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MAGAALO WEJIYO KALA DUWAN LEH

BADBAADADA MAGAALADA, SOO
GUURIDDA IYO ISBEDDELKA CIMILADA IYO
SAAMEEYNTA AY KU LEEYIHIIN BULSHADA
SOOMAALIYEED, NAIROBI

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MAHADNAQ

Qorayaasha waxay jeclaan lahaayeen in ugu horeyn u mahadceliyaan ka qeybgalayaasha Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago (Shared Security Dialogues) ee Eastleigh, kuwaas oo la wadaagay waayo aragnimadooda la xiriirta amni darrada iyo fikradahooda ku aaddan horumarinta bulshadooda. Waxaan sidoo kale jeclaan laheyn in aan u mahadcelinno la howlgalayaasheena ururrada bulshada ee sida adag uga shaqeeyay sidi loo xaqiijin lahaa guusha tijaabadaan: Salim Juma iyo Samwel Omogi Omondi oo ka socda Shabakadda Nabadda Bulshada ee Kamukunji (Kamukunji Community Peace Network), iyo Cabdinaasir Aadan Ibrahim iyo Collins Ayoo oo ka socda Ururka Waqooyi ee Ololaha (Northern Advocacy Organization). Waxaan sidoo kale aad ugu mahadcelinaynaa Bernice Apondi iyo Julia Stanyard, kuwaasi oo hoggaaminayay mashruuca iyo abaabulka wadahadallada. Ugu dambeyn, waxaan aad ugu mahadcelinaynaa Xafiiska Arrimaha Dibedda, Barwaaqo-sooranka ee Horumarinta dalka Ingiriiska (UK's Foreign Commonwealth Development Office) oo rajo kaqabay fikraddaan oo na maalgeliyay tijaabada mashruuc aan rajeynayno in uu gaari doono meelo kale.

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Ken Opala waa isku-duwaha Bariga Afrika ee GI-TOC. Wuxuu hore uga soo shaqeeyay Warbaahinta Nation isagoo ahaa tifaftire ku xigeenka iyo tifaftiraha guud ee *Nairobi Law Monthly*. Wuxuu ku guuleystay abaalmarino dhowr ah oo suxufinimo, oo ay ku jiraan CNN African Journalist ee Sanadki 1997-di, Kenya Print Journalist ee Sanadki 2000, Abaalmarinta Peter Jenkins Award for Conservation Journalism 2002 iyo Lorenzo Natali Prize 2003.

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Dhammaan xuquuqda way xifdisan yihiin.

Ma jirto qeyb ka mid ah daabacaaddaan oo la soo saari karo ama laguma gudbin karo qaab kasta ama si kasta iyadoo aan oggolaansho qoraal laga heysanin the Global Initiative.

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SOO KOOBIDDA

Eastleigh waa xaafad firfircoon oo ku taalla Nairobi oo ay deggan yihiin bulsho Soomaaliyeed oo tiro badan waxaana loo yaqaana 'Muqdisho Yar. In kasta oo Eastleigh ay ka mid tahay xarumaha ganacsiga ugu barwaaqada badan caasimadda Kenya, haddana waxay muddo dheer la daalaa dhaceysay dhibaatooyin amni oo ka jira magaalooyinka, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin ka ganacsiga dadka, boobka dhulalka, rabshadaha kooxaha burcadda ah, iyo ganacsiga daroogada. Taariikh ahaan, xiriirka u dhexeeya booliska iyo bulshada Soomaaliyeed waxa hadheeyay eedeymo la xiriira falal dembiyeed (kuwaas oo inta badan ay ku celceliyaan siyaasiyiin) la xiriira lacag dhaqidda, tahriibinta, iyo howlaha kooxaha xagjirka ah.

Qaar ka mid ah caqabadahaan amni ee magaalooyinka ka jira waxaa sii xumeyn kara saameynta isbeddelka cimilada. Nairobi waa mid ka mid ah magaalooyinka ay u soo hayaamaan soo galootiga iyo qaxootiga Soomaaliyeed, kuwaas oo qaarkood ay ku barakaceen dhibaatooyinka ka dhashay isbeddelka cimilada. Eastleigh, oo ay ku nool yihiin bulsho Soomaaliyeed oo tiro badan, ayaa inta badan noqota meesha ugu horreyso oo ay imaadaan dadka intooda badan. Hasa yeeshee, xaafadda waxay sidoo kale soo jiidataa shabakadaha ka ganacsiga dadka iyo tahriibiyayaasha, maaddama ay u fududahay in ay la shaqeeyaan saraakiil dowladeed oo musuqmaasuq ku lug leh iyo shaqaalaha hoteellada taasi oo u oggolaaneysa in ay helaan dukumeentiyo been-abuur ah isla markaana dejiyaan soo galooti aan heysanin dukumeentiyo sharci ah iyo haween laga rabo in galmo looga faa'iideysto.

Qoraalkaan kooban oo siyaasadda ayaa ujeeddadiisu tahay in la kordhiyo fahamka arrimaha badbaadada magaalooyinka ee saameeya bulshada Soomaaliyeed oo ku nool Eastleigh, gaar ahaan kuwa la xiriira dembiyada abaabulan. Caqabadahaas waxaa ka mid ah isbeddelka cimilada oo khatarraha sii kordhiya – tusaale ahaan, waa mid soo riixda socdaalka ka imaanaya miyiga Soomaaliya iyo waqooyiga Kenya.

Cilmi-baaristaan waxay ku saleysan tahay doodihi la qabtay intii u dhexeysay Noofembar 2025-ti iyo Febraayo 2026-di, kuwaas oo qeyb ka ahaa mashruuca Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago (Shared Security Dialogues), oo ay maalgelisay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda, Barwaaqo-sooranka iyo Horumarinta ee dalka Ingiriiska. Ujeeddada ugu weyn ee mashruuca ayaa ahayd in la yareeyo daldalooka ka jira kalsoonida kooxaha aan inta badan ka wada hadlin arrimahaan isla markaana marar badan kala aragti ah, iyadoo lagu dhiirigelinayo in ay si wadajir ah uga doodaan sida ugu habboon ee lagu xaqiijin karo amniga magaalooyinka. Kooxaha ka qeyb qaatay waxaa ka mid ahaa, wakiilo ka socday hay'adaha sharci fullinta iyo dowladda oo hal dhinac ah, halka dhinaca kalena ay ahaayeen xubno ka tirsan bulshada rayidka ah ee Eastleigh, oo ay ku jiraan ururrada bulshada ku saleysan, dadka deegaanka iyo xubno ka tirsan qaxootiga iyo soo galootiga dhowaan soo haajiray. Warbixintaan siyaasadeed waxaa kale oo ay ku saleysan tahay wareysiyo lagu qabtay Nairobi oo lala yeeshay xubno ka tirsan ururrada bulshada ku saleysan, dhaqdhaqaaqayaal, ganacsato, saraakiil dowladeed, boolis iyo dadka deggan Eastleigh, oo ay ku jiraan qaxooti. Si loo yareeyo khatarraha ku imaan kara dadka la wareystay, dhammaan wareysiyada waxaa laga saaray xog kasta oo lagu aqoonsan karo dadka ka qeybgalay.



Degmada Eastleigh, oo ah mid ka mid xarumaha ganacsi oo ugu barwaaqada badan, ayaa la tacaasho dhibaatooyin amni oo aad u badan. © Patrick Meinhardt/Bloomberg via Getty Images

Natiijada ugu weyn ee ka soo baxday dhammaan doodaha ayaa ah in suuqyada kala duwan ee sharci darrada ah ee Eastleigh ay si dhow isugu xiran yihiin, islamarkaana ay is xoojiyaan. Tusaale ahaan, ka qeybgalayaasha doodaha intooda badan iyo dadka la wareystay waxay tilmaameen in dukumeentiyada been-abuurka ay tahay caqabad weyn oo fududeyso dembiyo noocyo kale. Tusaale ahaan, waxay sahlaan howlaha shabakadaha ka ganacsiga iyo tahriibinta dadka, maaddaama ay awood u yeeshaan in ay bixiyaan laaluush ama lacag si ajaanibta loogu suurtoogeliyo inay sii joogaan ama, inta badan, uga sii gudbaan Nairobi iyagoo adeegsanaayo dukumeentiyo been-abuur ah.

Talo soo jeedin faahfaahsan oo ku saleysan cilmi-baaristaan iyo Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago (Shared Security Dialogues) ayaa lagu bixiyay dukumeenti la socda warbixintan siyaasadda Heshiiska

Amniga ee La Wadaago. Bishii Febraayo 2026-di, talooyinka waxaa laga dooday oo lagu ansixiyay wadahadal kama dambays ah oo dhexmaray xubnaha bulshada rayyidka ah iyo mas'uuliyiinta dowladda. Talo soo jeedinta siyaasadda ee ku jirta Heshiiska Amniga ee La Wadaago (*Shared Security Pact*) waxay si toos ah uga timid bulshooyinka iyo wakiillada gobolka ee ka soo qeybgalay wadahadallada. Iyadoo la isu keenaayo kooxahan kala duwan si looga wada hadlo sida ugu wanaagsan ee loo gaari karo amniga magaalooyinka, mashruucu wuxuu dhiirrigeliyay soo-saarista bulshada ee ay hormuudka ka tahay ee ku saabsan istaraatiijiyadaha iyo barnaamijyada badbaadada magaalooyinka. Ujeeddada talooyinkan ayaa ah in la hago bulshada rayyidka ah, xubnaha bulshada iyo dowladda si ay uga jawaabaan amniga magaalooyinka ee bulshada Soomaalida ee Eastleigh.

Qodobbada muhiimka ah

- Cabasho weyn oo ka dhex jirta bulshada Soomaalida ee Eastleigh waa musuqmaasuqa iyo laaluushka la xiriira booliiska. Hindisayaasha sida Nyumba Kumi – oo ah nidaam booliseyn oo bulshadeed – ayaa ujeeddadoodu ahayd in la wanaajiyo xiriirka ka dhexeeya soo galootiga iyo booliiska, laakiin xiisadaha ayaa weli taagan.¹
- Waxaa jira dad badan oo reer miyi ah oo ka soo cararaaya colaadaha iyo carqaladaha la xiriira isbeddelka cimilada ee Soomaaliya.² Tan waxay abuurtaa xaalado loogu talagalay tahriibinta dadka, gaar ahaan illaa iyo Koonfur Africa; si haweenka xaladaha nugul ku jira ee muhaajirinta ah looga faa'iideysto galmo,³ iyo afduubka madaxfurashada ee Liibiya ee muhaajiriinta dhalinyarada ah ee Soomaalida ah ee rajeynaya inay u safraan Yurub.⁴
- Howlgallada booliska waxay shaaca ka qaadeen dadka dukumeentiyada been-abuurka ku sameeyo Eastleigh iyadoo mas'uuliyiinta ay si xooggan uga shakisan yihiin in ay la shaqeeyaan shabakadaha tahriibinta dadka ee caalamiga ah si ay dadka tahriibayaasha ah ugu gudbiyaan Nairobi. Qaxootiga ayaa bixiya laaluush si ay u helaan dukumentiyada aqoonsiga Kenya iyo baasaboorrada been abuurka ah.⁵ Dadka dukumeentiyada been-abuurka sameeya waxaa ka mid ah maamulka deegaanka, taliyayaasha booliska, ilaaliyayaasha diiwaanka, karraaniyaasha, farsamoyaqaannada iyo ganacsatada maxalliga ah.⁶
- Qulqulka muhaajirinta iyo qaxootiga ee Eastleigh ayaa kiciyay baahida loo qabo dhul iyo guryo, taasoo keentay in kiraysteyaasha dakhligoodu hooseeyo si qasab ah guryaha looga saaro habeenki si loo abuurto dhismayaal ama hoteello faa'iido soo saaro.⁷ Boobka dhulalka waxaa fududeeya maamulka deegaanka, oo ay ku jiraan dowladda hoose, inkastoo ay jiraan diidmo iyo habraacyo maxkamadeed oo laga shakisan yahay in la jebiyay oo ku saabsan qorsheynta, aag-qeybinta ama xeerarka dhismaha.
- Hay'adaha ammaanka waxay aqoonsadeen 126 kooxood oo burcad oo magaalada ka jira,⁸ kuwaas oo mararka qaarkood ay siyaasiyiintu u adeegsadaan cabsi-gelinta kooxaha mucaaradka xilliyada doorashooyinka.⁹ Kooxda ugu weyn ee burcadka ka howlgala Eastleigh waxaa loo yaqaanaa Super Power, kuwaas oo lacag baad ah oo ay ugu yeeraan lacag ilaalin ka qaada daraawallada gaadiidka dadweynaha iyo kuwa baabuurta qashinka qaada.¹⁰ Kooxo kale oo burcad ah waxay ka faa'iideystaan ganacsiga jaadka oo ah warshad malaayin doolar soo saarta, iyagoo u adeegsada saldhig ay ku kobciyaan ganacsiga sharci-darrada ah ee mukhaadaraadka iyo qorista dadka ku lug yeelanaya tahriibinta iyo ka ganacsiga mukhaadaraadka Nairobi.



