

Forced Migration and Forced Return to Somalia: A Critical Review of the Literature

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I. Introduction

Since the fall of the Somali state and the exodus of Somalis in and out of the country, researchers and practitioners have begun to write about and look for solutions to the Somali migration problem. The goal of this article is to provide a critical overview of some of the academic and non-academic research on migration within and from Somalia.¹ These include research studies, and practitioner reports on both forced migration and return from Somalia, displacement, and encampment inside the country as internally displaced persons (IDPs) or as a refugees.² Many of these studies focus on the migration process, the socio-psychological effects of migrants, and the treatment of refugees and IDPs by managing authorities. Other studies highlight the absence of integration opportunities for both refugees and IDPs³, legal challenges for refugees to make livelihoods outside of the camps, host country policies and politics regarding refugees, the role of INGOs for advocacy and provision of services, and the ability of the home country to prepare for and receive returnees.⁴

Key word	Description
Forced migration	Involuntary displacements due to conflicts, natural or environmental conditions, famine, and other disasters
Protracted displacement	Repatriation or resettlement needs beyond emergency assistance
Drivers of migration	Conflict, droughts, and environmental changes
Remittances	Money transfers to families and friends back home
Irregular migration	Illegal migration and entry into or exit from the state of origin, transit, or destination
Repatriation	Voluntary return with safety and dignity
Durable solution	When the displaced no longer need assistance or protection

II. State Collapse, Patterns and Flows of Migration

Since the collapse of the state in 1991, Somalia has manifested itself to the world not only with the most profound case of state collapse witnessed in modern times, but also with one of the most intriguing cases of political fragmentation, armed conflict, lawlessness, and statelessness.⁵ Inescapably, the last two decades following state failure led to unparalleled social and economic challenges that earned Somalia a consistent ranking in the Human Development Index among the five poorest countries in the world.

The Horn of Africa is often seen as a region of mass migration and displacement caused by poverty, violent conflict, and environmental stress. A joint World Bank and UNHCR Horn of Africa report on forced migration describes a region with a large number of people on the move, internally as IDPs, and externally as mixed migration refugees seeking shelter, protection, and improved livelihoods. Comparing and contrasting push factors and the impact on both home and host countries, the study provides a clear understanding of the issues

and presents a narrative of a region severely challenged by a combination of weak governance, political and social conflict, cyclical droughts due to climate change, as well as food shortages and insecurity. Moreover, the examination of the fragility and migration highlights this reality: voluntary and involuntary migrations will continue so long as the frailty of the state and society are not addressed. Key contributors to this condition include hegemonic influences from neighboring states, weak governance, and a myriad of other factors such as conflict, droughts and food insecurity. Several studies reviewed discuss the evolution and drivers of migration. Laura Hammond, for instance, investigating migration and displacement issues in Somalia provides a critical overview of the history and evolution of migration and displacement issues in the country. The study traces refugee issues and trends as far back as the 1980s and provides an excellent description of the conflict, famine and other drivers that pushed many Somalis into Ethiopia, Kenya, Yemen, and Djibouti. Moreover, Hammond offers a notable overview on the tumultuous period between 1991-2014, highlighting the different waves of displacement and return. The report makes the important point that until the late 1980s, Somalia was a significant refugee hosting country and emphasizes how various social groups, especially those with different livelihood backgrounds, felt the impact of the conflict and of displacement in different ways.

The social and political conditions of Somalia began to deteriorate in the 1980's and early 1990's when armed groups began to resist the military dictatorship. As social and political insecurities affected the lives of numerous people especially in the rural areas and as the public realized the potential clan conflicts during and before the state failure, many began to flee the impending political conflict and began to disperse internally or externally to Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen, and beyond.

To understand the forces that push many Somalis to migrate, a World Bank study on social protection issues provides a comprehensive review and understanding of the historical, cultural, political, and environmental vulnerabilities of the poor, weak, and disenfranchised communities. The study finds weak social protections within existing communal support systems, as well as lack of programs designed to help develop resilient social mechanisms. The post-conflict Somalia study highlights the absence of local and governmental social protection programs, services, and supports and its utter dependence on emergency program supports of INGO's.

