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The Somali Civil War from an identity and feminist perspective

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By Hiba Ben Kamsal

Translated by: Morine Serafini

The opinions expressed in this text are the sole responsibility of the author.

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Introduction

The following research will focus on the Somali Civil War, that still affects the country today. Somalia has been ravaged by a war, which started out in 1968 as a conflict between clans and was aggravated following the Somali coup d'état led by Siad Barre in 1969. After seizing power, he used it to favour the members of his clan. His removal led to several battles between the different clans grasping for power. The fall of Barre's government in 1991 eventually led to the fragmentation of the country, which has been in a never-ending state of conflict since then.[1]

Thus, from an identity perspective, but most importantly from a feminist one, what are the causes of this conflict?

First, the causes of the war will be analysed through the prism of identity (clan structure of the society, claimed values, etc.) with the aim of highlighting the predominance of the male approach within the latter. The definition of a tribal society will be based on "a segmental operation where the principles of its social organisation are founded against the state-imposed administrative system. However, the observation of the dialectics between the principles of a tribal societal organisation and the unifying programme of the nationalist movement indicates a developing project combining both contradictory and permeable logics[2]". A tribal society is therefore an organisation with its own values and principles founded on the basis of social belonging. The purpose of the use of this identity perspective is to highlight the predominance of the masculine approach by underlining the marginal place of women in it. The gender issue is therefore crucial in relation to the war in Somalia. This will be followed by an analysis from a feminist perspective

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[1] MABIRE, J.-C., « Somalie, l'interminable crise », Hérodote, vol. 111, no. 4, 2003, pp.57-61 . [Online], https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article (consulted on November 2).

[2] Bellon, Luc. « Fractionnement tribal et solidarité nationaliste. Les insurrections baloutches de 1947 à 2009 », Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, vol. 65e année, no. 4, 2010, pp. 945-969.

(evolution of the role of women, feminism, etc.) that examines the place of women in the Somali societal structure and the contribution they have made to the process of establishing a probable peace.

I.   The analytical frame of the conflict

Until the country's independence in 1960, Somalia was governed by two colonising countries: the United Kingdom in the North and Italy in the South[3]. Since then, the country is made of two distinct regions, Somaliland and Puntland, both having proclaimed their independence, but neither having been recognized as a sovereign state by the international community.[4]

Following a coup d'état in 1969, Siad Barre, Somali officer and politician belonging to the Maheran tribe, implementing socialism, the nationalisation of the economy and the concentration of power. In fact, in October 1969, "the Prime Minister Mohammed Ibrahim Egal brought together all the political parties to find a new *President*. At the same time, major-general Siyaad *Barre* orchestrated a coup d'état, seized power, and had the members of Parliament arrested. In a radio-broadcasted announcement, he declared the abolition of the *Constitution*, the dissolution of the National Assembly and that a newly-created Supreme *Revolutionary* Council will govern by decrees until a new *Constitution* is adopted[5]". As soon as he came to power, some clans of the Somali society,

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[3] Anne-Claire De Gayffier-Bonneville, « Les organisations combattantes irrégulières de Somalie », 2013, Stratégique, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-strategique-2013-2-page-139.htm

[4] Marcus Virgil Hoehne, « L'État « de facto » du Somaliland », 2010, Politique africaine, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2010-4-page-175.htm

[5] Perspective du monde, "Accession au pouvoir de Siad Barre en Somalie", 2011, available on: https://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMEve?codeEve=612

feeling neither heard nor recognised by the new regime, began to perpetrate attacks on President Barre. Among them, the Hawiyé clan was the one that led to the head of the government's ousting in 1991 and allowed the establishment of an intermediate regime spearheaded by Ali Mahdi Mohamed as Siad Barre's successor. However, enduring conflicts with the newly established power led to the removal of a second head of state and the steady decline of the State[6].

In the meantime, the country went through a period of drought and famine. During such time, Somalia was granted humanitarian help *"which generated massive embezzlement, which in turn caused new clashes between clans due to the appropriation of this help[7]"*. Military actions, mainly American, were undertaken to put an end to the clashes between clans related to this help, but none succeeded[8].

