



# **City on the Frontline: Climate-Induced Migration, Governance, and Urban Resilience in Baidoa**

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#### Disclaimer

The views expressed in this research are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or positions of the Life & Peace Institute or its donors.

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## Executive Summary

This report explores the complex relationship between climate change, migration, conflict, and governance in Baidoa, Somalia, a major displacement hub in the Horn of Africa. Using qualitative research methods, including interviews, focus group discussions, and participatory techniques like Photo-voice, the study investigates the drivers of displacement, resilience strategies of internally displaced persons (IDPs), governance challenges, and the associated social and environmental impacts.

**Escalating Climate Displacement and Urban Strain in Baidoa:** The IDP crisis in Baidoa is driven by recurring climate shocks and ongoing conflicts, making the city a key destination for displaced populations fleeing violence, drought, and famine. Climate-induced displacement has emerged as a significant driver of migration, with increasing numbers of families forced to leave rural areas due to persistent drought conditions. This influx has strained Baidoa's urban infrastructure, leading to informal settlements lacking basic services and growing social and economic challenges. The conversion of agricultural land into residential areas raises concerns about food security. To address these issues, urban planning efforts should focus on accommodating the growing population while preserving agricultural land for food production. Comprehensive land management strategies are essential to balance the needs of displaced populations with sustainable development.

**Resilience in Transition: Coping Strategies of Baidoa's IDP Community:** Baidoa's IDP community demonstrates resilience through diverse coping strategies, such as engaging in informal work, small businesses, education, and relying on social support networks. Traditional clan and governance systems provide additional support. However, while these strategies help sustain livelihoods in the short term, long-term solutions are necessary. Policymakers must focus on economic inclusion by creating formal employment opportunities, promoting entrepreneurship, and supporting vocational training and microfinance access. These efforts will enable IDPs to build sustainable livelihoods and reduce dependence on aid.

**Contributions of IDPs to Baidoa's Economy:** Despite facing significant challenges, IDPs make important contributions to Baidoa's economy through informal trading, small-scale businesses, and manual labor. Many engage in activities such as selling vegetables and washing clothes, helping to support their families and the local economy. However, these contributions often go unrecognized, and IDPs face significant barriers to formal economic participation due to social and political marginalization. To address this, policies should promote economic inclusion by providing access to formal employment, financial services, and entrepreneurial support, enabling IDPs to integrate into the local economy and improve their livelihoods.

**Intensifying Clan-Based Spatial Settlements and Land Tensions:** Clan-based spatial settlements are increasingly shaping Baidoa's urban landscape, as displaced families seek safety and support within areas dominated by their clans. While these settlements offer protection, they also reinforce social divisions and fuel competition for land. The growing scarcity of land

exacerbates tensions, potentially escalating inter-clan conflicts over resources. Conflict-sensitive land management strategies are needed to ensure equitable access to land and address underlying social and political divisions, promoting peaceful coexistence and fair resource distribution between displaced and host communities.

**Urban Expansion vs. Agricultural Sustainability: A Call to Action for Baidoa's Food Security:**

Baidoa's rapid urbanization, driven by the influx of displaced people, threatens local food security. Agricultural land within a 10-kilometer radius of the city has been increasingly converted into settlements, reducing food production. This trend jeopardizes the region's ability to maintain a stable food supply, making the population vulnerable to hunger and malnutrition. To mitigate this, urban growth should be managed sustainably, with policies that protect agricultural land and promote sustainable farming practices. Investments in climate-smart agriculture and water management should be prioritized to safeguard food security.

**Governance, Exclusion, and Political Representation:** IDPs in Baidoa face political exclusion, lacking representation in decision-making processes related to land rights and local governance. This exclusion reinforces cycles of poverty and instability. While some efforts have been made by local authorities and humanitarian actors, a coordinated policy framework is needed. Policies that recognize the rights of IDPs and promote their active participation in governance, land rights, and community engagement are essential for fostering a more inclusive and cohesive society.