HORDHAC

Deegaanka Eastleigh ee Nairobi waxaa ku nool Soomaalida ugu badan ee magaalada ku nool – kuwaas oo ah muwaadinin Kenyan ah oo asal ahaan ah Soomaali iyo kuwo badan oo soo galooti ah oo ka imaaday Soomaaliya. Waxay ku magac dheer tahay 'Muqdisho Yar'. Eastleigh sidoo kale waa xaafad ay ka jiraan waxyaabo kala duwan: mid ka mid ah xarumaha ganacsiga ugu shaqada badan ee caasimadda Kenya, haddana leh dad badan oo dakhligooda hooseeyo; 30% canshuurta Nairobi waxay ka soo baxdaa Eastleigh,¹¹ waxaa ka dhaca dembiyada ugu badan; waa mid ka mid ah suuqyada hantida ma guurtada ah ee ugu qaalisan dalka, iyo goob caan u ah qaxootiga Soomaaliyeed ee ka soo cararaaya xasillooni darrada iyo saameynta isbeddelka cimilada. Dowladda ismaamulka Nairobi ayaa laftigeedu qiraysa in qaar badan oo ka mid ah deeqaha iyo qaxootiga soo galaaya meelaha ay ka mid yihiin Eastleigh ay wajahaan 'adeegyo bulsho oo aan ku filnayn', 'nolol-maalmeed aan la hubin' iyo 'qaab-dhismeed hay'adeed oo isku xiran oo aan jirin' si loo ilaaliyo qaxootiga.¹²

Iyadoo dowladaha hoose iyo kuwa qaranka, oo ay kaashanaaya la howlgalayaasha dibedda, ay ka shaqeyeen sidii wax looga qaban lahaa caqabadahaan – tusaale ahaan, soo saarista Istaraatiijiyadda Isdhexgalka Qaxootiga ee Qaranka sanadka 2021-di – farqiga aas-aasiga ee siyaasadaha iyo ficillada bulshada rayyidka ah waa amniga dadweynaha, gaar ahaan ku saabsan dembiyada.¹³ Jiritaan la'aanta daraasado ku saabsan nuglaanshaha dadka soo galootiga, qaxootiga iyo dadka muddada dheer degnaa Eastleigh ee la xiriirta dembiyada abaabulan iyo kooxaha rabshadaha wata waxay wiiqeysaa awoodda dowladda (heer degmo iyo mid qaran) iyo ururrada rayyidka ah si ay si wax ku ool ah uga jawaabaan caqabadahaas.

Khatarraha dembiyada ee saameeya bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee qaxootiga iyo soo galootiga ku nool Nairobi waxaa ka mid ah ka ganacsiga dadka ee ka gudba xudduudaha, boobka dhulalka, iyo rabshadaha kooxaha burcadda ah.¹⁴ Intii lagu jiray xilligii sida aadka ah 'loola dagaallamaayay argagixisanimada, iyo weerarkii ay kooxda al-Shabaab oo saldhigeedu yahay Soomaaliya ku qaadday suuqa weyn ee Westgate ee 2013-kii,¹⁵ waxaa si weyn loo adkeeyay arrimaha amniga. Hasa yeeshee, natiijada uga soo baxday Eastleigh waxay inta badan ahayd jawaabo booliis oo ku dhisan cadaadis iyo sumcad xumayn lagu sameeyo bulshada deegaanka.

Natiijadaan ayaa si gaar ah dhibaato u leh maaddaama dadka soo galootiga iyo qaxootiga yimaada Eastleigh ay ka soo cararaayaan duruufo adag, oo ay ka mid yihiin dhacdooyin la xiriira isbeddelka cimilada ee carqaladeeya hab-nololeedka dadka ku nool miyiga Soomaaliya isla markaana ku qasba in ay u guuraan magaalooyinka sida Nairobi. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, tani waxay Eastleigh ka dhigeysaa goob muhiim u ah cilmi-baaris lagu fahmaayo looguna jawaabaayo saameynta isbeddelka cimilada ay ku leedahay kordhinta khatarraha la xiriira socdaalka ka imaanaaya deegaannada nugul sida Soomaaliya.

Intaa waxaa dheer, Eastleigh waxay tahay meel muhiim u ah cilmi-baaris ku saabsan waxyaabaha ay sida gaarka ah ugu nugul yihiin soo galootiga iyo qaxootiga ku nool magaalooyinka, maaddaama ay noocyada qaar ka mid ah



Dadka soo galootiga ah iyo qaxootiga intooda badan ku nool Eastleigh waxay wajahaan adeegyo aan ku filnayn, oo ay ka mid yihiin biyo yaraan, iyadoo booyadaha ay inta badan yihiin ilaha keliya ee biyaha ee la isku haleyn karo.

Sawir: GI-TOC

dembiyada abaabulan iyo burcadda ay yihiin dhacdooyin si gaar ah ugu xiran magaalooyinka, isla markaana ay ku badan yihiin meelaha ciriiriga ah ee aan sida wanaagsan roondo loogu sameynin, kuwaas oo Nairobi ku badan.¹⁶ Bangiga Adduunka ayaa qiyaasaayo in in ka badan kala badh dadka barakacay ee dunida ay ku nool yihiin magaalooyinka.¹⁷ Tani sidoo kale waa xaaladda bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee barakacday. Bulshooyinka reer miyiga ah ee Soomaaliya ayaa si isa soo taraysa uga qaxaaya saameynta isku dhafan ee colaadaha iyo luminta hab-nololeedka ee ka dhalata isbeddelka cimilada, iyadoo u guuraaya magaalooyinka.¹⁸

Iyadoo barakaca ka dhasha isbeddelka cimiladu uu sii kordhaayo, isla markaana magaalooyinka ay sii qaabilayaan tirooyin sii kordhaaya oo qaxooti iyo soo galooti, waxaa sii kordheysa muhiimadda ay leedahay in la fahmo lana wajaho qaababka iyo saameynta dembiyada abaabulan ay ku haayaan bulshooyinka. Warbixintaan siyaasadeed waxay falanqeynaysaa khatarraha isdulsaran ee wajahaaya bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Eastleigh, iyadoo soo bandhigaysa tallaabooyin wax ku ool ah oo lagu gaadhi karo maamul magaalo oo ammaan badan kana caddaalad badan. Iyadoo lala kaashanaayo Heshiiska Wadajirka ah ee Amniga (Shared Security Pact), warbixintaan waxay soo jeedinaysaa jawaab wax ku ool ah oo macno leh oo lagaga falcelin karo caqabadaha jira.



NUGLAANSHAHA IYO XIRIIRKA DOWLADDA IYO BULSHADA

Inkasta oo xaafadda Eastleigh oo ay ku badan yihiin Soomaalida, ay door muhiim ah ka qaadato kobaca dhaqaalaha Nairobi, haddana nolosha dadka deegaanka waxaa qaabeeya takoorka iyo fikradaha qaldan, kuwaas oo xaafadda la xiriiriya dembiyo iyo argagixisanimo, iyo sidookale dayac dowladeed oo soo jireen ah. Xiriirka ka dhexeeya bulshada iyo dowladda Kenya, gaar ahaan booliska, wuxuu muddo dheer ahaa mid cakiran, waxaana hadheeyay walaacyo amni oo la xiriira xagjiraysiga rabshadaha wata iyo cabashooyinka bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee ku saabsan handadaad, tacaddiyo, iyo loollan ay kala kulmaan booliiska, gaar ahaan marka ay timaaddo la macaamilka qaxootiga.¹⁹

Qaxootiga iyo muhaajirinta

Amniga magaalada iyo isdhexgalka qaxootiga waa kuwa isku dhafan marka laga hadlaayo Eastleigh, taasi oo ah in takoorka bulshooyinka qaxootiga ah ay qaabeeyso u nuglaanshahooda dembiyada abaabulan. Ilaa dabayaaqadi 1980-meeyadi, qaxootiga ku nool Kenya ayaa ka faa'iideystay hab dowladeed daabacsan, iyagoo awood u lahaa in ay si xor ah uga gudbaan magaalooyinka ayna codsadaan ruqsadaha shaqada.²⁰ Hasa ahaatee, qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee ka jiray waddamada deriska ah, gaar ahaan burburki dowladda Soomaaliya ee 1991-di, ayaa sababay in tirada qaxootiga Kenya ay ka badato 12 000 sanadki 1988-dii illaa iyo 400 000 marka la joogay 1992-di – taasi oo horseeday siyaasad qaxootida ku xaddiday xeryaha.²¹ Tan waxaa la socotay in si xoog leh loo xaddido fursadaha shaqo iyo in qaxootida ay dagaan magaalooyinka, taasi oo xaaladooda ka sii dhigtay mid nugul. Inkasta oo ay jireen xannibaado lagu soo rogay ku noolaanshaha magaalooyinka, qaxooti badan (oo ku nool Kenya iyo waddamada kale oo leh siyaasado la mid ah) ayaa sii wadey u guurista magaalooyinka iyagoo raadinaayo shaqo, balse siyaasadaha ay ka mid yihiin kuwa Kenya ayaa wiiqay awooddooda ay ku heli karaan dukumeentiyada lagama maarmaanka ah (oo ay ku jiraan ruqsadaha shaqada) isla markaana ay uga shaqaysan karaan waaxda shaqada ee rasmiga ah.²²

Sanadihi u dambeeyay siyaasadaha qaran ayaa si weyn isu beddelay. Sharciga cusub ee Qaxootiga, oo la ansixiyay sanadki 2021-di, ayaa ka gudbay hannaanka ku saleysnaa xeryaha qaxootiga, kaas oo qaxootigu ku tiirsanaayeen gargaarka bani'aadannimo, una jihatstay hannaan dhiirigelinaayo isdhexgalka iyo la qabsiga bulshada deegaanka.²³ Sharcigu wuxuu meesha ka saaray xannibaadihi saarnaa dhaqdhaqaaqa magaalooyinka iyo xeryaha, wuxuuna oggolaaday inay helaan rukhsadaha shaqada.²⁴ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xaqiiqda dhabta ah ee qaxootiga ku nool Nairobi ayaa weli waxaa hadheeya sumcad xumo iyo dayacaad dowladeed oo dhinacyo badan leh. Dhibaatooyinka waa weyn ee ka jira hirgelinta siyaasaddaan ayaa wiiqaaya awooddooda ay bulshada ula qabsan karaan iyo, tan ugu muhiimsan oo ah in ay shaqeeyaan. Tusaale ahaan, si ay u helaan rukhsad shaqo,

qaxootigu waa inay soo gudbiyaan dukumeentiyo ay bixiso Hay'adda Diiwaangelinta Qaranka (NRB), laakiin qaxooti badan xogtooda laguma diiwaangelin NRB, taasi oo abuureysa caqabad maamul.²⁵ Caqabadahaan waxaa sii xoojiya culeyska saran dadka loo shaqeynaayo, taasi oo ah in ay caddeeyaan in xirfadaha loo baahan yahay aan laga heli Karin gudaha dalka si ay u shaqaaleysiiyaan ajaanib, taas oo ah shurud adag oo aan macquul ahayn in qaxooti badan ay ka soo baxaan.²⁶ Arrimahaan ayaa sababay in caqabadihi dhaqan-dhaqaale ee soo jireenka ahaa ay weli jiraan.

Mid ka mid ah ilaaha cusub ee xalalka suurtagalka ah ee lagu taageeri karo qaxootiga iyo soo galootiga ku nool magaalooyinka Kenya ayaa ah in Sharciga Qaxootiga uu qaar ka mid ah awoodaha u wareejiya dowladaha hoose ee degmooyinka si ay si toos ah ula shaqeeyaan qaxootiga.²⁷ Tani waxay sii kordhisay muhiimadda ay leedahay in si qooto dheer loo fahmo waayo-aragnimada qaxootiga ee magaalooyinka, oo ay ku jiraan arrimaha amniga. Dowladaha hoose waxay si toos ah oo dabacsan uga howlgeli karaan bixinta taageerada suurtagalka ah, tusaale ahaan iyagoo aqoonsanaaya shakhsiyaadka u baahan taagero gaar ah.²⁸ Sannadkii 2025-ti, Dowladda Hoose ee Nairobi waxay daahfurtay Istaraatiijiyadda Isdhexgalka Qaxootiga iyo Dhismaha Bulshada, taasi oo qireysa in ay weli jiraan caqabado, oo ay ku jiraan baahida loo qabo hagaajinta guryeynta, kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha, iyo adeegyada ay wadaagaan qaxootiga iyo bulshada deegaanka.²⁹

Hasa yeeshee, inkasta oo istaraatiijiyaddu ay 'hiigsanayso ilaalinta amniga, karaamada iyo isku-filnaanshaha qaxootiga iyo magangelyo-doonka', haddana kuma jirto hal xus oo ku saabsan nuglaanshahooda la xiriira dembiyada ama khataraha gaarka ah sida ka ganacsiga dadka, tahriibinta, mukhaadaraadka ama xatooyada. Tani waa arrin walaac leh maaddama qaxootiga Soomaaliyeed ay wajahaan khatarro kala duwan, kuwaas oo qaarkood si toos ah ula xiriiraan isdhexgalkooda bulshada magaalooyinka iyo ka qeybgalka suuqa shaqada. Dayacaaddan waxay la xiriiri kartaa kala sooc guud oo u dhexeeya howlaha taageerada qaxootiga iyo hay'adaha fullinta sharciga, kuwaas oo inta badan loo arko labo dhinac oo siyaasad ahaan si weyn uga kala duwan, taasi oo hadheysa xaqiiqda ah in nolosha qaxootiga iyo amniga magaalooyinku ay si dhow isugu xiran yihiin oo ay is saameeyaan.

