**Economic Migrants**

**or**

**Internal Displaced Persons?**



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**An Empirical Analysis of urban IDPs in Bosaso, Somalia**

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT AND URBAN CITY

**ECONOMIC MIGRANTS OR INTERNAL DISPLACED PERSONS?**

**An Empirical Analysis of Urban IDPs in Bosaso City**

# Abstract

In recent decades, many cities and towns around the world have seen dramatic population growth, with significant inflows from rural areas. A prominent feature of this global trend of urbanization is forced displacement triggered by armed conflict, violence and political instability and slow- and sudden-onset disasters – or a combination of these factors. Many of those forcibly displaced have moved to urban areas in search of greater security, including a degree of better access to basic services and greater economic opportunities. This questions whether people migrating to urban cities are categorized as economic migrants or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**.** While a number of studies in recent years have sought to analyze urban livelihoods and urban governance, there remains little understanding of why and how IDPs migrate to the urban environment and the relationships with the host community and governing institutions. Therefore, through the understanding of neo-classical migration theory and clan theory, this paper analyzes how the effect of conflict and drought in Somalia has caused a melting pot of displaced people in urban cities with the focus of economic migrants and IDPs in Bosaso. The case study of Bosaso analyzes the various aspects involved in urban settings such as labour prospects, gender issues, legal protection and the relations between hosts and IDPs in connection to pre- and post migration. The overall outcome of this study contributes to a better understanding of the effect of internal displacement in urban cities.

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# Acronyms

**CAP** Consolidated Appeal Process (OCHA)

**DRC**  Danish Refugee Council

**FEWS-NET** Famine Early Warning Systems Network

**ICU** Islamic Courts Union

**IDP** Internally Displaced Persons

**IGAD** Intergovernmental Authority on Development

**INGO** International Non-Governmental Organization

**MRC** Migration Response Centre (Bosaso)

**NGP** Non-Governmental Organization

**NRC** Norwegian Refugee Council

**UNGA-HRC** United Nations General Assembly- Human Rights Council

**UN-HABITAT** The United Nations Human Settlements Programme

**UNHCR**  United Nation High Commission for Refugees

**UNITAF** Unified Task Force

**UNOSOM** United Nations Operation in Somalia

**UN-OCHA**  Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

**TFG** Transnational Federal Government

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# Introduction

*“I migrated to Bosaso because of conflict and drought in Somalia. Because of this, I came to Bosaso to seek better opportunity for myself and my family”* (Abdi, IDP living in Bosaso)

Abdi was one out of many displaced people who met during my field visit to Bosaso. When I arrived in Somalia, the head of the UN agency had just announced that southern Somalia was severely affected by drought famine in July 2011. This was the worst humanitarian disaster in the decades with almost 1, 46 million internally displaced (UNHCR, 2012). With that, mass influx of IDPs had migrated from the southern parts of Somalia to the northern city Bosaso. The main purpose of Somali migration is to flee insecurities such as violence and drought. They come to Bosaso in the hope of regaining their livelihoods, because they believe that the urban city of Bosaso will enable them to gain the resources which were lost in their hometowns. Puntland, the semi-autonomous state, is relatively safe and this attracts many IDPs from the southern part of Somalia. Bosaso IDPs fall into three categories. First, people in transit through Bosaso to Yemen and other points abroad. Second, short term IDPs, displaced through local conflict or natural disaster who may return home quickly. The third category, and the group the study will focus on, is long-staying IDPs who are not in transit and have relocated due to conflict in central Somalia or drought in southern Somalia(OCHA report Somalia CAP, 2011).

It is nearly impossible to estimate the global number of Internally Displaced Persons who have migrated to urban cities, butat least four million IDPs are thought to live in urban environments (Fielden, 2008). In recent decades, many cities and towns around the world have seen dramatic population growth, with significant inflows from rural areas. A prominent feature of this global trend of urbanization is forced displacement triggered by armed conflict, violence and political instability and slow- and sudden-onset disasters – or a combination of these factors. Many of those forcibly displaced have moved to urban areas in search of greater security, including better access to basic services and greater economic opportunities. These IDPs are treated according to the Guiding principle on internal displacement. On the contrary, the President of Puntland, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed ‘Faroole’, recently stated in a letter to the Representative of the United Nations' Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, Walter Kälin, that the position of the Puntland administration is that IDPs from the central and southern regions of Somalia are economic migrants rather than persons seeking safety from danger (UNGA, 21 January 2010). In relation to this, there are a number of obstacles to categorizing IDPs in urban cities. The challenge is to identify this group. This is mainly due to inaccurate data collection and very limited research on the topic, because the dynamics of displacement have become particularly complex and interconnected.

The abovementioned statement by Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed ‘Faroole’ indicates that migrants coming to urban cities are perceived as two types: 1) IDPs, who are individuals or groups fleeing dangers in their hometowns, and 2) economic migrants, who are individuals or groups searching for better jobs and economic security. IDPs can easily fit into to both categories, but the debate is whether they are recognized as either IDPs or economic migrants as these two terms have very different meanings. The study aims to analyze how we can understand these two types of IDPs. These factors have further conspired to create a vacuum of challenges for this particularly vulnerable group, who are without access to the safeguards and assistance available to most other persons of concern. The predicament of vulnerable urban IDPs thus requires the immediate attention of national authorities, international organizations and civil society (Fielden, 2008)

For over 20 years, the main reason for mass displacement has been people fleeing the continuous warfare in the Somali conflict. IDPs are often denied basic human rights: inadequate living conditions and lacking physical security and freedom of movement. Without documentation urban IDPs are left unprotected by their national government and suffer as a result of insufficient food, water, healthcare and education. Often displaced in urban areas they are vulnerable to discrimination and marginalization. Moreover, IDPs in urban areas are unable to improve their situation, since limited access to livelihoods prevents them from becoming self-reliant (Fielden, 2008). Subsequently, Somalia’s urban landscape continues to be transformed by a complex and long-standing interaction of government failures, natural disasters and recurrent conflict that dates back to the late 1980s. This interaction has created an environment of insecurity that has generated numerous ‘waves’ of both internal and external population displacement over the past two decades. The UNHCR estimates that nearly one third of Somalia’s total population is currently either internally or externally displaced (UNHCR, 2011).

## Problem formulation

Additionally, we can see that there are many different groups migrating to Bosaso, yet there does not exist any tracking or disaggregation of who these people are and the reasons behind them coming to Bosaso. Some of the displaced left their homeland for safety reasons while others for economic reasons.

This study explores the experiences of some of the most marginalized IDPs in the world analyzing the case of urban displaced Somalis in the semi-autonomous region of Puntland. While there does exist studies on migration and urbanization (Metcalfe and Pavanello, 2011; Pavelleno and Buchanan- Smith, 2011), there is very little known on the paradox of what constitutes a displaced migration to urban living. The study also analyses from a neo-classical migration perspective why governmental institutions classify people migrating to urban cities as economic migrants, rather than IDPs. The thesis will therefore examine the following problem formulation:

|  |
| --- |
| Research Focus: The effect of conflict and drought in Somalia has caused a melting pot of displaced people. Considering this, is it possible to distinguish between economic migrants and IDPs who seek refuge in Bosaso? And how does hosting institutions identify displacement in Bosaso?   * Sub-questions (1) How do we understand the reasons for IDPs migrate to Bosaso? * Sub-questions (2) In Bosaso, how does host community identify and perceive IDPs in urban areas? |

# Methodology

The main method for the following research will be primary analysis of data collected. The data is based on a qualitative method using the case study of Bosaso. Furthermore, the thesis is an explorative approach. Bryman argued that qualitative research often emphasises words and as a strategy it is inductivist, constructivist and interpretivist (2004). In this study, qualitative methods are used to capture information on cultural and traditional values, opinions, behaviour , and social contexts of displacement in urban cities. Cases study design using ethnography and qualitative interviewing carried out in spring, 2012. The study will use an explorative qualitative approach on the basis that there are very little and limited academic studies on displacement and urbanization in Bosaso. Data collection originates from secondary as well as primary sources.

The study is analyzed in relation to theoretical approach of neo-classical migration theory and clan theory. In connection to sub question of why people migrate to the city, it uses three neo-classical migration theories: 1) Everett Lee (1966) ‘push and pull’ theory that will explain what causes people to migrate, 2) John R. Harris and Michael Todaro's model that further examined Lee’s theory by adding the employment and income factor of migration, and 3) gender and migration theories which are fairly new approaches that demonstrate the ways in which men and women migrate to urban cities. All three neo-classical migration theories are examined in respect to the rural-to-urban migration patterns. In addition, it provides significant relevance in understanding how and why people migrate to urban cities. Addressing the second sub question on how Bosaso IDPs are identified in accordance to host communities, the thesis demonstrates I.M Lewis and Catherine Besteman's Somali clan theory. Both theorists wrote about the clan systems in Somalia.The two theorists have very different understandings of how clans should be understood in Somalia. While Lewis, who is considered father of Somali clan theory, viewed the Somali clan systems as a tool used for both positive and negative purposes, whereas Besteman argued the Somali clan division is rather a question of social class than in connection to clan linkages.

## Data Collection

Firstly , the secondary data will consists of literature from books, journals and articles, existing research data and reports, needs assessments, evaluation reports and other publications focusing on displacement and urbanization. Some of the literature source also includes official documentation by UN and DRCs agencies documented about Bosaso. However, as mentioned earlier, there are non-existing academic studies on Bosaso, therefore, the resources on Bosaso will mostly be taken from reports and official documentation published by humanitarian agencies. According to Bryman, such information can be very important for researchers conducting case studies and qualitative interviews (2004).

* 1. **Method of Fieldwork**

The study is semi- ethnographic where the researcher spent eight months in Bosaso while working for the INGO Danish Refugee Council (DRC). The researcher was involved in many aspects of humanitarian assistants which made it possible to familiarize with IDP communities in Bosaso. While at DRC Puntland, the researcher worked with government offices, international and national agencies, and carrying out focus group discussions with different communities including men, women, young people and elders of key population groups such as IDPs, long-term residents, and economic migrants. It was therefore possible for the researcher to select the relevant participants for this specific study. DRC has collaborated and supported the research by facilitating with logistic assistance during the fieldwork. Through interviews, they availed their knowledge and expertise of key thematic issues of relevance to the study such as drivers of displacement in Bosaso. The research team consisted of a researcher, one research assistant and logistic support from the Danish Refugee Council. The Danish Refugee Council provided transport for interviewees and meeting rooms for the interviews. A private research assistant was hired because the researcher was not able to carry out fieldwork in the area due to security complications. Hamdi Said, the research assistant, is a Somali national currently living in Bosaso. She has worked in the humanitarian field for over six years, thus, this enabled her to identify locations of the target communities as well as contact key participators. The interview process was carried out by both the researcher and the research assistant. The researcher wanted to take part in all interviewing with participants, but it was not possible because the urban IDPs and hosting communities’ participants preferred to get interviewed in a local centre near their homes and the center did not have internet connection. Therefore, the researcher was only able to do one telephone interview which included 1) IDPs settlement participants via Skype while the research assistant was present with the participants during the interview. She also provided translation when needed. In the local centre, the research assistant alone interviewed 2) urban IDPs and 3) hosting communities on her own where she conducted a face-to-face interview session. The Interviewers also requested some form of compensation for their contribution which was three dollars for each participant . At the end of the fieldwork, the research assistant sent the recorded data collection and other relevant notes and documentation to the researcher.

The limitations of this study were, firstly,that the researcher was unable to visit the field due to security reasons. That said, the broad outline of the displaced situation is generally accurate. Another limitation was the weak institutional capacity in the northern administrations made collection of data difficult. However, most interviews, as mentioned above, were conducted via Skype . All the interviews were not used as some of the interviews were not relevant to the problem formulations. The interviews that were not included in the thesis included: DRC interview and urban IDPs interview. Also, interview with UNHCR head of Programmes in Puntland was planned, but after several attempts, UNHCR was not able to be interviewed. Also the director of the Migration Response Centre was asked to be interviewed via Skype or face-to-face, but he preferred responding to questions via email.

* 1. **The Sample**

The study used purposive sampling because the researcher wanted to interview people who were relevant to the research question (Brymann 2004). Twenty-one individuals were selected to be interviewed and they all lived or worked in Bosaso. The participants consisted of IDPs and hosting communities, International NGOs, UN agencies and the Migration Response Centre of Puntland. The idea was to get them to describe and discuss their experiences of migration in Bosaso. The sampling population was chosen from a community and organizational level. From the community level, the participants represented individuals who were investigated according to problem formulation. The three target communities included urban IDPs living within the hosting community premise 2) IDPs who live in camps/settlement outside the city and 3) the hosting community. These people were able to share experiences of pre-and post experience of migration and their living conditions in urban city of Bosaso. In Somalia, people often go to the clan leaders and community committees with issues and resolution, thus, these clan leaders bear the best knowledge of the challenges and obstacles IDPs and the hosting experience. The researcher found it most relevant to interview IDP, hosting clan leaders and community committees as they capture the broader picture of the everyday life of their community. We particularly wanted to target the IDP clan leader of Raxweyne. The Raxweyne clan is from the southern part of Somalia and they have the most IDPs living in Bosaso. Secondly, we wanted to interview the Harti clan leader who belongs to the most dominate clan group in the Puntland regions. He would represent the hosting community. While a number of studies in recent years have sought to analyze displacement and urbanization, little is known about how displaced people negotiate their way in the urban environment, their relationships with host communities and government institutions. Therefore this sample population was selected in accordance to these factors.

## The interviewing

The study chose qualitative interviewing methods. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) stated “in a qualitative research interview, knowledge is produced socially in the interaction of interviewer and interviewee” (p.82). An in-depth interview is a dialogue between a skilled interviewer and an interviewee. Its goal is to elicit rich, detailed material that can be used in analysis but also to improve understanding of social and cultural phenomena and processes (Kvale, 2009). Such interviews are best conducted face to face, although in some situations telephone interviewing can be successful. This study conducted both face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews via Skype. In each of the three groups of IDPs in settlement, urban IDPs and the hosting community interviewed three men and three women who were clan leaders and community leaders. The researcher developed four different interview guides for the humanitarian agencies, the IDPs in settlements, urban IDP and hosting communities. The purpose was to include questions mainly regarding pre and post migration backgrounds, relations between IDPs and the host community and generally information on discrimination and vulnerabilities. The method was to use semi- structured interviews and consisted of open-ended questions. The interviews with the communities were in Somali and necessary translation was provided, whereas the interviews with the humanitarian agencies were in English.

