Thesis

Self-run IDP Camps in Somaliland

A case study of Malawle, Digaale, and Ayax 4

Abstract

This paper aims to examine three IDP camps in Somaliland namely Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4. They are all three situated in the outskirts of the capital of Somaliland, Hargeisa. This paper focus on three elements; Firstly, **definitions**, how are IDPs defined in Somaliland and how is this possible when Somaliland is not a recognized state. If the state is not recognized how do the international humanitarian regime apply assistance and protection? Secondly, **the camp**. How is a camp defined? What kind of spatial and temporal elements are applicable in the case of the IDP camps in Somaliland. The camps become a paradoxical space of bare life where the IDPs are stripped of political identity and reduced to their stories and wounds as IDPs. However, at the same time the high implementation focus from the Somaliland government and the international humanitarian regime creates a hyper-politicized space where camp residents can exercise and formulate control. Thirdly, the **moral economy** of the camps in Hargeisa will be examined. The access to funds, controlled by NGOs, is managed by community-based organizations in the camps. These organizations are built on an understanding that visibility grants greater access to funds. The moral economy that plays out in the camps can be understood as individuals' ability to remain socially and politically alive. The paper investigates how the IDP camps are governed by the camp residents themselves through local councils and how this form of self-governance plays out in cooperation with the local government and the international humanitarian regime. What kind of issues and advantages does the camps have? Why do they keep being classified by the local government as IDP camps?

This paper will focus on a participatory design. The IDPs that participates in the interviews will be involved in designing the structure of my paper as well as participate in the formulation of questions for the relevant government department, the NDRA. I have chosen this methodological approach in acknowledgement to my own limitations and as part of my ethical considerations of this paper. All the data for this paper is from my field research in the three months I spent in Somaliland. I spent time interviewing local council members in the Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 IDP camp. Additionally, I met with the National Displaced and Refugee Agency in Hargeisa, as well as observing NGOs apply for funds and implement projects in the camps. In my time there I met with

many locals who had knowledge of the IDP camps, the residents or maybe the family who used to own the land the camp was built on. This meant that I spent a great deal of time outside my structured interviews in order to gain a greater and more nuanced understanding of how the camps are governed, who lives there, and the cultural and political frameworks of the Somaliland nation and people.

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PART I

Introduction

Somaliland has vast numbers of displaced population, moving in and out of the country. As the world builds on the Westphalia state system, international borders are the foundation of conventions, protocols, and international guidelines for protection and assistance of displaced persons. The definition of refugees and IDPs are understood in relation to state borders. Emma Haddad puts it quite well "As long as there are political borders constructing separate states and creating clear definitions of insiders and outsiders, there will be refugees" (Maley 2016: 75, Emma Haddad). Displaced persons are interlinked with state borders. The overall governance of displaced persons by the Somaliland state is a very interesting topic in general. However, already in my preliminary data collection I quickly realized that the IDP camps in Somaliland was in fact not governed by the government nor by an INGO or UN agency. They are governed by the IDPs themselves. The IDP camp represent their own interest when working with INGOs, the UN and with the Somaliland government. Each camp has a council of elected members mostly consisting of women. These community leaders elect a council char and vice-chair. In fact, the government give the land to the IDPs for them to settle on permanently, with and without any official ownership on paper, depending on what camp is investigated. The IDP leadership, consisting of elders and a large number of women, make their own arrangements with water trucks to deliver water at a lower price than the regular household of Hargeisa and reached out to the National Displaced and Refugee Agency (NDRA) to advance and develop the camp. It seemed the traditional governance of IDPs and a camp for displaced persons do not apply to this case.

On this background I consider it would be interesting to analyze how displaced persons in IDP camps around Hargeisa are governed as what seems to be an equal entity to any other neighborhood in and around the city of Hargeisa. I will investigate how autonomous the camp in fact is and what issues and advantages this style of governance might have for the residents. Is the camp(s) doing better than traditional run camps? Why do the residents receive ownership certificate of the plot of land, but they are still considered a camp and not a neighborhood?

The above considerations have led me to the following question:

How are IDP camp(s) around Hargeisa governed and is this method of independence beneficial for the residents?

In order to study how humanitarian assistance and protection change depending on who governs the IDP camp this paper will start off by briefly outlining the categorization issues of Somaliland refugees and IDPs. This will be with a focus on policies from the UN regarding IDPs and policies from the government of Somaliland. The main focus of this paper, however, will be how the IDP camp is governed by the camp residents themselves and how this form of self-governance plays out in cooperation with the local government and the international humanitarian regime. What kind of issues and advantages does the camps have? Why do they keep being classified by the local government as IDP camps?

To analyze the above, I will investigate the following sub-questions:

- How is the structure of governance of self-run IDP camps.
- How do the international humanitarian society work with these self-run IDP camps.
- What level of independence does the camp(s) in fact have.
- How is the power structure between the IDP damp(s) and the government and the international humanitarian regime.

In this paper I will focus on a participatory design. The IDPs that will participate in the interviews will be involved in designing the structure of my paper as well as participate in the formulation of questions for the relevant government department that will also be interviewed. I have chosen this methodological approach in acknowledgement to my own limitations and as part of my ethical considerations of this paper. The agents involved in governing IDPs in Somaliland will always remain the firsthand encounter and the persons with the insider knowledge necessary to fully understand the complexity of the governing structure of the camp(s). Additionally, I will make use of policy analysis, which is a qualitative methodology. It is used to review and evaluate documents. It comprises of the analytical task of selecting, finding, and interpreting data in documents. This approach will enable me to collect selective data and organize it into relevant categories and themes.

Has this research will heavily rely on a deductive approach and as such will search for patterns from my general observations and develop a specific conclusion, my use of theories will be limited but

references will be made to Simon Turners investigation into camp and camp life and Ruth Prince's understanding of moral economy.

PART II

Methods

In this section I will explain the methods I have chosen for my research. While living in Somaliland I experienced some of the life of the everyday Somaliland person but also observing the life of IDPs. I found it critical to conduct my research in a manner that would prove beneficial for the people most at risk in society, IDPs. Consequently, I used a community-based participatory research approach, wanting to bridge the gap between research and practice. My community-based participatory research approach will take its point of departure in Cargo & Mercer (2008) and their identification of key challenges of PR in the health sector. In addition, my research is an explanatory case study (Link 1) in which I wish to shed light on how and why conditions in the IDP camps came to be.

According to Cargo & Mercer (2008) participatory research is broadly defined as "systematic inquiry, with the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied, for purposes of education and taking action or effecting change" (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 327). To define the community-based participatory research approach it is vital to identify how, with who, and why – this will be done through four questions:

1. What are the values or drivers behind the research?
2. Who should participate in the research, and how should they participate?
3. How are partnerships initiated, and how do they evolve?
4. What is the added value of PR in each of the research phases?

The values behind this study are rooted in Translating Knowledge in Action, also known as utilization (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 330). To address the "know-do" gap I will try to include decision makers (in this case the NDRA) and the end user (IDPs) in the development of the research framework, the interview guide as well as what immediate actions are needed. This will make my approach two-fold: Firstly, what are the "real world needs" (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 329) of the IDP camps; and secondly, how are the government of the camps managed, and how is this beneficial to the camp residents? To answer the first question, I will conduct interviews in three different IDP camps: Malawle, Digaale, and Ayax 4, situated just outside the capital of Somaliland, Hargeisa. The interview guide will be

rooted in a needs assessments approach but also include an aspect that will shed light on if the camp residents find their relationship to INGOs and the NDRA beneficial or troublesome. This will be part of answering the second question. As part of this interview guide, I will ask how the interviewees would like me to approach the NDRA on their behalf. Here it is important to note that when I use the wording "on their behalf" it will be made clear to the interviewees that I am only approaching the NDRA in the capacity of a researcher and not as a policymaker, a donor or NGO employee. By including the IDPs in my interview guide and develop questions for the NDRA, the research will "produce knowledge that addresses the real-world needs of these policy and practice decision makers and facilitate its translation into action in the form of practice, policy, or behavior change in individuals, organizations, or systems" (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 329).