Critical to enhancing shock supports for vulnerable communities is the need to overcome exclusive traditional networks of support and finding ways to assist and develop resiliency for marginalized communities. The study clearly highlights why primordial clan-based social protection systems are inadequate, especially at a time of social conflict, to meet the needs of all members of society. It stresses the need for governmental and non-governmental authorities to set up strategies for shock absorption and sturdiness by precarious communities. In the absence of strong state institutions, Avis and Herbert, writing on state fragility and its effect on migration, provide historical understanding of the political systems and the challenges of governance Somalia faced since independence. The study reviews migration drivers, describing social, economic, and political challenges during periods after the fall of the state, identifying political instability as one of the main factors behind the conflict and migration. There are very few research studies on the impact of state fragility on migration, particularly in Somalia, and the absence of social and security institutions to provide services and supports to communities in danger. This points to the realities on the ground that migration often flows from rural areas to urban centers where services and supports are available apart from times of open warfare.

Hammond's and Lindley's respective research enhances our understanding of community empowerment and resiliency through social protection support projects. Internally, the studies identify a rarely explored area: the social interaction between IDPs and host communities within the country that reveals the extension of empathy and support regardless of the existing political challenges or the effect of natural disasters. These studies tell us that primordial cultural affinities of "Somalinimo" (Somali-ness) continue to hold and generally work well. On the other hand, when externally developed community safety programs were introduced in Somaliland, for example, which aimed at safety and security, they generally led to improved livelihoods and economic activities. As expected, the studies bring forth that increased financial activity for the community is related to the enhancement of peace, security, and development. These studies are useful for understanding community values of social protection, as well as, the added impact of externally developed social welfare support programs. Moreover, the research underscores the potential for sustainability as it shows the resilient nature of the people whose lives immediately improved as soon as conflicts subsided. The gaps closed

by Hammond, Lindley and the World Bank studies in migration literature on existing community values towards social protection and reduction of social vulnerabilities enhance our understanding of the complex issues surrounding migration and mutual aid to withstand periodical life-altering shocks necessary for strong buoyancy.

III. Migration and Urban Settings

A World Bank Group study conducted in 2013 advances our understanding of forced displacement in Somalia and the socio-political drivers that push and continue to force many people and communities to migrate within the country as IDPs or outside the country as refugees. The study points out how the contested political status of one of the Somali regional administrations, namely Somaliland, and how it considers migrants from the South as refugees coming from another country and not IDPs as is the practice in other regions. Here we find comparative review of IDPs, migration drivers, vulnerabilities, and their treatment by regional administrations. Furthermore, it connects the dots between inherent brittleness of pastoral nomadic and agrarian communities and their susceptibility to multiple environmental and conflict shocks. The study makes the salient point that cyclical droughts, clan-based conflicts, and weak or absent social protection mechanisms continue to push many families and communities away from their natural habitat and towards urban centers where basic supports are available or new forms of livelihoods can be made. Still, the study makes it clear that central and local authorities lack necessary policies or resources to assist IDPs and are ill-equipped to search for durable solutions including voluntary relocation.⁶ This study provides meaningful recommendations to researchers for further research and provides policymakers with tips in improving the plight of internally displaced persons.

In a Rift Valley Institute (RVI) sponsored research on youth migration (*tahriib* in Somali) to Europe, Ali highlights the complex cultural, economic and social contexts that undergird the decision-making process to migrate and the financial and psychological impact the personal decision has on the family and community. The RVI study explains to policymakers and INGO's the complex process of youth migration and its lure among the youth in schools and universities. It also provides important information related to the multiple variables that contribute to youth migration: unemployment and poverty. In addition, it

highlights established migration routes, the dangers inherent in the journey, and the reward or punishment in making or failing to get to the desired destination.