**Conflicts and Land Issues:** Conflicts over land and resources are significant challenges in Baidoa. Competition for land between IDPs and host communities is intensifying, particularly as agricultural land is repurposed for settlements. The uncertainty around land tenure leaves many IDPs vulnerable, unable to secure permanent housing or livelihoods. To prevent these tensions from escalating, clear and equitable land tenure systems are needed. Implementing policies that protect land rights and fairly resolve disputes will help reduce tensions and create a more secure environment for all residents.

**Environmental Impacts of Displacement and Conflict:** Migration and unplanned urbanization in Baidoa have caused severe environmental degradation, including deforestation for firewood, soil erosion on abandoned farms, and pollution from conflict waste. These impacts strain local ecosystems, affecting land and water resources. To address these issues, environmental restoration initiatives, such as soil rehabilitation and afforestation, must be integrated into recovery programs. These efforts will help restore the environment and ensure long-term sustainability for displaced populations and host communities.

**Humanitarian Support and Split Livelihood Patterns:** Humanitarian aid has been crucial for supporting IDPs in Baidoa, but it has also led to split livelihood patterns. Many IDPs divide their time between Baidoa, where they access aid, and rural areas, where some continue agricultural activities. While this strategy offers short-term relief, it highlights the need for sustainable livelihood solutions. Humanitarian aid alone is insufficient to address the long-term needs of displaced populations.

Programs that combine urban and rural strategies, such as job creation, education, and land security, are essential for ensuring IDPs can rebuild their lives and achieve long-term stability.

In conclusion, Baidoa's challenges related to climate change, migration, conflict, and governance require integrated approaches to promote resilience and sustainable development. By adopting inclusive policies, improving urban planning, and fostering economic opportunities for IDPs, Baidoa can create a more resilient and equitable environment for all residents. Without targeted interventions, Baidoa's growing urban pressures and unresolved grievances may exacerbate inequalities and lead to future instability.

## List of Abbreviations

ADC	Agricultural Development Centre
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
AS	Al-Shabaab
ATMIS	African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
FG	Federal Government
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LPI	Life & Peace Institute
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
RRA	Rahanweyne Resistance Army
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SWS	SWS
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USC	United Somali Congress

## Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, the intricate relationship between climate change, peace, and security has gained significant attention, with climate change increasingly being recognized as a critical factor that exacerbates pre-existing vulnerabilities in fragile regions. The concept of climate change as a "threat multiplier" has emerged, emphasizing its potential to intensify food, water, and energy insecurities while amplifying competition over natural resources, deepening social inequalities, and driving displacement (Nordås & Gleditsch, 2007; Raleigh et al., 2015). While climate change is not a direct cause of violent conflict, its interaction with social, political, and economic factors can aggravate conflict drivers, creating new and exacerbating existing fault lines within and between states and societies (Barnett & Adger, 2007).

The ongoing debate in the field highlights how the effects of climate change interact with conflict and governance, particularly in fragile settings where institutions are already weak. In regions affected by violent conflict, climate-induced hazards such as droughts and floods often prolong instability, undermining efforts to build peace and further entrenching vulnerabilities. Conversely, conflict disrupts climate adaptation efforts, as governments embroiled in political instability often lack the institutional capacity and resources to implement necessary climate resilience measures (Detges, 2017). This reciprocal relationship between climate change and conflict presents a significant challenge to sustainable development, peacebuilding, and conflict prevention initiatives. A growing consensus suggests that the sustainability of conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts will depend on their ability to incorporate climate-sensitive approaches (Brown & McLeman, 2009).