Dib u dhaca ama ku guuldareysiga helitaanka dukumeentiyada rasmiga ah (ee dowladdu soo saartay) ayaa sababay in qaxootigu ay u nugul yihiin mas'uuliyiinta musuqmaasuqa ah ee dalbadda laaluush si ay u soo saaraan waraaqaha lagama maarmaanka ah. Taas beddelkeda, tani waxay abuurtay meelo lagu sameeyo dukumeentiyo been abuur ah oo ka jira Eastleigh, taasi oo ay isticmaalaan shabakadaha tahriibinta iyo ka ganacsiga dadka waxayna magaalada Nairobi si xooggan uga dhigeysa xarun loogu talo galay qulqulka soo galootiga aan sharciga laheyn.³⁰ Ka qeybgalayaasha Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago ayaa tan u arkay in ay tahay caqabad weyn, taasi oo dadka soo galootiga dhowaan imaaday ka dhigeysa in ay halis ugu jiraan in kooxaha laaluushka qaata

Weerrarada ay geystaan kooxaha xagjirka ah ee Muslinka isku sheego ayaa Eastleigh u horseeday in lala xiriiriyo dembiyada iyo argagixisanimada, taasi oo si kordhineysa naceybka ay la kulmaan dadka deegaanka, iyo xiisadda u dhexeysa bulshada Soomaaliyeed iyo dowladda Kenya. © Noor Khamis/Reuters



ama burcadda in ay dhibaateeyaan. Dhowr ka mid ah talooyinka ku jira Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago ayaa doonaayo in ay daldalooladaan buuxiyaan.

Marka laga reebo in aysan heysanin dukumeentiyo, qaxootiga iyo dadka soo galootiga ah waxay wajahaan dhibaatooyin amni oo la xiriiira nolosha magaalooyinka. Tusaale ahaan, daraasad ku saabsan socdaalka ay abaartu keentay ee waqooyiga Kenya illaa iyo Nairobi ayaa lagu ogaaday in inkastoo dadka ka soo qaxa miyiga ay fursado dhaqaale oo wanagsan, aqoon iyo taageero ay ka heli karaan magaalada, waxay sidoo kale wajahaan dembiyo noocyo cusub.³¹ Dadka soo galootiga ah ee daraasaddaan ku xusan ayaa sheegay in inkastoo iska hor imaadyada qabaalka ay aad ugu badan yihiin waqooyiga Kenya, haddana Nairobi, 'dembiyada ayaa wata khatarro aan la garanayn oo lama filaan ah kuwaas oo raaco shuruudo iyo sababo kala duwan oo iyaga ka dhigaayo kuwa aan is difaaci Karin'.³² Daraasad la sameeyay 2024-ki oo ku saabsan carruurta qaxootiga ee ku nool Nairobi ayaa lagu ogaaday in 64% ee carruurta qaxootiga ah ee aan la soconin waalid ama dad mas'uul ka ah ee la wareystay ayaa sheegay in ay la kulmeen rabshado ama xadgudub, oo ay ku jiraan howlo la xiriiira noocyada dembiyada abaabulan, sida in carruurta lagu shaqeysto, la baado ama la geliyo shaqooyinka galmada iyo addoonsiga.³³

Xiriirka booliska iyo bulshada

Taariikh ahaan, xiriirka ka dhexeeya bulshada Soomaalida ee Nairobi' iyo dowladda, gaar ahaan booliiska, wuxuu ahaa mid aad u kacsan. Tani waxaa lala xiriiyay qaabka u qaranka uga jawaabo dhacdooyinka amniga ee khatarta argagixidada, oo ay ku jiraan dhaqdhaqaaqyo la xiriiira xubnaha looga shakisan yahay al-Shabaab ee ku nool Eastleigh. Al-Shabaab waa koox xagjir ah oo rabshado wata oo la dagaallamaysa dowladda caalamiga ah ee la aqoonsan yahay ee Soomaaliya waxayna weerarro argagixiso oo dhimasho leh ka geysatay Nairobi. Wixii ka dambeeyay weerarki 2013-kii ee suuqa weyn ee Westgate, oo ay ku dhinteen in ka badan 60 qof,³⁴ ayaa horseeday howlgallo amni oo ka dhan ah in ay jirto suurtagalnimo ah in al-Shabaab ay joogaan Eastleigh, iyadoo la xiray dad badan iyo in ay jireen eedaymo baad, garaacis iyo xarig sharci darro ah.³⁵

Jawaabaha ay dowladdu ka bixiso falalka burcadda ayaa sidoo kale mararka qaar ahaa kuwo aad u xun. In kasta oo xiriirku soo hagaagay sanadihi u dambeeyay, haddana dadka deegaanka waxay weli xasuustaan sarkaalka booliska ee caanka ah ee Axmed Rashid, kaasi oo ka tisanaa cutub gaar ah oo loo xilsaaray la dagaallanka qaar ka mid ah kooxaha ugu rabshadaha badan magaalada, oo ay ku jiraan kooxda Super Power ee Eastleigh. Wuxuu sumcad ku yeeshay gudaha dalka³⁶ iyo warbaahinta caalamiga ah isago loo yaqaanay 'boolis dilaa ah',³⁷ waxaana lagu eedeeyay in uu dilay laba dhallinyaro ah oo aan hubaysnayn oo ku nool Eastleigh sanadki 2017-ki.³⁸ Kiiska ayaa wali lagu dhageysanaayay Maxkamadda Sare bishi Maarso 2026-ki.

Aragtiyada ku saabsan xaaladda xiriirka booliska iyo bulshada ku nool Eastleigh ayaa ahaa mid ay ka qeybgalayaasha ku kala duwanaayeen marki la qabanaayay Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago. Wakillada dowladda iyo hay'adaha sharci fullinta ayaa tilmaamay in sanadihi ugu dambeeyay ay tirada booliska iyo kheyraadka Eastleigh ay kor u kaceen, halka ka qeybgalayaasha ka socday bulshada rayyidka ay aad ugu celceliyeen walaac joogto ah oo ku saabsan musuqmaasuqa. Ka qeybgalayaasha ka socday dowladda ayaa ku dooday in wadahadallo u dhexeeyay waaxaha kala duwan, goleyaasha nabadda, Nyumba Kumi – oo ah hab booliseynta bulshada oo ka jiro xafadaha, ee la bilaabay dabayaaqadi 2010-ki – iyo dadaal ula kac ah oo ay sameeyeen hay'adaha sharci fullinta si looga weecdo weerarrada iyo howlgallada booliska una weecdo qaabab wadahadal ay wanaajiyeen xiriirka booliska iyo bulshada.

Saraakiisha booliska waxay sidookale sheegeen in hirgelinta saldhigyo boolis oo badan oo ku yaalla gudaha Eastleigh ay gacan ka geysatay. Marki hore waxaa Eastleigh u adeegi jiray Saldhigga Booliska ee Pangani, kaasi oo xaafadda u jiro dhowr Kiiloomitir. Meeshi lagu gaaray 2026-da, Eastleigh waxaa ku yaalla dhowr saldhig oo boolis, ama xarumo – tusaale ahaan, Saldhigga Booliska ee California, Pumwani iyo Saldhigga Ciidanka Cirka ee Moi. Dib-u-habaynta Saldhigga Booliska ee California waxaa maalgeliyay ganacsato maxalli ah, taasi oo muujinaysa doorka bulshada maxalliga ah ee horumarinta xaafadda.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, saraakiisha booliska iyo dowladda ayaa shaaca ka qaaday caqabadaha jira. Tusaale ahaan, booliska waxay muujiyeen rajada ah in xiriirka bulshada oo wanaagsanaada mustaqbalka uu horseedi doono in bulshada ay qaab firfircoon xogta sirta ula wadaagaan booliska. Intaa waxaa dheer, waxay aqoonsadeen miilkilayaasha guryaha hoyga u ah dadka dhowaan soo qaxay ama dalka soo galay ay si gaar ah uga caga jiidayaan in ay mas'uuliyinka u gudbiyaan haybta dadkaas illaa u fal dembiyeed dhaco. Tani waxay wiiqeysaa awoodda uruurinta xogta sirtoonka maxalliga ah ee hay'adaha booliiska rasmiga ah iyo kuwa bulshada. Intaa waxaa dheer, hindisaha booliiseynta bulshada, sida Nyumba Kumi, waxay ku saleysan yihiin iskaa wax u qabso, xubnaha ma laha dhiirigelin ama dhiirgelin ay ku sameeyaan baaritaanka kiisaska adag ama dembiyada abaabulan.³⁹

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxaa sidoo kale jiro farqi cad oo u dhexeeya aragtida mas'uuliyiinta ee ku aaddan xiriirka soo hagaagaya iyo dareenka bulshada rayidka maxalliga ee la xiriira u nuglaanshaha dhibaateynta booliska.⁴⁰ Inkasta oo qaar ka mid ah bulshada rayidka ah iyo ka qeybgalayaasha ka soo qeybgalay wadhadallada ee ka socday bulshada ay sheegeen in dadaallada booliska ay yareeyeen baadka iyo dhibaateynta oo caadi ahaan jirtay waagi hore, haddana kuwa kale waxay ka hadliin caqabado halis ah.

Mid ka mid ah cabashooyinka ugu weyn ee bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee ku nool Eastleigh ay qabto waa musuqmaasuqa iyo laaluushka ay qaataan booliska. Hadal caadi ah oo ka dhex jira bulshada Soomaalida ayaa ah in saraakiisha boolisku ay ula dhaqmaan Soomaalida sida mashiinno lacago soo saaro camal. Tusaale ahaan, ka qeybgalayaasha Wadhadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago ayaa sheegay in qaar ka mid ah saraakiisha boolisku ay laaluush ka qaataan darawallada iyo dadka dhowaan dalka soo galay si ay u helaan adeegyo bilaash ah sida buuxinta buugga dhacdooyinka marka ay soo sheegaan fal dembiyeed.⁴¹ Mid ka mid ah xubnaha bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee ku nool Eastleigh ayaa sheegay in dad badan oo deegaanka ay lacag caddaan ah iyo dahab dhigtaan guryahooda si ay booliska u laaluushaan haddii ay dhacdo in si ula kac ah loo xiro.⁴² Laakiin in dhaqankaan oo dad badan ay ka war qabaan ayaa dhiirigeliyo tuugnimo.

Soomaalida iyo soo galootiga kale ee ka socda Geeska Afrika, sida Oromada iyo Eritrean-ka ayaa la kulmay dhibaataada ugu badan ee ka dhalatay baadka booliska.⁴³ Qaxooti Soomaali ah ayaa sheegay in lagu qasbay in uu ka soo tago xerada qaxootiga ee Dhadhaab maaddaama ay dowladda Mareykanka joojisay lacagaha gargaarka, wuxuuna soo aaday Eastleigh, isagoo joogay guriga saaxiibkiis. Inkastoo uu heystay dukumeentiyo ay soo soo saareen dowladda Kenya iyo hay'adaha gargaarka bani'aadamnimada, haddana waxaa si joogto ah u dhibaateyn jiray oo u xiri jiray booliska. Labo usbuuc ka hor wareysiga, waxaa lagu xiray saldhig boolis oo dhow waxaana lagu qasbay inuu saraakiisha siiyo laaluush dhan KSh1 000 si loo sii daayo.⁴⁴

Calaamad muujinaysa xiriirka xun ee u dhexeeya booliska iyo bulshooyinka Soomaaliyeed ee Nairobi ayaa ah dhaqanka ku sii faafaaya bulshada maxalliga ah ee Soomaaliyeed ee *maslaxa* (oo sidoo kale loo yaqaano *masilaxa* ama *maslaxa*), oo ah hab dhaqameed oo lagu xalliyo khilaafaadka oo ku xiran sharciga dhaqanka Soomaalida (Xeer). Tani waxay u weecataa in khilaafaadka lagu xalliyo bulshada dhexdeeda, halkii maxkamadaha ama booliska la isla tagi lahaa oo ay keentay khilaaf kala dhexeeya booliska iyo sidookale dhaqanka soo jireenka ah. Dastuurka Kenya wuxuu ogolaanayaa in waddooyin kale lagu xalliyo khilaafaadka, kuwaas oo maxkamadda ka baxsan ama habka ugu horreeyo ee dacwadaha lagu dhageysto, laakiin maha noocyadaan kiisaska dembiyada.⁴⁵

Ka qeybgalayaasha Wadhallada Amniga ee La Wadaagay (Shared Security Dialogues) waxay xuseen in xubnaha bulshada Soomaaliyeed ay inta badan doorbidaan in khilaafaadka lagu xalliyo *maslaxa*, taasi oo sahleysa dhexdhexaadinta iyo dib-u-heshiisiinta ay hoggaaminayaan odeyaal bulshada dhexdeeda laga ixtiraamo. Laakiin ka qeybgalayaasha waxay sidookale tilmaameen khatarro weyn oo ka imaada isticmaalka habkaan, maaddama uu inta badan iska indha tiro cunqabateynta ku xusan nidaamka sharciga Kenya oo ku aaddan dembiyada, waxayna beddelkeeda soo rogtaa xukunno kale.⁴⁶ Sida laga soo xigtay dhowr qof oo ka soo qeybgashay wadhadalka, nidaamkaan ma laha habab ciqaab iyo isla xisaabtan, in dembiyadaas dib loogu laabto na aad bay u sareeyaan. Talo soo jeedin muhiim ah oo ka soo baxday Heshiiska Amniga ee La Wadaago (Shared Security Pact) in *maslaxa* loo isticmaalo 'murannada yar yar oo keliya, iyo in dembiyada culus (sida rabshadaha jireed) iyo dembiyada abaabulan (sida tahriibinta) loo gudbiyo nidaamka caddaaladda ee rasmiga ah.