1. **Definitions and Concepts**
   1. **Urban Displaced Persons**

According to the Oxford English dictionary, ’urban’ is an adjective relating to a town or a city and derives from the Latin urbanus, from urbs meaning ‘city’, but the term is also often applied to conurbations and metropolitan areas. Even cities themselves have differing scales. In Bosaso, the majority of IDP settlements are situated on the outskirts of the town in the south with some also found in the north-west. Many peri-urban or squatter settlements are excluded from official statistics and do not appear on city maps (Fielden, 2008). Urban sprawl is also a complicating factor; the tendency for a city and its suburbs to spread into the surrounding rural areas makes it impossible to define the border of an urban region that is constantly changing. For the purposes of this thesis, ‘urban’ areas will include surrounding suburbs of Bosaso, in order to incorporate IDP settlements located on the outskirts of town which are mostly situated in the south and the north-west from Bosaso Town. When IDPs initially arrived in Bosaso, many clustered together on the basis of shared clan/ethnic affiliation or a common place of origin, as reflected by the names of some of the camps (Ajuuraan, Shiidle, New Shabelle etc.) (UN-OCHA/NRC, 2004).

Historically, there has been a wide-ranging misunderstanding and misuse of the term ‘urban IDP’. Confusion is mainly in respect to whether the ‘urban’ aspect of the label is applied to the place of departure or the place of destination. Indeed, the term ‘urban IDP’ has been applied to city dwellers displaced into the countryside, as well as to returning refugees who have become urbanized during their time spent in a host country. In addition, an urban IDP is a person displaced from their place of habitual residence (be it rural or urban, at home or abroad) into an urban environment in their own country’ (Fielden, 2008). The urban IDPs normally live within alongside the poor hosting community slum-like neighborhoods. The conception of urban IDPs being displaced by armed conflict is insufficient to describe and understand the motivations and needs of this diverse group. In reality, a sole cause for forced internal displacement and the subsequent formation of an urban IDP population can be difficult to identify. Although there is usually a short-term catalyst, it is common for a number of contributory factors to convince people that migration to urban areas will provide a better life for themselves and/or their family (Fielden, 2008).

* 1. **‘Slums ’ and ‘Informal Settlements’**

In Bosaso, most IDPs live in informal settlement, because IDP settlements in Bosaso are usually developed on private land. The thesis follows Bruyas’s definition of ‘slums’ and ‘informal settlements’ which is defined as ' an area that combines, to various extents … residents’ inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; and insecure residential status' (2006). ‘Informal settlements’ are defined as ' (i) residential areas where a group of housing units has been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which they occupy illegally; (ii) unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing)' (Bruyas, 2006). In this study, both terms are used interchangeably.

* 1. **IDPs Legal and Policy Framework in relation to Somalia**

Internal Displaced Persons, according to the International Guiding Principle for Internal Displacement, ‘are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes 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.’ Additionally, Somalia has ratified the following international legal instruments concerning refugees and IDPs:

* The 1951 UN Convention and its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees
* The 2009 African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa - “Kampala Convention”
* IGAD Peace and Security Division – humanitarian affairs frameworks/policies?

With regards to extradition and political asylum, Article 33.1 of the Puntland constitution states that any alien immigrant or resident in the territory of Puntland State has the right to be granted political asylum in conformity with the State Laws, which are subject to the rules and conditions of the aforementioned International Conventions. The Somali customary law also known as the *xeer* also provide protection support to IDPs. For instance, in regards to IDPs, the *xeer* states that where ‘people seek refuge to a given area there must be a ‘host’ clan that protects them. According to tradition, non-agnatic (no father-related) guest are assigned a protected status withtheir host described as *magan* (absent)*.* The protecting group does not accept full responsibility for their lives of those assigned this position’ (Gundel, 2006: 57-58).

1. **Contextualizing Internal Displacement and Urbanization**
   1. **History and Drivers of Internal Displacement in Somalia**

Former President Mohamed Siad Barre’s violent attempts to suppress political opponents from 1988 into the early 1990s can be seen as the beginning of the first phase of mass population displacement in Somalia in recent times (Ofcansky and Berry, 2004). After Barre’s regime collapsed in 1991, civil war erupted and several of the weaker minority clans and groups were displaced after their land was confiscated by the more militarily powerful clans. External intervention under the auspices of UNITAF and later UNOSOM failed to stabilize the security situation and the mission withdrew in 1995. The subsequent violence between 1998 and 2006 has been described as “more predictable and negotiable through a set of standard coping strategies, including through temporary adjustments to spatial routines and temporary micro-relocations within urban areas, or to the rural hinterland (Lindley, 2010). In 1998, conflict in the southern coastal areas displaced an estimated 25,000 people. Violence during 1999 displaced at least 50,000 people, both internally (to Mogadishu and northern Somalia) and externally (into Kenya and Ethiopia). The establishment of the Somali Transitional National Government in 2000 led to renewed fighting and coincided with drought in 2001 (in the Gedo, Bay, and Bakool regions) leading to the displacement of 25,000 Somalis during the year (Griffiths, 2003). The second phase of conflict-induced mass displacement came after the U.S.-backed Ethiopian invasion of Somalia in December 2006 in order to support the Somali Transitional Federal Government against a rival administration, the Islamic Courts Union. The fighting in 2007 between Somali government troops and those aligned to the ousted ICU in Mogadishu was the worst since the early 1990s and led to at least 400,000 people being displaced from the capital, most of who remained in Somalia (IRC, 22 October, 2007). Against a background where it had been possible for people in Mogadishu to cope – to a certain extent – with urban insecurity, they then experienced a major upheaval, many turning to migration as a survival strategy (Lindley, 2009). After the ICU were driven out of Mogadishu, the organisation fractured created rival militant Islamist groups Hisbul Islaam and Al-Shabaab, which continued to wage an insurgency against the TFG. In addition to the escalation in conflict-induced displacement due to the evolution of these groups, their designation as terrorist organizations obstructed aid agency operations and led to further displacement as Somalis sought increased access to humanitarian aid.

* 1. **Bosaso and Urban Displaced Population**

Before the civil war, Bosaso’s population was estimated to be between 15,000 and 25,000 people. The municipality estimated in 2009 that on average 2,000 people migrate into the city every year. The number of displaced people is considered to be 50,000 and growing (FEWS-NET, 2009). At least 2,200 persons arrived in Bari province between 16 June and 16 September 2011 and Bosaso itself received 1,330 in July 2011 alone. While some IDPs remain invisible in host communities, most are based in 26 camps, the majority of which are located on the outskirts of town. These have become a melting pot of IDPs, asylum-seekers, refugees, including returning Somali refugees, urban poor and migrants. As of December 2010, the combined total population of these camps was 49, 215 (UNHCR, 2011).

The city’s population is rapidly increasing, due to the in-migration of refugees fleeing fighting and drought in Ethiopia’s Oromo and Ogaden regions, leaving the war zones in the south, which is pushing the nomadic population and their animals to the urban centres. The majority of IDP camps are situated on the outskirts of the town in the south with some also found in the north-west. When IDPs initially arrived in Bosaso, many clustered together on the basis of shared clan/ethnic affiliation or a common place of origin, as reflected by the names of some of the camps (Ajuuraan, Shiidle, New Shabelle etc.) (UN-OCHA/NRC, 2004).

The rapid growth rate combined with poor urban management has meant that urban services, education, and health care are in a deplorable state. Environmental degradation is one of the most visible problems and is particularly dangerous for the poor. Truck and small vehicle congestion along the main road, illegal dumping, lack of drainage, and water stagnation during the rainy season are some of the most perceptible environmental challenges. The continuous inflow of IDPs is a burden on the reception and absorption capacities of local authorities and communities, but also for existing communities of IDPs (UNGA, 21st January 2010).

* 1. **Bosaso – Ethnic groups/ clan groups**

Bosaso has become a place of refuge and economic opportunity for people fleeing conflict in South/Central Somalia. Many of the IDPs now in the north originate from the south where they fled conflict and insecurity. Having found their farming lands appropriated during their absence, they eventually moved north in search of economic livelihoods. The agriculturalists belong to sub clans from the south including Rahanweyn, Ajuran, Jarso, Madhiban and Ashraf and the minority group, Bantu (UN-OCHA, 2002).It is also a destination for pastoralists forced to drop out of pastoralism in the Puntland regions and Somali and Oromiya Regions of Ethiopia. Consequently, a wide variety of clans and ethnic groups are represented in the camps.

Some IDPs plan to stay in Bosaso for the foreseeable future whilst others see it as a stopping point and hope to travel abroad in search of better economic opportunities as well as asylum seekers who flee from persecution and war. Between January and July 2011, UNHCR recorded 10,200 refugees arriving in Yemen from Somalia, many of whom will have travelled from Bosaso (UNHCR, 2011b).

1. **Theoretical Considerations** 
   1. **Neo-classical Migration theory and Clan theory**

This chapter will provide two theoretical framework of neo-classical migration theories and clan theory in order to answer my problem formulation. From neo-classical migration theory, it will use Everett Lee (1966) ‘push and pull’ theory that will explain what causes people to migrate; John R. Harris and Michael Todaro model wanted to further examine Lee’s theory by adding the employment and income factor of migration. Lastly gender and migration theories which are fairly new approaches, demonstrate the ways in which men and women migrate to urban cities. All these neo-classical migration theories analyzed the rural-to-urban migration patterns. In addition, it provided significant relevance in analyzing and understanding how and why people migrate to urban cities. Furthermore, addressing the sub question on how Bosaso IDPs are identified in accordance to host communities, the thesis will demonstrate on I.M Lewis and Catherine Besteman Somali clan theory. Both theorists wrote about the clan systems in Somalia and their perspectives describe very different understandings of how clans should be understood in Somalia. While Lewis, who was a founding father of Somali clan theory, viewed the Somali clan systems as a tool used for cooperation or oppositions in specific situations, whereas Besteman argued the divisions are not determined by clan but rather depending on social class systems. Nevertheless, the overall aim for this chapter is to introduce these abovementioned theories for the intended purpose of utilizing an analysis in connection with the primary empirical data. These theories were chosen because of their relevance in determining the inquiries of the problem-formulation of the effect of conflict and drought in Somalia, and how these have caused a melting pot of displaced people. Considering this, is it possible to distinguish between economic migrants and IDPs who seek refuge in Bosaso? And how does hosting institutions identify the displaced in Bosaso.

* 1. **Push and Pull Factor**

The first scholarly contribution to migration was based on two articles by the nineteenth century geographer Ravenstein (1885; 1889), in which he formulated his 'laws of migration'. He believed that one of the reasons people migrated was for economic purposes. The idea of people moving from low income to high income areas such as urban cities, and from densely to sparsely populated areas, defines the general notion that migration movements tend towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium and it has remained alive in the work of many demographers, geographers, and economists ever since (De Haas, 2007 cited in Castles & Miller, 2003).

Lee (1966) wanted to re-examined Ravenstein’s 19th century laws on migration and proposed a different analytical framework for migration. In his view, the decision to migrate is determined by the following factors: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; so-called intervening obstacles (such as distance, physical barriers) and personal factors (De Haas, 2007). Although Lee did not apparently invent or use the concept himself, his analytical framework is commonly called the 'push-pull' model. Lee's Push-pull theory divides factors causing migration into two groups of factors: Push and Pull factors are those factors which either forcefully push people into migration or attract them to an area. Firstly**,** the Push factor addresses the causes of migration, which can include famine or drought situations, discrimination, loss of wealth and so on. Secondly, Pull factors, which include people's place of choice, better job opportunities or security. He mentioned many different triggers that cause people to migrate; these mentioned factors will be relevant to the thesis. Thus, the main force that typically creates the pushes and pulls are economic conditions (higher wages) luring people into cities and industrialized countries (Skeldon 1997:20; cf. King and Schneider 1991:62-3; Schwartz cited in De Haas, 2007)

* 1. **Todaro-Harris approach**

Like Lee, John R. Harris and Michael Todaro (1969) also provide an economic theoretical discussion to migration. They demonstrated migration from a neoclassical micro economic model which describes the rural-to-urban migration dynamics in developing countries. This was called the Harris-Todaro model. This model is often used to explain neo-classical migration theory (De Haas, 2007). They generally described how migration happens and the simplest way to get people from rural area was the ‘bright lights of the city acting as a magnet to lure peasant into urban areas’ (Todaro and Harris, 1970:126 cited in De Haas, 2007). These magnetsthat cause rural-to-urban migration, according to Todaro and Harris, are only for the expectation of better incomes as Lee suggested. They state that “the lure of relatively higher permanent incomes will continue to attract a steady stream of migrants” (Todaro, 1969:147). But these choices also determined whether migrants have the probability of finding employment in urban cities.

Therefore, expected income not only depends on the actual (or average) earnings at the destination, but also on the chance to get employment. The assumption is that as long as rural-to-urban income differences remain high enough to outweigh the risk of becoming unemployed, people are interested in migrating to urban cities. This model was developed in order to explain the apparently contradictory phenomenon of continuing rural-to-urban migration in developing countries despite rising unemployment in cities. To sum up, the approach claims that individuals make a rational decision to migrate when a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect that future payoffs from the movement exceed its cost. Since the present costs have to pay off in the future, migration is interpreted as a human capital investment (Schwenken and Eberhardt, 2008). Harris and Todaro argued that, in order to understand this phenomenon, it is important to re-adjust and extend the simple wage differential approach by looking 'not only at prevailing income differentials as such but rather at the rural-to-urban “expected” income differential, i.e., the income differential adjusted for the probability of finding an urban job' (Todaro 1969:138).