As mentioned above, the three IDP camps as well as the NDRA will participate in the research development. Identifying who should participate in the research can prove to be critical. In an attempt to create a research focus which will be most beneficial to the end user, it is important to include not only the policymakers but also the end user themselves. The people which in the end will benefit most of this research will ultimately be the IDP. Including the IDP camp residents and the representative of the national institution governing IDPs in Somaliland, the NDRA, in my research design will maximize collaborative advantages. However, it is still important to differentiate the two and as such defining the partners in this research. The non-academic partners will be the IDP communities, the NDRA and Institute for Practical Research and Training (IPRT) a local NGO that helped me reach out to the IDP camps, they are categorized as those who "interface directly with end users and/or end users' interpersonal networks" (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 331), also known as service providers. The academic partners will be my supervisor Tamirace Fakhoury of Aalborg University, who will inform me on appropriate theories and interpretation of my data. Additionally, Ahmed Ismail of Abaarso Tech University, Somaliland, will support my methods selection and refine the hypothesis that will address local concerns, as well as serve as my primary local contact and access to varies networks and areas. These partnerships are initiated due to different factors. Besides my supervisor Tamirace Fakhoury, all partnerships have the point of departure with Ahmed Ismail – as he is my local contact. Through him I will gain access to the three camps, the NDRA, the local NGO IPRT and simply firsthand instructions on how to engage with the local population, including IDPs. To this matter, IPRT will also provide observation opportunities for my research and provide local background information which could be lost to me as a researcher giving the nature of the very young

non-recognized Somaliland state where information archives, such as libraries, still are of poor conditions. It is also through Ahmed Ismail that I have come in contact with the interpreter for my interviews, Abdillahi Muse, a student at Abaarso Tech University.

According to Cargo & Mercer (2008), the added value for both the non-academic and academic partners become apparent when looking at how their inside knowledge refine the research question and by sharing contextual knowledge enhancing the research implementation and application of research outcomes. With IDP camps and displaced persons in general being of great concern for the international humanitarian community, these areas are in high demand in the academic environment with many researchers approaching these people and camps. Participatory approach fatigue exists because of this history of hit-and-run research (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 339). The distrust from the IDP community have been building because of what Cargo & Mercer (2008) call "the parachute method" where the researcher arrives without warning, conduct research the participants, that being the camp residents, do not understand the meaning behind, and then leave again without explanation of what the next steps are in the research. I have tried to avoid these potential misunderstandings of me being present in the camp by asking the elected community leaders for permission to talk to them and ask who they believe would be relevant for me to interview. For all three camps that resulted in the chair, vice-chair and/or some members of the local community council participating in the interviews. Including the camp residents in the research phases will result in more targeted problem solving and a strengthened sense of ownership throughout the research activities. additionally, including the camp residents and the NDRA will enhance the relevance of the research making the research responsive to community interest (Cargo & Mercer 2008: 338).

Participatory research is not without limitations and weak points. The researcher may find themselves taking sides in their research. Matthew David (2001) explains that the researcher often works on behalf of the institution or funds they represent/are funded by, rather than on the side of the research subject, the "under-dog" such as IDP or refugees. I would add that the researcher always conducts research on their own behalf. The researcher sets out their research under the premises that they are producing a paper, this paper might involve salary for the researcher, exposure to certain networks or organizations, or be part of an on-going project. Thus, I will argue the researcher always work on behalf of themselves. While my research is not funded by any organisation, it is conducted within the set limits of what my research institution, Aalborg University, find acceptable for me to research and

what they find to be credible frameworks for research. It is important to add here that even though universities have their own agenda and funds allocated by politicians and organisation setting research terms, they are what Matthew David (2001) describes as "more than commercial companies and private organisation" (Matthew David 2001: 12). It becomes difficult for the researcher to detach themselves from the priorities of their research organisation and to not have bias towards the subjects of research, that being rooting for the subjects or painting them as the "bad guys". Being aware of these potential moral limitations of myself as researcher, will at the very least guide me in a direction that will ensure some freedom from these limitations.

This research take its point of departure in a case study approach. The case being the three IDP camps, introduced earlier. By taking this point of departure the research will explore complex issues in real-life settings. According to Yin (1984) using case study as a research method it is possible to investigate a contemporary phenomenon through contextual analysis of a small geographical area (or a small number of subjects) on a micro level. This research will be a multiple-case design as I am using three different IDP camps as sources of evidence. Linking the information from three different sources of information will enhance the robustness of the research. This research will take point of departure within two of the three categories that Yin (1984) describes; Exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. This research will focus on the exploratory and explanatory category of case study methodology. The research will set out to explore the natural phenomena within my data. Explore how the three camps are managed, together with how these managing strategies are exercised. The general observations and questions will open the door for further investigation of the case. Usually, this exploratory category of case study methodology is used as a prelude, a pilot study if you will, (Yin 1984) to a more in-depth methodology. This leads us to my second category of case study methodology; explanatory case studies. This approach investigates the data more thoroughly and dives deeper into the why rather than the what. Using this approach, I would like to investigate why the IDP camps are managed the way they are and what consequences that has for the camp residents. I will try to form a theory derived from my data and test the theory on the three camps observations. This approach could also be categorized as interpretive case study, where the aim is to interpret the data and conceptualize this in order to support or challenge the hypothesis regarding them (McDonough & McDonough 1997). According to Yin (1984) one strong advantage of using the case study methodology is that the subject is examined within the natural environment of the activity. The data is observed in a real-life setting without the boundaries of isolated case studies. Additionally,

case study methodology allows for the description of the complexities of real-life circumstances which might not be possible to capture through survey research. However, there are some short comings or disadvantages to be aware of when it comes to case study. Yin (1984) notes several different critique points; firstly, the researcher might have biased views that will influence the direction of the research and possibly also the conclusions or outcomes of the research. Secondly, case studies are quite often of small scale. The scientific generalization has little data points to become sufficient as a credible generalization. This critique point is the ever battle between focused objective setting vs sample size. Thirdly, there might arrive difficulties organizing the data systematically due to the longitudinal nature of a case study. When the data is of qualitative character, it might be difficult to organize the data in an appropriate manner. I will try to avoid these shortcomings but I'm aware that they might manifest throughout my research without my intend. Especially, bias from me as the research are difficult to not bring into the research. This paper argues that all researchers bring their own perspectives, view of the world, and bias into the research they conduct. I will argue it is more about being aware of my own bias rather than eliminating them, as that is not possible.

As this paper will use the data set to derive something general, a theory if you will, and not so much try to test an existing theory on the data, I have chosen an inductive approach. Traditionally speaking the two major methodological approaches are deductive and inductive. The one I have chosen to focus on, inductive, try to make a generalization about the observations from the data collection. Kenneth Hyde (2000) phrases it as a "theory building process". The deductive approach takes its points of departure in a theory and tries to test that theory on the observations from the data. This way the researcher can figure out if the theory applies to a specific instance. This paper will also be using existing theories together with observations from the data and adapt a pragmatic outset, and as such, will combine the inductive and deductive approach.

Data

For this research the data will be observations throughout three months and three interviews of approximately one hour each with between 2 – 6 persons, depending on who the local community council of the IDP camp find it appropriate for me to talk to.

The observational data will be from my visit to each of the three camps. After reaching out to the council chair of the community council, through a common contact, the council chair decides when and with who I should interview and who can show me around the camp. For alle three camps, I will

meet with the chair, vice-chair, and/or selected community leaders. The primary materials will be participating in social situations while recording the findings on paper and interview the community council members (IDPs). The primary material from the interviews will be transcribed by a translator. My field studies in terms of observations and group interviews all constitute my primary data sources. The observations will be controlled in the manner, I will have a camp resident to show me around the camp site and my visit is announced and coordinated with the community leaders. Additionally, I will have meetings with DANIDA, EU and Taiwan International Cooperation & Development Fund. These meetings will give me background information on how major funding parties of the humanitarian implementation in Somaliland function, what they focus on, and how they work with IDP camps. I tried reaching out to UNHCR, NRC and DRC to set-up interviews, but they have unfortunately not been responsive. My secondary data sources will constitute of reports from the NDRA, UN reports, policies and frameworks, together with former research conducted on IDPs in Somaliland and research regarding displaced persons in general. Below I will shortly introduce some facts about the 4 interviews I will have and introduce an anonymous source I worked with in Somaliland.

