilanders acknowledge there are significant barriers to achieving development for their country. Amongst the top reasons they have mentioned are: a lack of recognition of Somaliland's independence, a lack of economic opportunities and the clan-based social organization. At home and in the international diaspora, Somaliland women have been the instigators of peacemaking and the forces behind efforts to create a more prosperous society. For example, since the beginning of the civil war, women have administered food and work programs as well as created organizations that have successfully led to a more peaceful Somaliland (El-Bushra, 2000). While peace has not fully been reached in Somalia, women continually are at the forefront of movements to prevent feuds between clans and often they are the forces which mend ongoing conflict (Cabdi, 2005). At the same time, there is a clear sense that Somalilanders are waiting for and rely on international support in order to achieve development. This has the potential to create dependence on donor funds instead of the self-determination they have been searching for.

Because the Somali language only took on a written form in 1972, oral poetry makes up an integral part of Somali life. Referred to as a "nation of bards", Somalian poetry has many uses: for resistance, as a peace-maker, as a historical guide, in forming alliances, for entertainment, and for expression of anger, grief or joy (Hasame, Adan & Warsame, 1995, p.168). The practice of performing poetry is traditionally relegated to men, and the themes of their poems are mostly about camels, women and warfare. However, in recent decades, women have taken up the art form with a powerful intensity. Although women always recited poems, it was not until recently that women

from all across Somalia began adopting poetry as a method of protesting the conditions they feel are unjust. Women have since formed informal networks and religious associations using poetry as a uniting activity amongst them (Hasame, Adan & Warsame, 1995).

As Gardner and Warsame show in “Women, Clan Identity and Peace Building” (2004) women hold a ‘dual identity’ within the clan system. This means that they adopt their husband’s clan during marriage, but they still maintain ties to their father’s clan. During times of conflict, women are placed in a position of being torn between both clans. As the civil war is mainly a product of intra-clan warfare, this has proved to be a difficult position to be in for many women. Gardner and Warsame (2004) found that women felt as though they stood in the “centre of suffering” between fighting brothers and husbands (p.153). This dual clan identity means that women have experienced the war differently than their male counterparts. However, this also means that women are an integral part of the peace-making process. The authors later discuss how women must on many occasions use their ‘dual clan identity’ to mediate conflict. This is because since they are in the middle of clan warfare, they are also in the middle of any reconciliation efforts between clans (Gardner & Warsame, 2004). In Sheikh, tensions between clans are often high as it was previously Isaq territory but is now mixed due to internal migration. Because of this, women must often mediate conflicts between family members of different clans before they escalate into larger feuds.

In order for peace to be fully restored in Somaliland and allow for development to occur, Somalilanders insist that independence must be achieved. All of the participants mentioned the subject of independence at some point during the interviews, showing just

how important it is not only for development but also for Somalilander identity. As Dashaan tells me, “without recognition [of Somaliland’s independence] Somaliland can’t be fixed. America and the United Nations won’t help because they think we are like Somalia”. To Dashaan, the only solution to Somaliland’s problems is assistance from abroad and the only way to achieve that is through severing all association with war-torn Somalia.

Analysis Conclusion

While it is clear that civil war will cause a disruption in the social order of a society, this project has attempted to illustrate both the positive and negative impacts on the Somaliland society in particular. In the event of war, there is always some sort of change within a society, be it a new form of governance, better social programs or a shift in the economy. However, each case is context-specific. For Somaliland, this disruption has meant relative achievements towards the improvement of life for women but has also meant several drawbacks. The benefits also include advancement in female education, women earning more money than in previous generations and greater female participation in the political arena. The consequences have included drug addiction, male absence, and less free time. Because of these consequences, I hypothesize that there is an overall stagnation in the social, political and economic development of Somaliland. This is due to half the population not working, leaving too great of a burden on those who are. However, it must be noted that due to the methodological constraints, the research may not be completely representative of the entire Somaliland population.

Due to the small sample size, the findings may not be ascertainable for the wider Somaliland population. As such, I must conclude that further research is needed in order to make adequate assumptions about the current and future state of development in Somaliland.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

This project has shown, through interviews with 28 men and women from Sheikh, Somaliland, that the civil war had a significant effect on gender roles. I have argued that the war has led to an increase of female involvement in economic activities, more financial independence and an increase in school enrolments for both boys and girls. However, the civil war has also resulted in increased drug use which has led to a decrease in men's employability. Resultantly, the social, political and economic development of Somaliland is possibly stagnated since women's increased income is merely replacing men's lost income. I recommend that more research be carried out in the field to determine the validity of this research and to develop a greater understanding of the processes which would allow for a more prosperous Somaliland.