LACAG DHAQIDDA IYO SUMCAD XUMADA KA DHALATA DEMBIYADA

Sababta soo jireenka ah ee Soomaalida Eastleigh ku nool ay sumcad xumada kala kulanta oo waayadaan dambe soo cusboonaatay ayaa ah in xaafadda lala xiriiriyay lacag dhaqidda. Arrintaan ayaa ah tuhun jiro maaddama dabaqyo badan oo dhaadheer laga dhisaayo Eastleigh,⁴⁷ taasoo keentay in lagu eedeeyo in qaar ka mid ah xubnaha bulshada Soomaalida ee halkaas ku nool ay dhismaha u adeegsadaan hab ay lacagta ku dhaqaan.

Sumcaddaan ayaa ah mid ay yeesheen tan iyo horraanti 2010-meeyadi, markii warbaahintu ay sheegtay in burcad-badeedka maraakiibta ka afduubta xeebaha Soomaaliya ay lacagta ku dhaqaayaan nidaamka dhaqameed ee xawilaadda.⁴⁸ Nidaamkaan wuxuu ku saleysan yahay kalsooni wuxuuna ka gudbaayaa nidaamka bangiyada caalamiga ah; iyadoo qaar badan oo ka mid ah howlwadeennadiisa ay ku sugnaayeen Eastleigh. Warbixinnadu waxay sheegeen in lacag badan oo la dhaqay lagu maalgelinaayo hantida ma-guurtada ah ee Eastleigh.⁴⁹

Fadeexad dhowaan shaaca laga qaaday ayaa sii xumeysay aragtida la xiriirta lacag dhaqidda laga aaminsan yahay bulshada Soomaaliyeed. Fadeexaddan waxay ku saabsaneyd musuqmaasuq ka dhacay barnaamij ay maamulaysay hay'ad aan faa'iido doon ahayn oo ku taalo gobolka Minnesota ee dalka Mareykanka intii u socday cudurka safmarka ah ee COVID-19. Arrintaan waxay Madaxweynaha Mareykanka Donald Trump ku dhalisay in uu ku dhowaayo in 'Burcad Soomaali ah ay cabsi ku hayaan dadka gobolkaas weyn'.⁵⁰ Barnaamijka oo ay maamulaysay hay'ad aan faa'iido doon ahayn ayaa sheegay in uu raashin siinaayay carruurta iskuulleyda, balse dacwad-oogeyaashu waxay ku eedeyeen in tirada carruurta la buunbuuniyay si loo helo lacago dheeraad ah. Dad badan oo eedeysanayaal ka ahaa kiisaskaan ayaa ahaa Soomaali ku nool gobolka Minnesota.⁵¹ Mid ka mid ah eedeysanayaashaan, oo u dhashay Kenya, ayay mas'uuliyiinta Mareykanka ku eedeyeen in lacagtaan beenta lagu helay oo ka timaaday hay'ad aan faa'iido doon ahayn uu isticmaalay in uu ku dhaqo hantida ma-guurtada ah ee Kenya, oo ay ku jirto iibsashada dhisme dabaq ah oo ku yaallo xaafadda South C ee Nairobi.⁵²

Fadeexadaan ayaa dib u soo nooleysay eedeymo – iyo caro – ku saabsan dhismayaasha dhaadheer ee ku soo badanaayo Eastleigh. Tusaale ahaan, siyaasi Kenyan ah oo ka tirsan xisbi qaran oo caan ah ayaa ku dhawaaqay in 'uu jiro suuq weyn oo ku yaallo Eastleigh oo lagu dhisay lacagtaan' wuxuuna sheegay in eedeysanaha 'u joogo Eastleigh, ayna sheegi karaan meesha uu joogo'.⁵³ Bulshada Ganacsatada Eastleigh ayaa bishi Janaayo 2026-ka soo saartay bayaan ay ku cambaareynayso 'olole abaabulan oo loogu talagalay in lagu waxyeleeyo ganacsiyada ay Soomaalidu leedahay iyo in lagu wiiqiyo bulsha-weynta ganacsatada ka ah ee xaafaddaan'.⁵⁴



Kobaca dhismaha Eastleigh ayaa ka dhigay mid u nugul lacag dhaqidda iyadoo loo maraayo hantida ma-guurtada ah. © Neil Thomas/Corbis via Getty Images

Iyadoo aan loo eegin doodka dadweynaha iyo carada ku saabsan arrintaan, haddana maamulka iyo warbaahinta ayaa weli si fican u baaraaya lacagaha lagu dhaqo Eastleigh. Tani waxay qayb ahaan sabab u noqon kartaa cabsi laga qabo aargoosiga, maaddaama fal dembiyeedka noocaan loo maleynaayo in dad saameyn leh ay ku lug leeyihin – gaar ahaan kuwa ku jira suuqa hantida ma-guurtada ah ee aadka u faa’iidada badan leh. Cilmi-baaris dheeraad ah, oo ay ku jiraan baaritaanka kiisas badan oo muddo ka dhacaayey xaafadda, ayaa loo baahan yahay si loo soo bandhigo dhibaatooyinka lacag dhaqidda ka socota Eastleigh.

Waxaa cad in kiiska Minnesota uu san soo nooleynin shakigi hore jiray oo keliya, laakiin sidoo kale cabashooyinkii hore ee bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee xaafadda Eastleigh oo ku saabsanaa sida qeybaha bulshada Kenyaanka ay u arkaan. Kala qeybsanaantaan waxay wiiqeysaa horumarrada dhowaan kor lagu xusay oo u dhexeeya bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Eastleigh iyo booliska, iyadoo dadka deegaanka ay sheegayaan in saraakiisha askarta loo arko sidi dad shisheeye ah.



TAHRIIBINTA IYO KA GANACSIGA DADKA

Arrimaha isku dhafan ee ku saabsan rajada ay dadka soo galootiga ka qabaan fursadaha dhaqaale iyo waxbarasho, kaalinta ay magaalada Nairobi kaga jirto Bariga Afrika sida xarun gaadiid, iyo Eastleigh oo ay joogaan bulsho Soomaaliyeed iyo kuwa kale oo ka soo jeeda Geeska Afrika, waxay ka dhigan tahay in Eastleigh ay tahay meel muhiim ah oo ay soo gaaraan dadka soo galootiga ah ee magaalada soo galaaya. Waxay sidookale soo jiidataa shabakadaha dadka tahriibiya, kuwaas oo Eastleigh u adeegsada sida marin ay maraan dadka u gudbaayo Koonfurta Afrika oo u sii gudbaayo waxa loo yaqaano 'waddada koonfureed' ee socdaalka. Cilmi baaris hore ayaa taageeraysa aragtidaan: Ururka Caalamiga ah ee Socdaalka, ayaa tusaale ahaan, Eastleigh ku tilmaamay xarun muhiim ah oo ku taalo waddada muhaajirinta ka imaanaaya waddamada Bariga Afrika (gaar ahaan Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya) una socda Koonfur Afrika. Xaafaddaan waxaa la sheegay in loo adeegsado sida meel lagu dhex milmo oo lagu dhuunto, iyo meel ay isugu yimaadaan dadka wax tahriibiya si ay u qorsheeyaan safarka koonfurta.⁵⁵

Warshadaha dukumeentiyada been-abuurka ee ku kobcaaya Nairobi, oo ay ku jirto Eastleigh, ayaa sahlaaya isdhexgalka – taasi oo muujineyso sida noocyada kala duwan ee dembiyada abaabulan uu mid ba midka kale ka faa'iideysanaayo. Eastleigh waa meel ay dadka tahriibiyeyaasha ay dadka mariyaan si ay u helaan kaararka aqoonsiga iyo baasaboorrada si ay u fududeeyaan safarkooda Koonfur Afrika, Yurub iyo Canada, iyo meelo kale. Marka ay yimaadaan Eastleigh, dadka soo galootiga ah ee aan sharciga haysan ee isticmaalaaya adeegyada shabakadaha tahriibinta waxaa la dejiyaa guryo kiro ah oo ciriiri ah iyo hoteello raqiis ah, oo hay'adaha sharci fullinta ka fog.⁵⁶

Odey Soomaaliyeed oo ku sugan Eastleigh ayaa daraasaddaan uga sheekayay ganacsade fadhigiisu yahay Eastleigh, kaasi oo la aaminsanaa in uu ku lug lahaa tahriibinta dadka. Wuxuu lahaa dhowr baabuur oo uu u isticmaali jiray in uu Itoobiyaanka iyo Soomaalida ku keeno Eastleigh. Odeygaan ayaa sheegay in ganacsadahaan uu xiriir la leeyahay ganacsato raadinayso shaqaaleyaal raqiis ah oo uga shaqeeyo ganacsiyada waratada ah iyo wadista mootooyinka. Intaa waxaa dheer, wuxuu sheegay in uu heysto 'dhowr saraakiil boolis iyo maamulayaal oo biil walbo lacag siiyo oo u shaqeeya' si ay u fududeeyaan ganacsiga. Mukhalasiinta sida shakhsigaan ayaa sidookale xiriir la leh dadka shaqada dadka kaga qora xeryaha qaxootiga sida Dhadhaab iyo Kakuma, kuwaas oo u shaqeeyo dilaal ahaan.⁵⁷

Xaaladaha cimilada ee aadka u daran (gaar ahaan, abaarta) Geeska Afrika, Soomaaliya iyo waqooyiga Kenya ayaa sababo in loo soo qaxo Eastleigh.⁵⁸ Dad badan oo ka mid ah dadka ay Soomaaliya ka soo qixisay sababo la xiriira cimilada ayaa soo gaaro xerada qaxootiga ee Dhadhaab, halkaasi oo ay diiwaangeliyaan mukhalasiinta iyo



Dadka soo galootiga ah ee xaafadda Eastleigh waxay halis ugu jiraan dhibaateynta ay kala kulmaan shakhsiyaadka musuqmaasuqa iyo falalka dembiyada ku lug leh. © Siegfried Modola/Reuters

tahriibiyayaasha kaddib na waxaa la keena Eastleigh. Qaar ka mid ah ayaa ugu dambeyn loo tahriibiyaa qurbaha, iyada oo loo maraayo Koonfur Afrika, Ugaandha ama Koonfurta Suudaan. Xerada Qaxootiga ee Dhadhaab ayaa ah xarun lagu haayo qaxootiga, halkaas oo ay sii joogaan inta kooxaha abaabulka ahi ay u helayaan dukumeentiyada safarka ama dhalashada si ay ugu sii noolaadaan Kenya. Kuwa ku soo hara Eastleigh waxaa laga shaqaaleysiiyaa ganacsiyada yar yar ee xaafadda sida – ganacsiga waratada iyo wadidda mootooyinka ee loo yaqaano *boda boda* – ama waxay gacanta la galaan fal dembiyeedyada yar yar (tusaale ahaan, tuugnimada, xatooyada iyo ka ganacsiga mukhaadaraadka). Dhowr ila wareedyo ayaa soo sheegay in ay kordheen qaxootiga Itoobiyaanka iyo kuwa Soomaalida ah ee u soo guuraayo Eastleigh kaddib markii u maamulka Mareykanka joojiyay maalgelinta barnaamijyada gargaarka ee xeryaha qaxootiga, taasoo sii xumeysay xaaladooda ba'an.⁵⁹