Malawle camp: Located about 30 min car ride from Hargeisa. The road there is mostly paved but completely destroyed. No busses go there, and most taxis only go there per request. There live around 600 people in the camp but more have recently moved to the outskirts of the camp area. Each plot of land the IDP lives on is 9 x 12 square meters. There is normally 11 members of the local camp council but currently only 8. The camp is divided into 8 sections. Most of the local camp council was present at my interview together with the vice-chair and the chair of the council. The structures the IDPs live in are made of sticks and pieces of cloth.

Digaale camp: They did not know how many lived there but it was at full capacity. Each plot of land is 9 x 10 square meters, the structures are made of concrete and resemble normal houses. I interviewed two members of the local camp council. In the beginning of the interview the chair of the local camp council was present, but he had to leave due to a family issue. The roads to the camp are not paved and very difficult for small cars to access.

Ajax 4 camp: 350 households. I interviewed the chair and another local council member. The camp is divided into 8 sections, 5 sections inside the camp and the rest outside the official camp area. The

local council consists of 16 members. Each plot of land the IDPs live on is 9x12 square meters. The structure of the camp is concrete houses resembling normal houses. The road to the camp is not paved and difficult to access.

NDRA: Met with the director of NDRA. When I first went to their office the director was not there and the officer who was present refused to talk to me without having the director present. When I met the director, he had prepared a presentation for me and shared a report on Multi-Sector IDPs Needs Assessment Report.

Anonymous Source:
Met several times with this person and also visited one of the IDP camps with me. The person had knowledge of all three camps and detailed knowledge of Somaliland, the clans and the general political and social situation of Somaliland.

Interviews
The interviews will be done in Somali with an amateur translator. He will be paid for his services but does not represent professional translation standards. To this I will add, that as I arrived in Somaliland, I had meetings will several HR, training facilitators and translators, and quickly realized that the level of English-Somali translations and vice-versa, was not so much rooted in the level of education or years of professional experience, but simply weather the person grew up with English through primary education and the international stage of entertainment. Abdillahi Muse, a student at Abaarso Tech University, will be my translator.

Interviews is one of the oldest methods for obtaining data (Young 1992). The interviews for this paper is face-to-face with a structured and standardized point of departure. I have developed a questionary which will serve as my guide; however, it will not be followed strictly. I will try to use it for steering the conversation in the interview but would like for the participants to feel free to talk about what they find important. Some of the questions in my questionary are yes/no questions, most of them, however, will be open-ended questions that will make it possible for the participants to express themselves without being cut off or otherwise restricted. The interviews will be recorded and then transcribed by the translator and serve has my primary data. Moreover, I will take notes which will also include observations that I make doing the interview and background information that the translator and my contact points might have on the camp or the participants of the interviews.

Theories

I have chosen two theoretical frameworks to support my research. The first one is Simon Turner and his understanding the "camp". Simon Turner is a professor of Social Anthropology and have a Ph.D. of philosophy from Roskilde University. His investigation of the refugee camp is built on several perspectives but two underlaying thematic areas are important; A spatial aspect of the camp, and a temporal aspect. Simon Turner refers to Malkki and Agamben when trying to understand what characterizes a camp and how the camp affects the lives of the camp resident. Simon Turner discus how the depoliticization of life in the camps paradoxically produces a hyper-politicized space. Additionally, Simon Turner explores the relation between the camp residents and the future, and how sociality is remolded in the camp around this relation.

The second theoretical framework is Ruth Prince's use of moral economy. Prince examines the survival of HIV-positive people on antiretroviral medicines. Prince investigates how moral economy develops in matter of food, hunger, social relationships, and networks of care, including NGOs participation in this economy. Prince based the examination on fieldwork in the city Kisumu in Kenya. She wants to understand the intimate relation between medicine and food and how these new spaces also open for new material conditions of life which can be articulated and exploited. Most interestingly for my research, Prince also examines the moral economy of NGO interventions and their relationship to community-based organizations. She pays attention to how HIV-positive persons learn how to articulate their needs to become visible to the flow of funds as HIV identities holds moral and economic value.

PART III

Analysis

This part of the paper will investigate and analyze the data set from the IDP camps, Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 in the outskirts of Hargeisa. The observations and interviews will form the basis of the analysis but will be accompanied by Simon Turner's research of what a camp is from 2015, and Rose Prince's concept of moral economy in relation to NGOs in Kenya working with HIV positive persons from 2012. How do spaces of refuge build and how are they managed? How does agency of an IDP reform in these camps? The NDRA classify these areas as camps, but why so, when the IDPs own the land, they live on (granted by the government). This form of hybrid sovereignty and the moral economy surrounding a camp will be examined in this section.

IDP camps in Somaliland are temporary settlements that provide shelter and assistance to individuals and families who have been forced to flee their homes due to conflict, violence, or natural disasters. These camps are typically overcrowded and lacking in basic amenities such as clean water, sanitation, and healthcare, making them vulnerable to disease outbreaks and other health risks. Somaliland has a long history of conflict, including civil war, drought, and famine, which has caused many people to flee their homes in search of safety and security. One of the main drivers of IDP movements in Somaliland is conflict, particularly the ongoing conflict between the government and various armed groups (Prunier 2012). This conflict has displaced thousands of people, many of whom have fled to urban areas or to neighboring countries. In addition to conflict, other factors that contribute to IDP movements in Somaliland include natural disasters such as drought and flooding, as well as economic and social factors such as poverty, food insecurity, and lack of access to basic services. The majority of IDPs in Somaliland are women and children (UNHCR IDP Hargeisa Report 2015), who are often the most vulnerable and at risk of abuse, exploitation, and neglect. IDP camps in Somaliland are often located on the outskirts of cities and towns, with limited access to basic services and economic opportunities children (Interview 1, 2, and 3). This can make it difficult for IDPs to find work and earn a living wage, leading to dependency on humanitarian aid and limited prospects for long-term recovery and sustainable settlement. One of the main challenges all three camps face is the lack of funding and resources to provide adequate assistance to IDPs. The three camps rely on donations from international organizations and NGOs, such as ACTED, NRC, and LNGOs, to provide basic necessities such as food, water, and shelter. However, these resources are often insufficient to meet the needs of the camp residents. In addition, the camps are overcrowded and lack adequate toilets and latrines. Poor sanitation and hygiene practices can also contribute to the spread of disease, and all three camps lack access to clean water and basic healthcare facilities even though they do have an MCH.

Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 are all managed by a local council. They were established by the NDRA and are structured with a local council reporting to the NDRA and INGOs. Malawle is improvised huts made of sticks and pieces of fabric. Digaale and Ajax 4 is standing clay/cement structures. The structures in both Digaale and Ajax 4 was built by NGOs while the huts in Malawle mostly was built by the camps residents. The area of camp Digaale, and Ajax 4 was owned privately by families and/or clans before the government acquired it. For Malawle the local council and all of its members was

democratically elected. According to the council members themselves, the election process is fair and democratic (Interview 1,2 and 3). The camp(s) are divided into numbered sub-sections, each sub-section elects a representative. This representative is chosen by the residents in each sub-section, all these representatives of each section comprise the local council. If a sub-section is much larger than the average, they are allowed multiple representatives such as in Malawle camp "Section A (in Malawle camp) is the largest section in the camp, so they get 3 leaders" (Interview 1: 1). These representatives then elect a chair and vice-chair. In all three camps the chair was a man, while the vice-chair was a woman in Malawle and Ajax 4. For Digaale and Ajax 4 they also made the claim that the local council, chair, and vice-chair was elected in a democratic process. The area of the Digaale camp was owned by a family by the name of Digaale, which also is how the camp came by the name Digaale. The council chair is the current head of the Digaale family. When I asked if he was that chair because his family owned the land or if he was elected, he responded that he had been elected (Interview 2: 1). However, when I asked my translator in the car after the interview, he assured me that the chair was not elected but simply de facto was the leader of the area (and now IDP camp) because his family owned the land before the Somaliland government acquired the land. This was backed by my anonymous source. For Ajax 4 I did not speak to the chair or vice-chair but two of the council members. All three camps have the same election system of sub-section elected representative which make up the local council. The structure of governance in IDP camps is designed to ensure that the basic needs of displaced persons are met, while also protecting their rights and dignity. It is important for IDP camps to be transparent and accountable, and for displaced persons to be involved in the decision-making process as much as possible.