Despite entering a more peaceful era in the beginning of the 21st century, a feeling of insecurity remains in Somalia, particularly due to the Islamist rise in power, mostly in the South. Islamists want to organise politics on the basis of Sharia law by creating Islamic institutions. Although these institutions have been successful in building peace, they are the subject of an increasing surveillance by the United States, as the latter believe terrorist organisations to be concealed within them. Even if conflicts between North Somalia and South Somalia have attenuated, unrest has resurfaced in 2006, namely in relation with Ethiopia[9]. Furthermore, a fracture within Islamists occurred with the rise to power of Cheikh Cherif Ahmed in 2009. In the end, nor government or

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[6] Jean-Bernard Véron, " La Somalie : un cas désespéré ?" , 2009, Afrique contemporaine, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2009-4-page-97.htm#no12

[7] ibid.

[8] Jean-Marc Sorel, « La Somalie et les Nations Unies », 1992, Annuaire français de droit international, available on: https://www.persee.fr/doc/afdi_0066-3085_1992_num_38_1_3064

[9] Perspective du monde, "La Somalie", 2018, available on : http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMHistoriquePays?codePays=SOM

interference was able to establish peace: the conflict persists to this day.[10]

II.   Conflict analysis

1. The conflict through the prism of identity

The conflict afflicting Somalia to this day could be essentially analysed based on its clan system[11], which in turn refers to the identity aspect of the tensions.

Identities in Somalia: clan rivalries

In accordance with identity analysis, which studies the world from an identity perspective, the focus will be on tribalism, identity – the difficulties at the root of the crystallisation of identities -, the emergence of extremist religious demands that are leading the state to its demise. The gendered perspective characterised here by the predominance of the masculine approach and the marginalisation of the place of women within the Somali society[12] will also be highlighted.

Six Somali clans have been identified, which are themselves divided into subclans, resulting in Somalia being riddled by numerous conflicts. This clan structure is subdivided in two groups. On the one hand, the breeders, grouping four clans including the Darood, the Dir, the Issaq and the

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[10] ibid.

[11] Larousse definition: "Behaviour of people united by clan parentage who seek their common interest with no regard for social norms and laws".

[12] Jean-Christophe Mabire, « Somalie, l'interminable crise », 2003, Hérodote, available on:

https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article

Hawiyé. On the other hand, the land farmers, comprised of the Digil clan and the Rahanweyn clan. These subgroups are divided into subdivisions[13]. The latter are defined according to customs, values, and the geographical area, which set one clan apart from the other. It is mainly these criteria that are at the root of tribal tensions. Indeed, the federal organisation of the Somali State allows regions to have some independence, which sometimes leads tribes to compete for power as single regions can be occupied by only one clan or by several ones. One of the clan structure's characteristics is the resolution of conflicts through "*xeer*", a customary procedure which regulates the distribution of wealth within the Somali society. From the gender perspective, we observe that this subdivision and these clans are mainly constituted of men, the place granted to women in the society is therefore quite minimal[14].

When he came to power, Siad Barre seized the opportunity to favour the members of his clan. At the time of his removal, different clans wanted to seize power which resulted in multiple clashes. This happened despite the government had established an equal representation between the clans to keep the peace[15]. In the beginning of the century, particularly in the southern and central part of Somalia, the ruling power permitted the political participation of the four dominant clans (the Darod, the Dir, the Mirifle/Digil, and the Hawiyé) based the equation 4,5[16], according to which they are entitled to 22,22% of the seats. However, the minority clans, as considered by the government,

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[13] Irenees.net, "Les clans, source d'instabilité en Somalie", 2015, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-defis-278_fr.html

[14] Confédération Suisse "SEM", "Focus Somalie: clans et minorités", 2017, available on:

https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/internationales/herkunftslaender/afrika/som/ SOM-clans-f.pdf.

[15] Jean-Bernard Véron, " La Somalie : un cas désespéré ?" , 2009, Afrique contemporaine, available on:

https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2009-4-page-97.htm#no12

16 The principle of proportional representation.

were only assigned half that number, creating a feeling of frustration among them[17].