Marka laga soo tago ka ganacsiga dadka, tahriibin noocyo kala duwan ayaa lagu sheegay Eastleigh. Xaafadda waa xarun muhiim u ah shabakadaha dadka tahriibiya kuwaas oo khiyaano shaqaalaha dalalka Afrika iyagoo u balanqaadaayo shaqooyin Bariga Dhexe iyo Aasiya. Xarunta Cilmi-baarista Dembiyada Qaranka ee Kenya ayaa 2015-ki Eastleigh ku sheegtay in ay tahay meel ay aad ugu badan yihiin kuwa dadka ka ganacsada.⁶⁰ Tan iyo marki cudurka safmarka ah ee COVID-19, dhibanayaal badan ayaa laga soo badbaadiyay Eastleigh. Tusaale ahaan bishii Juun 2021-di, in ka badan 100 haween iyo gabdho reer Ugaandha ah ayaa laga soo saaray iyagoo laga doonaayo in shaqaaleysiin looga ganacsado.⁶¹ Warbixinta Tahriibinta Dadka ee Waaxda Arrimaha Dibedda ee Mareykanka ee 2023-di ayaa xustay in 'kuwa dadka shaqaaleysiiya oo fadhigoodu yahay Nairobi ay shabakado ku leeyihiin Ugaandha iyo Itoobiya, kuwaas oo shaqo ka qora dad u dhashay waddamada Burundi, Itoobiya, Rwanda, iyo Ugaandha iyadoo loo maraayo shaqooyin been ah [oo waddamo kale]', waxayna xustay in Eastleigh ay tahay xarun caan ah oo loogu talagalay galmada iyo in gabdhaha ka soo jeedo Ugaandha loo tahriibiyo shaqo.⁶²

Nooca ugu weyn ee ka ganacsiga dadka ee lagu sheegay Wadahaadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago waa in dadka looga faa'iideysto galmada, kuwaas oo mararka qaar bartilmaameysanaayo haweenka dhibaateysan ee soo

gaaro Eastleigh. Qaar ka mid ah ka ganacsiga dadka la keeno Eastleigh iyadoo ujeeddadu tahay ka faa'iideysiga galmada waxaa fududeeya dumar, ama siday ay warbaahintu sheegtay, 'mukhalasiin dumar oo lacag leh kuwaas gabdhaha qoysaska saboolka ah ka soo jeedo ku khiyaaneeya fursado noloshooda beddelaayo iyadoo ugu dambeyn gelaayo xiriir hasaawe oo qasab ah oo tacaddiyo ay kala kulmaan'.⁶³ Qaar ka mid ah haweenka la tahriibiyo ayaa sheegaaya in lagu soo jiitay ballanqaadyo shaqo iyo waxbarasho, ka hor inta aan lagu hayn qolalka hoteellada ee Eastleigh, oo leh ilaalo iyadoo ay faraxumeeyaan rag taajirin ah oo mararka qaar muqaallo ka duubo. Hal urur oo bulshada rayyidka ayaa sheegay in shaqaalaha hoteellada ay la shaqeeyaan dadka ka ganacsada mukhaadaraadka oo ay hay'adaha sharci fullinta ka qariyaan xadgudubyadaan.⁶⁴

Sheeko naxdin leh

Sida laga soo xigtay ka qeybgalayaasha Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago, nooc ka mid ah dembiyada abaabulan ee bartilmaameedsanaya bulshada Soomaalida ee Eastleigh waa shabakadaha dembiyada abaabulan oo shaqaaleysiinaayo dhallinyarada Soomaaliyeed ee ku nool magaalada iyadoo ka ballan qaadaayo in ay geeyaan Yurub. Marka ay Liibiya gaaraan, muhaajiriinta waa la xiraa iyadoo laga qaadaayo lacag madax furaasho.

Tusaale ahaan, mid ka mid ah dadka deggan Eastleigh ayaa sheegay in mid ka mid ah shabakadahaan uu xubin ka mid ah qoyskiisa ku soo jiitay ballanqaad shaqo oo wanaagsan oo Yurub.⁶⁵ Afdubayaasha waxay ka ballanqaadeen in ay bixinayaan qarashka ku baxaaya safarka ay ku tageyso Yurub, qarashka hoteelka, iyo cuntada. Bil kaddib marka ay baxday, waxay ka soo wacday Libya: shabakada dembiyada ayaa dalbanaysay US\$17 000 si loo sii daayo. Waxay qoyskeeda u direen muqaal muujinaayo iyadoo la jirdilaayo lana faraxumeynaayo. Qoyska ayaa iibiyay hanti ay ku lahaayeen Eastleigh iyo Garissa si ay u bixiyaan madaxfurashada, iyadoo lacagta lagu shubay akoon ku yaalla Imaaraadka Carabta. Afdubayaashu waxay ballanqaadeen in ay sii deyn doonaan marka lacagta ay helaan, laakiin xiligi qoraalkaan u soo baxaayay lama soo sii dayn.

Dad kale oo la wareystay ayaa soo sheegay kiisas la mid ah waxayna soo jeediyeen in dhacdadaan ay si weyn u korortay 18-kii bilood ee la soo dhaafay. Hal waalid ayaa badbaadiyay gabadhiisa iyadoo sii raaceysa diyaarad ku sii jeeday Jubba, Koonfurta Suudan, una sii jeeday Liibiya. Waxay diyaaradda ka raacday Kampala, iyadoo ka soo safartay Mandheera (waqooyi bari Kenya) illaa iyo Nairobi, iyadoo ka gudubtay xuduudda Busia illaa iyo Ugaandha.⁶⁶

Dembiilayaashu waxay muddo dheer bartilmaameedsanayeen dadka soo galootiga ah ee Soomaalida iyo kuwa kale ee Geeska Afrika ee ku sugan Liibiya si ay u helaan lacago baad iyo afduub ay ku helaan madaxfurasho.⁶⁷ Sheekooyinkaan waxay muujinayaan in shabakadaha dembiilayaasha ay hadda bartilmaameedsanayaan bulshooyinka Soomaalida ee Nairobi iyadoo adeegsanaayo xeelado isku mid ah.

Wararkaan naxdinta leh waxay muujinayaan in xaafadaha magaalooyinka ee ay tahriibiyayaasha u isticmaalaan xarumo howlgal ahaan ay badanaa yihiin bulshooyinka ay waxyeellada badan ka soo gaaraan dembiyada abaabulan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, inkastoo ay taasi jirto, aragtida ay dad badan qabaan ayaa ah in bulshooyinkaan ay ku lug leeyihiin falalka dembiyada, taasi oo ah sumcad xumo xaq darro ah oo xafadaha oo dhan ku timaaday. ■



DUKUMEENTIYADA BEEN-ABUURKA

Suuqyada kala duwan ee sharci darrada ah sida ay isu xoojiyaan ayaa si cad uga muuqata dhaqanka sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka. Inkastoo marka dusha sare laga eego ay u muuqan karto in sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka mid aan waxyeello lahayn marka loo eego ka ganacsiga dadka, haddana waxay si weyn u fududeynaysaa ka ganacsiga iyo tahriibinta, waxayna dhaqaale ahaan waxyeelaynaysaa ganacsiyada maxalliga ah.

Howlgallada booliska waxay shaaca ka qaadeen dhowr kooxood oo ka shaqeeyo sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka ee gudaha Eastleigh, waxaana jiro caddeymo muujinaayo in kooxahaan ay la shaqeeyaan shabakadaha caalamiga ah ee tahriibinta dadka – inkastoo qaabka saxda ah ee iskaashigaan aan weli si buuxda loo fahmin. Agaasinka Baarista Dembiyada (DCI) ayaa sheegay in 'baarayaashu ay aaminsan yihiin in labada tuhmane ay qeyb ka yihiin koox weyn oo dadka soo galootiga ka soo jeeda gobolka u tahriibisa waddamo kale', kaddib weerar ay 2019-ki ku qaadeen dadka sameeya dukumeentiyada been-abuurka.⁶⁸ Bishi Oktoobar 2021-di, waxay xaafadda Eastleigh ku soo qabteen lix tuhmane oo heystay kaararka aqoonsiga qaranka, dukumeentiyada diiwaangelinta qaxootiga iyo shahaadooyin waxbarasho iyo dukumeentiyo kale oo been abuur ah.⁶⁹



Baabuur ay leeyihiin ciidamada Kenya ee ilaaliya xuddudaha ayaa roondooyin ka sameeya Eastleigh si ay u soo qabtaan kooxaha looga shakisan yahay in ay ka mid yihiin kooxaha xagjirka ee Muslinka isku sheego. Khatarraha amniga ee Eastleigh waxaa sii xumeeyay faafitaanka waraaqaha been-abuurka ah. © Brian Inganga/AFP via Getty Images

DCI-da ayaa sidoo kale dhacdo kale ku xustay in dukumeentiyada been-abuurka 'u si xun u waxyeelleeyo daacadnimada nidaamyada dowladda wuxuuna dalka u soo jiidayaa khatarro amni oo ba'an, oo ay ku jiraan soo galitaanka iyo ka bixitaanka dadka'.⁷⁰ Faalladan waxay timid kaddib howlgal bishi Diseembar 2025-ti la sameeyay, kaasi oo lagu xiray mas'uuliyinta deegaanka oo looga shakisan yahay in ay ku lug lahaayeen sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka. Waxaa ku jiray labo taliye oo boolis oo ka howlgala Eastleigh, diiwangeliyeyaal, karraani, farsamoyaqaanno iyo ganacsato maxalli ah.⁷¹ Tusaalahaan wuxuu muujinayaa caqabadda musuqmaasuqa iyo iskaashiga ka dhex jira qaar ka mid ah hay'adaha dowladda – aragti ay qabaan dhowr ka qeybgaleyaal oo ka soo qeybgalay Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago.⁷² Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay sidoo kale xaqiijiyeen in qaxootiga awood u leh inay bixiyaan laaluushka ay isticmaalaan dadka sameeya dukumeentiyada been-abuurka si ay u helaan aqoonsiyada iyo baasaboorrada Kenya oo been-abuur ah.⁷³

Dhacdadaan ma'aha mid Eastleigh, Nairobi ku kooban. Magaaladu waxay muddo dheer ahayd xarun laga tahriibiyo dadka, xaaladdaan oo ay fududeysay dhowr xiriir oo laga safro oo calami ah iyo helitaanka adeegyada sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka. Howlgallada booliska ay ku qaadeen guryaha lagu qariyo dadka soo galootiga ee aan sharciyeysnayn ayaa waxaa inta badan laga soo saaraa dukumeentiyo aqoonsi iyo kuwa safar oo been-abuur ah, iyadoo waddamada kale ee Afrika ay yihiin meelaha ugu badan ee loo safaayo.⁷⁴ Xafiska Qaramada Midoobay ee Daroogada iyo Dembiyada (UNODC) ayaa 2018-ki magalaada Nairobi ku tilmaamay in ay tahay xarun muhiim u ah dadka u safaayo Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique iyo Koonfur Afrika.⁷⁵ Intii lagu jiray Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaagay, ka qeybgalayaashu waxay soo sheegeen dhaqan cusub oo dadka loo tahriibinaayo waddamada waqooyiga sida Koonfurta Suudaan iyo Liibiya (eeg sanduuqa bogga 13). Tani ayaa inta badan ah in dhalinyaro lagu soo jiito ballanqaadyo shaqo oo Bariga Dhexe ama loo gudbinaayo Yurub, kuwaas oo tahriibiyayaasha siiyo lacag ay ku soo saaraan dukumeentiyo kaddib na loo geysto jirdil iyo in laga qaado madax furasho.⁷⁶

Ka qeybgalayaasha Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago ayaa sheegay in waaxda gaarka ah loo leeyahay ay sidoo kale saameeyso dukumeentiyada been-abuurka, iyo in dukumeentiyada been-abuurka ay fududeeyaan dembiyada kale sida khiyaanada dhaqaale, diwaangelinta ganacsiyada sharci darrada ah iyo khiyaanada cashuurta. Ganacsatada Soomaaliyeed ayaa ka cabanaayo in qaar ka mid ah mas'uuliyiinta dowladda hoose ay dalbadaan laaluush si aysan u raacin sharciga, iyagoo ganacsiyada sharciyeysan u beddelaayo meelo 'ay lacagaha kaga miirtaan' iyagoo qaadanaayo laaluush, isla markaana fursad u siinaayo in ganacsiyada sharci darrada ay helaan shatiyo.⁷⁷



BOOBKA DHULALKA

Waxyaabaha caadiga ka ah in aad ku aragto Eastleigh waa qoraallo, 'Dhismahaan iib ma'aha'. Dhab ahaanti, guriga ka soo horjeedo goobta lagu qabanaayo mid ka mid ah wadhadallada ayaa lagu soo bandhigay qoraallo noocaas (eeg sawirka hoose ee bidix). Boobka dhulalka iyo in dhulalka lagu iibiyo si sharci darro ah waa dhibaato aad dhab u ah, laakiin ma'aha mid cusub. Ardey dhigata dugsiga hoose dhexe oo dowladeed ayaa 2015-ki lagu tuuray sunta dadka ka ilmaysiisa iyagoo ka mudaharaadaayo in garoonka ay ku ciyaaraan laga iibiyay hoteel.⁷⁸ Sidookale 2018-ki, warbaahinta waxay shaaca ka qaaday in nidaamka tiknoolajiyadda u suurtoagal u yahay helitaanka shatiyada lahaanshaha dhulka looga na hortagi karo boobka dhulalka Kenya.⁷⁹