Agency

Agency refers to the capacity of individuals or groups to act independently and make their own decisions, as well as to exert control over their own lives. In the context of IDPs, agency can refer to the ability of these individuals to make choices and decisions related to their displacement and recovery, as well as their ability to advocate for their own needs and rights. One of the key challenges faced by IDPs in Somaliland is the lack of access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and housing. Malawle, Digaale and Ajax 4 are overcrowded and have unsanitary conditions, and access food, water, and other necessities are severely limited (Interview 1, 2 and 3). This lack of access to basic services can significantly impact their ability to exercise agency and make decisions related to their displacement and recovery. Despite these challenges, IDPs in Somaliland have demonstrated agency in a number of ways. For example, IDPs, in Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 have organized

themselves into community-based organizations in order to advocate for their rights and needs. These Community-based organization have worked to improve the living conditions of the camp residents and to provide them with access to services such as healthcare, education, and employments opportunities. IDPs in Somaliland have also engaged in peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts (Link 2), working to build bridges between the different IDP camps, and between the camps and the city of Hargeisa. According to the UNHCR, the main public hospital in Hargeisa is equally open for local residents, as well as refugees and IDPs – most of what is paid by the UNHCR. Through UNHCR's health partner Danish Refugee Council (DRC), they have established a system of funding in which all people in need can receive care (Link 2). This is coordinated by the NDRA as the representative from the Somaliland government (Link 2). There are two factors making this system of inclusion possible; Firstly, The Somaliland government's inclusive policies towards displaced persons. Secondly, funding provided by foreign organizations. The article from UNHCR (Link 2) highlights how well the Somaliland government accepts displaced persons and how well they care and protect them – and according to the NDRA Strategic Plan 2022–2026 and the former strategic plan – this has always been the desired approach. I would however like to add that this is not exactly what is experienced on the ground. While this paper focuses on IDPs I believe it is also important to showcase in general how policies and "directions" by the government is not always the same as positive action taken in reality. When I was walking the streets of Hargeisa and noticed not a few young kids on almost every corner cleaning cars. I asked my guide who these people were and where they are from. The responds were short and simple, they were Oromos (a majority ethnical group from Ethiopia). My responds were to ask how he knew. It seemed, only Oromos would have this kind of work, he added none of these kids were in school because they had to work to help support the family. The government's strategic plan is not what I saw on the streets of Hargeisa. That is not to say they are not very welcoming to displaced persons, especially when comparing to many countries in Europe. The same can be applied to IDPs in Hargeisa. According to the NDRA Strategic Plan 2022 – 2026, they seek several sustainable solutions for IDPs such as permanent relocation. However, this relocation might be enforced through a brutal military operation without consent or involvement of the IDPs themselves. Such is the case with Malawle camp where the residents are told they own the plots of land they live on in the camp. This was confirmed in my meeting with the NDRA. In my interview with the chair, vice-chair, and other council members in Malawle, however, they pointed out such certificates proving ownership have yet to be distributed saying that "They don't have the actual certificate, but they have ID cards which is evidence of ownership" (Interview 1: 3). This is

putting the residents in an unsecure situation. As I got back from the interview and talked to my anonymous source, he noted that the camp residents had arrived in Hargeisa on their own and set-up camp on the side of a main road. The military came to the improvised camp dressed in civilian clothes imposing to be an NGO looking to provide food and water to the IDPs. When they showed up again a few days later, they violently put the IDPs in the back of military trucks without explanation of anything. They proceeded to drive them to what is now the Malawle camp and dumped the IDPs there. The agency that IDPs in Malawle have because they have organized themselves in CBOs and they own the land they live on, still comes from a point of departure of non-agency. The Somaliland military easily swept the IDPs away when they did not fit in the framework of the government and did not fit the funding options available for the NDRA, who is to say they would not do that again? Another way in which IDPs in Somaliland have demonstrated agency is through their participation in humanitarian response efforts. IDPs have often been involved in the planning and implementation of humanitarian projects and have worked alongside international organizations and local authorities to address the needs of their communities. This participation has allowed IDPs to have a greater say in the decisions that affect their lives and to advocate for their own needs. However, IDPs are still assigned a role as passive victims by the international humanitarian community. In Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 they all describe how many INGOs show up unannounced, ask about needs of the camp only to never be heard from again (Interview 1, 2, and 3). The participatory approach these INGOs apply is on paper an approach which includes the IDPs and strengthen their agency in designing their own life. However, from my interviews it would seem this approach is not always applied in practice. Turner (2015) describes this as a contradictory space, where the camp is a place of abandonment while the camp residents remain included in a "fine-grained modes of government" (Turner 2015: 144). The IDPs in Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 are deprived of political rights but enjoy the humanitarian assistance from INGOs and UNHCR tending to their basic needs. According to Turner (2015) the camps are arenas of particular types of governmentalities. This governmentality creates new identities for the camp residents. The hyper-politicization of the camp and the IDPs emerges as agency for the IDPs, and their political will is part of the governing structure of all of Somaliland. The forced depoliticization by the humanitarian regime "creates a gap in the social and symbolic order of life in the camp, which in turn creates room for the creation of new competing orders and identities… In other words, depoliticization creates its own opposite: hyper-politicization" (Turner 2015: 145). There "bare bodies" become part of the political game and many politicians rely on votes from these IDPs (Anonymous source 2022). Because the camps are placed in close proximity of the

capital Hargeisa, the IDPs become important members of the political voter force. The camps disrupt any pre-given social order. Instead of simply being biological beings without any sense of political will and direction (Turner 2015). In the space of the camps old habits and social structures might no longer makes sense and new positions of identity for women and other marginalized groups are made possible. Social life and power relations in the camps and in the surrounding area, including Hargeisa, are remolded. This remolding becomes apparent when the IDPs become important political agents for the political game in the capital Hargeisa. While the agency of the IDPs is expressed through a hyper-politicization of the camps, the camp residents in Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 are all in a subjunctive mode. The social navigation towards an undetermined future with a high absence of possibilities of a worthy life is especially present with the youth of the camps. After my interview in Malawle camp, a young role model working with kids in the camp, told me that if he could, he would move away from the camp. This desire to move beyond the uncertain future aspect of camp life is highly impacted by the ability to obtain work and provide for your family. The hopes of a better future must remain in order for individuals to remain socially and politically alive. The camp residents must "be able to imagine a meaningful future for themselves—however miserable their present-day situation is." (Turner 2015: 145). The present for camp residents is temporary by nature and life "is lived only in preparation for another—hopefully fuller—life in the future, beyond the camp" (Turner 2015: 145). This statement by Turner is, however, not exactly applicable to Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 in Somaliland. As explored in this section and also in the following sections, the agency of the camp residents is different from many other camps around the world. Many of the elders and family leaders wish to remain in the camp because they own land there. However, to add to the duality of camp life, many of the younger residents of the camps would like to leave the camp in order to create a better life for themselves.