* 1. **Gender and Migration**

Neo-classical migration also looked at gender in relation to rural-to-urban migration patterns. The general perspective was that the motivation for men and women migrating was to move to areas with the prospect of a higher income (Behrman and Wolfe, 1982; Thadani and Todaro 1979 cited in Chant, 1992). Nevertheless, the neo classical approach has been criticised for merely defining gender migration in relation to economic motivation as well as overlooking women in terms of their class, stage of life-cycle and cultural background (Chant, 1992). A branch out of gender and migration theory is family migration patterns. This approach demonstrates how families either move as complete units or, as is often the case, in successive stages, with one member moving to an area ahead of others in order to find work and shelter. Subsequently, the family migration usually takes the form of men moving to the cities first, while later being joined by wives and children (Chant and Radcliffe 1992:15). As far as the issue of gender in family migration is concerned, the common link of men and women migration relates to the residents rules of marriage. Previous studies conducted in developing countries showed that wives in many parts of the Middle East move to their husband’s homes on marriage (Chant, 1992). The relatively privileged economic position of men means that married couples may well move to where husbands have greatest opportunity for employment. It is often difficult to disentangle men’s and women’s individual motivations and aspirations within the context of family migration. Todora stated that ‘even where female migration is responsive to wage and opportunity differentials in urban areas, it is difficult in the case of marriage migration to ascertain whether the decision to migrate was based on the incentives for the household head (assuming male head of household) or for the women in the household ’(Thandi and Todaro, 1984: 38 cited in Chant, 1992).

**5.5. Somali Clan Theory**

I.M Lewis and Catherine Besteman are leading researchers in Somali clan theory. Lewis, a British anthropologist, investigated the structure of the Somali clan system in 1961 and this was the beginning of conceptualizing clan systems in Somalia. There are various ways of looking at genealogy systems. Historically, the genealogical system was interpreted from a European aspect. The European form of family linkages would be usually consist of a certain diagram, with the name of the originating ancestor usually at the top, connected by horizontal and vertical lines to his descendants, rather like a chandelier (Lewis, 1961). This is related to what we generally call a ‘family tree’ where its roots are at the top and derives ultimately from a long tradition of more normal ‘trees’ (the right way up) in European culture (Luling, 2006). Also, the Foucaldian school of thought describes genealogy as 'genealogy investigates the political stakes in designating as origin and cause those identity categories that are in fact the effects of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin' (Butler 1990:viii-ix cited in Aitchison 2000). The traditional Somali clan system is mainly oral and socially constructed. Therefore, clanship in a modern context is not the same thing it was in the traditional context. The majority of Somalis possess a ‘segmentary’ descent system, in which all the genealogical lines meet at the top. This clans exist in the simplest and starkest form among the nomadic pastoralists who inhabit the northern two thirds of Somali territory and its extreme southern range, and their urbanized cousins (Luling, cite). A group of men and women descend from a common male ancestor ( it is a male orientated system) about five generations back to form a lineage. Several such lineages, all of whom trace descent from an earlier ancestor, form a larger group, and several of these groups again coalesce at an earlier point in the genealogy, and so on until one reaches the ancestor of the clan or, further back, the most comprehensive group, the ‘clan family’ (Luling 2006). Hence, the Somali society is based on a vertically oriented segmentary lineage system in which individuals take their position according to their patrilineal descent which is traced through the male line. Hence, according to Lewis, all the pastoral Somalis belong to genealogical lineages, which also work as political units. The segmentary lineage system can be differentiated into categories of clan family, clan, sub-clan, primary lineage and mag-paying group as divisions of varying size (Lewis, 1961)

The figure below demonstrates the structure of the most dominant Somali clan system according to Lewis. These clan systems are demographically positioned in Somalia and political units and clan are very connected in these geographical areas. For example, the majority of the Sab clan are from the southern parts of Somalia, whereas the Samale clans, except the Hawiye clan, occupy the North Somalia. The Somali political contract between clanscan to some extend be compared to the notion of social contract as defined by the political philosophers (Lewis 1961: 3). Clanship is the first principle of Somali politics, but the second principle – the social contract – is equally important, because it establishes the rules of clanship (Mohamed, 2007). Clanship, in itself, is imaginary**.** In other words, Clan-members derive their identity from their common agnatic descent rather than the sense of territorial belonging. The clan is the upper limit of political action, has territorial properties, and is often led by a clan-head (Gundel, 2006). Figure 2 illustrates the genealogical clan structure in Somalia:



* 1. **Genealogy as a tool**

As mentioned earlier, Lewis was one of the first to study the Somali clan system. He argued that clan systems, other than illustrating family linkages, used kinship as a form of solidarity, but also as a tool for violence, rejection and manipulation of other groups. He explains clanship exists to validate one’s membership in a group. The study structures the ‘clan’, which is, according to one’s point of view, the foundation or the curse of Somali life. It may be used in the principle for both co-operation and opposition between groups (Luling, 2006) He wrote in 1961 that 'the segmented clan system remains the bedrock foundation of the pastoral Somali society and 'clannishness' - the primacy of clan interests - is its natural divisive reflection on the political level' (Lewis 1961 cited in Gundel, 2006: 4). Nevertheless, the idea of ‘clan’ is often based on the assumption that social entities of kinship must be intrinsically irrational and archaic. A recent World Bank document wrote this:

“Somalia’s history of conflict reveals an intriguing paradox . . . For instance clannism and clan cleavages are a source of conflict . . . most of Somalia’s armed clashes since 1991 have been fought in the name of clan . . . Yet traditional elders are a primary source of conflict mediation, clan-based customary laws serves as a basis for negotiated settlements, and blood-payment groups serve as a deterrent to armed violence” (World Bank, 2005:10 cited in Luling, 2006)

Lewis further described clan as contrasts between the ‘visible’ and ‘invisible.’ The visible are those groups who have cultural differences in language, behaviour, dress and customs. However, the majority of the Somali population share the same language, culture and customs. These ‘visible’, therefore, these concepts are not useful in Somali context. Nonetheless, It is through the clanships, according to Lewis, that pose a certain kinship and solidarity and therefore are characterized as ‘invisible’ : “it was accompanied by a pervasive system of internal divisions based on the ideology of kinship, and hence invisible*”* (Lewis, 2004)*.* Therefore, Lewis argued that solidarity and kinship characterized and encompassed the Somali clan-family. Lewis has since been criticized for favouring a primordialist interpretation of the 1990s warfare in Somalia. He believed the Somali clan system to be the root cause for the war in Somalia. Perhaps controversially, Lewis defined the Somali segmentary lineage system as 'genealogy as a tool'. He argued that it was used, in a political context, to reject, manipulate and victimize communities during and after the civil war.

* 1. **Clan system and Social class**

Catherine Besteman also researched clan theory in Somalia and strongly disagrees with Lewis on the idea of genealogy as a tool. In the article ‘*Primordialist Blinders: A reply to Lewis* ’, she argued that Lewis describes Somali clansmen as traditionally violent and aggressive and the division of Somalis determined exclusively by the clan system eventually also played a role in the 1991 civil war. However, even though Lewis is correct in noting that political parties have drawn on clan-family identities for several decades, Besteman believed that violent conflict had never been the root cause between clan families at the national level, and hence these are not the only factors that determined the divisions between Somali clan groups (Besteman, 1998). Moreover, other divisions exist within Somali society that are more important, namely incipient class divisions, and the ‘racial’ split. For example, she believed with the expansion of urbanization, there have emerged certain social hierarchies based on race and heritage. These social class divisions and status are paralleled and compared to those groups who are of ancestral 'pure,' heritage, and race defined hierarchies of status and power, to those who are considered to be of lower status (Besteman, 1998).

In explaining this, we need to examine the clans in Somalia who are characterized as lower status and outcast . The *Benadiri,* the *Bantu* minorities, the *Shiidle* and *Gosha,* are part of these so-called outcast clans in the Somali society; these groups are mostly regarded as inferior by the Somalis. These minorities are collectively known as *Sab* (Gundel, 2006)*.* They are traditionally bondsmen of the pastoralists and practice various yet despised skills. For example, the *Gabooye* in the North is composed of the *Tumaal* (blackmsmiths), *Midgaan* (shoemakers, hunters and gatherers, poison makers, and hairdressers). In the South, the*Yibir* are described as distinct from the *Gabooye,* and in addition you find the *Galgalo* (woodcarving), *Madhiban,Yahar, Boon* and *Eyle*. Internally the *sab* may have segmented lineage systemsalong the Somali pattern. They can only have relations with the Somali through an *abbaan* (Somali patron). Traditionally, intermarriage between *sab* and Somali is not accepted, but they have limited rights to own land or livestock, to participate in the local businesses, market economy, or politics (Gundel, 2006)*.* In order to move away from being outcasts in Somalia, Bestemen argued that one needs some form of control over resources in order to create specific status and social class. Additionally, we can best analyze these factors by looking at rights and control over resources as this facilitated to the growing divisions between and stratification of urban and rural families, civil servants and small-holders, wealthy businessmen and poor peasants (Besteman, 1998).

To conclude, the presented theories of neo-classical migration theory and clan theory are the most useful and relevant theoretical frameworks to the thesis. It will enable me to analyze the question of whether is it possible to distinguish economic migrant and IDPs who seek refuge in Bosaso and how hosting institutions identify these displaced population groups. While the neo-classical migration theory helps to understand the migration patterns, the clan theory is able to illustrate how clan plays a vital role in analyzing the dynamics that emerge between hosting community and IDPs in Somalia.

1. **An Analysis of Migration Patterns**

In Somalia, there is currently a heated debate regarding the massive flow of displaced people migrating to Bosaso. The core debate is whether the population consists of economic migrants or IDPs and an area like city makes it more difficult to distinguish between disentangle of people. In my fieldwork, I met many IDPs who were travelling to Bosaso in the hope of finding better economic opportunity for themselves and their families. Some IDPs live in IDP settlements on the outskirts of the town, while others are situated inside the city premises. Somalia is a country with a history of continuous warfare and drought that has brought about massive displacement and population movement as a consequence. This makes it almost impossible to differentiate between economic migrants and IDPs. Governing institutions often constituted these groups as economic migrants. As the Puntland’s President Mohammed ‘Faroole’ expressed in a statement:

'the position of the Puntland administration is that IDPs from the central and southern regions of Somalia are economic migrants rather than persons seeking safety from danger' (UNGA, 21st January 2010).

The governing institutions believe people from south and central Somalia migrate for economic reasons and, therefore, they do not define them as IDPs but rather ‘economic migrants’. Faroole’s statement could be based on a traditional perception of migration whereby people from rural areas migrate to urban cities for economic purposes. This is also known as rural-to-urban migration theory. On the contrary, these people are fleeing high levels of security and are therefore considered legally to be IDPs according to the Guiding principle of internal displacement. Thus, in order to analyse the migratory standpoint of Bosaso IDPs, we need to refer back to the theoretical framework of neo-classical migration theory examining the following (1) the ‘push-and-pull’ factor, (2) the Todaro and Harris Model in reference to employment of Bosaso and (3) Gender and migration approach. These theoretical perspectives enable us to discuss the economic aspect of internal displacement in urban cities.

The first analysis will look at patterns on rural-to-urban migration of people migrating Bosaso in relation to the neo-classical migration theory. In this chapter, we will particularly focus on the following mixture of motivations and coercions: seeking economic betterment for self or family and migrating to escape civil war and natural disasters. The second analysis examines the impact of host government restriction on IDPs migration and how these restrictions are put in place due to following factors**:** 1) protection of scarce resources in Bosaso and 2) power relations between clan groups in the north and south.

**6.1. Why the city? Push and Pull factor of Bosaso**

What causes people to migrate to urban cities and why are Bosaso IDPs living in urban areas often perceived as economic migrants? This chapter will analyze what constitutes being an ‘economic migrant’ and a demonstration of the neo-classical migration theory. In analyzing what motivates people to migrate and defining economic migrants, the theoretical approach of neo-classical migration offers the best analytical framework enabling us to understand and address certain migration patterns in Somalia. Several scholars have also often used the theory in their studies of different individual’s motivations for migration (Bauer and Zimmerman 1998). One of the most prominent and favourable neo-classical migration approaches is the ‘Push and Pull’ factor which was first introduced by Everett Lee (1966). Migration, according to Lee, involved three different acts. He stated that, 'no matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles' (Lee, 1966:49). Lee demonstrated the patterns of migration: 1) moving from their place of origin, 2) due to intervening obstacles 3) which then eventually makes people choose a certain destination to move to. The decisions to migrate usually involve environmental, demographic, and economic factors (De Haas, 2007). Push and Pull factors are those which compel people, due to the above-mentioned intervening obstacles of either environmental, demographic and economic reasons, into migration or attract them to a specific area. In this context, we deal with what causes people to migrate, be it famine, drought and civil war, and how people’s loss of livelihood are reasons that typically cause the pushes and pulls of the displaced population.

The findings of the fieldwork study show that Bosaso IDPs experience Push and Pull migration. The IDP respondents discussed that both the security of Puntland and the presence of economic opportunities influenced the decision for them to find refuge in Bosaso area. They initially tried to escape from war conflicts and drought-affected areas in South Somalia. These situations were mainly caused by Somalia’s semi-arid and arid climates whereby people commonly suffer from sequential and seasonal droughts. Over the past decade, the cumulative effects of years of poor rainfall[[1]](#footnote-2) and consequent loss of livestock and crops have rendered many pastoralists destitute and result in increased vulnerability and further displacement. For instance, 2001, there were mass displacement of 25,000 Somalis in Gedo, Bay, and Bakool regions. This was because of drought and war conflict in the areas (Forced Migration Online, 2003). It must be noted that most IDPs in Bosaso originate from these regions whereby their farming lands were appropriated during their absence. Nevertheless, these drought and conflict situations have caused the inhabitants to migrate and move to Bosaso in search of finding new livelihoods which was also discussed by respondents during interviews. For example, Abdi and Abdullahi discussed how they had to migrate to Bosaso after they lost their livestock:

“Before I came to Bosaso, I was a pastoralist. I had a herd of sheep, camels, cows and a goat. I came to Bosaso because I lost all my sheep, camels, cows; goats. And because of my situation I decided to come to Bosaso to seek a economic livelihood.” (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Male IDP in Bosaso, min 13:47-15:43)

“I originated from the region of lower Shabelle, district of Marko. I used to be a farmer. Most of my community used to work as pastoralists. That was my life before. I have now lived in Bosaso for eighteen years. I came to Bosaso to seek for a better life. I left Shabelle region because of drought. All my land was ruined” (Abdullahi, Male IDP in Bosaso, min 51:23- 53:30).