Dhulalka oo si sharci darro loo la wareego iyo dhismaha sharci darrada ah waxay la xiriiraan musuqmaasuqa iyo lacag dhaqidda. Qiimayn Qaran oo loo sameeyay Hay'adda Diiwangelinta Ganacsiga sanadki 2022-dii, taasi oo ku saabsanayd khatarraha lacag-dhaqidda ayaa sheegtay in inkastoo waaxda dhismaha ay ka koobnayd 20% dhammaan hay'adaha iyo shirkadaha sharciyeysan ee Kenya, haddana ay mas'uul ka ahayd 57% kiisaska lacag-dhaqidda – taas oo ka dhigaysa waaxda ugu saameynta badan ee dhibaataadaan sameysay, halka hantida ma-guurtada ah ay gashay kaalinta labaad, iyadoo ku lug lahayd 8% kiisaska lacag-dhaqidda.⁸⁰

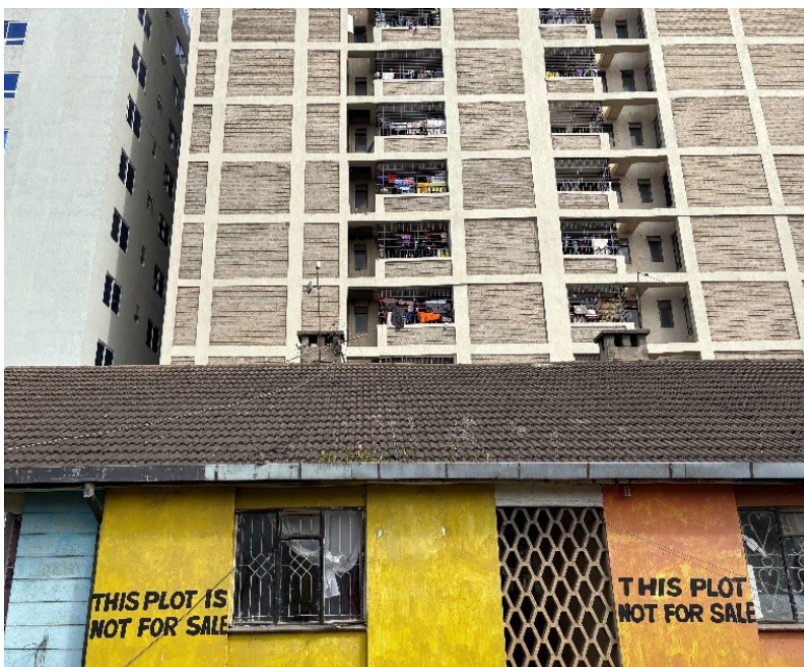
Bulshada rayyidka ah ee Eastleigh ayaa ku khasbanaatay inay sameysato habab u gaar ah oo lagula dagaallamo boobka dhulka. Mudaharaadyada waddooyinka ayaa sanadihi la soo dhaafay dhowr xarumood oo muhiim ah oo adeegyo dadweyne bixiyo iyo kaabayaal dhaqaale ka badbaadiyay in si sharci darro ah loo la wareego – kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin Isbitaalka Hooyada iyo Dhallaanka ee Pumwani, Xarunta Caafimaadka Eastleigh iyo dhismaha Dugsiga Sare ee Maina Wanjigi.⁸¹ Shabakadda Nabadda Bulshada ee Kamukunji (oo ka mid ahayd bah-wadaagti mashruuca Wadhadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago) ayaa fashiliyay isku day uu shakhsi ku doonayay in uu si sharci darro ah ku boobo dhul uu leeyahay Saldhigga Booliska Ciidanka Cirka Moi (Moi Air Base Police Station).⁸² Shakhsigaan ayaa ku guuleystay inuu si khiyaano iyo been-abuur ah ku helo waraaqaha lahaanshaha dhulka ee goobtaas. Sanadki ka horreeyay, xildhibaan ka tirsan deegaanka ayaa fashiliyey isku dayo ay dad maalqabeen ah ku doonayeen inay si sharci darro ah ula wareegaan qeyb ka mid ah Dugsiga Sare ee Maina Wanjigi, oo ah xarun waxbarasho oo dowladeed.⁸³

Qaar ka mid ah shabakadaha gancsiga sharci darrada ah ayaa bartilmaameedsado dhulalka dowladda ee aan la dagnayn, islamarkaana si sharci darro ah ula wareega iyagoo isticmaalaayo dukumeentiyo been-abuur ah lana shaqeynaayo saraakiil dowladeed iyo mas'uuliyiinta maamulka degmada. Mid ka mid ah hababka inta badan la adeegsado ayaa ah in mas'uuliyiinta deegaanka, oo ay ku jiraan kuwa dowladda hoose, ay ansixiyaan ama fududeyaan mashaariic dhisme iyadoo ay jiraan diidmooyin, dacwado maxkamadeed ama habraacyo sharci oo socda oo la xiriiro eedeymo ku saabsan jebinta xeerarka qorsheynta, aag-qeybsiga dhulka, ama dhismaha.⁸⁴ Kiis

dhacay Febraayo 2026-da ayaa horseeday in Guddiga Caddaaladda Maamulka, oo ah hay'adda cabashooyinka dadweynaha Kenya, uu ka taliyo in 'dacwad ciqaabeed iyo tallaabo anshax marin ah' laga qaado dhowr mas'uul oo ka tirsan dowladda hoose kuwaas oo ansixiyay dhismaha dabaq dheer oo ku yaalla Eastleigh 'inkastoo ay caddeed in la jebiyay shuruucda'.⁸⁵

Ku takrifalka iyo boobka dhulalka wuxuu saameeyay koxo badan oo bulshada ka tirsan – mana aha oo keliya bulshooyinka laga tiro badan yahay (inkastoo ay yihiin kuwa ugu dareen ee dhibaatadaan saameysay). 9-kii Oktoobar 2025-ti, taliye ciidan ayaa xubnaha Baarlamaanka Kenya u sheegay in dhismayaasha sharci darrada ah ay khatar ku yihiin amniga diyaaradaha ka duula Saldhigga Ciidanka Cirka ee Moi ee ku yaalla Eastleigh: 'Dhismayaal ayaa la dhisay, kuwaas oo wax u dhimaya amniga xerada. Warbixinnada loo gudbiyay dowladda hoose waxay noqdeen kuwa aan miro dhal lahayn maaddama wali dhismayaasha ay socdaan'.⁸⁶ Waxay u muuqataa in xitaa ciidamada qalabka sida ay la kulmeen caqabado iyo niyad jab ku aaddan dadaallada lagu xakameynaayo boobka dhulalka.

Guddi ka tirsan Aqalka Sare ee Baarlamaanka oo qaabilsan arrimaha dowlad wadaajinta ayaa bishi Maarso 2022-dii ku taliyay in baaritaan lagu sameeyo barakicintii sharci darrada ahayd ee laga sameeyay guryo ku yaalla Eastleigh oo loogu talagalay dhakhaatiirta iyo kalkaaliyeyasha caafimaadka ee ka shaqeeya isbitaalka hooyada iyo dhallaanka ee ku dhow, si boos loogu sameeyo mashaariic horumarineed oo gaar loo leeyahay.⁸⁷ Xubin ka tirsan guddigaan ayaa marki dambe faahfaahin ka bixiyay qaar ka mid ah siyaabaha ay dadka dhulka booba ay barakicintaan ugu ekaysiiyeen mid sharciyeysan. Tusaale ahaan, dad ku lebisn dareeska booliska ayaa dhulalka ku dhejin jiray ogeysiis sheegaayo in dhulka uu leeyahay booliska islamarkaana uu iib yahay. Dadka booba dhulalka ayaa markaas habeenki imaan jiray iyagoo 'si Khasab ah uga saaraayo dhammaan dadka degnaa'. Kiis kale ayaa ku saabsanaa barakicin sharci darro ah oo lagu sameeyay shaqaalo degnaa dhul ay lahayd Shirkadda Biyaha iyo Bullaacadaha ee Magaalada Nairobi (Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company), si dhismo cusub meesha looga dhiso.⁸⁸



Qulqulka soo galootiga iyo qaxootiga soo galaaya Eastleigh ayaa kor u qaaday baahida dhulalka iyo guryaha, taasi oo keentay in dadka guryaha degan ee dakhligooda aad u hooseeyo si qasab ah looga saaro guryaha. *Sawirka: GI-TOC*



BURCADDA IYO MUKHAADARAADKA SHARCI DARRADA AH

Xubnaha bulshada Eastleigh ayaa wareysiyada iyo wadhadallada bulshada ka sheegay in rabshadaha burcadda ay yihiin kuwa hal dhinac saameynaayo oo ah falal dembiyeed abaabulan oo ka dhaca xaafadda. Kooxaha burcadda ka jira xaafadda ayaa saameyn labolaab ah ku leh dadka deggan Eastleigh – waxay noqon karaan dhibanayaal dhac loo geysto, ama waxay goob joog ka noqon karaan howlgallo boolis oo lagu jirdilaayo kooxaha burcadda, sidii kiiski hore ee ‘booliska dilaaga ah’ lagu eedeeyay Axmed Rashid.

Nairobi waxay leedahay taariikh dheer la xiriiro dhaqdhaqaaqyada kooxaha burcadda ah, kuwaas oo ku xidhan kala qeybsanaanta qowmiyadeed iyo taageerada siyaasadeed ee ay ka helaan siyaasiyiinta.⁸⁹ Kooxaha burcadda ee Kenya ayaa inta badan qaata doorka ‘kooxo cabsigelin ku shaqeeya’ oo loo adeegsado siyaasadda, iyadoo siyaasiyiintu u isticmaalaan sidii ‘ilaalo’ marka ay carqaladeynayaan isu-soo-baxyada mucaarakooda, iyadoo xaddidaayo dhaqdhaqaaqa dadka, ama xitaa gubaayo guryaha iyo ganacsiyo ay leeyihiin kooxo gaar ah.⁹⁰ Daraasad ku saabsan xiriirka ka dhexeeya dhaqdhaqaaqyada kooxaha burcadda ah iyo siyaasadda Nairobi ayaa lagu sheegay in ‘kooxaha dembilayaasha oo aan la ciqaabin loo isticmaalo nooc ka mid ah taageero’ ay adeegsadaan siyaasiyiinta si ay meelaha qaar u galaan ama u helaan codadka shacabka.⁹¹

Dadka ku nool Eastleigh ee ka qeybqaatay Wadhadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago ayaa sidoo kale walaac ka muujiyay kooxaha burcadda ah oo ay qortaan mulkiilayaasha guryaha ama kuwa dhiso dabaqyada si ay ugu noqdaan cudud dheeraad ah oo ay ku fulliyaan barakicinta sharci darrada ah ee dadka guryaha deggan si boos loogu banneeyo dhismayaal dabaqyo ah ama hoteello faa’iido badan soo saaraayo.⁹² Sidaas darteed, boobka dhulalku wuxuu xiriir dhowr la leeyahay howlaha iyo dhaqdhaqaaqyada kooxaha burcadda ah ee deegaanka.

Burcadda deegaanka ayaa markii hore ka ganacsan jirtay qaadka (kaas oo ah gancsi sharciyeysan) laakiin waxay u gudbeen daroogada sharci darrada ah, oo ay ku jiraan kookayn, heroin, xashiishad iyo methamphetamine, iyo dawooyin si sharci darro ah loo leexiyay. Nigeria, oo ah degsiimo aan si rasmi ah u dhisnayn kuna taalla xadka Eastleigh iyo Mathare, ayaa caan ku ah isticmaalka iyo ka ganacsiga mukhaadaraadka, sidoo kalena marar badan waxay goob u noqotaa isku dhacyo iyo dagaallo xukun oo u dhexeeya kooxaha burcadda ah ee deegaanka. Intaa waxaa dheer, dadka ku nool Eastleigh waxay aqoonsadeen dhowr waddo ay joogaan dadka isticmaala iyo kuwa ka ganacsada mukhaadaraadka, kuwaas oo sidoo kale si fican ay u yaqaanaan booliska.⁹³ Daawooyinka sida sharci darrada ah loo leexaday ama loo isticmaalo si khalidan waxaa laga heli karaa oo keliya ma’aaha kuwa ka ganacsada mukhaadaraadka, balse sidookale waxaa laga iibsaa karaa farmashiyeyaasha sida rasmiga ah u diiwaangashan, taas oo muujinaysa dhibaatooyin la xiriira kormeer la’aan iyo musuqmaasuqa ka jira Dowladda Hoose ee Nairobi.

Eastleigh waxay leedahay labo kooxood oo waaweyn oo burcad ah – Super Power iyo kuwa dhowaan la aas-aasay oo loo yaqaano Only the Family (OTF). Waxaa inta badan magacyadooda laga sheega warbaahinta waxayna leeyihiin qaab-dhismeed xubinnimo oo aad u habaysan iyo kala sarreyn marka loo eego kooxaha yar yar ee inta badan ku lug leh xatooyada yar yar.

Muhiimadda ayaa ah in kooxaha burcadda ee waaweyn sida Super Power ay ku lug yeeshaan Shabakadaha baadda ee 'ilaalinta' sharci darrada ah ee ganacsiyada, maaddaama ay u baahan yihiin inay yeeshaan awood lagu kalsoonaan karo oo ay ku fulin karaan rabshado haddii aan la siinin lacag.