Definitions Matter

One very important aspect of researching and understanding displaced persons within Somaliland is to recognize how important the categorization of the displaced persons is, and how this categorization is operationalized through the Refugee Convention of 1951, OCHA and UNHCR guidelines, and other regional conventions. A refugee per the Refugee Convention of 1951 is someone who "owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events,

is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." (Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951, 2010). To sum-up, a refugee is a person who has been forced to flee their country of origin because of persecution, conflict, violence, or other harmful circumstances. Refugees often must leave behind their homes, possessions, and communities, and may face significant challenges in finding safety, security, and a sense of belonging in their new environment that they travel to. When a refugee arrives in a new country/state the person can claim asylum. While the Refugee Convention of 1951 provide guidelines and set an international standard for assessing whether a person is a refugee, domestic laws might add to this process of assessment (Maley 2016). Principally speaking, a country will have to sign the Refugee Convention of 1951 in order to be legally bound to apply its provisions. To be a state party to the Refugee Convention of 1951, a country must formally sign and ratify the treaty. This means that the country agrees to be bound by the provisions of the convention and to respect the rights of refugees within its territory. A country can at all times apply same protections and assistance measures as set forth by the Refugee Convention of 1951 without being a state party of it. In such case, the UNHCR would often act as an implementing party and ensure the principles of the Refugee Convention of 1951 are followed, such as the case is with Lebanon and Jordan (Maley 2016). While the UNHCR's primary focus is on refugees, the agency also works to support and assist internally displaced persons in some cases. The UNHCR may provide IDPs with assistance such as shelter, food, medical care, and education, depending on the needs and circumstances of the individual IDP and the availability of resources. The UNHCR may also advocate on behalf of IDPs and work with governments, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders to address the needs and rights of IDPs and to promote their protection (Maley 2016).

It is important to note that the UNHCR's mandate and resources are primarily focused on refugees, and the agency may not be able to provide the same level of assistance to IDPs as it does to refugees. Additionally, the responsibility for protecting and assisting IDPs typically falls to the government of the country in which they are displaced, rather than to international organizations like the UNHCR. An IDP is someone who has also been forced to flee their home but remains within the borders of their own country. Like refugees, IDPs may be forced to leave their homes due to conflict, violence, persecution, or other harmful circumstances, and may face similar challenges in finding safety, security, and a sense of belonging. There are several key differences between refugees and IDPs. One of the main differences is that refugees are granted legal protection and assistance by the United Nations (UN) and other international organizations, while IDPs are not. This means that refugees may

be eligible for assistance from the UN and other organizations, such as shelter, food, medical care, and education, while IDPs may not have access to these same resources. Additionally, refugees may be eligible to resettle in a new country, while IDPs remain in their own country and may eventually return to their homes when it is safe to do so. However, this differentiation has changed over the recent decade, the UN has adapted guidelines for working with IDPs already back in 2001 (OCHA 2001). These guiding principles are supposed to provide "practical guidance to Governments, other competent authorities, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs in their work with internally displaced persons." (OCHA 2001: 5). These guidelines are not binding legal obligations, only one convention contains legal binding obligations regarding IDPs, the Kampala Convention of 2009, which took effect in 2012. The convention replaces and updates the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, which had previously governed refugee protection in Africa. The Kampala Convention sets out the rights and obligations of states and individuals with respect to the protection and assistance of refugees, asylum-seekers, and IDPs. It also establishes a regional mechanism for the coordination and cooperation of states in addressing displacement situations and provides for the creation of a standing committee to oversee the implementation of the convention. Getting back to the OCHA guidelines, these guiding principles are supposed to help all relevant institutions and organization on how to respectfully and with a do-no-harm approach provide protection and assistance to IDPs. The guiding principles define an IDP as "Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their home or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border." (OCHA 2011: 6). This last part is crucial as it is the very important distinction between refugees and IDPs. Refugees have to cross an internationally recognized state border in order to "become" or be considered a refugee per the legal definition set forth by the Refugee Convention of 1951. Even though, this paper will focus on IDPs, I still wanted to touch upon refugees for one very important reason, which is the fact that Somaliland is not a recognized country (Prunier 2021). Somaliland declared independence from the rest of Somalia in 1991, after the collapse of Somalia's central government. However, it has not been recognized as an independent state by any other country or by international organizations such as the United Nations (Prunier 2021). There are several reasons for this. One reason is that international recognition of a state is generally based on the principle of territorial integrity, the Westphalia system, which means that a state's sovereignty is recognized over a specific territory, and that territory cannot

be divided without the consent of the state. Since Somaliland declared independence from Somalia, it has not been recognized as a state because is still considered part of the territory of Somalia. Another reason is that the international community has been hesitant to recognize Somaliland as an independent state because of the ongoing conflict and instability in the region. The lack of recognition has also made it difficult for Somaliland to gain access to international aid and resources, which has hindered its development and stability (Prunier 2021). This is even though it is in fact, one of the most stable and democratic countries in East Africa (Prunier 2021). Recently the USA has made large investments into what they call the Berbera corridor. This is investments into a new airbase and a port in the coastal city of Berbera (Link 3). Despite these challenges, Somaliland has made significant progress in establishing its own institutions and establishing stability and security within its borders. It has its own government, currency, and military, and has held several successful elections. However, until it is recognized as an independent state, it will continue to face challenges in achieving its full potential. Currently, there is both a presidential election coming up along with an election for which parties can contest for the parliament. In Somaliland, according to the constitution, only three political parties can run for parliament and presidency. These parties will sit for 10-years. While the current political parties and the current president has not publicly said they will postpone the elections, the president has already delayed the presidential election once, from 2022 to 2023. While Somaliland remain a beacon of democratic development in East Africa, they are still faced with issues of corruption and politicians acting in favor of themselves and their party instead of the people. To sum-up, Somaliland is not a recognized country which de facto makes IDP the concern of the Somalia state. While this is not the case in reality so to speak, most nations, NGOs and, other organizations such as the UNHCR, consider Somaliland independent in the way they make formal and in-formal agreements with the Somaliland government. A good example is the Danish representative I met in Hargeisa. He is the officially appointed person representing Denmark in Somaliland. He travels between Nairobi, Kenya and Hargeisa, Somaliland. This creates a form of hybrid sovereignty in which the Somalia government is de facto the ruling government of the area called Somaliland, but the area does in fact has its own elected government. This phenomenon of hybrid sovereignty will be explored more later in relation to the IDP camps.

The Camp

We have touched upon what the difference between a refugee and an IDP is. We have lightly touched upon Somaliland as a non-recognized state and what effect this has. Now this paper will shed light on what a (IDP) camp is by turning to Simon Turner (2015) and how this definition applies to the

three IDP camps under investigation in this paper. Even though Turner (2015) focuses on refugees and refugee camps, I believe his dissection of "the camp" is also applicable to IDP camps because both share spatial and temporal aspects. According to Turner (2015) a camp is from the Latin term campus which means open field. The camp was originally associated with spaces for military exercise (Turner 2015: 3), defined as a space which is spatially apart from other spaces, and temporary by nature (Turner 2015: 4). The Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 camp share the same characteristics as they are what Liisa Malkki called "matter out of place" (Malkki 1992). The camps are threating the "national order of things" (Malkki 1992), they are separated from the rest of society in order to make sure they do not pollute or disturb the "normal" way of life. This kind of othering creates a "us" and "them". Us being the citizen, the nation state, the other being the IDP who is outside the political and social sphere of society in Hargeisa. According to Nevzat Soguk, the refugee, and in this case the IDP, is a "necessary other – a kind of constitutive outside." (Turner 2015: 2). This construct is a result of the IDP not having agency, political will, a home, and then being placed by the nation state in a framework designed for the temporary state of being (displaced). In the case of Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4, this necessity is not so much to support and secure the nation state by creating the "other". I will argue this necessity stems from a more economic and political economic point of departure. All three camps were created by the Somaliland government, the government moved in and acquired land in order to "solve a problem", that problem being displaced persons moving around the country without being governed. This governance from the NDRA, systemize and install the IDP in a controllable framework. If the IDPs are given plots of land in the camps, why do they remain IDPs? If they own the land they live on, and have no intention of moving anywhere else, why are they still considered IDPs? In all three camps researched in this paper the residents all state that they have no intention of moving. In Malawle camp the vice-chair said that "The majority doesn't want to go back to the city because they don't own a place in the city, while here in the camp the government has provided them with a piece of land" (Interview 1: 4). In the Digaale camp when asked if the camp residents would be interested in moving back to where they came from, they said that "they don't want to go back to the city and live in Hargeisa, because in the camp they have land and a life, while Hargeisa they don't have one. In the camp they have legal documentation of ownership. Each family has 9x10 meters" (Interview 2: 5). However, unlike in Malawle camp, where the residents wish to expand and develop the area, in Digaale that is not an option. The vice-chair stated that "there is no room to expand because the family (his family) has no more land to provide for more people, and the residents, which are here, have permanent residence" (Interview 2: 2). Just like in Malawle and