The constitution of the federal state is at the heart of the conflict. The dominant clans want to maintain their supremacy over the territories under their control. Conversely, marginalised clans oppose state federalism, as they do not benefit from it. Islamist groups also oppose it, as they wish to establish Sharia law within the State and thus promote a single religious identity[18]. The situation was aggravated by the termination of Siad Barre's mandate. Since then, the different clans' representatives have been fighting for the position of chief. It was the "*United Somali Congress*" clan that removed Siad Barre from office in 1991 because he had used his power to carry out deadly attacks against the people and the Hawiye clan. The group granted full powers to Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who became the new president of Somalia on January 27, 1991, but failed to find common ground with the other opponents, thus rekindling clan tensions. Ali Mahdi Mohamed eventually resigned on 3 January 1997[19].

The failure of the Somali state lies in its inability to provide fair representation to all clans (dominant or marginal). The lack of equal representation has fuelled clan frustration and led to the creation of militias and the use of violence. All clans and sub-clans have organised themselves into armed groups in order to seize power and defend their interests[20]. These include the Somali

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[17] Irenees.net, "Les clans, source d'instabilité en Somalie", 2015, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-defis-278_fr.html

[18] Jean-Christophe Mabire, « Somalie, l'interminable crise », 2003, Hérodote, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article

[19] Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium, "United Somali Congress", 2008, disponible sur: https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/united-somali-congress-usc

[20] Jean-Christophe Mabire, « Somalie, l'interminable crise », 2003, Hérodote, available on : https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article

Democratic Association, created with the aim of to ensure the survival of the Gadaburi clan from another dominant clan, the [21], whose members reside mainly in England and are part of the Issaq clan. The Issak asks autonomy for the Somaliland region. [22]. Siad Barre belonged [23]. This group ensured the interests of the dominant Hawiyé clan. And just like the other clans, the Hawiyé have split, with the members of the Agbal sub-group (civil servants) on one side, and the members of Haber Gedir (land / livestock farmers)[24]. Then there is the Somali Democratic movement founded by the Rahanweyn clan. When said clan was ideologically discredited, the Meheran formed the *Somali National Front* to keep reaping benefits in the long run by siding with the sovereig[25]. And finally, the *Somali Patriotic Movement*, which originated from the Darod Ogaden, who wanted above all to end Siad Barre's autocracy. This clan structure is exclusively composed of men, there is no female representation. Within clans, power is always held by men, as women are dismissed. Within this clan structure, men oversee political positions, while women have responsibility to raise children and do housework. Access to and participation in political office is limited for women. One question arises: what is the place of women in Somali society? This will be

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[21] ibid.

[22] Jean-Christophe Mabire, « Somalie, l'interminable crise », 2003, Hérodote, available on:
https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article

[23] Rédaction, "Les mouvements d'opposition en Somalie", 2008, Le Monde Diplomatique, available on:
https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1982/10/A/36999

[24] Jean-Christophe Mabire, « Somalie, l'interminable crise », 2003, Hérodote, available on:
https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2003-4-page-57.htm?contenu=article

[25] Perspective du monde, "Groupes armés non-étatiques", 2011, available on:
http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/BMEncyclopedie/BMAANE.jsp?codePays=S OM&codeGroupe=SOM,SNM

discussed [26].

Thus, from a same Somali ethnic group, different clans and subclans, with their own armed forces, have formed and asserted their own interests. All the clans have resorted to armed conflict. The State, despite its ethnic singularity, was fractioned from a clan perspective, thus leading to a perpetual power struggle and political instability. We can assert that this is an issue of identity conflict. Indeed, according to researcher Antoine-Denis M'Dimina-Mougala, whose work focuses on Africa "*The identity conflict stems from identity crises and discrimination. When those two occur, behavioural norms are subjected to dee questioning and attacks destined to bring drastic changes to them. The construction of threats and a victimisation process are specifically used to redefine identities, to ultimately alter the ethnic balance, by force. They aim at satisfying individuals, leaders or communities aspiring to channel identity change for the purposes of group legitimacy, assertion of authority or nationalistic chauvinism [27]*".

In addition, Somalia has been afflicted by corruption for over 25 years[28]. On the one hand, the ruling class exploits its status and erects a corrupt political structure, and on the other hand the Somali people suffer from poverty and do not feel represented by the ruling elite, especially women who do not feel heard nor represented[29].