The Horn of Africa, comprising some of the most fragile and conflict-affected countries, is increasingly recognized as one of the region's most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Over the past decade, the Horn has experienced an alarming increase in the frequency, severity, and concurrence of extreme climatic events, including prolonged droughts, erratic rainfall, and flooding. This climatic volatility is exacerbating existing socio-economic vulnerabilities, deepening inequality, and accelerating displacement (Kelley et al., 2015). The nexus between climate change and security in the Horn is thus not just an ecological issue but a driving factor behind the region's persistent fragility and insecurity.

One key outcome of this climate-security nexus is migration. Climate-induced migration in the Horn of Africa has taken on complex forms, often intertwined with conflict and economic pressures. As rural livelihoods become unsustainable due to both environmental degradation and insecurity, migration to urban centers is on the rise. Cities like Baidoa in Somalia have become hubs for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), many of whom are fleeing drought-stricken rural areas where traditional livelihoods have collapsed. This migration trend raises important questions about the implications of climate-induced urban migration on peace, security, and social cohesion within rapidly urbanizing environments (Schilling et al., 2012).

Urban migration, particularly in cities like Baidoa, is reshaping local dynamics and creating new challenges for governance and resource management. Migration driven by climate stressors has spurred concerns about urban conflict, competition over scarce resources, and strained infrastructure in cities already struggling with limited capacity. Furthermore, urban migration creates unique links to rural areas through remittances, social ties, and economic dependencies, all of which have both peace and conflict implications (Tacoli, 2009). The rising influx of migrants into urban areas not only transforms socio-economic landscapes but also shifts power dynamics, identity politics, and inter-community relationships in both rural and urban settings.

Given these complexities, understanding the peace and security dynamics associated with urban migration in the Horn of Africa is critical for informing policy and programming. This study focuses on Baidoa, a fast-growing city in Somalia that serves as a key destination for climate-related migration. By examining the experiences of urban migrants in Baidoa, this research aims to shed light on how climate change-driven migration is reshaping social relations, governance, and security in the region.

## **1.1 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of this study is to examine the peace and security dynamics associated with climate-related urban migration in Baidoa, Somalia. The study seeks to provide insights into how climate change influences migration patterns and contributes to new socio-political and security challenges in urban areas. By engaging with community leaders and policymakers, the research explores the following key questions:

1. What are the current drivers and patterns of migration in Baidoa, and how significant are they? This question focuses on identifying the various factors that drive migration to Baidoa and examining the relative importance of each factor, including climate, conflict, and socio-economic pressures.
2. How are climate-induced migrants in Baidoa impacted by power relations and conflict dynamics, and how do they influence these dynamics? This question explores the interactions between migrants and host communities, analyzing both positive and negative aspects related to identity, ethnicity, and power, as well as the political implications of these relationships.
3. What are the differential impacts of climate change on the livelihoods of rural and urban communities, and how do these communities adapt to and mitigate these impacts? This question examines how rural and urban populations experience the effects of climate change differently and identifies the various adaptation and mitigation strategies employed by these communities.
4. What lessons can be learned for future policy-making and peacebuilding efforts? This question focuses on identifying best practices for managing the intersection of climate change, migration, and conflict, to inform future policies and programs that support peacebuilding and improved human security in both urban and rural environments.

By addressing these questions, the study aims to contribute to the broader debate on the climate change-security nexus and offer practical recommendations for enhancing peace and resilience in the Horn of Africa.

## **1.2 Methodological Reflection**

The study on climate-related urban migration in Baidoa, Somalia employed a diverse set of qualitative research methods to provide an in-depth understanding of the complex interaction between climate change, migration, and security. These methodologies included observation, proportional ranking, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), and the innovative use of the photovoice tool. Each method offered distinct insights and challenges, contributing to a rich, multi-faceted understanding of climate-induced migration and its socio-political implications.