The overall respondents were displaced people who found refuge in Bosaso as a result of 1) the civil war Somalia, mainly in relation to clan violence, factional fighting, and 2) natural disasters, such as drought and famine. Participants mentioned that IDPs’ assets, including farms and livestock, in areas of origin had been looted and destroyed. Therefore, not only do the respondents identify how the loss of livelihoods had ‘pushed’ them out of their home of origin, they also relate it to the fact that this ‘pulled’ them to Bosaso. The main pull factor drawing them to Bosaso, as Lee also argued, was the prospect of a better livelihood. Many IDPs migrate to Bosaso because the city is considered to be the commercial capital of Somalia’s north-eastern Puntland region with the trade and import-export viewed as being 'the backbone of the city’s economy' (UN-HABITAT, 2009). The town’s port, described as the 'main reason why the town exists’ (FEWS-NET, 2009) is one of the most important ports in Somalia and also one of the main reasons why Somali people move to Bosaso. The municipality estimated in 2009 that on average 2,000 people migrate into the city every year. The number of displaced people living in Bosaso considered to be 50,000 and growing. At least 2,200 persons arrived in Bari province between 16 June and 16 September 2011 (FEWS-NET, 2009) and Bosaso itself received 1,330 in July 2011 alone (UNHCR, 2011).

In addition, all the interviewed respondents stated that they had ‘chosen’ to come to Bosaso for greater economic opportunity. In comparison, a fieldwork study on urban refugees in Nairobi also found that the experience of some displaced people from rural areas was much more positive, and many stated that they had ‘chosen’ to settle in Nairobi because they believed they would have better access to work. They contended that, although life was more expensive in the city, and despite their lack of specific skills, they had access to greater economic opportunities than in their areas of origin (Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano, 2010). Another study on urban displaced people in South Sudan found that many refugees had decided to stay in the urban city of Nyala rather than returning to their rural areas of origin. This was mainly because services and security were better than in their home areas (Pantuliano et al, 2011). In the fieldwork, the findings found that Bosaso IDPs also did not want to return to their hometown because they felt safe in Bosaso. For example, Khadro noted,

‘‘I don’t want to return home as the way things are now. I prefer staying in Bosaso and continue my everyday life’ (Khadro, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 49:03-49:19)

The overall argument is that the push and pull model is clearly visible in the fieldwork findings of Bosaso IDPs. It clearly identifies that the people from rural areas migrating to urban cities are bound and tied by economic prosperity. The neo-classical migration theory of the ‘push and pull’ factor therefore supports the argument that people want to migrate to Bosaso for economic reason and, as a consequence, one may constitute them as ‘economic migrants’. However, one important factor for these displaced people is the question of security. For example, many IDPs indicated that they were attracted by both the security of the northern urban city in Somalia as well as the services and economic opportunities they believed were available there. Therefore, one of the criticisms of Lee’s approach is that it overlooks the disaster-induced displacement factors. This is a significant factor to include, because most people who migrate to Bosaso are displaced to escape the war and natural disaster occurring in from the place origin. Therefore, people from rural areas may have ‘chosen' to migrate, but it is also important to stress that these decisions were initially triggered by the Somalian civil war and drought occurring pre-dominantly southern and central districts. These vital factors make it difficult to merely define the displaced population as economic migrants. Sometime 'the borderline between political refugees and dissatisfied economically can be blurred when displacement occurs' (Kunz, 1981:50-1 cited in Richmond, 1988). From a displacement context, people flee and seek refuge because of consequences brought about by the presence or the threat of a violent attack. It is, thus, questionable how much choice IDPs had in their decision to migrate. Subsequently, the IDPs population whose degree of freedom is one a constraint, do not have any other option but to move from their place of origin, whereas migrants who have not experienced disaster would have a choice. On one hand, it is possible to apply the neo-classical migration approach to those migrants who are driven by rational choice. On the other hand, it questions and criticizes the idea of whether one can call them ‘economic migrants’. In addition, the micro-level neo-classical migration theory only views migrants as individual, rational actors, who themselves decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit reasons. Therefore, assuming free choice, they are expected to go where they would benefit most economically, that is, if they are able to earn living.

A second and important characteristic that distinguishes the economic migrants and IDPs groups is their ability to return to their place of origin. IDPs are unable or unwilling to return home for fear or insecurity and thus they must make a life in the city that gives them refuge. Particularly, durable solutions are very weak in Bosaso as there are no official return programmes nor are there any likely to emerge in the near future. In its submission to the Human Rights Council, the TFG stated: 'With all problems in the country, there is not that much attention that can be given to the IDPs.' (UNGA-HRC, 2011)

Economic migrants, on the other hand, are free from this constraint and can return home whenever they so desire. In fact, for many economic migrants the purpose of their stay is simply to earn money and then return home to buy land, build a house, support immediate and extended family members (Cortes, 2004). In figure 3. below, it is demonstrated the clear difference between economic migrants and IDPs:

**6.2. Aftermath of City Migration**

Earlier we discussed the drivers of migration; it is equally important to analyze what happens when the IDPs arrive. Harris and Todaro were interested in rural-to-urban migration in developing countries and believed that people do not only migrate to urban cities for economic opportunity, but migration motivation is also determined by the possibility of employment. They demonstrated that in order to understand this phenomenon it is necessary to modify and extend the simple wage differential approach by looking 'not only at prevailing income differentials as such but rather at the rural-urban 'expected' income differential, i.e. the income differential adjusted for the probability of finding an urban job' (De Haas, 2007 cited in Todaro, 1969:138). Todaro and Harris’s theory will enable us to analyze whether IDPs living in Bosaso are getting employment. We will demonstrate these factors through what types of labour and income IDPs received.

In the labour sector, Bosaso has a very active private sector with telecommunication companies, hotels, remittance banks, fishery, agriculture and livestock-related initiatives, vocational institutes, private clinics, construction companies, small manufacturers, and a number of small-scale enterprises (UNHABITAT, 2009) However, due to the majority of IDPs originally from a agro-pastoral background, they often lack the specific skills to generate income in an urban environment. As a result, most hold labour-intensive, low-skill, low-income jobs working as porters, domestic workers and casual labourers (UNCU/UN-OCHA, 2002). These large IDP communities have created a large pool of cheap labour where only a few of them are qualified professionals from southern Somalia, and are deploying their skills in the economic development of the town (UNHABITAT, 2009). Employment capacity are usually determined by the specific skills a person possesses (Todaro and Harris 1970), but in this case IDPs are finding work according to their skills and knowledge, rather work is more what is available to them.

The gender differential work consists of women, typically employed in the small-scale petty trade, or self-employment (vegetable, milk, prepared food sales, tea shops) with an overall range of profits of SoSh 30-100,000 per day; casual work on a daily basis, usually cleaning, sweeping or washing clothes for middle and better off households and businesses (wages around SoSh 30-80,000 per day). While, the men engage in low-paid self-employment as well as casual, unskilled labour in the construction sector or working as porters in the market or at the port, which pays around SoSh 60-100,000 per day. During *hagaa* (summer-season) income-generating opportunities from petty trade and casual labour are diminished due to the general economic slowdown (FEWS-NET, 2009). In my research, the IDPs described the cost of living as follows:

‘We go outside the settlement to work, we need to transportation because we now live in the outside the town. Out of the 30,000, 16,000 goes to transportation and babysitter. I have to cook for my children before I go to work. The money also go to pay the baby sitter. ’ (Sahado, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 29:56-30:20)

A respondent in regard to the general labour force for IDPs said that 'some of us sweep the streets, some are *xamali* (direct translation is ‘carriers’ work, but it means people who work in the informal sector), some work as maids, some collect garbage. ”(Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, min 16:47-17:14).

In the most active very poor and poor family households, two members of the family are earning an income. Sometimes these are the parents, but often, and especially in the case of female-headed households, an older child and an adult worked. While one income might be reasonably regular (e.g. petty trading every day), the other was usually irregular (e.g. unskilled labour). Furthermore, the below table demonstrates a typical IDPs income level of each IDP wealth group in annual and daily terms in both Somali shillings and US dollars in 2007 (UNHABITAT, 2009). IDP households were divided into poor, middle and better-off wealth groups, according to income levels, as indicated in the table below. ‘Poor’ IDPs were slightly poorer than ‘very poor’ households in Bosaso town. ‘Middle’ IDP households were slightly poorer than ‘poor’ households in Bosaso town. ‘Better off’ IDP households corresponded roughly with the top of the ‘poor’ group or the bottom of the ‘middle’ group in town (UNHABITAT, 2009). Figure 4.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| IDP WEALTH BREAKDOWN | | | |
| IDP wealth group | **Poor** | **Middle** | **‘Better off’** |
| Typical Household size | 6 persons | 7 persons | 7 persons |
| Annual income per HH in SoSh | 45,000,000 | 45- 80,000,000 | 80,000 |
| Typical income per HH in SoSh | 36,500,000 | 64,240,000 | 89,790,000 |
| Typical income per HH in USD | $1,217 | $2,141 | $2,993 |
| Daily income per person in SoSh | 16,667 | 25,143 | 35,143 |
| Daily income per person in SoSh | $0,56 | $0,84 | $1,17 |

IDP income level in Somali Shilling and US Dollars (UNHABITAT 2009) Somali currency is 1 US Dollars equals 30,000 Somali Shilling

Todaro and Harris imply that migrants react mainly to economic incentives, earnings differentials, and the probability of getting a job at the destination have influence on the migration decision (Espindola, Silveira and Penna, 2006). Although IDP households in Bosaso fall at the bottom of the wealth spectrum, they are not very different from very poor and poor town residents in terms of their sources of income, patterns of expenditure (FEWS-NET, 2009). IDPs are more or less work prospect are already determined which was not according to the skills they posses, but rather was in available to them. On the other hand, the hosting community is able to use their skills and educational background for potential work. This indicates that hosts have better life opportunity and greater access to resources. The hosting communities are better positioned in terms of job prospects even though they live in the same area as the urban IDPs. Additionally, they have more access to education, which initially gives them the chance to use their skills.

In relation to this, respondent spoke in general of his community and labour force,

'There are very few of us work in the formal sector. But there is always a demand working as a *xamali* (carrier), because people need *xamali*, therefore, those jobs are the easiest to find.' (Wacdi, Male IDP in Bosaso, 46:47-48-00)

However, the hosting community mentioned that even though some of the people worked in the informal sector, people did mostly teaching jobs and construction work, as a hosting habitant explained,

'our livelihood is depended on our skills and educational background. Some of us are teachers while others work as engineers. So our work is determined by our skills and what education we have’ (Mohammed, Hosting Community leader, 03:19-03:40).

Generally speaking, IDPs have less access to employment, education and other facilities, and consequently most are forced to live in great poverty (UNCU/UN-OCHA, 2002). It has been argued that the reduced access to basic services, in conjunction with a lower social standing in their host communities, encourages IDPs to seek to be trafficked out of Somalia (often departing from Bosaso) and make the dangerous journey across the Gulf of Aden (McNamara, 2004) to the Gulf States and/or Europe.

**6.3. Gender Roles**

The theoretical gender applications to neo-classical migration theory imply that men and women's decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of social, political and economic pressures and incentives in their place of origin (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). Additionally, seeking to make money is one important motivator of migration for both men and women (Chant, 1992). The problem lies in categorising the motivations of migration in terms of gender and to what extent these incentives to migrate were a coercion or choice. It is clear that the men and women's decisions to migrate to Bosaso were caused by continuous conflict and degradation in their hometowns. However, it was also found that men and women did not share the same motivation for migration. For example, three interviewed IDP women stated:

'Before I came to Bosaso, I lived in Luug, and I used to work in farming, growing tomatoes. I lived in Bosaso for ten years. I came to Bosaso because my husband moved here first and he told to me move too.’ (Muslimah,- Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 36:25- 37:16)

'I am originally from Baydaybo from district Baa ii Bokool. I had a nice life then. I didn’t work. Then I got married and my husband was the provider. Then he moved here [Bosaso] because of conflict and poverty and hunger. I joined him afterwards.' (Sahado,- Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 02:50-03:19)

'I started working as a maid in Mogadisho. When I got married, I moved to Bosaso.' (Khadro, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 48:03-48:10)

It must be noted that it is most likely that families either move as complete units or, as is often the case, in successive stages, with one member moving to an area ahead of others in order to find work. This is also known as family migration. Subsequently, the family migration usually takes the form of men moving to the cities first and then being joined by wives and children (Chant and Radcliffe 1992:15). However, it can become difficult disentangling men’s and women’s individual motivations and choice within the context of family migration. Todaro stated that even where female migration is responsive to wage and opportunity differentials in urban areas, it is difficult in the case of marriage migration to ascertain whether the decision to migrate was based on the incentives for the household head (assuming male head of household) or for the women in the household (Thandi and Todaro, 1984: 38 cited in Chant, 1992)

It is important to remember that the findings for the men's decision to migrate have already been illustrated in the analysis of the Push and Pull factors, whereby it was indicated they had come to Bosaso for economic opportunity. It can be argued that migration in a family or household is clearly determined by who makes the decisions on migration. However, the ongoing gender relations and hierarchies within a household context can also affect such decisions. In relation to my findings, it was evident that the interests of women and men do not necessarily coincide and this may affect the decisions about who manages the migration movements.

The neo-classical approach to gender is very limited as it tends to focus more on what motivates men and women to migrate to urban areas. Nevertheless, it does not address issues of people’s experience after arriving. It was interesting to see that women who originated from rural areas had changed their traditional gender role after coming to Bosaso. The emphasis on the distribution of labour markets, is considerable in explaining the shift of women from rural areas into employment in urban labour markets. In a Somali context, many women from rural areas work in the domestic work sector. Sahado described her life as being ‘comfortable’ before moving to Bosaso:

'I used to live a comfortable life in Baydaybo, I didn’t work because my husband worked, he was the provider. But since I have moved to Bosaso, I had to step in and take his role. So now, everyone has to work. ’(Sahado,- Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 16:53- 17:55).