The enticement of masses by the buzzing markets and flashy occupational opportunities in cities and towns draw many refugees or IDPs to urban life in search of shelter, security, and livelihood. Lindley, Kagwanja, and Juma have separately conducted studies on urban migration issues, underlining the courage of urban migrants who had left behind the protracted displacement conditions and opted out of needed humanitarian services and supports in the urban centers.⁷ The authors contend that these refugees are attracted by the opportunities of urban life, and the potential for remittance supports from family and friends in making life bearable. Lindley follows the life and experiences of refugees and explores the nexus between protracted displacement, remittance supports from relatives, and the entrepreneurial ability of refugees. Unlike other studies, Lindley closely observes the behavior of her research subjects in making difficult choices as they maximize remittance funds by establishing small-scale businesses or sometimes engaging in irregular migration for better opportunities to the West. Lindley's evidence-based grassroots research project indicates that urban refugees defy restrictive and economically limiting camp life and opt-out to a self-settlement in urban centers, using their own social networks in order to lay foundation for their survival and engage in small trades and entrepreneurship. She contends that self-settlement of urban refugees should not be mistaken by governments and INGOs as a durable solution for the immense challenges of refugee life. Lindley makes the crucial point that individual effort to improve life in urban centers by refugees without the proper legal documentation or state policy that allows for integration is only a temporary solution, at best.

Campbell, Yarnell, and Thomas, on the other hand, all take an in-depth look at urban migration in Nairobi from a global economic perspective. Campbell's own study uncovers that much of current research on Somali migration to Kenya is bereft of historical contexts necessary to explain current migration trends, reaction, and response from Kenyan authorities. Consequently, the study presents this view: the actions of Kenyan authorities that obstruct Somali migrants' legal paperwork to fend for themselves, ill-treat and blame migrants for all social ills through national media, prevent, through state policy, opportunities for livelihood and social integration, and constantly

threaten repatriation by the use of the police is a direct lesson adopted from colonial practices of the past. Campbell explains that the economic networks that link Somali migrants regionally and globally and the entrepreneurial prowess of the refugees and their belief in social responsibility not only lifts them up economically, but also responds positively to the employment needs of Kenyan citizens. Yarnell and Thomas stress the resilient nature of the migrants to escape the controlled and harsh conditions of camp life and their willingness to use their agency to fend for themselves and their families, thereby forgoing humanitarian aid available to camp refugees. The authors identify blatant abuses by the Kenyan police who often raid refugee homes in the deep hours of the night and arrest those who cannot financially afford to pay up bribes to the police. Campbell's findings on the behavior of the Kenyan state and its response to challenging situations corresponds to what is already known on the undemocratic practices of the colonial powers, whose systems of governance remain intact in many independent African countries.

Akin to Nairobi, Mogadishu, Baidoa, Garowe, and Hargiesa attract IDPs fleeing from hard rural life and conflict-ridden areas in search of security and livelihood for their families. A recent study on urban migration in Mogadishu, jointly co-authored by the Rift Valley Institute and the Heritage Institute in Kenya and Somalia, describes Mogadishu, with its relatively modern amenities and economic opportunities, as a potential migration target for pastoral nomads and agrarian communities in the hinterlands. Moreover, some IDP families are also moving out of the camps and seeking land to settle and establish homes for their families in the outskirts of Mogadishu and other towns. Such acts could potentially create additional conflicts and legal disputes if governments do not intervene by putting into place an effective process to legalize land ownership for the IDPs and adjudicate fairly with regard to frivolous land ownership claims against minorities, disenfranchised groups, and IDPs.

IV. Repatriation and Labor Migration

As home country conditions improve and the risk for returnees diminishes, repatriation is one of the options available. Rawlence, Menkhaus, Majidi, and EU Trust Fund 2018 describe, in separate studies, challenges to effective repatriation of refugees. Rawlence, for example, describes how heavy-handed Kenyan security officials have been in

dealing with both urban and camp refugees from Somalia. This first-hand account of the state-of-affairs of the Somali refugees in Kenya describes the conditions refugees find themselves, including exaggerated propaganda by the Kenyan government to speed up their repatriation process despite serious political and humanitarian problems in Somalia. The author makes it clear that the international community needs to do more to intervene with regard to the harsh treatment and involuntary repatriations of refugees by Kenyan authorities. The Amnesty International study on Somali refugee repatriation looks at the context in which the Kenyan government involuntarily repatriated many refugees between 2014 and 2017 back to Somalia. According to established refugee conventions, refugee repatriations should be voluntary, with necessary collaboration between the homeland and host country, while INGO's monitor the voluntary repatriation process and refugee transition to normal life. However, Amnesty's study found that coercion and misinformation techniques were deployed by the Kenyan government in order to convince the refugees that they had no other option but to repatriate. This, despite the fact that the homeland was not safe and the settlements were not equipped with appropriate facilities. The study, through an analysis of international and local refugee conventions, documents blatant violations by the host country.