Kooxda Super Power, oo ah koox muddada ugu dheer ka howlgalaysay Eastleigh illaa iyo hadda, ayaa ka kooban dhallinyaro (oo ay ku jiraan Soomaali) oo laga soo tarxiilay Waddamada reer galbeedka oo hore qaxooti ahaan u qaabilay.⁹⁴ Waxaa lagu tuhmaaya in ay gacanta kula jiraan fal dambiyeedyo – sida iibinta mukhaadaraadka, tuugnimada, xatooyada rabshadda wadata iyo baad – si ay u sii wadaan qaab nololeedkooda reer galbeedka.⁹⁵

Si ka duwan kooxaha burcadda yar yar ee maxalliga ah, xubnaha Super Power waxay mararka qaar isticmaalaan hub, taasi oo aan inta badan lagu aqoonin burcadka ka howlgala Nairobi. Super Power waxay beddeshay dhaqdhaqaaqa kooxaha burcadda ee Eastleigh, taasi oo aan keliya sabab u ahayn isticmaalkooda hubka laakiin ay sabab u tahay in ka hor inta aysan kooxdu soo bixin, kooxaha burcadda xaafadda ugu awood badnaa ay inta badan ka imaan jireen xaafadaha dhow sida Mathare iyo Pangani. Sarkaalka booliska ah ee Axmed Rashid, oo lagu eedeeyay dilal aan sharci ahayn oo uu ku dilay koox burcad ah oo ka jiray Eastleigh, ayaa la rumeysan yahay in uu wiiqay awoodda Super Power isagoo ku qasbay xubno oo ka tirsan kooxda in ay u cararaan meelo kale oo ay ku nool yihiin dadka Soomaaliyeed (sida Komarock, Kiamaiiko iyo Mowlem), iyo dalal kale. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dadka deegaanka qaarkood waxay aaminsan yihiin in awoodda Super Power ay sanidihi ugu dambaysay kobacday.

Dadka ku nool Eastleigh ee lagu wareystay daraasaddaan ayaa arkay xubno looga shakisan yahay inay yihiin Super Power oo lacago baad ah ka qaadanaayo ganacsiyada waddooyinka 3-aad, 4-aad iyo 7-aad (3rd, 4th and 7th streets). Kooxda burcadka ah waxay sidoo kale maamushaa qaar ka mid ah mootooyinka (*boda bodas*) iyo basaska gaadiidka (*matatus*) waddada Jaamka (Jam Street) ee Eastleigh.⁹⁶ Mid ka mid ah shaqaalaha basaska gaadiidka (*matatu*) ayaa sheegay in kooxdu ay hadda maamusho qiyaasti 25% ee 200 oo *matatus* oo ka shaqeeyo waddada 10-ka kiiloomitir ee Waddada 18-aad (10-kilometre Route 18), taasi oo u adeegta xaafadaha Eastleigh iyo Komarock.⁹⁷ Adeegyada dadweynaha sida gaadiidka ayaa sidookale u muuqda in ay soo jiitaan kooxaha burcadda ee Nairobi maaddaama muhiimaddooda iyo baahida joogtada ah ee la qabo ay u sahlayso kooxahaan inay si joogto ah uga qaadaan lacago baad ah oo loogu talagalay 'ilaalin' ama si adeegyada ay u sii socdaan iyadoo aan la carqaladeynin.⁹⁸

Adeeg kale oo muhiim ah oo ay kooxda Super Power soo faragelisay waa uruurinta qashinka, iyagoo isku dayaayo in ay meesha ka saaraan adeeg-bixiyaasha gaarka ah si kooxda burcadka ay ula wareegto suuqa. Inkastoo Dowladda Hoose ee Nairobi ay mas'uul ka tahay adeeggaan, haddana maareynta qashinka ayaa ka mid ah adeegyada badan ee dowladda oo aan ku filnayn xaafadaha dakhligoodu hooseeya ee magaalada Nairobi. Qashinka aan la uruurinin ayaa dhibaato weyn ku haayo dadweynaha, wuxuuna abuuraa daldaloolo adeeg-bixin oo soo jiita kooxaha dembiileyaasha – oo ay dadka deegaanka u yaqaanaan Shabakadaha baadda ee 'ilaalinta' sharci darrada ah ee ganacsiyada ('cartels'). Waxay la wareegeen shaqada qaashin-qaadista waxayna lacag ka qaadaan dadka deggan guryaha iyo milkiilayaasha ganacsiyada si ay qashinka u ururiyaan. Heerka ay kooxda Super Power ku lug leeyihiin ganacsigaan lama oga. Dowladda Hoose ee Nairobi ayaa ku khasbanaatay inay soo farageliso Diseembar 2025-ti si ay u joojiso isku dayga kooxdaan ay ku doonayeen inay adeegyada uruurinta qashinka kala wareegaan shirkadaha hore qashinka uga ururiinaayay qeybtaan Eastleigh.⁹⁹

Inkastoo dadka degaanka ay dhawaan ogaadeen jiritaanka kooxda burcadda ee OTF ee Eastleigh iyo xaafadaha deriska la ah sida Biafra, Mathare iyo Pangani, haddana macluumaad yar ayaa hadda laga heli karaa xubinimadooda iyo dhaqdhaqaaqyadooda dhaqaale ee sharci darrada ah. Kooxdaan burcadda ayaa u muuqata inay qaateen hab aan daahsoonayn, iyadoo qoraallada OTF hadda lagu arkay dhismayaasha ku yaallo Eastleigh oo dhan.¹⁰⁰



Qaar ka mid ah basaska dadweynaha ee loo yaqaano 'matatu' iyo mootooyinka ka howlgala Eastleigh – oo ah noocyada muhiimka ah ee gaadiidka dadweynaha – waxaa maamulo kooxo burcad ah. Sawirka: GI-TOC



AQOONSIGA CAQABADAHA ADEEG-BIXINTA EE U BAAHAN IN WAX LAGA QABTO

Mid ka mid ah natiijooyinka muhiimka ah ee ka soo baxay cilmi-baarista iyo doodihi la qabtay ayaa ah in suuqyada kala duwan ee sharci-darrada ah ay saameyn ku leeyihiin bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Eastleigh, islamarkaana ay si dhow isugu xiran yihiin oo ay is xoojiyaan, iyadoo abuuraaya meerto ay dembiyadu isku xoojiyaan oo sii socota. Tusaale ahaan, dhowr ka mid ah ka qeybgalayaashii doodaha iyo dadka la wareystay ayaa tilmaamay in sameynta dukumeentiyada been-abuurka uu yahay suuq sharci-darro ah oo fududeeya dembiyo noocyo kale, sida in shabakadaha tahribinta iyo ka ganacsiga dadka in uu u fududeeyo in ay lacag bixiyaan si ajaanibta ay u maraan Nairobi.

Ururrada xuquuqda aadanaha ee maxalliga ah ayaa sidookale soo sheegay in kororka dhismaha deegaanka (mararka qaarkood ay ka mid yihiin dhismayaal sharci darro oo ku yaallo dhul la xaday) ay fududeysay shaqada tahribiyayaasha kuwaas oo haweenka khiyaano si looga faa'iideysto galmada.¹⁰¹ Koox ka mid ah kooxaha ururrada bulshada rayyidka ah ayaa sheegtay in shaqaalaha hoteellada iyo guryaha cusub ee laga dhisay deegaanka ay la shaqeeyaan tahribiyayaasha si dowladda looga qariyo howlaha ka faa'iideysiga ee meesha ka socdo.¹⁰²

Intaa waxaa dheer, in dadka guryaha kireysto si sharci darro ah looga saaro guryaha kaddib boobka dhulalka ay suurtagelisay jiritaanka xubno burcad oo la soo kireystay si ay u fulliyaan guritaanka iyadoo adeegsanaayo rabshado iyo xoog.

Caqabadaha amni ee ka jira Eastleigh ayaa sidoo kale lala xiriiriyay isbeddelka cimilada, maaddama dadka soo galootiga iyo qaxootiga ka soo cararaaya in howlahooda beeraha iyo dhaqaalaha miyiga Soomaaliya ama waqooyiga Kenya ay ka istaageen iyadoo u soo guraayo xaafadda. Dadka cusub ee xaafadda Eastleigh imaanaaya ayaa inta badan marki hore bulsho iyo dhaqaale ahaan la takooray, waxaana si fudud u dhibaateeyo dadka musuqmaasuqa ku lug leh ama dembiyada geysta.

In xaafadda Eastleigh ay u nuglaato dembiyadaan noocyada kala duwan waxaa saldhig u ah daldaloolada soo jireenka ah ee ka jira bixinta adeegyada aas-aasiga ah iyo sidookale kalsooni-darrada ka dhex jirta booliska iyo bulshada Soomaaliyeed. Daldalooladaan waxay gogol xaaran u yihiin kooxaha aan



Koobaca dhismaha ee Eastleigh ayaa fududeeyay shaqada dadka ka ganacsada dadka kuwaas oo dumarka ku xarig geliyo ka faa'iideysiga galmada. Sawirka: GI-TOC

sharciyeysnayn ee inta badan dadka rabshadaha dhaliyo ay xoog ku galaan suuqyada faa'iidada leh, sida ururinta qashinka iyo bixinta 'ammaanka'. Suuqyadaan magaalooyinka ayaa fursado u noqda kooxaha sida maafiyada si ay uga faa'iideystaan kirada ay ku joogaan magaalada. Suuqyada dhulka ee Nairobi waxaa saameeya hab dhaqan ugaarsi ah oo aad u qoto dheer, kaas oo dadka dhulka booba iyo qeybaha dowladda ay iska kaashadaan iyagoo adeegsanaayo xiriirka aan daahfurnayn, waxaana si weyn loogu arkaa in ay yihiin kuwa ugaarsada dadka dakhligoodu hooseeyo iyo kuwa la takooro si ay u barakiciyaan.¹⁰³ Erayada 'maafiya' iyo Shabakadaha baadda ee 'ilaalinta' sharci darrada ah ee ganacsiyada ('cartels') ayaa meelo badan oo ka tirsan Nairobi la adeegsadaa in lagu qeexo kooxaha guryaha dhiso, wakillada dhulalka iyo fududeyayaasha maxalliga oo ku howlgala xiriirka musuqmaasuq ah oo lala yeesho hay'adaha dowladda si ay u qabsadaan dhulalka una dhisaan dhismeyaal cusub.¹⁰⁴

Ka qeybgalayaasha Wadahadallada Amniga ee La Wadaago (Shared Security Dialogues) waxay soo bandhigeen dhowr shay oo caqabad ku ah in wax laga qabto cilladaha ka jira bixinta adeegga waxayna soo jeediyeen siyaabo lagu heli karo jawaab wax ku ool ah oo ku saabsan noocyada dembiyada abaabulan oo saameeya bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Eastleigh. Kuwaas waxaa loo qeybin karaa shan qeybood, kuwaas oo daboolaya caqabadaha ugu waaweyn ee wajahaya dowladda, booliska, xiriirka bulshada iyo dowladda iyo dadaallada bulshada rayidka ah; iyo caqabado kale oo gaar ah oo la xiriira isbeddelka cimilada. Shantaan mowduuc ayaa ka soo baxay wadahadalkii ugu horreeyay waxayna hagayeen doodda xalalka suurtagalka ah.

Talooyinka hoos lagu soo koobay – islamarkaana si faahfaahsan loogu sharraxay Heshiiska Wadajirka ah ee Amniga (Shared Security Pact) – waxay ujeeddadoodu tahay inay wax ka qabtaan shanta arrimood ee muhiimka ah. Talooyinka waxay ku saleysan yihiin falanqeynta noocyada dembiyada abaabulan ee saameeya bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Eastleigh, sida lagu faahfaahiyay warbixintaan siyaasadeed. Marka la isu geeyo, warbixintaan siyaasadeed iyo Heshiiska Wadajirka ah ee Amniga waxay noqon karaan aalado waxtar leh oo lagu dejin karo jawaab dhameystiran oo ku wajahan amniga magaalooyinka ee deegaanka, taas oo anfici karta dadka dejiya siyaasadaha (policymakers), saraakiisha dowladda, ururrada bulshada rayidka iyo bulshada deegaanka.