However, this was very different to women who came from the city. For instance, Khadro fled the war in Mogadishu where she originated. She described her working experience in Mogadishu as being very similar to her current work in Bosaso.

' I used to work in the marketplace as a *xamali* in Mogadishu. I carried goods and that’s how I earned my wages. Many women used to work as carriers in Mogadishu. They would go to market and carry goods or carry groceries for other women. That was generally our livelihood’ (Khadro, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 45:39-47:41)

Neo-classical scholars generally argue that the motivation for men and women moving is similar whereby they both seek to move to areas with higher wages (Behrman and Wolfe, 1982; Thadani and Todaro 1979). However, this idea has been criticized for the following reason. Firstly, this theoretical framework merely looks at gender migration in terms of economic motivation. However, these three women have very different experiences in terms of work. Some women had to change their gender role and adapt to a new environment where they ‘step in’ and take the role of the man. While others talked about how their situation had not changed. The difference between these two types of women is the fact that women from rural areas find it more difficult adapting to urban city environment. Women who had already lived in cities prior to migration found it more easy to adapt. Additionally, the women proceed to say that they worked more than the men did. As it is stated below:

´It is most definitely women who are working more. For example, when the men don’t have any income that day, the women usually go and do garbage collection. If you look at it, women are the ones who work most. We work both outside and inside the IDP settlement. You have those who are selling *samboso* (A Somali dish), those who selling *bayii* (A Somali dish), those who selling candy , you have those who washes clothes for hosting community. You even have those who travel outside the city to other cities like Garowe or Qardo for work’ (Sahado, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 14:24- 15:00).

Women also described that lack of livelihood sometime can lead to domestic violence:

'The biggest problem with women in our settlement is when our husbands can’t find any work. The wife and the husband fight over why he hasn’t brought anything back. Sometimes the children get ill and we can’t afford the medication because our husbands find it hard to get a steady income.The frictions and arguments between a man and a wife mostly happens when the husband does not come home with any money. Sometimes women get affected mentally in just because of these issues.' (Sahado, Woman IDP in Bosaso, min 10:48-13:23).

Lack of income can affect the family household and this causes inequality between the men and women. behaviour and men and women have different experience in what income can cause.The below diagram (Figure 5)show the relationship between gender and migration discussed above (Jolly and Reeves, 2005:9)



1. **Relations between Host and IDPs**

Through an analysis of Push and Pull model, we were able to identify those people who were leaving their place of origin due to exhaustion of livelihood options as economic migrants. However, the Push and Pull model is not able to function if people’s movements are restricted (Lee, 1966). In addition, the second analysis sets out to explore how Bosaso IDPs are perceived and identified by the host community and the relations between IDPs and host governing institutions. It is proved that governing institutions are not always receptive to people migrating to their territory. As Puntland’s IDP population increases in urban cities, attitudes towards them in host regions have become less welcoming. Increasingly unfavourable attitudes have been expressed in many city areas as legislative measures have been discussed to toughen admission criteria and the treatment of access. The processes that underlie this widespread support for the restrictive treatment of the movement of IDPs are thus of great social as well as theoretical interest. Why are Bosaso IDPs seen as a threat by the hosting community? How are their rights protected? When we look at factors that explain why IDPs are resisted and rejected by hosts, it is often associated with either Somali clanship or competition for scarce resources. These two factors will therefore be discussed and analyzed in order to fully understand the perception of intergroup relations and behaviour of one another. It must be noted that it is not my attention to criticize the Puntland government, however, I merely want to examine how IDPs are perceived and identified in accordance to the institutional actions of the governing host.

**7.1. Protection threats affecting IDPs in Puntland**

Recent report about IDPs in Bosaso attest to deep-rooted suspicions and negative perception of IDPs among government officials in the region. While I was in Bosaso I was surprised to hear that there were several situations where the hosts initiated forms of resistance and rejection towards IDPs. This mostly happened to migrants come to the north and those people who already live in this area. For example, IDPs fleeing north towards Puntland, particularly men, had been refused passage at checkpoints, deported, or arrested amid fears of their affiliation with the radical Islamic fundamentalist group, Al-Shabaab. 49 young men from Bay and Bakool regions were reportedly deported by the Puntland security forces, while a hundred others were reportedly arrested, separated from their relatives and awaited deportation. The Puntland authorities are usually highly suspicious of the validity and authenticity of IDPs' movements to the north of the country. The officials have initiated a scheme to issue ID cards to IDPs who have sought refuge in the region. The move, officials said, would weed out militias and other criminal elements from genuine IDPs (IRIN, 14th September 2011)**.**

Other protection threats affecting IDPs were also found within Bosaso Town where mass deportations of IDPs by regional authorities periodically occur. For example, in July 2010, 900 IDPs were deported from Bosaso to south-central Somalia (UNGA, 2010). Even certain IDP settlements in Bosaso are defined as danger zones according to officials. The IDPs are seen as scapegoat responsible for the instability and source of certain criminal acts in Bosaso. For instance, the hosting community has labeled specific settlement as a ‘danger zone’. The head of OCHA Puntland stated in an interview that,

' The government considers those coming from South Central Somalia as threat for security. Some of the IDPs are even accused of being part of the criminal activity in Bosaso. The government sees them as a threat. An example is the Biyo Kuloolay IDP settlement which is identified as a danger zone. They assume these IDPs are bad guys living in that settlement. Most IDPs living in Biyo Kuloolay settlement are from South Central' (Victor Lahai, Head of OCHA Puntland, min. 35:00- 35:38).

In regards to the mentioned findings, the next section will illustrate what international, national and traditional legal protection instruments are available to protect IDP rights.

**7.2. Legal instruments: how are IDPs Protected?**

There are multiple, overlapping and occasionally contradictory sources of law in Somalia, including secular law and customary law (*xeer*) (LeSage, 2005). Clarification of IDPs' rights has created confusion over their legal status.

The secular laws are, for example, the Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement that define IDPs as ‘persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes 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’ (Deng, 1999). Additionally, Somalia has ratified the following international instruments concerning refugees and IDPs:

* The 1951 UN convention and its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees
* The 2009 African Union convention on the Protection and assistance of Internally displaced Persons in Africa –‘Kampala Convention’
* IGAD Peace and Security Division,- Humanitarian affairs frameworks/policies

In addition, article 33.1 of the Puntland constitution states that any alien immigrant or resident in the territory of Puntland State has the right to be granted political asylum in conformity with the State Laws, which are subject to the rules and conditions of the aforementioned International Conventions (Transitional Constitution of Puntland Regional Government). Although the IDP legal policy sets out the legal framework governing IDPs and establishes the institutions and procedures to implement it, in practice there is inadequate capacity and will to ensure its effective implementation. As illustrated earlier, we still find the hosting governing institutions deporting, evicting and arresting IDPs in the pre and post migration stage. Therefore, the protection of IDPs is fairly weak because of the lack accountability in the formal national asylum framework and international legal system. This puts IDPs in essentially insecure situation. Despite the absence of a formal legal system, the protection and justice in Somali society has typically been provided informally by clan-based mechanisms using customary law known as *xeer*, which calls for a collective response by a clan or sub-clan to threats. Moreover, the *xeer* is based on a collective rather than individual rights principle (Gundel, 2006). The IDPs protection and rights according to the *xeer* is defined as follows:

“The tradition Somali customary law (*xeer*) state that where ‘people seek refuge to a given area there must be a ‘host’ clan that protects them. According to tradition, non-agnatic (no-clan linkage via father) guests are assigned a protected status with their host described as *magan* (absent)*.* The protecting group does not accept full responsibility for their lives of those assigned this position” (Gundel, 2006: 57-58).

There are advantages in the use of clan-affiliation as fellow clan members can be relied upon for protection and support. IDP communities in Bosaso also have recourse to IDP Committees, though these are often nominated either by local authorities or by clan elders and, as such, are not always seen to represent the *interests* of the community. Nevertheless, IDP Committees and traditional clan elders are identified as key responders, particularly in the area of security, exhibiting a significant capacity to participate in dialogue with local authorities (UN-OCHA. 2010). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the *xeer* are applied in resolving 80% of disputes and criminal cases (Featherstone, 2009)*.* The main principle in *xeer* establishes that rights are collectively protected and, first and foremost, applicable to those of the *patrilineal,-* that is male-based – lineages (Gundel, 2006). Based on their patrilineal kinship and lineage segmentation, the Somali people are divided into clans which branch out into numerous sub-clans and minority groups. Those who fall outside the major clan lineage divisions are considered as minorities, and therefore disadvantaged, unless they have patrons or a patron clan to support them. This lack of clan protection puts them at the mercy of arbitrary action by major clans (UNCU/UN-OCHA, 2002) Some of *sab* clan often do not have segmented lineage systems along the Somali pattern. The *Benadiri,* the *Bantu* minorities, the *Shiidle* and *Gosha,* are part of these so-called outcast clans in the Somali society; these groups are mostly regarded as inferior by the Somalis (Gundel, 2006). These minority groups are defined by the dominant clans as traditionally bondsmen of the pastoralists and practice various but despised skills, hence, these groups represent the majority of the IDPs in Bosaso. Traditionally, intermarriage between *sab* and Somali is not accepted. They are traditionally denied the right to own land or livestock, to participate in the local businesses, market economy, or politics (Gundel, 2006). In the Somali tradition, weak and scattered clans may be driven to seek protection from the stronger clans in the areas where they settle, and enter a protection status with them. Such alliances of contractual agreements between weak and strong clans are known as *gaashaanbuur -* which translates as  *'*pile of shields' . Hence, minorities can seek protection by attachment to stronger lineages by joining a *gaashaanbuur* coalition (Lewis 1961). Some of these marginalized groups are also known to assimilate into some of the dominant clan groups in order to seek protection*.*

Furthermore, the hierocracy between dominant and outcast clans could be an explanation as to why IDPs are resisted and rejected by hosting communities. It can be argued that with the expansion of urbanization, there have emerged certain social hierarchies based on race and heritage (Besteman, 1998). These issues of social class and status are paralleled and comparable to those groups who are of ancestral 'purity', heritage and race, to those who are considered to be of lower status (Besteman, 1998). The migration of IDPs from a Somali context, are sometimes associated with clan-belonging. With the collapse of the state and the genealogical and territorial conflicts between Somalis, the difference between the peoples of ‘north’ and ‘south’ of the country has become as divisive on the ground in Somalia (Lewis, 1961). As a consequence, the country was divided into dominate clan territories. For example, the majority of the Sab clan are from the southern parts of Somalia, whereas the Samale clans, except the Hawiye clan, occupy North Somalia. We showed that sometimes these structures of the ‘clan’ can either be the foundation or the curse of Somali life (Luling 2006). This is meant by it may be used in the principle for both co-operation and opposition between each group. These two factors attest that clans both act as a corporate unit, by using some elements of *xeer* to protect IDPs, as well as having territorial exclusiveness by restricting access to Puntland. The clan has, in other words, the upper limit of political action and has territorial properties (Luling, 2006). This is what Lewis defines as the genealogy as tool whereby clanship can be used for negative and positive purpose.

**7.3. Contested Resources**

Most respondents interviewed stated that they did not experience discrimination in the work place from the host community, explaining that, in many cases, their rights were respected in relation to clan affiliations with the host community. In regards to this, the director of Puntland’s Migration Response Centre in Bosaso believed that the hosts were very welcoming of IDPs and there was no discrimination towards them. He stated in a letter that ' generally in relation to the immensity of the IDPs families and prevailing circumstances, we can actually say that IDPs families in Bosaso are enjoying with good relationship and hospitality with the local community, there is no any discrimination in working chances, in business and in living with their host community'(Letter from Mohammed Id, Director of Puntland’s Migration Response Center in Bosaso). However, where they did encounter discrimination in terms of access to services, they attributed it to the disparity in purchasing power between them and the host community rather than their status as IDPs. The relationship between Bosaso IDPs and their hosts appears to mirror similar experiences in other countries, whereby initial kindness has given way to growing hostility, commonly related to resource scarcity and security problems (Jacobsen, 2002). Because economic opportunities for the IDPs in Bosaso are very limited, the hosts perceive the IDPs as competition. This is mainly because the host clans are overwhelmed by the sheer number of IDPs, and the continuous inflow of IDPs is a burden on the reception and absorption capacities of local authorities and communities, but also for existing communities of IDPs (UNGA, 2010). Also, the Puntland authorities are faced with particular constraints in terms of resources and capacity to fulfil their obligations to provide assistance and protection to all the displaced persons as they bear most of the brunt of the crisis (Lindley and Haslie, 2011). In this respect, harsh conditions can cause the host to regulate competition for sparse resources and when in a confrontation, groups more nearly related will call on one another for support against those more distant (Lewis, 1999). Additionally, through migration restrictions and deportation, the host authorities are able to protect the already limited resources available to them. These higher social dominant orientations have also been associated with negative attitudes to IDPs and with resistance to changes in competitive intergroup relations between host citizens and IDPs. Since IDPs are a minority group , and therefore may be perceived as competing for a scarce, 'zero-sum' pool of resources, social dominant orientation may be expected to predict unfavourable attitudes to displaced groups and a willingness to restrict them access to the host country and its resources.

This second analysis shows that IDPs are sometimes identified as unwanted in Bosaso and Puntland. It is a fact Somalia is geographically clan divided and territorially exclusive: IDPs moving from the south to the north leave behind the power, unity and solidarity of their clan group. However, these resistances against IDPs by Puntland administrative officials can be related to the clan differences between the IDPs from the south and the hosts in the north. However, the relationships between IDPs and hosts in Bosaso and other places in Puntland are characterized by extreme power differences. The IDPs are therefore extremely vulnerable. It can be argued that clan can come in as a 'reason' for exclusion, but it is not the only cause for IDPs vulnerability. For example, a wealthy and well established migrant from the south would be able to integrate with the hosting community of Bosaso and live a good life. But poor Samale IDP is be marginalized. Therefore, clan can be used as a tool by locals to exclude others; however, the real reason for exclusion and vulnerability may be related to resources,- the groups are defined by those who economically stable and those people who are not. Insecurity and clan-tensions come in as an additional factor - and the illustrated cases of the 'Al Shabaab propaganda' and evictions of IDPs are used as a form of resistance.