Majidi investigates the sociopsychology of refugee returnees through the prism of women and children. His work reveals gender bias in refugee returnee studies that mainly focus on the role of men in the decision-making process, as well as difficulties of resettlement upon return to the homeland. This study makes the poignant case that women, like men, have the agency to be actors of their return decisions, seek reliable and accurate information, and, unlike men, base their unimposing decisions on the educational needs of their children. Contrary to the common perception that Somali women follow the decisions of their husbands as heads of households, the study reveals what was anecdotally known by many: women, if given the freedom to move around and the opportunity for livelihood, are better decision-makers for the well-being of the whole family.

V. Labor/Irregular Migration

Very few studies have been written on Somali labor migration to the Middle East – particularly Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and, to a lesser extent, Yemen. These labor migrants were driven out by economic challenges of the 1970's and the imperative of sending remittances back to their families. The Somali migrants to the Middle East were both regular and irregular as labor visa requirements for entry became hard to secure. Many Somalis began to use the annual pilgrimage visa open to enter Saudi Arabia during the Hajj season and then extend their stay to fulfill their employment goals. Gundel documents a nexus existing between development and migration in Somalia. He highlights the multi-dimensional nature of this phenomenon. Furthermore, the study touches on socio-economic-political conditions in Somalia that necessitated large migration to the Middle East and later to the UK and Italy⁸. Remittances, Gundel reveals, played a major role in Somalia's Gross National Product (GNP) before the fall of the state.

Lindley and Amnesty International show how protracted displacement situations lead to considerations for irregular migrations that, at once, cause hardships for migrants seeking resettlement and challenges to the unprepared host nation. Another study sponsored by the SWISS Foundation identified irregular secondary movements of refugees from Somalia to neighboring countries and to other preferred destinations. This multi-country study explored conditions in host countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Egypt, and Yemen. It argues that host country policies that limit free movement of refugees and deny integration are the root cause of irregular secondary migration with destinations to Europe, America, and Australia, among others. A key finding of this study is this: as long as opportunities for refugees to fully integrate in host countries are limited or non-existent, irregular secondary migration remains an option for refugees despite efforts by Western countries to discourage it.

Refugee-hosting nations struggle to provide emergency support including reasonable shelters to incoming migrants. Consequently, refugee encampments become the best model for administering refugee populations, because they are equipped with registration offices and other health and educational facilities. The two largest refugee camps in Kenya are Dadaab and Kakuma. It is estimated that the former had a population of 218,000 registered refugees and asylum seekers in 2019;

Kakuma holds close to 200,000 refugees. Lindley's study, for example, investigated the effect of protracted displacement of Somali refugees in Kenya and concludes how emotionally frustrating and economically limiting camp life can be for many refugees. Harsh conditions in the camp, she contends, force some refugees to voluntarily move out and potentially lose legitimate humanitarian support from organizations assisting them. Some camp refugees feel they have better chances of finding livelihood opportunities outside the camp by taking advantage of numerous possibilities in the social and entrepreneurial networks available to urban migrants in the wider Somali community.