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[26] Rédaction , "L'Etat islamique s'implante en Somalie sur fond de rivalité djihadiste avec les Shebaab", 2019, France Soir, available on: http://www.francesoir.fr/en-coop-matteo-puxto/etat-islamique-implante-en-somalie-su r-fond-de-rivalite-djihadiste-avec-les-shebaabs

[27] Antoine-Denis N'Dimina-Mougala, "Les conflits identitaires ou ethno politiques africains au xxe siècle: caractéristiques et manifestations" , 2012, Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains, pp.98-99, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-guerres-mondiales-et-conflits-contemporains-2012-4-page-97.htm

[28] Perspective du monde, "La Somalie continue de reculer face à la corruption", 2018, available on: http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMAnalyse?codeAnalyse=2587

[29] Irenees.net, "Les clans, source d'instabilité en Somalie", 2015, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-defis-278_fr.html

Moreover, the difficulties at the root of the identity crystallisation are essentially the collapse of the Somali state structure, conflicts over resource appropriation, the rise of Islamic extremists and the interference of other countries in Somali territory[30].

When Siad Barre was deposed on January 26, 1991, the state system was undermined and conflicts between clan representatives over leadership resulted in the fragmentation of the nation into Somalia, Puntland, and Somaliland. This new territorial division allowed the establishment of governmental institutions that ensured a certain stability of the various regions by compensating for the failure of the state structure at the time. But this stability was disrupted by clan altercations and external interference[31]. Another cause of state instability is the race for resource appropriation. Livestock farming and agriculture are the main sources of income in the region and the cause of rivalry. Somalia as a whole (including Somaliland and Puntland) has experienced long periods of drought, increased numbers of climate migrants, people fleeing tensions, poverty, militia rearmament, and increased fighting. Less than half the population has access to drinking water and numerous people have died from malnutrition. For instance, 250,000 people died in the 2014 famine[32]. Most people therefore decide to migrate to the cities. But the cities are unable to provide for their basic needs (schooling, water, etc.) and are overwhelmed by the situation. Many migrants find themselves without work and are then recruited by armed groups who push them to fight alongside them[33]. Moreover, the rise of Islamic extremists is a factor that plays a key role in

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[30] Jean-Bernard Véron, " La Somalie : un cas désespéré ?" , 2009, Afrique contemporaine, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2009-4-page-97.htm#no12

[31] Marcus Virgil Hoehne, « L'État « de facto » du Somaliland », 2010, Politique africaine, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2010-4-page-175.htm

[32] Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, "Famine en Somalie", 2011, available on: http://www.fao.org/news/story/fr/item/82396/icode/

[33] Irenees.net, "Le rôle des clans somaliens dans le conflit et la construction de la paix", 2008, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-783_en.html

the crystallisation of identity. Islam, and in particular the Sunni branch, is the most practiced religion in the region, with 99% of Somali believers being Muslims. Nevertheless, the Sunni party has to face two trends: one being the emergence of the terrorist group Al-Ittihad Al-Islamya and the other being a radical religious movement claiming the application of Sharia law. This movement opposes any introduction of democratic values from the West in Somalia.

In conclusion, the 1991 civil war in Somalia was caused by many factors: Siad Barre's dictatorship and the use of repression, clan tensions and the establishment of armed groups, corruption, and frustration among the population, dropout rates and health problems, poverty, and famine. The accumulation of these problems has led to the consolidation of identities and demands for a more egalitarian society in response to the embezzlement of money by the 'elite' but also to the formation of militias, as documented above, to reclaim their wealth[34].

In summary, in this instance, the Somali civil war has been addressed from the perspective of identity where the quest for status has led to altercations. The initial ideologies evolve into belligerent claims. Indeed, links were made between the conflict situation and the various claims with identity analysis. This conflict, like most conflicts, is once again detrimental to women who are marginalised. This raises the question: what is the place of women within the Somali structure?

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[34] Jean-Bernard Véron, " La Somalie : un cas désespéré ?" , 2009, Afrique contemporaine, available on: https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2009-4-page-97.htm#no12

2. Approaching the conflict from a feminist perspective

Any conflict can be analysed through a feminist approach. In this case, the potential of women in Somali society is often underestimated. The clan structure of society and the political sphere is characterised by its male component and lack of female representation. As women's access to and participation in political office is limited, power remains in the hands of men who hold political office. Women, on the other hand, are confined to the private sphere and are responsible for raising children and housework. The role played by women is viewed as secondary and they are excluded from the political sphere. Nevertheless, the situation of Somali women has gradually changed over time: some of them have spoken out and raised awareness on the atrocities experienced during the war. They have also tried to cooperate with the state to bring about a ceasefire, through the creation of organisations such as Save Somali Women and Children[35]. These women have therefore played a role in establishing a context for peace. It is interesting to note that in the Somali case, it is more of a liberal feminism where women are joining public life whether it be in terms of employment, trying to work to feed their families, in terms of politics, by creating a new political wave consisting of women only, or in terms of society, by creating support organisations[36].