The overall analysis demonstrates a table in which it shows how the problem question of whether it is possible to distinguish between economic migrants and IDPs. The idea stemmed from Puntland’s President Faroole who argued that people migrating to Puntland are more economic migrants than IDPs fleeing insecurities. The first stage shows that we need to look at the relationship between internal displacement and urban city.

First, the first box indicate what the pushes and pull factors are that causes people to migrate to Bosaso. The respondents in my finding discussed that they left their place of origin because of loss of livelihood. This made them, as a family, migrate to Bosaso. In Bosaso, they hope to rebuilt their lives by getting jobs and having better security. However, the mass influx of IDPs causes competition for the already scarce resources on Bosaso. This creates a contested resource between IDPs and hosting community

The second box ‘*relationship between hosts and IDPs’* illustrate the ‘invisible’ difference between the north and southern Somali population (Lewis, 1961). As most of the IDPs are from Southern parts of Somalia, it was argued that intergroup *clan difference between South and North* can affect how host community perceived the IDPs. However, the other side of the argument is that these relations are not determined merely on clan, but moreover the social class difference (Besteman, 1998). Nevertheless, it could be argued that both argument are valid in this case. Social class status could be seen in the Somali clan systems. Minority groups such as the Raxweyne and Bantu’s are often marginalized because they are not seen ‘pure’. As a consequence, some dominant clans create certain barriers and restrictions on them. Nevertheless, IDPs migration are *territorially excluded and restriction on access to Bosaso* have become a frequent procedure. Several recent reports have attested that IDPs are deported and arrested by Puntland officials.

The last box is the answer to the problem formulation. Due to the above-mentioned factors, it is clear that the reasons why IDPs are preferably identified and categorized as economic migrants is because of the shere fact economic migrant do not posses as many rights and IDPs have. They are able to return home afterwards. However, IDPs are not able to return to the place of origin, because of the instabilities.

**Figure. 6: A table of thesis research mapping**

1. **Conclusion**

The study examined how the effect of conflict and drought in Somalia has caused a melting pot of displaced people in urban cities and asked whether people migrating to the urban city of Bosaso are categorized as economic migrants or IDPs. Through the understanding of neo-classical theory and clan theory, the paper analyzed the various aspects involved in urban settings such as labour prospects, gender issues, legal protection and the relations between hosts and IDPs in connection to pre- and post migration. This was primarily to achieve a greater understanding to the effect of internal displacement in urban cities.

The findings of this study have shown that thousands of IDPs flee to Bosaso due to continuous conflict and drought in South and Central regions of Somalia. Most of them migrated from rural areas to urban cities in search for greater economic opportunity and security. Through the theoretical framework of clan theory and neo-classical migration theory, it was possible to illustrate certain factors that play a role in internal displacement in urban cities. One of the major findings in the analysis was that it possible to differentiate between an IDP and an economic migrant. All the interviewed urban IDPs stated that they were unable or unwilling to return home for fear or threat in their home towns, and thus must make a life in the city that gives them refuge. Economic migrants, on the other hand, are able to return home whenever they so desire. In fact, the purpose of their stay is simply to earn money and then return home to buy land, build a house, support immediate and extended family members (Cortes, 2004). Additionally, the finding also attests that IDPs are sometimes met with restriction to access into Bosaso. Somali intergroup resistances and frictions has for a long time been explained in terms of clan difference. In this connection, it was clear that IDPs moving from the south to the Bosaso loss their power, unity and solidarity which they would get from their clans in the place of origin. This is one of the factors that makes IDPs are extremely vulnerable in city. Even hosting officials has labeled Biyo Kuloolay IDPs settlement as a danger zone where the ‘the bad guys’ live. However, clan comes in as a 'reason' for exclusion, but it is not the only cause for exclusion. Another factor discussed was the contested resources between host and IDP community. It was argued that these exclusions and restrictions by the host, might be a tool to protect competitions for sparse resources and Lewis argued, when in confrontation, groups more nearly related will call on one another for support against those more distant (Lewis, 1999).

1. **Suggestions for further research**

The thesis analyzed the factors of what constitutes an economic migrant and IDPs. One of the main elements that were discussed was Bosaso scarce and limited resources. This often causes frictions between hosting and IDP community. Further research could be to examine the role of humanitarian organizations. Humanitarian organizations purpose to assist and support IDPs with aid, mainly because governmental institutions do not have the capacity to provide services to the entire populations. It could be interesting to examine how humanitarian organization play a mediation role. How does humanitarian work with IDPs and how does IDPs perceive humanitarian organization. This would be analyzed in relation to Bosaso case study.

A final research could be the differential categories of the IDPs community. It is often IDPs are put into one homogeneous group. However, in a place like Bosaso, there are people living both outside and inside the city premises. It could be interesting to examine the experiences of IDP living in outskirts of Bosaso compared to urban IDPs, who are living with the hosting community.

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1. **Appendices**
   1. **Sample of Target Population Interview**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Method | Population | Type | Gender | Ethnicity/clan | Overall |
|  | |  | | --- | |  |  * **FGD/individual[[2]](#footnote-3)** | **Hosting community** | **Clan leaders/community leaders** | **Women and Men** | **Harti** | **6**  **(3 women and 3 men)** |
|  |
|  | * **FGD/individual[[3]](#footnote-4)** | **Urban IDPs** | **Clan leaders/community leaders** | **Women and Men** | **Raxweyn** | **6**  **(3 women and 3 men)** |
|  |
|  | * **FGD/individual[[4]](#footnote-5)** | **Settlement IDPs** | **Clan leaders/community leaders** | **Women and Men** | **Raxweyn** | **6**  **(3 women and 3 men)** |
|  |

**1. General Information for Individual interviews with clan community committees:**

**2. Individual Interviews**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Method | Name and title | Organisation |
| * 31/03/2012 | Skype Interview 1-1 | **Victor Lahai, Head of Coordination in Puntland** | OCHA |
| * 04/04/2012 | Skype Interview 1-1 | **Mohammed Mahamud, Coordinator for CDRD of Puntland** | DRC |
| 06/04/2012 | Skype interview CANCELLED | **Charlotte Ridung, Programme Director for Puntland** | UNHCR |
| 27/04/2012 | Email Questions | **Mohammed ID, Director for Migration Regional Council for Bosasso** | Local Authority |
| * *06/04/2012* | *Skype Interview 1-1 with assistance from research assistant* |  | *Clan Elder for Raxweyn* |
|  | *Skype Interview 1-1 with assistance from research assistant* |  | *Clan Elder for Majeerteen* |

**Critea of participants**

* All the men focus group discussion need to have 1) three or four community leaders/ committee who represent their community and 2) at least one clan leader from the Harti clan and at least one clan leader from the Raxweyn clan.
* The women participants need to be: 1) members of the community committee or leaders and 2) female head of household according to the following UN definition:

*‘The person who bears chief responsibility for the economic maintenance of the household (...) the head of the household is the person who is acknowledged as such by the other household members’*

* The three target groups of IDPs in settlement, hosting community and Urban IDPs need to fit into these critea,

**1) Urban IDPs:**

* They need reside/live with or amongst the hosting community in houses that are similar to the hosting community i.e. *house-based IDPs*
* They need to be from the Raxweyn clan
* They need to be identify themselves as being an IDP

**2) IDPs in settlement**

* They need to living in settlement outside/away from the inner city
* They need to be from Raxweyn clan

**3) Hosting community**

* They need to have knowledge of the poorest people in the community
* They need to be from Harti clan
  1. **Interview Questions for INGO**

1. **General introductory questions**
2. Could you tell me the role of your organization in regards to urban IDPs in Bosaso?
3. The questions are open-ended, therefore, I might not ask all the below questions- this will depend on the interview process.’
4. **Role of the humanitarian efforts in constraining or supporting urban displaced well-being and the well-being of non-displaced.**

**a)**Do you treat the IDPs living with hosting communities and IDPs in settlements in the same category when you provide assistance?

**b)**What kind of projects or programme do you provide for these three group\* reword?

* If a difference, why?

1. Of the three groups (urban displaced, IDPs and urban poor), which one do you believe gets more humanitarian assistance and why?
2. **Women and ethnic minorities’ vulnerability**
3. What is your organization or your personal understanding of the term ‘vulnerability’

* Out of all ethnic minorities in Bosaso, which group is considered the most vulnerable? (still in relation to these three groups)?
* Which age group of women is considered most vulnerable?

1. How does urban IDPs, IDPs in settlement and hosting community fit into this understanding?

* How do women and ethnic minority and vulnerability fit into this understanding?
  1. **Letter from Migration Response Center**

1. Please describe the role of MRC in Bosaso?

**Answer:**

**MRC (Migration Response center is semi-governmental Institution established by me and officials of IOM earlier in April 2009 for mixed migration sector in Puntland, we do have our own spacious and well materialized premise at the backside of the regional Governor’s compound consisting, 3-offices, 3 latrines, spacious shading verandah & bigger conference and library, this means that we can receive for more 50 visitors at one time, for registration, referrals, screening and other relevant purpose**

1. What is your relationship with humanitarian agencies in Bossaso?

* Do you experience any challenges with humanitarian agencies working in Bosaso

**Answer:**

**as we are the sole effective and know-how basing institution in this sector we do have good relation with all humanitarian partners in Bossaso and even all other locations in Puntland as a whole, we do share all relevant information participate their weekly or Monthly meetings, submit them the needs of the partners and formulate with them any proposed plan for the issue wellbeing in general**

1. What is your relationship with the Puntland Government ?

* Do you know the government’s role with IDPs in Bosaso?

**Answer:**

**Since we are working as closer partner with them, our relation with the Government is actually very good level at all, we don’t have any problem with them until now**

1. What is MRC role regarding Internal Displaced people?

* Can you describe the different changes in Bosaso as a city, since the arrival of IDP? If yes, what kind of changes was most visible?
* Can you mention some positive as well as negative elements to IDP come to Bosaso?

**Answer:**

**Generally, the population of Bossaos has increased for more than 250% since the start of civil strife in Somalia earlier in 1991, however, pre-war population of Bossaso was said to have been less than 20,000, while its current population number today is exceeding more than 550,000 persons, the number of IDPs persons in Bossaso currently are more 110,000 persons, this number is not including to the indigenous families that have returned to their original homelands after the war, but is only are those originally belonged to other regions of the country and fled here for safety and better living chances**

1. In your experience, have there been any complaints/ conflict between the hosting community and IDP community? For example, conflict over resources, livelihood or other?

* Any clan conflict between the IDP clan and the host community clan?

**Answer:**

**Generally in relation to the immensity of the IDPs families and prevailing circumstances, we can actually say that IDPs families in Bossaso are enjoying with good relationship and hospitality with the local community, there is no any discrimination in working chances, in business and in living with their host community**

* 1. **IDP Settlement Empirical Findings**

**Place of Origin and Migration History:**

* ‘I came from Badaybo, Bardeeray. First, I moved to Mogadisho, then I came straight to Bosaso. Since the 1990s, I have lived in Bosaso, in Bolo Alay settlement. We (the IDP community) used to be the strongest, hardworking group of Bosaso. We had shops selling tomatoes in the city. We then moved from the Bosaso city and now live on the outskirts of Bosaso, near the mountain area. The reason we moved to the mountain area was because all our livelihood was taken from us. There is great suffering in the mountain area . We don’t have anything. Since we moved to this area, no aid assistance has been given. Since we moved, we don’t have latrines, no food, no boreholes/ water-tanks, no schooling. ’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 11:05-13:34)

‘I migrated to Bosaso when the war and conflict began. I came to Bosaso to seek a better life […]. Before I came to Bosaso, I was a pastoralist. I had a herd of sheep, camels, cows and a goat […] I came to Bosaso because I lost all my sheep, camels, cows; goats. And because this situation I decided to come to Bosaso to seek a better life.’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso min 13:47-15:43)

* ‘Before I came to Bosaso, I was a student and then later I became a teacher. I became a refugee in ‘77 due to the war in Ethiopia. ’ (Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement, ’ Min. 06:45-07:20)

‘I came straight to Bosaso, I did not go any other places […] I have lived in Bosaso for 17 years now. The reason I came to Bosaso because (of) the conflict and war; I wanted to seek a better life in Bosaso. That’s why I came to Bosaso’(Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement, Min. 08:14-08:47)

* ‘I originated from the region of lowerShabelle, district of Marko. I used to be a farmer. We used to work as pastrolists. That was my life before the war started. I lived in Bosasos for 18 years. I came to Bosaso to seek for a better life. I left Shabelle because of drought. All my land was ruined. ’ (Abdullahi ,- community leader from Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 51:23- 53:30)

**CD part 2**

* ‘I am originally from Baydaybo from district Baa ii Bokool (-this correct? DM). I had a nice life then. I didn’t work, I was just a child. I then got married and my husband was the provider. Then he moved here [Bosaso] because of conflict and poverty and hunger. I joined him afterwards. Now we are living in Puntland ’ (Sahada,- Women’s community committee from settlement Bolo Alay, 02:50-03:19)

‘While we lived in Baydabo, I used to work in the household. His occupation was transporting water with a donkey and selling it’ (Sahada,- Women’s community committee from settlement Bolo Alay Min. 04.26-04:50)

‘I came to Bosaso because of the war in Xamar [Mogadisho] and the fighting with the Alshabab in Baydaybo […] The first time I experienced poverty was here in Puntland. I thought my life would be the same when I came. I was afraid to sleep on cardboard [shelter], but I have gotten used to it now [..] Living in cardboard houses is better than living in warzone [in my hometown] ’(Sahada,- Women’s community committee from settlement Bolo Alay, 05:45-06:33)

‘I think lived in Bosaso for about 8 years. I came to Bosaso in 2002, that’s what I think.’(Sahada,- Women’s community committee from settlement Bolo Alay, 06:44-07:00)

* ‘ Before I came to Bosaso, my hometown is Luug, and I used to work in farming, growing tomatoes. I lived in Bosaso for ten years. I came to Bosaso because my husband live here and he told to come here’ (Muslimah,- Women’s community committee from Bolo alay, 36:25- 37:16)

‘I had the biggest problems when I arrived to Bosaso. My husband had further migrated to Saudi’ (Muslimah, Women’s community committee from Bolo alay, 39:00-39:03)

* ‘I am from Mogadisho. I used to live in Madina. There, I had three children. I got divorced and my children's father took the children. I came to Bosaso to migrate, towards Yemen.’(Khadro,- women community committee Bolo Alay, 45:08-45:23).