Through situating my research within the broader literature, I show how this investigation answers the original research questions "How have the roles of women and men in Somaliland changed since the Somali Civil War?" And, "what do these changes in gender roles mean for development?" As was discussed in the literature review chapter, women are often the focus of development initiatives as it has been found that they tend to invest in the long term. However, to neglect men in these approaches can often be injurious to the communities involved. I also found that while there are trends in the events of war and its impact on gender, it is context-specific and as such, field

research and case studies are important in understanding each circumstance. The case study of Somaliland thus not only informs the reader of issues particular to this nation, but also adds to a body of literature by opening a discussion that is sparsely explored.

Finally, in order for development initiatives to be successful, there must be programs put in place to incorporate both men and women into work. The equal participation of both men and women is the only solution to creating sustainable social, political and economic development. Movements towards engendering development initiatives have often left men out of the equation and this puts the women at no greater an advantage than before. In order for this to be amended there must be assistance from international organizations such as NGOs or the United Nations, but more importantly, there must be progress made from within Somaliland. This will ensure that the social, cultural and political barriers that have prevented development in the past do not continue to do so in the future.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2004). Traditions of Marriage and the Household. In J. Gardner & J. El-Bushra (Eds.), *Somalia the Untold Story: The War through the Eyes of Somali Women* (pp. 51-68). London: Pluto Press.
- Ahmed, C.C.(1995) . Finely etched chattel: the invention of a Somali woman. In A.J. Ahmed (Ed.), *The Invention of Somalia* (pp.157-190). Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press.
- Ajakaiye, O. & Ali, A.(2009). Managing Post-Conflict Recovery in Africa: An Overview. *Journal of African Economies*, Vol. 18 (pp. 3-11).
doi:10.1093/jae/ejp012
- Autesserre, S. (2010). *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakonyi, J. (2009). Moral Economies of Mass Violence: Somalia 1988-1991. *Civil Wars*, 11(4), 434-454. doi:10.1080/13698240903403790.
- Bannon, I. & Correia, M. (2006). *The Other Half of Gender: Men's Issues in Development*, Vol. 169. Washington: World Bank Publications.

- Barret, F. (2001). The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the US Navy. *The Masculinities Reader*, pp. 78-99.
- Blattman, C. & Miguel, E. (2009). *Civil War*. MBER Working Paper Series, Working Paper 14801. Accessed from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14801>.
- Cabdi, S.I., 2005. The Impact of the War on the Family, in Rebuilding Somaliland. Issues and possibilities, WSP International. The Red Sea Press, Lawrenceville, pp. 269–325.
- de Waal, A. (2006). *Famine Crimes: politics and the disaster relief industry in Africa*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- El-Bushra, J. (2000). Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes. In Jacobs, S., Jacobson, R., & Marchbank, J. (Eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (pp.66-86). London: Zed Books.
- Feyissa, A.M., Kelly, J.P. (2008). A review of the neuropharmacological properties of khat. *Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry* 32, 1147–1166.
- Gardner, J. & Warsame, A.M. (2004). Women, Clan Identity and Peace Building. In J. Gardner & J. El-Bushra (Eds.), *Somalia the Untold Story: The War through the Eyes of Somali Women* (pp. 153-165). London: Pluto Press.

- Gardner, J (2004). Changing roles and Responsibilities in the Family. In J. Gardner & J. El-Bushra (Eds.), *Somalia the Untold Story: The War through the Eyes of Somali Women* (pp. 99-106). London: Pluto Press.
- Gasson, R. (1988). Changing Gender Roles: A Workshop Report. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 28 (4).
- Goffman, E. (1989). On Field Work. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 18:123-132.
- Goldstein, J. (2003). *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hansen, P. (2010). The Ambiguity of Khat in Somaliland. *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 132 (2010) pp. 590–599
- Harir, S. & Hassan, Z. (2004). Post-war recovery and participation. In Gardner & El-Bushra (eds.) *Somalia the Untold Story: War through the eyes of Somali Women* (pp.189-208). London: Pluto Press.
- Hassan, D.F., Adan, A.H. & Warsame, A.M. (1995). Somalia: Poetry as Resistance against Colonialism and Patriarchy in S. Wieringa (Ed.), *Subversive Women: Historical Experiences of Gender and Resistance* (pp. 165-182). London: Zed Books.

Jacobs, S., Jacobsen, R. & Marchbank, J. (Eds.). (2000). *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London: Zed Books.

Jacobsen, J. (2002). What About Us? Men's Issues in Development. *Wesleyan Economics Working Papers* 2002-01.