The place of women in the Somali structure

The civil war resulted in a large number of deaths, particularly among men. In Somalia, men were the head of the family, and their deaths meant the loss of an anchor in the family. It was left to the women to take over the role of head of the family. The men worked and provided for the whole family, while the women took care of the household chores and the education of the children. With the conflicts, women were forced to look for work, which feminised the labour market. They were

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[35] Irenees.net, "Le sixième clan en Somalie",, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-785_en.html
[36] Ibid.

employed in the tertiary sector and made up the largest fraction of the country's workforce. These women's lack of education is an obstacle as they cannot access management positions. Let us recall that in 2000, only 7% of girls were enrolled in school in the country[37]. According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), in the year 2000, despite the new positions that women are filling in the workplace, the status of women in the Somali structure has not progressed[38]. The enrolment of girls in school is still critical because, in mentalities and customs, women are destined to be married (45% of women are married before the age of 18[39]. Therefore, little attention is paid to their education as opposed to boys. Women are often disadvantaged and marginalised. In order for women to have the right to proper learning and to acquire the necessary skills to become employable, there must be room for change[40]. Indeed, with regard to the situation of Somali women, "it can be said that they are the originators of a 'sixth clan' and have chosen to engage with non-governmental organisations to have their voices heard. More and more women are taking up leadership positions in organisations, cooperatives, and credit institutions[41]".

The war caused more devastation than just the loss of spouses; 70% of women were widowed[42]. During this period, many of them have been victims of sexual assault. Nearly 1,700 incidents of sexual violence were recorded in and around the Somali capital, Mogadishu, between January and November 2012[43]. The alleged attackers are members of extremist organisations and the military,

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Confédération Suisse "SEM", "Focus Somalie: clans et minorités", 2017, available on: https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/internationales/herkunftslaender/afrika/som/ SOM-clans-f.pdf
[41] Irenees.net, "Le sixième clan en Somalie",, available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-785_en.html

[42] Ibid.

[43] Nations Unies- Assemblée Générale, "Rapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des droits de l'homme en Somalie, Shamsul Bari", 2013, available on: www.ohchr.org › Documents › A_HRC_24_40_FRERapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des ... - OHCHR

but most of the time these women do not want to identify the perpetrators for fear of retaliation. They are the main victims of these acts, but not the only ones: children have also been subjected to indecent assaults[44]. Since 2014, the state has wished to take steps to tackle sexual assault and implement measures to improve gender equality. Human Rights Watch had set up a five-point programme 'Here, rape is normal': "*a roadmap for the government and its international donors to develop a comprehensive national strategy to reduce the incidence of rape, provide victims with immediate assistance, and develop a long-term approach to end these abuses. The report emphasises the need to improve prevention and access to emergency health services, to implement judicial, legislative, and political reforms, and to promote gender equality[45]*".

However, there has been an improvement in the representation of Somali women in the political arena. Since 2000, a feminist movement has emerged. It is the first all-women group in a very male-dominated political sphere. Prior to this, power was wielded by the various existing clans, which were mostly composed of men, and women were generally in the minority. Until the establishment of this new movement, women were not allowed to vote or participate in electoral campaigns. The Puntland movement provides for the inclusion of women in the political arena by allocating seats in the House of Representatives to women. This will enable women to assert their rights and contribute to Somali politics despite the patriarchal nature of the Somali political system[46]. However, this effort was not maintained, and in 2021 the question of women's representation in politics still arises. Only a quarter of the 329 seats[47] in Parliament are held by women in Somalia.