‘I wanted to migrate overseas; I wanted to migrate to Yemen. I started working as a maid. Afterwards I got married, and that’s how I came to Bolo Alay. I am from the people of Bolo Alay [clan-wise] and that’s how I came to Bosaso.’ KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 48:03-48:45)

‘ I used to work in the market ‘Bakarha’ as Xamali [in Mogadisho], the ones who carry goods, and that’s how I earn my wages.’ (KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 45:39-45:58).

‘I lived in Bosaso for 12 years. When I came, I began working as a maid. I left my job and got married. I had 5 children with him. We got divorced. Now I'm just taking care of my children. I am part of the women who go to the town to wash clothes for women [for the hosting]. That’s my job now.’(KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 46:26- 46:48).

‘Yes, they used to work as carriers. They would go to market and carry goods or carry groceries for women. That was generally their livelihood. Most women had those jobs.’(KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 47: 32-47:41).

‘I don’t want to return Mogadisho the way things are now. I prefer staying in Bosaso and just live my life here’(KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 49:03-49:19)

‘I mainly left Mogadisho because of the conflict, the fighting and the lack of safety’KhadroAbdiDeelo,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 49:23-49:28)

**Description of Living conditions in IDPs in settlement: Livelihoods, Houses, land issue etc**

* **Livelihood:**‘Some sweep the streets, some are ‘Xamali’ (find definition), some work as maids, some collect garbage, things like that,’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 16:47-17:14).
* **Livelihood and discrimination (may be applied to clan relations):** ‘Well, we are mostly ‘Xamali’, and there are very few of us who are educated or work in the formal sector, like those who work for organizations. But in the Xamali job, people won't discrimination (DM: discriminate?) because people need ‘Xamali’s, so I think its unlikely to get discriminated in those kind of jobs. But, for example, in applying for jobs in the formal sector, I have seen that employers favouring their ‘cousins’ [ their employer clan] because they sit in the offices. So here you can say (in) those occasions it happens. Several times, we have applied for jobs in the formal sector, where others were hired instead of us. But in the city and the ‘Xamali’ jobs, there is a need for us and we get payment, but in formal sectors we get rejected. For example, we applied for teaching jobs and we got rejected as well as applied for NGO jobs and still get rejected.’ (Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement, 46:47-48-17)

‘We don’t experience any discrimination at work because of our clan, we just do our work. That’s it.’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 27:42- 28:03)

* **Description of their homes;**  ‘You would get a shock if you saw our homes. We live in cardboard houses that are mostly torn and wrecked. It can’t even stand against harsh weather, like wind and cold.’ Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso 19:57-20:36

**Land issue/eviction:**  ‘First and foremost, we have agreements with landowners and have a five year contract that makes it possible for us to stay on this territory. But the biggest problem for us is that they (landowners) own the land we live in […] the landowners and the local authority have agreed and signed a this five year contract.’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 21:42-22:20)

* **Living condition and housing:**  ‘We are currently 1100 people in my settlement. The living condition are normally people have shops by their homes […] the NGOs don’t give much, so people generally need to work, they have to work in harsh conditions. For instance, when the market place burned down, there was a lack of work. Especially those who had shops in the city was burned down.’ (Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement , 35:03-36:00).

**Land issue/eviction:** ‘We currently don’t have any problems regarding land. But we have been evicted two times. For 16 years we lived in the previous Shabelle settlement, but we were evicted because the landowners wanted their place back. Then we moved to the mountain area, exactly where Bolo Alay settlement is now located. Then the people of Bolo Alay were evicted. We now live close to Bolo Alay [settlement], a piece of land which was given by the landowner . It is massive territory with four settlements. My settlement, Shabelle A, settlement Biyo Kululay, settlement Shirkow and settlement Gurub (? Find real name). Those four settlement have five year contracts agreed by the landowner and the local authority and also gives us permission to build water tanks. Because of this contract, we haven’t experienced any issue with our land. It has been signed by the local authority so that we don’t get evicted again. ’ (Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement, 36:38-37:38).

* **Living conditions and housing**: ‘We have been living in Bolo Alay for four months. Currently we live in house are made of cardboard and we brought our cardboard and sticks\* from our previous location and we then built again in the new place. No aid assistance or NGOs has brought us anything. There are no latrines, no water-tanks, no MCH [mother and child health care centre].’Abdullahi, Community Committee of Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 54: 45-55:07.
* **Living condition and housing:** ‘You see other settlements get tents and we are living in cardboard.’ (Sahada,- Women’s Community Committee from Settlement Bolo Alay, 18:03-18:06)

**Women**

* **Woman describes that lack of Livelihood leads to violence:** ‘The biggest problem with women in our settlement is when our husbands can’t find any jobs (Xamali). The wife and the husband fight over why he hasn’t brought anything back […]. Sometimes the children get ill and we can’t afford the medication because our husband find it hard to get any money in […] even while now, I am thinking ‘is there a fire outbreak, is my children caught in the fire since you have left them with all this cardboard [shelter] […] so even seated here, I'm thinking all these thoughts. So for the men, they worry about they don’t have any work and the women think about safety and what we can eat today […] other than that, we don’t have domestic violence, rape or conflicts, or anything like that. But the violence can come from no income from the men […] Sometimes you see women who have been affected mentally in (the) settlement just because of lack of income.’ (Sahada,- Women’s Community Committee from Settlement Bolo Alay 10:48-13:23).

**Women are working more than men:** ´It is most definitely women who are working more. For example, when the men don’t have any income that day, the women usually goes and does garbage collection. If you look at it, women are the ones who work most […] but at the same time, all the men work in our community, but they go outside. We [women] work near the settlement or inside […] you have those who are selling ‘samboso’, those who selling ‘bayii, those who are selling candy, you have the ‘clothes washer’. You even have those who travel outside the city [outside Bosaso town], those travelling to Garowe or Qardo.’ (14:24- 15:00, Sahada,- Women’s Community Committee from Settlement Bolo Alay)

**Rural- City IDP woman before and after coming to Bosaso:**‘I used to live a comfortable life in Baydaybo. I didn’t work because my husband worked; he was the provider. But since I have moved to Bosaso, I worry if my husband gets ill; I need to step in and take his role. This has been, of course, caused by the war. All the current issues have been brought by the conflict and war […] so now, everyone has to work..so when we came to Bosaso, we all had to work. But you can barely go to market before someone shouting ‘fire’ and someone is announced dead or wounded. So there is a lot more burdens now, for example, our cardboard [shelter]; our livelihood.’(Sahada,- Women’s Community Committee from Settlement Bolo Alay, 16:53- 17:55).

**City- City IDPs Woman work before coming to Bosaso:**‘I used to work in the market ‘Bakarha’ as a Xamali [in Mogadisho], the ones who carry goods, and that’s how I earn my wages’ (Khadro,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 45:39-45:58).

**Women in Mogadisho work:** ‘Yes, they used to work as carriers. They would go to market and carry goods or carry groceries for women. That was generally their livelihood. Most women had those jobs.’ (Khadro,- Women Community Committee Bolo Alay, 47: 32-47:41)

**City-City IDPs Woman work After coming to Bosao: ‘**I lived in Bosaso for twelve years. When I came, I began working as a maid. I left my job and got married. I had five children with him. We got divorced. Now I'm just taking care of my children. I am part of the women who go to the town to wash clothes for women [for the hosting]. That’s my job now.’ (Khadro,- Women Community committee Bolo Alay,46:26- 46:48).

**Distance, transportation and living cost for Women IDPs settlement**: ‘the longest it takes is about half an hour. By foot, it’s about one hour to 1 hour 20 minutes. Us women we normally walk’ (Sahado,- women community committee of Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 31:35-31:40).

‘We go outside the settlement to work, we need to transportation because we now live in the outside the town. Out of the 30,000 [Somali shilling= 1,2$ ], 16,000 goes to transportation and babysitter. I have cook for my children before I go to work. The money also go to pay the baby sitter’ (Sahado,- women community committee of Bolo Alay IDP settlement,29:56-30:20)

**The experience living inside and outside the city of Bosaso**

* **Insecurities like GBV while living in the city in comparison with outside:** ‘When we used lived inside the city, there was a case of a girl getting raped inside the settlement. Two young boys, one of them carrying weapons, raped a girl. Other young boys came out [to help], but they were wounded. The men [the perpetrators] managed to escape and they are haven’t been found since. I remember that girl being raped. We then took the girl to a hospital and she was treated at the hospital. These young boys were gangs and they just disappeared. The place we live now, we do experience theft inside the settlement and also when you walk near the roads, sometime we experience gangs stealing mobile phones . But in our current location, we have not yet experienced any rape cases ’(Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement,37:54- 38:44).

‘Yes before when we lived in the city, yes we had rape case, theft and discrimination, but now we live in the outskirts, there has not been any of those things. Overall we don’t experience any problem at all here’(Abdullahi ,community leader from Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 01:02:40-01:02:48).

‘Actually I don’t think that many problems since we moved four months ago, I can even sleep outside without fear. Unlike when we lived all together [in the previous location in the city with the hostings] people would come and bother us. But we are much better now besides lack of latrines, health care system and lack of aid. Besides all that, we are fine, it is much better than living in the town because now we know each person who come in and out, but if you live there [city], anyone can just come in and out as the please, no one would know the difference. So we are much better since we left the town.’(Sahada,- Women’s community committee from settlement Bolo Alay, 18:15- 19:20) **[she calls the thieves the dogs].**

‘since we moved here, we have not experienced any crime or insecurities, but if this should happen, we usually go to the Local authority of Puntland (the police) ’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 25:50- 26:16).

‘There are currently no hosting communities living in our area. We live here alone. There are no theft or conflicts coming outside. It is just our community here’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 24:08-24:45).

‘we have not had any reports on rape cases recently, now we are living near the mountains’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso 23:18- 23:29)

* **Discrimination, Conflicts by hosting community and due to clan:** ‘I have never experienced it nor know anyone who has experienced any discrimination in Bosaso because of clan ’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 28:26-28:46).

‘what hosting community? We are living in near the mountain, with birds and the monkeys and (dowoc) far away from everything. We don’t see the hosting community, so how would there be any conflicts?’( Muslimah, Women’s community committee of Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 40:39-40:47).

‘The hosting doesn’t bring any problems. They don’t come to us and we don’t go to them. We don’t have any problems or conflict between us. We are only living in the same place together. Also we live far away from them so it just our community living together. Everyone is busy looking for livelihood. The only conflict I can mention is the conflict between the couples where they are fighting over the wages’ (Sahada,- Women’s community committee from IDP settlement Bolo Alay 21:26-22:02).

‘no no, we are all equal. We are all the same. There is no discrimination by others’ (Abdullahi ,community leader from Bolo Alay IDP settlement, 01:04:44-01:04:51)

* **Regarding moving back to the city premises:** ‘No, we don’t want to go back and live in the city because before when we used to live with our ‘brothers’ [hostings], they had issues with us and we had issues with them. For example if a house burned down, maybe the next door neighbor [hosting] bigger than ours would also burn down. Second of all, the big houses [solid house] burn down, we need to built it… the wires could get caught and cause fire. So we have distance ourselves from those issues, and we don’t want to bother our ‘brothers’. We are much happier here’’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in BosasoMin. 01:02:00- ?)

**Aid assistance**

* ‘we have lived here [in Shabelle settlement] for about eight and half months. We have built house (CGI) done by NRC. We work closely with different NGOs. Right now NRCs is building shelters, and also they are building latrines, even though its not complete enough for all of us, but the trainings are not as many. But those shelters are being done by NRC. NRC also give children up to the age of 5 food, this is given to all the settlements in the area ’ (Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement, 30:56- 31:44)
* ‘ever since we moved to the mountains [in Bolo Alay settlement], we haven’t received any aid assistance. This is for a period of four months ’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 17:35-17:51)

**Land Eviction/issues:**

* The Bolo Alay community argued that they had no problems with land evictions: ‘first and foremost, we have agreements with landowners and have a 5 year contract that makes it possible for us to stay on this territory. But the biggest problem for us is that they (landowners) own the land we live in […] the landowners and the local authority have agreed and signed a this 5 year contract ’ (Abdi ‘Malaq’, Raxweyne Clan leader in Bosaso, 21:42-22:20)[he lives in Bolo Alay settlement]
* The Shabelle community had experienced previous evictions, but they felt more settled in their current location: ‘we currently don’t have any problems regarding land. But we have been evicted 2 times. For 16 years we lived in the previous Shabelle settlement, but we were evicted because the landowners wanted their place back. Then we moved to the mountain area, exactly where Bolo Alay settlement is now located. Then the people of Bolo Alay were evicted. We now live close to Bolo Alay [settlement], a piece of land which was given the landowner . It is massive territory with four settlement. My settlement, Shabelle A, settlement Biyokululay, settlement Shirkow and settlement gurub(? Find real name). Those four settlement have 5 year contract agreed by the landowner and the local authority and also gives us promission to built water tanks . Because of this contract, we haven’t experienced any issue with our land, it has been signed by the local authority so that we don’t get evicted again ’(Wacdi, Community Leader of Shabelle IDP settlement 36:38-37:38)
  1. **Humanitarian Agency Empirical Findings**

The OCHA statement is about why, in Bosaso, it is called IDP *settlement*instead of IDP *camps*:

‘*What types of support do we provide to the urban IDPs. In the setting. In the Somalian context, we have IDP settlements. We don’t call them camps because there are not managed by any official means, although there are recognized by the government and the humanitarian communities, but we don’t refer to them as camps because there are not officially manage so there are more or less IDP settlement in Bosaso’ (*Min. 07:18-07:50*)*

1. **Statements about Urban IDP groups in Bosaso:**

*‘We have two sets of that as you are already aware. We have those that are living in settlements. We also have IDPs living within the hosting communities…‘It is difficult to identify those IDPs living within the hosting community, because officially there are not recognized, not that the government does not know, but they are not situated in area where one can easily identify them and provide assistance, makes it very difficult for us to provide any assistance, any form of support’* (OCHA, 07:50-08:28 and 08:30-08:53)