Jacobsen, R. (2000). Women and Peace in Northern Ireland: A Complicated Relationship. In Jacobs, S., Jacobson, R., & Marchbank, J. (Eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (pp.179-198). London: Zed Books.

Kaptejns, L. (1995). Gender Relations and the Transformation of Northern Somali Pastoral Tradition. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 , pp. 241-259

Kelly, L. (1997). Taking on the Dinosaurs. *Trouble & Strife*, No.35, pp. 7-15. UK: Trouble & Strife Collective.

Lakwo, A. (2006). *Microfinance, Rural Livelihoods and Women's Empowerment in Uganda*. Lieden: African Studies Centre

Lewis, I.M. (1994). *Blood and Bone: The Call of Kinship in Somali Society*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, Inc.

Luchsinger, G. (2011). *UNWOMAN annual report 2011*. New York: UNWOMAN.

- McGloin, S. (2008). The trustworthiness of case study methodology. *Nurse Researcher*, 16(1), 45-54. Retrieved from Academic Search Premier database.
- Mutka, P. (2000). Gender, Community and Nation: The Myth of Innocence. In Jacobs, Jacobsen & Marchbank (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London: Zed Books.
- Musse, F. (2004). War Crimes against Women and Girls. In J. Gardner & J. El-Bushra (Eds.), *Somalia the Untold Story: The War through the Eyes of Somali Women* (pp.69-84). London: Pluto Press.
- Odenwald, M., Hinkel, H., Schauer, E., Schauer, M. Elbert, T., Neuner, F., Rockstroh, B. (2009). Use of Khat and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder as Risk Factors for Psychotic Symptoms: A Study of Somali Combatants. *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol. 69, No.7:1040-8
- Pettman, J.J. (1996). *Worlding Women, a feminist International politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Random House, inc.
- Sheikh Technical Veterinary School website (2011). *About Us*. Retrieved Oct 15, 2011 from www.stvs-edu.org.
- United Nations website. (2011). *Millennium Development Goals*. Accessed Oct 15, 2011 from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/reports.shtml>.

- Warren, C.A.B., & Karner, T.X.(2005). *Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews and Analysis*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- World Bank. (2004). Ministry of National Planning & Coordination. *Somaliland in Figures*, 5th ed. Hargeisa: World Bank Press.
- Wood, E.J. (2009). Field Work. In Boix, C. & Stokes, S.C. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* pg 123-146. New York: Oxford University Press
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1996). Women and the biological reproduction of `the nation'. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19(1/2), 17. Retrieved from EBSCOhost
- Zarkov, D. (2005). The Body of the Other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in Croatian Media. Moser, C & Clark, F. (eds). *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (pp.69-81). UK: Zed Books.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Schedule

Number	Name of Interviewee ²	Sex	Occupation	Date
1	Daashan	F	Student	June 1
2	Owa (informant)	F	Teaching Assistant	Ongoing June 4- June 30
3	Luol	F	Vendor	June 6
4	Daos	F	Vendor	June 6
5	Nayram	F	Vendor	June 6
6	Ommudam	F	Vendor	June 6
7	Bacdi	F	Vendor	June 6
8	Ashaac	F	Vendor	June 6
9	Muur	F	Vendor	June 7
10	Omilah	F	Vendor	June 7
11	Asseda	F	Vendor	June 7
12	Odabic	F	Vendor	June 7
13	Alyah	F	Vendor	June 7
14	Masaad	F	Student	June 8
15	Ordah	F	Vendor	June 13
16	Ogdim	F	Vendor	June 13
17	Medah	M	Vendor	June 13
18	Banyes	F	Vendor	June 13
19	Iluhd	F	Vendor	June 13
20	Annayram	F	Vendor	June 18
21	Ocima	F	Tailor	June 18
22	Asirah	F	Vendor	June 18
23	Demmahom	M	Vendor	June 18
24	Tom	M	Education	Ongoing June 4-15 th
25	Mark	M	Education	June 22
26	Oman	M	Student	June 15
27	Jacky	F	Education	June 18
28	Mo	M	Student	June 22

² All names of interviewees disguised through the use of a pseudonym

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions: Women and men in Sheikh³

Name:

Occupation:

Other jobs (unpaid and paid):

Number of children and ages:

Level of education:

What are your daily chores at home?

What does your husband do for work?

What is the greatest barrier for the development of Somaliland?

How has the relationship between men and women changed since the Somali war?

Are men and women equal?

What is the greatest barrier for equality between men and women?

Do you attend any town meetings?

a) If so, who else is there? What do you discuss?

b) If not, why do you not attend?

Do you feel there is a lot of poverty in Sheikh?

What do you think could be done to decrease poverty?

³ Follow-up questions often varied according to the responses of the participants.