1. Dadaallada Dowladda

Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay aqoonsadeen in madaxda dowladda hoose iyo hay'adaha kale ee sharci fullinta oo marwalbo la beddelo ay tahay caqabad kaalin weyn ka qaadaneysa kobcinta kalsoonida, taasoo carqaladeynaysa xiriirka la aas-aasay iyo kaydka xusuusta hay'adaha. Waxaa la isku raacay in musuqmaasuq uu ka jiro bixinta dukumeentiyada (kaarka aqoonsiga qaran, basaboorrada, shatiyada ganacsiga), iyo in xallinta khilaafaadka oo loo maraayo dhaqanka (*maslaha*) aysan laheyn isla xisaabtan loogu talagalay dembiyada waa weyn, taasoo keenaysa in dib loo sameeyo fal-dembiyeedyadaas. Talooyinka waxaa ka mid ahaa:

- Qaabeynta hay'ad u dhexeysa bulshada iyo dowladda: magacaabista iyo tababaridda labo sarkaal oo ka shaqeeya xiriirka bulshada oo ka howlgala meel-hoosaad kasta oo ka mid ah xaafadda Eastleigh – mid ka socda dowladda hoose iyo mid ka soo jeeda bulshada – si ay u noqdaan dadka ugu horreeyo oo lala soo xiriir, lagana ilaaliyo in maamulka uu beddelo ama meel kale u wareejiyo; dhisidda guddiyo wadajir ah oo heer degmo ah oo ka kooban madaxda deegaanka (chiefs), ku xigeennada madaxda deegaanka (sub-chiefs), odayaal iyo dhallinyaro, wakiillo matala haweenka, si ay u kulmaan bil kasta iyagoo dib-u-eegis ku sameynaayo arrimaha amniga iyo bixinta adeegyada.
- Adeegsiga nidaamyada dhijitaalka ah si loo horumariyo sinnaanta iyo hufnaanta: waxaa aad la isugu raacay in dardargelinta dhijitaalka ah ee dhammaan shatiyada dowladda hoose, isku xirka adeegyada (biyaha, korontada), iyo bixinta dukumeentiyada ay yareyn doonto suurtagalnimada kiisaska musuqmaasuqa (sida laaluushka) iyo dhaqamada kale ee ka faa'iideysiga ah inta lagu jiro isdhexgalka fool-ka-foolka ah ee lala yelanaayo dilaaliinta. Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay ku adkeysteen in nidaamyada dhijitaalka ah ay tahay in lagu kabo baaritaan jireed oo adag oo loogu talagalay diiwaangelinta cusub si looga hortago aqoonsiyada been-abuurka ah.
- Ku dabaqitaanka nidaamka dhaqameed ee caddalaadda: iyadoo la aqoonsanaayo muhiimadda *maslaha* (xallinta khilaafaadka dhaqanka Soomaalida) ee isku xirnaanta bulshada, ka qeybgalayaashu waxay ku taliyeen in si rasmi ah loogu aqoonsado oo keliya khilaafaadka dembiyada yar yar ee madaniga ah iyo kuwa yar yar. Dembiyada waa weyn (tusaale ahaan tahriibinta,

dembiyada rabshadaha wata), waa in la sameeyaa habab lagu hubinaayo in kiisaska loo gudbiyo nidaamka caddaaladda ee rasmiga ah, iyadoo la ilaalinaayo ka hortagga in dembiyadaas ay dib u soo laabtaan.

2. Dhaqamada iyo dadaallada booliseynta

Inkastoo hindisaha booliseynta bulshada ee loo yaqaano Nyumba Kumi uu dadka deegaanka u oggolaaday in ay door ka ciyaaraan kor u qaadista amniga, haddana wali waa mid falcelin leh oo aan dhaqaale ku filan lahayn. Qaar ka mid ah askarta booliska ayaa sii wada in ay takooraan dadka Soomaaliyeed, ilaha booliseynta na si wanaagsan loogu ma qeybinin meelaha fal-dembiyeedyada badan ay ka dhacaan. Awoodda baaritaanka oo xaddidan ayaa caqabad ku ah kiisaska ka dhanka ah shabakadaha dembiyada abaabulan. Talooyinka looga gudbi karo dhibaatooyinka waxaa ka mid ah:

- In dib loo habeeyo lana awood siiyo Nyumba Kumi si ay u noqoto mid firfircoon oo hufan: ka qeybgalayaasha waxay si xooggan isugu raaceen in Nyumba Kumi at tahay fikrad wanaagsan, laakiin waxay ku dareen in ay u baahan tahay qalab wanaagsan, baaritaan dheeraad ah iyo tababar la siiyo xubnaheeda, in xubnaha la siiyo lacag si ay ugu firfircoonaadaan baaritaannada dembiyada iyo hababka isla xisaabtanka ee la xiriira bulshooyinka.
- In meesha laga saaro takoorka kor na loogu qaado isla xisaabtanka ka dhexeeya hay'adaha sharci fullinta: waxaa sidookale la isku raacay in tababar iyo diyaargarow gaar ah ay ka caawin doonaan booliska in ay si wanaagsan u fahmaan baahiyaha iyo waxyaabaha ay bulshooyinka Soomaaliyeed u nugul yihiin. Tani waxaa ka mid noqon doonta tababar xirfadeed oo Khasab ah oo loogu talagalay saraakiisha booliska ee ka howlgasha xaafadda Eastleigh iyo hareeraheeda oo ku saabsan dhaqanka Soomaaliyeed, xuquuqda qaxootiga iyo booliseynta ku saleysan aqoonta dhawacyada maskaxeed (trauma-informed policing).
- In kheyraadka booliska lagu badiyo in si xoog leh looga hortago dembiyada iyo awoodaha baaritaannada: tani waxaa ka mid ahaan doono baabuurta roondooyinka lagu sameeyo iyo ilaha baaritaannada oo loo kordhiyo hay'adaha sharci fullinta si ay wax uga qabtaan shabakadaha meelaha kala duwan ka howlgala iyo in kamirooyin lagu xiro goobaha dadweynaha, kuwaas oo laga kormeeraayo hal meel oo dhexe.

3. Xiriirka bulshada ay la leedahay booliska iyo dowladda

Musuqmaasuqa wuxuu kaalin muhiim ah ka qaataa ka ganacsiga dadka, dukumeentiyada been-abuurka iyo shabakadaha ilaalinta sharci darrada ah, burburinta kalsoonida ay dadweynaha ku qabaan hay'adaha dowladda, taasi oo saameynaysa amniga dadweynaha. Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay ku taliyeen:

- In xaqiijinta dukumeentiyada loo wareejiyo nidaam dhijitaal ah: iyadoo la raacaayo talada ah in adeegyada dadweynaha iyo dukumeentiyada loo wareejiyo hab dhijitaal ah (ee mowduuca 1-aad), ka qeybgalayaasha waxay soo jeediyeen in boolisku ay gacan ka geystaan hirgelinta dadaallada dhijitaalka ah. Tusaale ahaan, booliska waa inay qalabkooda xaqiijinta dukumeentiyada ku dabaqaan xogta Waaxda Socdaalka iyo xogta Dukumeentiyada Safarka ee la Xaday iyo kuwa Lumay ee INTERPOL. Marka laga soo tago in lagu dabaqo nidaamka dhijitaalka, dowladdu waa inay maalgelisaa nidaamyada aqoonsiga shakhsiyeed sida faraha, indhaha (kuwaas oo aan aad ugu nugulayn khiyaanada) oo ay sameysa baaritaanno joogto ah oo ku saabsan meelaha dukumeentiyada lagu bixiyo.
- Sumad-sameynta dhijitaalka ah ee dukumeentiyada: dhammaan ruqsadaha ay dowladda hoose bixiso iyo dukumeentiyada dhulka waa in ay lahaadaan lambarrada QR oo leh xog sir ah oo lagu xaqiijin karo iyada oo loo maraayo aalad ay leedahay dowladda hoose, si loo yareeyo been-abuurka.
- Kor u qaadidda ilaalinta dhibbanayaasha iyo kuwa xogta soo gudbiya: tani waxaa ka mid ahaan doono ballanqaad ah in la ilaaliyo sirtooda sida in meesha ay joogaan laga raro iyo aqoonsigooda la beddelo haddii ay yihiin dadka xogta soo gudbiyo oo khatarta sare ku jira, iyo matalaad sharci oo bilaasha ah oo loogu talagalay kuwa xogta soo gudbiyo. Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay sidookale soo jeediyeen khad taleefan oo qarsoodi ah oo lagu soo gudbiyo fal-dembiyeedyada kaasi oo leh dad ku hadlaayo af-Soomaaliga iyo Sawaaxiliga, oo ay maamusho koox bulsho rayyid ah oo madax-bannaan.

4. Dadaallada ururrada rayyidka

Ururrada bulshada rayyidka ah iyo guddiyada maxalliga ah ee nabad-dhisidda waxay ku tiirsan yihiin maalgelin dibadeed oo ku saleysan mashaariic, taas oo xaddidaysa jiritaankooda. Dhaqdhaqaaqayaasha waxay la kulmaan dhibaatayn, cabsi gelin iyo in xafiisyadooda la soo farageliyo. Xaaladdaan waxaa horumarin kara:

- Hay'ad dhisidda golayaasha daneeyayaasha: kooxuhu waxay isku raaceen baahida loo qabo in la dhiso gole (yaal) amni oo saddex-bilood ah, oo heer sare ah oo ay la yeeshaan wakiillada dowladda qaranka, hoggaamiyayaasha ganacsiga, Nyumba Kumi iyo ururrada bulshada rayyidka si ay u wadaagaan sirtoonka una isku dubbaridaan jawaabaha. Goleyaashaan waa in ay lahaadaan ajeendooyin cad, fududeyn dhexdhexaad ah, oo ay ku jiraan wakiillo haween iyo dhallinyaro ah.
- Xoojinta joogtaynta dhaqaale ee ururrada bulshada rayyidka: ka qeybgalayaasha waxay aad ugu celceliyeen muhiimadda ay leedahay dhisidda dhaqaale waara oo dheeraad ah oo loogu talagalay hay'adaha aan dowliga ahayn ee nabad-dhisidda iyo xaaladaha kale oo ay saameysay dembiyada. Tan waxaa ka mid ah in la yareeyo ku tiirsanaatooda maalgelinta muddada gaaban ee ka timaadda deeq-bixiyayaasha dibedda iyo horumarinta agab gudaha (oo Kenya ah) si loo sii wado dadaallada. Ururrada bulshada rayyidka ah waa in ay lahaadaan maalgelin ka socoto meelo kala duwan iyagoo horumarinaayo mashaariic dakhli-soo-saar ah, dowladda ka codsanaaya maalgelin waxqabad iyo kobcinta shabakadaha tabaruca. La howlgalayaasha caalamiga ah waa inay bixiyaan maalgelin aas-aasi ah oo muddo dheer soconaayo oo daabacsan.
- In ururrada bulshada rayyidka la siiyo habab ilaalin oo xooggan: tan waxaa ka mid ahaan karo hab-maamuuska ilaalinta, oo ka kooban heshiis dhexmaray Taliska Booliska Gobolka Nairobi, Guddiga Isku-dubaridka Hay'adaha aan Dowliga Ahayn, iyo isbahaysiga ururrada bulshada rayyidka ah oo daamaanad qaada xoriyadda dhaqdhaqaaqa iyo isu-imaatinka, ogeysiis 48 saacadood ah oo ku saabsan su'aalo rasmi ah, iyo koox wadajir ah oo jawaab degdeg ah (oo ay sameeyeen booliska) si wax looga qabto khatarraha. Intaa waxaa dheer, tababar ku aaddan amniga dhijitaalka ah waa in la siiyaa dhaqdhaqaaqayaasha, oo daboolaya isgaarsiinta qarsoon, keydinta xogta oo ammaan ah iyo xeeladaha ka hortagga kormeerka.

5. Isbeddelka cimilada iyo amni-darrada la xiriirta

Barakaca ka dhashay isbeddelka cimilada Soomaaliya iyo waqoyiga Kenya ayaa kordhiya qulqulka dad u nugul in shabakadaha tahriibinta ay ka faa'iideystaan, shaqaaleysiin qasab ah iyo xadgudubka galmada marka ay yimaadaan Eastleigh. Dadka dhowaan soo guuray ayaa heysanin waddooyin badbaado ama habab isdhexgal, sida hoy ammaan ah, dukumeentiyo iyo nidaamyada taageerada bulshada (oo ay ku jirto caafimaadka dhimirka). Ka qeybgalayaasha waxay inta badan xuseen in dhibanayaasha ay soo barakiciyeen isbeddelka cimilada ay yihiin 'kuwo aan la arkin', taasoo ah in ay adag tahay in laga aqoonsado dadka kale ee soo haajiray oo wajahaaya noocyo kale oo barakicinta Soomaaliya iyo waqooyiga Kenya. Taladoodu waxay ahayd in:

- La hirgeliyo tallaabooyin lagu aqoonsanaayo laguna taageeraayo dadka cusub ee soo galay dalka: ka qeybgalayaasha waxay soo jeediyeen in dowladdu ay taageerto ololeyaal wacyigelin ah oo ay bulshadu hormuud ka tahay si loo aqoonsado dadka cusub ee soo galay dalka. Abuur waddooyin ammaan ah oo lagu helo adeegyada jiro iyo in la sameeyo guryo ammaan ah oo loogu talagalay kooxaha nugul, gaar ahaan gabdhaha ka cararaaya guurka qasabka ah.
- In la abuurto taageero isku dhafan oo ilaalin iyo nolol-maalmeed loogu talagalay bulshooyinka soo galootiga ah: dowladda iyo bulshada rayyidka waa in ay si joogto ah oo wadajir ah oo u horumariyaan qaabab taageero bulsho oo dhameystiran si ay dadka soo galootiga ah ee soo garaayo Eastleigh uga caawiyaan in ay helaan hoy ammaan ah, dukumeentiyo, taageero sharci, taageero caafimaad maskaxeed, adeegyada daryeelka carruurta iyo xirfadaha (gaar ahaan kuwa luuqadda iyo dhijitaalka). Tan waxaa ku jiri doona barnaamij guryeyn iyo xarumo u adkeysiga bulsho oo bixiya tababar ku saabsan luuqadaha iyo xirfado.



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