Digaale, in Ajax 4 they also wish to remain in the camp permanently. The council members I talked to in Ajax 4 stated that "The government provided this land because this land was public interest and also each person have the certificate of ownership" (Interview 3: 1). Adding to that the council members in Ajax 4 said that "I don't think that the government has plans to develop this camp right now." (Interview 3: 7). Even though the interviewees in Ajax 4 believes the government have no plan to develop the area, providing water, build a road, or build a marketplace, they still did not have any intention of moving back to where they came from or move on to somewhere else. It appears that the ownership of land is the main motivator for the IDPs in terms of where it is favourable to live. However, there was mixed signals with the council members of Ajax 4. Has mentioned above, they do not intent to move anywhere else because they have ownership certificate of the plot of land they live on in the camp, but they also mentioned that the office we were having the interview in was rented by the council because the family who used to live here (and owning the building) moved back to Hargeisa, "the family that owns the house moved back to city so they rent this one" (interview 3: 7). It seems that some families do indeed move back to Hargeisa, that is while they still own the plot of land in the IDP camp. The plot of land has now materialized as a source of passive income for the family. This economic incentive to keep the camp running and to keep identifying IDPs also applies to the government of Somaliland. Both the UN and several NGOs have set-up operations in Somaliland in order to provide effective implementation of projects related to IDPs. These NGOs and UN departments hire local personnel and also provide ministries and departments', such as the NDRA, with funding. In the Ajax 4 camp they explained SOS Children's Village together with another NGO had provided cash for families in the camp "there was a time that SOS Children provided 20$ per family. There was also another time that another organization provided 250$ to start small business" (interview 3: 7), in Digaale, ACTED "…had a program with a duration of seven months with total 420 person. ACTED paid 70$ per month, per person." (Interview 2: 3), and in Malawle SOS Children's Village "helped 150 mothers, and they were given 400$ to start a business. Another 280 persons were given 80$ a month for two years." (Interview 1: 3). In all three camps several different NGOs have had projects and the UNHCR have their symbol on buildings such as the toilets in Malawle camp. The NDRA creates and maintain this "state of emergency" of IDPs being "exceptional, temporary and often in legal grey zones" (Turner 2015: 140). Since the humanitarian sector is a big economic machine, the NDRA are no exception to exploit this. By applying emergency measures and viewing IDPs simply through the lens of people in need, they create an industry around them, heavily supported by the international humanitarian regime.

According to the NDRA nothing happens in the camps without them knowing about it and approving it (Interview 4). However, according to the NDRA they do not directly benefit from INGOs implementing projects in the camp as they have a budget under the government of Somaliland (interview 4). But as described above, the Somaliland economy benefits from the humanitarian industry supporting IDPs and IDP camps. This problem-solving discourse creates a temporality about the IDPs. This paper argues it is this temporality and exceptionalism which creates a room for humanitarian measures to be taken until normality is restored, and the NDRA and the Somaliland government has an interest in maintaining this status quo for economic reasons. Agamben argues that the camps are a "permanent exception" (Turner 2015: 141, Agamben 1998). This permanence of the exceptional creates a limbo in which the IDPs remain so because the NDRA defines them as such, but their lives still move on as they are allowed to economically grow and own the plot of land they live on. To add to that, they are also a source of votes for the political parties. One of my sources went so far as to say many politicians rely on the camp residents to collect enough votes to join parliament (Anonymous source 2022). By creating IDP camps, the Somaliland government is creating the "other". This othering in turn makes IDPs socially excluded from the rest of society. The camp residents are treated as not belonging to the host society as they are excluded spatially from the rest of society. Meanwhile, in the case of Somaliland, the IDPs are still very much allowed to join the labor force, move freely, and make educational efforts (Interview 1, 2, 3, and 4). The IDP camps, as Turner (2015) terms it, "are not simply islands unto themselves. They are transgressed by both those who are destined to live in them and the surrounding communities" (Turner 2015: 141). The spatiality of Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 are difficult to pin. They are confined within a specific area allocated by the NDRA. However, this contained area is not a hard line drawn on a map. In Malawle camp, the vice-chair explained "they don't have the exact number of the people living in the sections because they were not counted accurately. This is because many new communities join. There is 600 to 700 community living in this camp." (Interview 1: 1). These new communities are several families moving into the camp area but without the local council being aware of their arrival. It was not possible for me to understand if the NDRA is aware of these kinds of arrivals. The arrival does not seem organized as when the military moved IDPs to the Malawle camp area. The NDRA however, maintained the position that they control and administrate camp residents in all IDP camps (Interview 4). Turner (2015) describes this very well by saying "the limits of the camp are porous, allowing goods, people and ideas to move in and out of the camp (Jansen and Lecadet, this issue)" (Turner 2015: 141), this invisible line between the camp and the surroundings are equally maintained by the

residents themselves, the Hargeisa society, and the Somaliland government. This invisible line is still a very important defining factor for the lives in and around the camps. Turner (2015) argues that the camps are "… by definition, temporary; they are never meant to remain where they are indeterminably" (Turner 2015: 142). Turner does also add that many camps around the world become "quasi-permanent, as the Peteet and Kublitz articles on the Palestinian cases in this special issue show" (turner 2015: 142). This applies to the three camps in questions in this paper. They are, by definition, temporary. However, by being allowed to own the land, the presence of the IDPs themselves create a quasi-permanence. The ownership of land creates permanence, while the humanitarian definition of IDP create temporality. The NDRA made the claim that they meet every month with the local councils of all IDP camps (Interview 4). This means that the NDRA is supposed to be, at all times, up to date with the needs of the camp residents as well as which NGOs are working there and what incoming projects are lined up. This set-up again creates a permeance about the camps. They are managed by a system of permanence. The economic gain of the camps become paramount to the very survival of the humanitarian sector of local employees and international visitors. One important aspect which keeps upholding the temporality of the camps is that no one seems to know what the next development will be. Will the camps disparate and the residents integrate into the rest of society, or will the camp remain and the status of the residents as well? Turner (2015) coins it as "their temporary nature remains undecided in the sense that neither those in charge of establishing the camps nor those who inhabit them know how long the camp will remain" (Turner 2015: 142). This "undecidedness" is the essence of the camps in Somaliland. I will argue that Somaliland still apply one of the durable solutions listed by the UNHCR, however ambiguous it might be. The UNHCR list repatriation, resettlement, and local integration as the three durable solutions to displaced persons (Turner 2015). As Turner notes, camps are not mentioned anywhere as one of the durable solutions. They are meant as a temporary measure until another, permanent, solution is found. This makes the length of the stay in the camp an unknown factor adding to the uncertainty and the temporality of the camp. The residents of the camps in Hargeisa creates systems of governance which are permanent in nature. When asked who set up the system of governance and democratic processes of electing council members in the camp, the vice-chair of Malawle answered "the system was made by them (the residents). When the community arrived here, they had to work together, and help each other to make this hard situation easier." (Interview 1: 2). The systems of governance set up in the camps by the residents indicate a permanence of the lifetime of the camp. However, the system of governance is built around the fact that the camp is an IDP camp meaning it is temporary in nature.

This duality creates an unsecure position for the IDPs and the likelihood of them reaching their full potential as members of society.