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[44] Genre en action, "Somalie- La situation empire pour les femmes", 2011, available

on:https://www.genreenaction.net/Somalie-La-situation-empire-pour-les-femmes.html

[45] Human Rights Watch, "Somalie : Les femmes ne devraient plus vivre dans la crainte permanente d'être violées", 2014, disponible sur: https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2014/02/13/somalie-les-femmes-ne-devraient-plus-vivre-dans-la-crainte-permanente-detre-violees

[46] Irenees.net, "Le sixième clan en Somalie", available on: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-785_en.html

[47] Silja Fröhlich & Carole Assignon, "En Somalie, les femmes veulent plus de place en politique", 2021, available on:

https://www.dw.com/fr/en-somalie-les-femmes-veulent-plus-de-place-en-politique/a-56359639

Obstacles to women's representation in politics are related to the fact that there is no legislation regarding the quota of women in Parliament and the electoral system which "*According to rule 4.5, members of Parliament are not elected by the people but by clan delegates who are selected by the elders beforehand. The delegates include clan elders themselves, but also 30% women and 20% youth. The four largest clans in Somalia get the same number of seats in parliament, while the smaller clans get half. In this clan dynamic, it is difficult for many women to stand up for themselves[48]*"

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[48] Ibid.

Despite being victims of the conflict, women have participated in conflict resolution by promoting a reconciliation agenda from the neighbouring to the supranational sphere. They contributed to the restoration of Somali society during the civil war by trying to improve hospital support and by contributing to it and caring for the sick and injured[49]. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 has helped to promote the recognition of the role of women, especially in this process[50]. These women have tried to pass on their knowledge, educate their children, dissuade them from going to war, and strive as much as possible for understanding or reconciliation. The role of women in Somalia was highlighted in the "Human Rights Report: Women in Somalia", which presents their contributions to society as follows: "They have acted locally to prevent the recruitment of their sons to fight for warlords and militias, but also for the recognition of and respect for their rights, the restoration of peace and justice, and the improvement of the economic situation of the country[51].

Yet, the work achieved by these women is not always valued and their marginalisation remains strongly felt in peace-making processes and cease-fire negotiations, reflecting the sexism that prevails in the political sphere[52].

Women have tried to continue to contribute to society, to help out and they have played an important role in the Somali social structure, especially in the provinces. They claim their rights and their place in a predominantly clannish and male society by entering the work and political arena, and by fighting for the establishment of peace-building measures[53]. In 2012, there was a marked improvement in schooling and hospital services, thanks to the help of Somali women. Women act at the base of the pyramid, starting with the education of their families, until they reach the top of the pyramid, and thus the supranational level, by setting up peace mechanisms[54]

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[49] Nations Unies- Assemblée Générale, "Rapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des droits de l'homme en Somalie, Shamsul Bari", 2013, available on: www.ohchr.org › Documents › A_HRC_24_40_FRERapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des ... - OHCHR

[50] UNESCO, "Résolution 1325 du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies : les femmes, actrices de la paix et de la sécurité", 2019, disponible sur: https://www.un.org/press/fr/2019/cs13998.doc.htm

[51] Irenees.net, "Le sixième clan en Somalie",, disponible sur: http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-785_en.html

[52] Canada: immigration and refugee board of Canada, "Rapports sur les droits de la personne: les femmes en Somalie", 1994, available on: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a80b8.html

[53] Ibid.

[54] Nations Unies- Assemblée Générale, "Rapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des droits de l'homme en Somalie, Shamsul Bari", 2013, avaialble on: www.ohchr.org › Documents › A_HRC_24_40_FRERapport de l'Expert indépendant sur la situation des ... - OHCHR

Conclusion

This analysis allows for a better understanding of the civil war in Somalia by analysing two different domains in order to identify the multiple factors at the origin of the conflict: the identity approach and the place of women in the structure of Somali society through the feminist perspective.

On the one hand, the identity angle puts into perspective the various sources of the conflict such as clan altercations, values related to the notion of identity, the crystallisation of identities, the collapse of the Somali state structure, resource appropriation, the rise of Islamic extremists and the interventionism of various third parties. It is clear that the issue of identity is important in this Somali civil war[56].

On the other hand, the feminist perspective emphasises the place of women within the Somali structure, the role played by these women in the conflict: the investment of Somali women in the employment sector, in politics, with the creation of a feminist movement, which has thus developed a new liberal feminism. They have tried to bring about an improvement in schooling and hospital services, not to mention their contribution to the dispute resolution[57].

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