A paper by Abdi focuses on dependency, insecurity, and identity amongst Somali refugees in Dadaab refugee camp. She shows the gradual development of self-defeating attributes among refugees who, at one time in their lives, were socially, emotionally and physically capable human beings. Moreover, Abdi asserts that some refugees slowly lose agency, self-worth, and ultimately, their dignity in this otherwise well-intentioned short-term solution to their unfortunate predicament. Abdi's research confirms the resilient nature of refugees and their willingness, if the opportunity exists, to work and fend for themselves and their families in order to compensate for the meager daily rations available in camp settings. However, due to limited opportunities for reintegration and extremely limited chances for third country resettlement, Abdi elucidates that many refugees remain trapped in closed camps, unable to fend for themselves in a highly insecure and physically threatening camp environment. This process, she proffers, leads to potential psychological revictimization and to a life of multi-generational dependency and low self-esteem. Hammond, on the other hand, describes the different situations of those who fled to diverse destinations, and the risks they face such as malnutrition, assault, and rape in the camps. She points out the benefits of the approach taken in Uganda, where the refugees were given a greater degree of autonomy. The Ugandan model seems to take into account the flexibility that refugees need to maintain their status at the camp, while taking advantage of the livelihood opportunities of urban life. Future research ought to compare the psychological effects of the two encampment models. Hammond's description on how refugee camps became the principal model for accommodating refugees is captivating and emphasizes the inherent challenges of camp life not amenable to those refugees with a desire to work, farm, or engage in commercial trading.

VI. Critical Analysis of Relief Efforts

Migration research studies that are keen on understanding the process from beginning to end are inconclusive on the effectiveness of INGO's role in ensuring necessary protections and advocating for the plight of migrants. Horst, Lindley, Hammond and Vaughan-Lee, and Yarnell and Thomas, all review the work of relief agencies working with Somali migrants in and out of Somalia. Moreover, they identify policy gaps and highlight the inability of INGO's to effectively advocate for migrants or stand firm against illegal forced repatriations.

Unlike contemporary research on humanitarian assistance which mainly focuses on international aid agencies as "the givers" and the refugees as "the receivers," Horst brings to light and documents the existence of a strong system of giving and sharing between refugee families, relatives and communities inside and outside of the camps. He contends that understanding refugee support systems such as remittance for emergency, care and maintenance, and sustainable development projects offer valuable lessons that can be useful for international aid agencies as they strategize and design humanitarian assistance programs. Moreover, Lindley's investigation of the protracted displacement state of refugees in Kenya reveals weaknesses in the refugee camp management and support process.

Yarnell's and Thomas's work on urban migration concludes that humanitarian agencies in Kenya did not respond and effectively advocate for the safety and protection of refugees as required by law. Instead, they suggest, humanitarian agencies stood by as Kenyan authorities involuntarily repatriated many refugees to unsafe parts of Somalia, forcing some to return to Kenya later. The authors provide sweeping recommendations for humanitarian organizations and the states involved to ensure the safety and protection of refugees and to seek collectively durable solutions to solve these crises. Furthermore, Hammond offers an overview of the assistance and support services provided by the international community and its agencies to camp refugees in Kenya. Abdi's investigations on protracted displacement and its effect on refugees highlights the shortcomings of Kenya's management of refugee camps in its own country and the inability of INGO's to provide adequate supports and services or advocacy to camp refugees.

Examining relief inside Somalia, Hammond and Vaughan-Lee document humanitarian assistance provided to drought and conflict-stricken communities. The work paints a bleak picture of the complex process under which humanitarian supports are delivered and the unscrupulous demands by various local actors that provide critical access to affected communities. The demands from these local actors, the authors contend, are capricious and often violate the basic humanitarian principles of neutrality and impartiality. Moreover, they assert that the financial and material supports provided by well-intentioned INGOs to local actors are inherently political and inadvertently benefit local governmental authorities or clan militias whose support and collaboration is critical to the success of the humanitarian delivery process. The authors point out what they see as a shrinking humanitarian space that they describe as the political, military and social context in which humanitarian services take place. Here, they propose, is to be found the challenges posed by intermediary local actors who control access to target populations, and the inability of INGO staff to effectively engage or promote the plight of the affected populations.

Hammond and Vaughan-Lee examine the volatility of humanitarian projects and the potential politicization of food as a weapon of conflict giving some local actors the edge over others. In their study, they examine the established practices of humanitarian services in Somalia before the fall of the state and how these ethically challenged practices are continued to this day by local authorities seeking personal benefits to, eventually, enhance their social or political standing. In the end, they call for a dialogue on both access and protection of civilians and staff so as to improve and expand humanitarian space and outcomes.