The paradoxical space of the camp creates an exercise of sovereignty which is not just the suspension of the rule of law, but the keeper of the law suspends the law (AlSayyad & Roy 2006). The state of emergency is evoked in the name of keeping peace and order. The camp, as Malkki frames it, becomes a device of care and control. The IDPs in the camps in Somaliland become devices of care and control. The Somaliland government can exercise spacial control over IDPs. As explained earlier the residents in Malawle IDP camp did not willingly go to the camp area. They had a makeshift camp which was forcefully moved by the military without warning and with a sense of secrecy (Anonymous Source 2022). The camps become a space of care but depending on what AlSayyad and Roy (2006) term as "exceptional humanitarianism of the sovereign" (AlSayyad & Roy 2006: 14). This exceptional humanitarianism can be understood through concepts of exceptionalism – while the camp is ostracised in nature, separated from the city of Hargeisa, Agier argues that it is possible to witness key dimensions of the city in the camps in the "relational sense of the urbs and in the political sense of the polis." (AlSayyad & Roy 2006: 14). However, As AlSayyad and Roy (2006) argues, the living quarters of the medieval city resembles some of the aspects of the modern camp for displaced persons. According to them, in the Middle East many ethnic groups were not forced together. It was not until later that the Ottoman empire took control of cities in the Arab world that segregation was state induced. The state started using the segregation of ethnic groups as a device for managing the population. In this segregation the ethnic minorities found a degree of social autonomy that they would not otherwise have found (AlSayyad & Roy 2006: 15). The Somaliland IDP camps I visited was not so different. As a space of exception, where the urban citizenship is suspended in the camps through a "flexibility of sovereign power" (AlSayyad & Roy 2006: 15).

Moral Economy

Moral economy has been used in the humanities for a long time. From describing the fairness informing economic transactions, to describe shared values people evaluate their relations with others (Prince 2012: 536). Ruth Prince (2012) has conducted research regarding HIV, food programs and moral economy in Kenya. She uses moral economy as an "analytical frame to describe what happens when the medicalization of hunger interacts with a subsistence crisis, with an AIDS economy mediated by NGOS and external donors" (Prince 2012: 537). IDPs and IDP camps opens for a broader interpretation of moral economy of survival. NGOs and the UN's interventions in Somaliland create

a" humanitarian economy" (Prince 2012: 535), which in turn create survival strategies for the IDPs in the camps. The moral value of being an IDP is cultivated in the humanitarian regime. Being an IDP and living in a camp take on value and creates an environment where people can create identities around this economy in order to exploit the options it presents. When NGOs go to the IDP camps around Hargeisa, they might announce a project is underway and they are looking for community-based organizations to implement these projects which often is focused on self-reliance and empowerment. While the NGOs do not exclude non-IDPs, meaning they do not check the status of the beneficiary of the project, the funding for the project are still designated for IDPs. The community-based organizations become important here because they, unlike the individual IDP, can undertake a project and channel the funds the project provides. As Prince (2012) also experienced in Kenya, when the camp residents in Somaliland are organized, they credit themselves as eligible for funds controlled by the NGOs. Kisumu in Kenya is according to Prince (2012) jokingly referred to as an NGO city. This is because the number of NGOs has grown exponentially. The same applies to Somaliland, since the declaration of independence in 1991, many working groups have focused on "post-war development" building the state of Somaliland. To support this endeavor and to support the many displaced persons the war in Somalia had created, many NGOs started operations and installed departments in Somaliland. NGOs working in Somaliland target specific needs and groups – just like Prince (2012) experienced in Kenya – the NGOs channel their funding to the community-based organizations that can present themselves and organized, accountable, and as representatives of the IDP community. This created a burst of community-based organizations to register with the government in Somaliland (Anonymous Source 2022). The mission of the groups is to present accountability and gain visibility in order to access the funding flow controlled by the NGOs. The bureaucracy of the community-based groups in all three camps demonstrates accountability. The community-based organizations become social locations where people can access funds, training and in some cases employment with the NGO(s) providing the funding. In all my visits to the three camps, in all my interview with the council members, they were all quick to mentioned what kind of projects they were lacking in the camps. Even though, I had explained the nature of my visit and of my research, my mere presence meant an opportunity to access funds for the community-based organizations in the camps. If not I was able to grant access to funds directly, my presence in the camps meant an opportunity to exchange information about requirements for access to funds and exchange of information regarding what NGOs was looking for community-based organizations to

support. The community-based organizations have become natural target groups for NGOs searching for IDPs in need of material support.

The IDPs learn that they have to tell a story of their lives and articulate these basic needs in terms of being displaced. By living in a camp and being part of a community-based organization, the IDP becomes more visible to others. The moral economy of the camps revolves around this visibility. The visibility adds another economic value for the IDPs. It makes the IDP visible for NGOs that controls the access to funds. As Prince (2012) coins it "NGOS respond to suffering and need, if you can gather a group about you and represent your need in appropriate form." (Prince 2012: 548). The moral economy of survival in the camps are maintained by the humanitarian regimes working to help IDPs. The NGOs projects targeting IDPs intersect with the displaced persons in crisis struggling to secure basic needs and create a better life for themselves. The displacement of a person reduces them to "the vulnerabilities of their bodies, to being ill, to needing care" (Prince 2012: 548). However, being displaced also provides an opportunity to access resources in the humanitarian economy taking shape around IDP interventions (Prince 2012). The IDPs can "articulate this identity through various moral registers" (Prince 2012: 548), they can be accountable clients for NGOs implementing humanitarian projects and they can be suffering individuals in other situations. Through the IDP identity arises both moral and economic value, in which NGOs will respond through "specific projects to material need" (Prince 2012: 549). Prince (2012) concludes that HIV-positive people can voice their needs of their particular vulnerable bodies. I will argue the same applies for IDPs in Somaliland. IDPs can identify as a person in need and be visible about that need. This showcase of the body of needs can open channels of material support which are desperately needed by IDPs. As Prince (2012) points out NGOs are characterized "by their impermanence, those who are targeted by these interventions continually have to represent their needs, to different organizations, on grounds that are constantly shifting." (Prince 2012: 549). In order to maintain material support from NGOs, IDPs in Malawle, Digaale, and Ajax 4 IDP camp have to constantly voice their needs and be visible about this need.

A very important notion to be aware of when investigating and researching camps for displaced persons, is that the perspective of the researcher should not only be from above as a "bureaucratic logic" but also not from below as "everyday tactics of resistance" (Turner 2015: 147). As Turner concludes, it is important to understand camps of displaced persons through "a thick ethnographic account… In this way, they show that the humanitarian refugee regime itself is not monolithic and is

full of contradictions that make space for the emergence of new subjectivities and socialities." (Turner 2015: 147). Prince's article explores moral economies of survival, and it is this use of the term which has been interesting for this paper.

Perspective

In this section I will put my research in perspective to Palestinian refugees in Palestine. Palestinian refugees share some of the same characteristic as Somaliland IDPs. These similarities are interesting to compare and to help understand the concept of IDP and camps for displaced persons in a broader sense.