*‘It is difficult to identify those IDPs living within the hosting community, because officially there are not recognized, not that the government does not know, but being that they are not situated in area where one can easily identify [them]and provide assistance, makes it very difficult for us to provide any assistance, any form of support’* (OCHA, 08:30-08:5 )

*(‘...) if there are living within in a community [they are] recognized within the hosting community and some situation we don’t provide assistance to them. Like in the context in Bosaso, most of the partner initially, we are only focusing on IDPs living in settlement’* (OCHA, 09:02-09:25 )

*‘Last year, the focus has changed...now targeting basically beneficiaries for any assistance...people have considered now even the hosting communities’* (OCHA, 09:26- 09:43)

*‘We have a number of IDPs living within the hosting community, agencies are suppose to be providing community support, through which those IDPs can benefit from, but that has never existed here. Only a few IDPs who are living with hosting community that has benefitted from the humanitarian assistance’* (OCHA, 10:46-)

1. **Urban IDP are considered integrated with Hosting Community according to the Durable Solution**

*‘I mean the IDP communities, in supporting longterm durable solution, there are two approaches. Those who want to go back to there original localities when their normalities comes back and those who willingly or voluntarily want to remain with the hosting community. So those who want to remain with the hosting community, we support with integrate with the hosting communities, to restore the normalities with their new environments and adapt to the system and their life style of their hosting communities’* (DRC, 01:35- 02:52)

DRC statement of ways of integrating IDPs into the host community environment:

*‘We support in live skills trainings like vocational training center in regards to the original or traditional skills and also we support with income generation activities so that they get a system to earn their living and adapt to the environment and create equal opportunity with the hosting community ’* (DRC, 03:12- 03:56)

*‘IDPs, those who are voluntary, willing to integrate with the hosting community have come up as a priority with the* ***hosting that they are livingwith*** *and those host community is programme with the want of maintaining and* ***sustain*** *in their lives. Mostly what they have come up with is live skill training and income generation programmes where they also share with the poor hosting community, because when we are supporting these people, we are supporting them with a criteria of vulnerability and sustainability to earn their living throughout their lives ’* (DRC, 04:52- 06:20)

**3. It is often the case that urban IDPs do not get aid assistance from NGOs. These statements explain why NGOs do not provide urban IDPs assistance:**

Questions regarding tracking of urban IDPs

*‘Yes, there has not been any tracking system, but if they really want to identify themselves, I am sure they will show up to be recognized and provided assistance, but the fact is they live within the [hosting] communities and they know that there are IDP settlements..’* (OCHA, 11:42-11:58)

‘*From my opinion, they themselves have not identified themselves as IDPs. Either its because they are comfortable with the lives they are living or probably they don’t want the status’* (OCHA, 11:13- 12:29)

*‘before they (SC IDPs) arrive they have already identified where they going to stay ..so they could just melt in those different IDP settlements, but those living within the host communities , no tracking has ever been done, they themselves has never been shown up as IDPs..and I don’t think they want to be considered as IDPs’*(OCHA, 13:05-13:25)

‘*in principle, those living in the different settlements have been identified and recognized by the government and also the humanitarian community, so targeting them is so easy, accessing them is so easy and you can easily implement the different operations that are required ...but those you don’t know [ie. urban IDPs, you cant go around and see who is an IDP ’* (OCHA, Min 14:36- )

**3. Aid assistance provide to IDPs in settlement, urban IDP and hosting community**

The interview asked if urban IDPs and hosting community are getting the same aid as they are living in the same environment:

*‘Yes, because we are holding the principle of ‘DO NO HARM’[…] we are supporting through those criteria ’* (DRC, 09:00- 09:35) [Do No HARM is the humanitarian principle that all aid should be given equally to beneficiaries]

This statement describe the reason why, ideally humanitarian community provides aid:

*‘In an ideal situation, what we expect to happen is, in as much as IDP whether they are in camps or in settlement, they are always a burden to the host community, in one way or the other, they put pressure on the limited job opportunities they have, they put pressure on the limited social facilities, either school or health center whatever…so in an ideal situation what is supposed to happen is the humanitarian community will always try to provide more social facilities in order to meet the growing demand, for instance, if there is a school that has a capacity of only 100 kids and now (something missing) they have over 300, we re suppose to come in and at least expand capacity, the infrastructure of that school in order to match the growing demand.’* (OCHA, 18:21-)

However, in a Bosaso (Somalia)context, aid assistance is being as resources\*:

*‘Particularly, if you look at water, even IDPs in settlement, they also buy water, that’s very strange. In most areas I have been so far, IDPs have never bought water, it is usually provided free, although in the Somalia context, they have to buy water, because even in the host communities people are buying water. Water is so scarce and so limited. In an ideal situation, they should have provided at least the minimum standard of water in the different settlements. But that’s not the case, so even the limited water provided is being soaked(?) so they have to buy.’* (OCHA, 21:03- 21:45)

Statement about activities for IDP in settlement and hosting community;

*‘Mostly, who we have covered and targeted is the IDP living in camps and the poor hosting community in the urban settlements, and we also consider to support after this emergency response in recovery programme where the IDPs and the hosting community together come up with community* development *approach, which is depending on community collective prioritised support where the community come up and develop the community action plan, and present it in recovery and development. That is also where we support long-term programmes of durable solutions for IDPs, those who are willing to integrate with the hosting community, that is the project which is support in transformation from recovery to development and most recoveries, lifesaving training and income generating projects.’* (DRC, 03:40-05:49)

Statement on activities for urban IDPs:

*‘...they have equal opportunities with the poor hosting community living with them and when we are supporting (the urban IDPs), we are supporting as ‘a poor vulnerable member of the community’* (DRC,06:14- 06:32)

**Type of Urban Migration: City-City migration and Rural-City in Bosaso**

Statement on cause of migration to Bosaso;

*’10 year back or 5 years back, 5 years and above, IDPs were coming from South Central to here because of [war] conflict in South Central in the past. They normally chose Bosaso for a number of reasons. Bosaso has potential of generating money, livelihood opportunities are better than other places…since the beginning of last year of to date, they came to Bosaso as result of the famine we had in South Central. That number has become very huge. A majority of them refuse to either (…...live/leave) Kenya or Ethiopia, but we still have pockets of them coming to Bosaso for the same reason being that Bosaso may have better livelihood opportunities.* ’ (OCHA, . 36:30- 39:03 )

Profiling ethnic minority groups in Bosaso:

‘*When it comes to ethnic groups, the most populated ethnic groups of IDPs are Raxaweyne who originally originate from Baydaba, Hudur and also Mogadisho and lower Shabelle and middle Shabelle.’* (DRC, 08:52- 09:35)

*‘Mostly these areas are where the most affective areas of the civil war and political clan-based type of war are happening.’* (DRC, 09:43-10:08).

*‘If you go to the background of the IDPs (....most of them originated-DM) from Hurdur and Baydabo, are mostly agriculturalist, and those who have originated from Shabelle , Marka, Mogadisho are mostly agriculturalist, agrinormadist or farming families […] so the nature of the area they originated is somewhat diverse. When you see Hurdur and Baydabo, the people are living on livestock as well as mixed farming […] during the rainy seasons, people used to farm, but near the dry land. Mostly the people don’t have irrigated machines, so they used to realm?(rear?) their animals’* ( DRC, 10:35-11:58)

**11.6. Interview questions for IDPs in Settlement**

|  |
| --- |
| **A. DEMOGRAPHICS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION**  *By household we mean individuals who share food and income on a daily basis.* |
| **1. Facilitators name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **2. Name of Community:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **3. Location of where FGDs is held:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **4. City: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_** |

**Date: Place Contact/Introduced by**

Hello, my name is Hawo Idris. I am a student at Aalborg University and I am writing a paper on vulnerability and internal displaced in Bosaso. I want to ask you questions about your life here in Kampala. I am a student with no funding and unfortunately have nothing to offer you whatsoever. So I do understand if you are busy and cannot help me.

In our discussion, I will be asking questions regarding your clan and security and this can be sensitive to you, So you are welcome to withdraw at anytime, and you do not feel obliged to answer to any questions. Please let me know if a question is inappropriate. I ensure your anonymity and confidentiality. That means nobody will be able to recognize you in the paper, and what we say here in this room, I will never talk to anyone about it

**Interview Guide for IDPs in settlement and Urban IDPs**

*The highlighted questions are the main questions and the others are only used if the participant*

*did not mention the topics in the conversation.*

**Migration History**

* **Please introduce yourself and your role in your community**
* **Tell me about your life before you coming to Bosaso?**
* What city are you born?
* What city did you live right before coming to Bosaso?
* Did you live in small village or big city?
* **What was the most important reason that made you leave?**
* (What made you leave exactly then and not earlier or later?)
* How did you get to Bosaso?
* Why did you come to Bosaso?
* Did you know anyone in Bosaso before you came?
* What type of job did you have before coming here?
* How long did you stay in Bosaso?

**Financial security**

* What type of work does your community generally work as.
* Does your community receive external aid from NGOs or from the government?
* Have there ever been any conflicts within or outside the community over the aid assistance?

**Housing and Land**

* **Can you describe your living condition?**
* Physical description of settlement? How it looks. How many people live there?
* **What insecurities do you have in the settlement?**
* Evictions/land issues
* GBV
* Conflicts with people outside the settlement

**Security and clan issues**

* **Does your community report any discrimination?**
* **Work: employer withholds wages, abuse by employer?**
* **Has your community ever received any discrimination because of your clan**

**Women**

* **What type of security issues does the women in the settlement experience?**
* GBV
* **Can you discuss their burdens?**

**11.7. Interview questions for Urban Displaced**

|  |
| --- |
| **A. DEMOGRAPHICS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION**  *By household we mean individuals who share food and income on a daily basis.* |
| **1. Facilitators name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **2. Name of Community:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **3. Location of where FGDs is held:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **4. City: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_** |

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**Migration History**

* **Please introduce yourself and your role in your community**
* **Tell me about your life before you coming to Bosaso?**
* What city are you born?
* What city did you live right before coming to Bosaso?
* Was this a small city or big city?
* **What was the most important reason that made you leave?**
* What made you leave exactly
* How did you get to Bosaso?
* Why did you come to Bosaso?
* Did you know anyone in Bosaso before you came?
* What type of job did you have before coming here?
* How long did you stay in Bosaso?

**Financial security**

* Why did you choose to live amongst hosting communities and not in the settlements? (very important question)
* What type of work does your community generally work as?
* Does your community receive external aid from NGOs or from the government?
* Have there ever been any conflicts within or outside the community over aid?

**Housing and Land**

* **Can you describe your living condition?**
* Physical description of your home? How it looks. How many people live there?
* **What insecurities do you have in the area?**
* Threat of evictions/land issues
* GBV
* Conflicts with people outside the settlement

**Security and clan issues**

* **What is your clan?**
* **Have you or your community experience any form of discrimination at work? For example a employer withholds wages, abuse by employer?**
* **Has your community ever received any discrimination because of your clan?**
* **Can you describe some difference between your community (Urban IDPs) and hosting communities? For example, getting jobs, discrimination, status etc**

**Women**

* **What type of security issues does the women in the city experience?**
* GBV
* Overload of work
* **Can you discuss their burdens?**

11.8. Interview questionnaire for hosting community

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| --- |
| **A. DEMOGRAPHICS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION**  *By household we mean individuals who share food and income on a daily basis.* |
| **1. Facilitators name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **2. Name of Community:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **3. Location of where FGDs is held:\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**  **4. City: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_** |

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**Interview Guide for IDPs in settlement and Urban IDPs**

*The highlighted questions are the main questions and the others are only used if the participant*

*did not mention the topics in the conversation.*

**1. Introduction to hosting communities**

* **Please introduce yourself and your role in your community.**

**2. Class structures in hosting communities (this is to understand the different classes of hosting community)**

* Is the social structure in Bosaso (meaning classes between the upperclass and lowerclass in Bosaso) within your community mostly depend on ;

a) money? if so why, please explain?

b) clan? If so why? please explain

c) Education? If so why? Please explain

c) all the above. If so why? Please explain

d) or other factors? If so why? Please explain

**3. Housing**

* **Can you describe the community living condition? Ask research ass. About the people**
* Physical description of your home? How it looks. How many people live in your community?

**4. Financial security**

* What type of work/ livelihood does your community generally do?
* Remembering question Who represent the poor hosting community,- which group? I mean which livelihoods/jobs do they normally have?
* Does the hosting community receive external aid from NGOs or from the government? Which group is does?

**5. Dynamics between urban IDPs, IDPs in settlements and hosting community?**

* Can you talk about the aid distribution of in Bosaso? (If they begin talking about unfair aid distribution than ask *why? Please explain*?
* Do you believe there is any conflicts between you and IDPs in settlement? If yes, what is this?
* Ex. Dispute of aid assistance, crime in the community, livelihood opportunity? Or other
* Urban IDPs, so the people who live amongst you who are IDPs,- Can you mention 2-3 conflict situation or dispute that has happen between your community and the Urban IDPs? For example, dispute over aid assistance, crime in the community, livelihood opportunity?

**6. Security and clan issues (this questions might be sensitive)**

* What is your clan?
* Can you mention 1 or 2 situations where there have been conflicts between your clan and minority clans in Bosaso? What was the conflict about?
* (I heard that)Do you believe that IDPs puts a burden on your community? If yes, how? In what way? Please give examples?
* Has your community ever received any discrimination by other clans?

**Women**

* **What type of security issues does the women in your community experience?**
* GBV
* Overload of work
* **Can you discuss their burdens?**

1. Severe periods of droughts have occurred in the early 1990s; in 2004 in parts of South Central Somalia, the Sool Plateau and surrounding areas in Somaliland and Puntland; in late 2005-mid 2006 in parts of southern Somalia. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Sit in a group but interview them individually (like we did with the IDPs in settlement) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Sit in a group but interview them individually (like we did with the IDPs in settlement) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Sit in a group but interview them individually [↑](#footnote-ref-5)