VII. Diaspora and Remittances

Financial contributions by refugees to their friends and family back home have been identified as a significant contribution to the economies of their home countries. It is estimated that Somalis in the Diaspora remit as much as \$1.4 billion annually. This sum constitutes just under a quarter of the national GDP, according to the World Bank. Investigating urban migrants' use of remittances received from friends and family members abroad, Lindley closely watched the behavior of her research subjects. She found that they made difficult choices between daily living expenses or savings for the future – the latter as part of contributions to possible collaborative small business ventures.

Gundel, Lindley, Hammond, and Shire separately investigated the socio-economic humanitarian impact of remittances on refugee communities and the cultural significance of these contributions to both the sender as well as receiver. For instance, Lindley investigated remittances from the Somali refugee Diaspora perspectives living in the United Kingdom. She came to the conclusion that a remittance is more than mere money transaction between sender and receiver but, in fact, is a more complex transaction and with far reaching social consequences. Her work reveals the social expectation and religious obligation of giving back to one's family and friends whose grim economic and social condition – a vividly nightmarish memory shared by all who have escaped it. The social capital that migrants gain from remitting to their families gives them a positive feeling that can be described as “instant gratification.” This stems from their action that, in turn, adds value to their self-worth and standing within the community in the Diaspora and back home. Conversely, the opposite is true for those immigrants who decide not to remit to their families. Lindley makes the case that migrants take a long time to enter into the labor market upon arrival with a burning desire to remit to their dependent families back home or to pay debts that have been incurred during their journey to the United Kingdom. Hammond looked into remittance issues of Somali migrants of Lewiston, Maine, in the United States. She reached similar conclusions as Lindley in that sending remittances is not confined to financial transaction; rather, she confirms that it is seen as an act of social obligation that has lasting consequences. Comparing remittance in the Somali context with existing literature from other countries, these studies show that, in the absence of a central authority to regulate the economy and enhance economic development in Somalia, remittance funds will continue to be used to meet basic family needs and will be rarely spent on developmental schemes.

These works contradict the popular belief in the West that refugees use surplus funds beyond their immediate needs for remittance. On the contrary, they tell us that most refugees take short-term loans or join community-based investments projects to afford sending remittances to their dependent families. All the cited literature provides evidence for a pervasive sense of obligations, even when that act is most difficult.

VIII. Concluding Remarks

Understanding the cause and effect of natural and man-made disasters in the Horn of Africa, and particularly Somalia, is critical for both governments and humanitarian organizations. Somalia's protracted political conflict has created a governance vacuum and has weakened social protection in many parts of the country. This situation has led to profound social precariousness and unpreparedness for enduring environmental shocks. Absence of local or regional research institutions to collect data in order to plan and get ready for future calamities limits the ability of national and local authorities to respond effectively to recurring natural or man-made disasters.

Generally, research on Somali migration has been conducted and published by Western researchers, universities, and international organizations that are dedicated to response to crises and undertake humanitarian assistance. Very few Somali nationals have shown interest in conducting research on migration even though Somalia is among the top nations exporting refugees to the rest of the world.⁹ Equally important is the absence of research documenting Somalia as a significant host nation from the early 1970's to mid-1980's to many refugees from the Horn of Africa and other parts of the continent.

To be sure, migration is part of crisis prevention and management. Research in this area, then, must be credible and should state the facts as they exist, regardless of how critical the information is of local/foreign entities or how it is received. Often researchers, especially native scholars, are careful and cautious to question or counter the prevailing socio-political narrative. However, this may underscore the fact that there is extraordinarily little research by Somali researchers or institutions on this critical subject.

Given the fact that research is subject to the policies and objectives of the grant provider or sponsoring agency, researchers must be careful not to align the outcomes of the works with the goals of the sponsor. Such tilted investigations, however grey they might be, dilute the quality of the study and limit future opportunities for replication or follow up.

As things stand now, more research studies are undertaken on refugees outside of Somalia than IDP's or the conditions of repatriated former refugees inside the country. This could be related to difficulties in access or severely constraining security issues in the home country. However, efforts should be made to learn more from prevailing conditions in the home country before the next wave of migration rises.