Palestinian refugees are in a similar but still different situation when comparing to IDPs in Somaliland. On the ground same IDP definition as everywhere else should apply in Palestine but on paper, because of UNRWA and the Refugee Convention of 1951, displaced Palestinians within Palestine, are treated and categorized as refugees under the protection of UNRWA (Jensen 2022). Palestinian refugees, inside of Palestine, live in open refugee camps but do not own the land (or apartment) they live on (in), unlike in Somaliland where the IDPs are granted the right of ownership by the government which in turn has acquired the land from private owners due to public interest. Displaced Palestinians are considered refugees even though they reside inside Palestine, they are not under the protection of the state of Palestine, they are not IDPs. This is because of one obvious reason; Palestine is not a recognized state. However, Somaliland is also not a recognized state, but the displaced Somalilanders within the border of Somaliland are treated as IDPs and receive protection and assistance from UNHCR and the rest of the international humanitarian regime. Now, the technical reason Palestinian refugees cannot receive protection and assistance from UNHCR is because, per the Refugee Convention of 1951, persons receiving assistance from other UN-agencies, in the case of displaced Palestinians UNRWA, cannot receive protection and assistance under the forementioned convention. Nevertheless, Somaliland as a non-recognized state is still eligible to receive support from UNHCR because no other UN-agency supports displaced Somalilanders specifically. Both countries are not recognized but Somaliland still interacts with the international humanitarian regime in terms of receiving funding, assistance, and technical expertise, equally to recognized states. According to Article 6 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law' and that Article 15(1) lays down that: 'Everyone has the right to a nationality" (Jensen 2022: 10, The Travaux Preparatoires analysed - UNHCR, analysis of the 1951 Convention). By article 6 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Somalilanders are enjoying a right given to them as a universal right to all human beings while still not being recognized as an independent state. Palestinian refugees also have access to humanitarian support but in a highly politicized environment, and exclusively from UNRWA. Also, the occupation of the Israeli state creates a difference of agency. While both states are not recognized, only one, that being Palestine, is in an open conflict with another nation. Somaliland is not in conflict with any other nation although there are several militias in conflict with the Somaliland government. This hyper-politicization of Palestinian refugees adds to the difficulties for the international humanitarian regime to react and interact with Palestinian refugees. Sanyal (2009) investigates squatting in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. She argues that the camps showcase Palestinian refugees as active agents. The camps become symbolic places and are testaments to the agency of refugees (Sanyal 2009). Even though the Palestinian refugees are confined to a limited and temporary space this has not completely stopped their ability to "engage actively in the process of space-making and identity formation" (Sanyal 2009: 885). Sanyal (2009) goes on to say that urban squatters in general, and not only within the marginalized group of refugees in camps "As urban marginals, they too, like refugees, are subject to various forms of intervention that attempt to control and discipline their spaces" (Sanyal 2009: 885). This is not unlike Somaliland IDPs in camps in Somaliland. They too are able agents even though they are being stripped of their political self. Additionally, just like in the case of the Palestinian refugees, Somaliland IDP camps, even though temporary in nature, become spaces of identity formation for the residents.

Perspective to my research method:
The interviewees seemed concerned with my role as a researcher. While they welcomed my research and wanted to participate in my research development, some of their suggestions to my interview with the NDRA seemed to define me as a donor or potential donor at least. This means that they expected that I could influence the NDRA and the next potential humanitarian projects to be implemented in their specific camp. I tried to make it clear that I would not be able to approach the NDRA or any NGO in this capacity, but they still seemed to believe so. This came explicitly to light when my translator let me in on a discussion between two of the interviewees in Ajax 4 camp (which is not captured in the transcription of the interview but can be found in the audio file of the interview in Somali). We were talking about which NGOs are working in the camp – one of the female council members of the camp told the chair of the camp committee, a man, that they should only mention the NGOs that they liked. Despite my best of efforts to explain my reason for being in the camp, they still believed that I could directly affect which camp the NGOs will provide funding to. My

participatory approach seemed difficult for the interviewees to understand. They were mostly concerned with how they could affect their immediate needs being met through NGO projects in the camp.

PART IV
Conclusion

This section concludes my work and tries to sum up the main points of my research. I will also reflect on my methodological approach and how that was difficult in the highly politicized camp for IDPs in Somaliland.

IDPs in Somaliland are highly active in shaping their own fortune and have agency in terms of being able to act independently from their status as an IDP. The system of governance is contributing to a more sustainable camp development and evolvement. Evolvement because the camp residents have an ownership certificate of the plot of land they reside on. The way has been paved to expand beyond their simple classification in society as IDPs, and self-reliance, a humanitarian buzzword, is reachable when freedom of movement, freedom to work, and freedom to determine your own future is secured through land ownership and management. The management part is leaning towards a non-management system. The camp residents are indeed managed by the NDRA and INGOs together with relevant UN-agencies that are active in the camp, securing the immediate basic needs are being met. However, the agency of the camp residents is supported by the Somaliland government and with the freedom of choice they stand strong compared to other IDP and refugee camp residents around the world. Why then, is the Somaliland government so set on categorizing these people as IDPs and actively remove them from squatting in urban areas, to create large plots of land as outskirt Hargeisa? The economic gains of the international humanitarian regime interacting in Somaliland, creating jobs and provide funding for community-based organizations in the IDP camps are very important for the economy of the Somaliland state. However, the foreign assistance that Somaliland receives is part of a system which undermines some of the potential economic development for Somaliland government institution. The foreign economic assistance “disrupt the development of representative institutions that may follow from revenue bargaining (taxes)” (Eubank 2012: 478).

The definition of Somaliland IDPs is based on the assumption Somaliland is a recognized state. As presented above, this recognition as IDPs is of the benefit of the camp residents. They receive

assistance and support from the international humanitarian regime, including UNHCR. While the UNHCR have guidelines for working with IDPs, they do not have a mandate to exclusively work with internally displaced persons. There is only one legally binding convention for states to apply in situations of internal displacement. The African Union has created the Kampala Convention of 2009 to specifically legally bind state parties to protect and assist IDPs in Africa. A key article is article 3 which expands the rights of internally displaced persons associated with climate change and elements related to the environment. This is very important because a majority of internal displacement in Somaliland is due to climate change has the region is seeing the worst draught in 40 years. The IDPs in Somaliland find themselves in an ambiguous situation. On one hand, they are without political identity and reduced to their bare bodies of suffering. On the other hand, the camps become hyper-politicized because they are a space for the international humanitarian regime to implement projects and channel funding critical for the IDPs but also for local employees hired by INGOs and the UN.

My position as researcher has been challenged in this paper. My outset was to use a participatory approach, in the hopes that I did not simply parachute into the camps and leave again without a trace. This methodology was inspired by Cargo & Mercer (2008) and their investigation of participatory research in the health sector. My point of departure was to include the camp residents in formulating my research proposal and to set the framework for my interview with the NDRA. However, I found it difficult to move beyond my position as a temporary component in the camp. As described earlier, the camp residents in all three camps seemed more concerned with providing me with information about what kind of projects could be implemented in the camps. To add to that, the camp residents seemed to have had their fill of researchers visiting their camp. All three camps voiced agitation and annoyance with NGOs, NDRA employees, and UN-personnel coming to the camp as they saw fit but without any follow-up. This resulted in a rather traditional perception of me as a researcher simply visiting their camp for the own gain of my “advanced” research detached from the subjects of my research itself.

Discussion

In this paper, I have not touched upon the clan-based system that all of Somaliland social and political life is founded on. The clan system provides a background of social benefits which traditionally serves as a welfare system for Somalilanders. This clan system is still very much functioning in Somaliland, which is also why colonist powers has had a hard time applying their way of governance onto the Somaliland citizens.

The clan system in Somaliland is rooted in the cultural and historical traditions of the Somali people, and it is an integral part of their identity. The clans are organized into larger groupings known as "clan families," which are made up of several clans that are related by blood (Prunier 2021). There are several key characteristics of the clan system in Somaliland that set it apart from other traditional systems of social organization. Firstly, it is based on a system of patrilineal descent, which means that a person's clan membership is determined by their father's clan. Secondly, the clan system is hierarchical, with each clan having a leader or chief who is responsible for representing the interests of the clan and for resolving disputes within the clan (Prunier 2021). The clan system in Somaliland has a number of important social and political functions. It serves as a way of organizing and uniting the Somali people, and it provides a sense of belonging and identity for individuals within the society. It also plays a significant role in the political process, as clans often come together to support candidates for political office and to participate in decision-making processes at both the local and national level. Despite the importance of the clan system in Somaliland, it has also been a source of conflict and tension in the country. The competition for resources and power between different clans has led to periods conflict (Prunier 2021). In recent years, efforts have been made to address these issues and to promote reconciliation and unity among the clans. This has included the establishment of national reconciliation conferences and the implementation of a number of programs and initiatives aimed at promoting peace and stability within the country (Prunier 2021). Does the clan system compliment, overrule or completely disappear in the face of humanitarian assistance? This would have been interesting to include in my research. The clan system seems to be the framework which humanitarian assistance has to navigate. Many clan members might be supporting IDPs in the same clan while they still receive humanitarian assistance from the international humanitarian regime. Additionally, the clan system might affect how humanitarian aid is channeled as clan leaders could be a distribution port and might be a natural leader of the community-based organizations in the camps. All of this would have been very interesting to examine to understand the underlaying social, political and economic structures governing all of Somalilanders and thus also governing IDPs in the camps.

PART V

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