Lastly, Somalia's mushrooming higher education system should consider revising the curriculum to include specific courses and establish whole programs that address migration. These could be done both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The primary objective will be to train capable thinkers and researchers. In turn, such initiatives could produce useful knowledge that can become an endowment to effectively address and manage national migration crisis, as well as the broader *problematique* of development.

Notes

1. A 1995 study on migration issues in Somalia (Waldron & Hasci, 1995), helped close gaps, explain ambiguities, and connected the dots for a wholistic understanding of migration issues in Somalia. The study is useful for students, practitioners and researchers seeking to develop policy or conduct further research. The authors provide a thoroughly researched and analyzed narrative from a body of research written about Somalia, its people, culture, and humanitarian responses. They contend that students, researchers, and practitioners of Somalia need to comprehend the complex context in which humanitarian issues emerge from so that they develop relevant, strategic and targeted responses.
2. The official definition of refugee is set forth in the UN convention relating to the status of refugees as any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside of the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. The definition of refugee has since been expanded — particularly by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) convention on refugees and the Cartagena declaration — to include persons fleeing generalized violence such as international war, internal armed conflict, foreign aggression or occupation, severe disruption of public order, or massive violations of human rights in whole or part of the country of nationality (UN, 1951).
3. According to the UN-OCHA guiding principles on internal displacement, internally displaced persons 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 any internationally recognized State border (UN, 2004).
4. Returnee is the term used by the international community to identify a person who was a refugee, but who has recently returned to his/her country of origin. Defining a returnee is thus applicable on a person's prior refugee status (UN, 2001). The following are key concepts in migration studies that will be discussed in depth.
5. Ahmed I. Samatar, "The Curse of Allah: Civic Disembowelment and the Collapse of the State in Somalia." In Samatar (Ed.), *The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal?* Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 1994, pp. 95-146.
6. Durable solutions for the displaced are defined as processes that achieve the point at which the displaced no longer require specific assistance or protection associated with their displacement from others and can exercise and enjoy their human rights. Durable solutions are usually focused on achieving a sustainable outcome of return, integration, or resettlement.

7. Protracted displacement refers to situations that have moved beyond the emergency and initial protection and assistance phase but for which durable solutions do not exist in the foreseeable future. UNHCR identifies a major protracted displacement situation as one in which more than 25,000 forcibly displaced persons have been in exile for more than five years. Migrants who find themselves in a protracted displacement status are mobile populations which cause fluctuations on the size of the population.

8. Once resettled in their new host countries, refugees seek employment and small-scale entrepreneurial opportunities to improve their livelihoods to support families left behind in the home country. Remittances from migrants have been identified as a significant contribution to the economies of their home countries. It is estimated that Somalis in the Diaspora remit financial resources back home to the tune of \$1.4 Billion annually. These remittances constitute 23% of the national GDP according to the World Bank (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/06/10/world-bank-makes-progress-to-support-remittance-flows-to-somalia>). Analytical studies have shown that remittances contribute significantly to poverty reduction. Research studies define remittances as the sum of selected balance of payments flows, while in others the sum of workers remittances and compensation of employees (Alfieri and Havinga, 2006).

9. Somali migration beyond the Horn of Africa was documented to have begun during the colonial periods after the first world war and ending at the second world war in 1945. Little research is available on the conditions of these colonial migrations, which can be classified as forced or irregular migration, beyond anecdotal stories of seafarers who served in the British colonial armies and were sent to fight in places like Yemen, India and Far East Asia. Some of these seamen returned home, while many remained in their duty stations or travelled further to the U.K or the United States. A British ethnic communities oral history project describes the following: *“There are records of Somali’s living in Britain before the first world war in all the major ports of Cardiff, Liverpool, South Shields and London’s east end. The Somali’s have a long tradition of emigrating and working at sea. Many originally went to find work in Aden, which was then a British colony and an important shipping center. From there they came to Britain, although some came directly from Somalia. (Somali Sailors: The Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, circa 1990).*

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