Observation as a Method proved to be invaluable in capturing the visible effects of climate change on Baidoa's environment and its socio-economic impacts on both migrants and host communities. Through systematic observation, the research team was able to document the deteriorating conditions in agricultural lands and urban infrastructure, alongside the adaptive behaviors of migrants and residents. This direct method enabled the researchers to contextualize the drivers of migration within the immediate environmental and social stressors that participants encountered daily. However, observation alone could not fully capture the subjective experiences of the migrants, necessitating complementary methods like interviews and FGDs.

Proportional Ranking, a participatory tool, provided a structured way to assess the relative importance of different factors influencing migration. This method allowed participants to rank climate change, conflict, and economic opportunities in terms of their significance in driving their decision to migrate to Baidoa. The clarity of this method helped highlight the primacy of climate-induced pressures, such as drought, in comparison to other factors like conflict and lack of services. Nonetheless, while this tool helped quantify the significance of climate change as a migration driver, it required deeper qualitative insights to fully explore the complex interrelationships between these factors.

KIIs were a central data collection tool, gathering nuanced perspectives from a diverse range of stakeholders, including government officials, civil society members, religious leaders, and representatives of IDPs. A total of 43 KIIs provided critical insights into how local governance, migration management, and resource allocation intersected with climate change adaptation. The semi-structured nature of these interviews allowed for flexibility in exploring both expected and emergent themes. However, the challenge with KIIs was in ensuring diverse representation across gender and social groups, particularly in a context where power dynamics often skewed participation towards male and elite figures. Efforts were made to include marginalized voices, but certain perspectives may still have been underrepresented.

FGDs offered a collaborative setting for exploring shared experiences among migrants and host communities, with four FGDs conducted. These discussions were particularly useful in generating collective insights into how migration was reshaping community dynamics in Baidoa, from both the perspective of the displaced and the host populations. The

interactive nature of FGDs allowed for the exploration of sensitive topics, such as the power imbalances between migrants and locals, and the ways in which climate change exacerbated these tensions. However, managing group dynamics, especially in a context where hierarchical relationships might influence responses, posed a challenge. Careful moderation ensured that less dominant voices, particularly those of women and youth, were heard.

Photo voice emerged as a particularly innovative and effective method for engaging marginalized groups, such as IDPs, in the research process. Seven participants (four women and three men) were given smartphones to document their lived experiences of climate change and displacement. The 1,629 photos collected provided a visual narrative of the challenges faced by climate migrants, particularly regarding housing, water scarcity, and livelihood disruptions. Out of these, 58 photographs were selected by the participants for discussion during a debriefing session (find separate debriefing notes of photo voice data attached). This process not only allowed participants to express themselves through visual media but also fostered a deeper dialogue about the root causes and daily realities of their displacement. The photo voice method proved especially powerful in overcoming barriers related to literacy or language, as it allowed participants to communicate their experiences in a more immediate and impactful way. The rich data generated through this method offered a unique window into the everyday lives of the displaced, reflecting their resilience in the face of adversity.

The Photo voice tool also enabled participants to take ownership of the research process, giving them an active role in documenting their surroundings and expressing their realities. This approach promoted inclusivity, particularly for women and other vulnerable groups, who might have been less vocal in more traditional data collection settings. The photographs captured not only the harsh impacts of climate change but also the adaptive strategies employed by migrants and host communities. In discussing the selected images, participants shared stories of survival, resilience, and the challenges of integrating into urban life. The visual data complemented the more structured insights from KIs and FGDs, providing a comprehensive picture of the impacts of climate-related migration.

Analysis Workshop conducted at the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) office with the lead researcher and LPI staff further enhanced the study's depth. Debriefing sessions allowed

for collective reflection on the data collected, particularly the photo voice images, and helped identify key themes, such as the interplay between migration, conflict, and climate change. The workshop facilitated the synthesis of data from different sources, leading to a more holistic analysis of the migration dynamics in Baidoa.

In conclusion, the Photovoice tool stood out as particularly suited for engaging marginalized groups like IDPs, enabling them to share their experiences in a way that transcended the limitations of traditional data collection methods. The combination of KIIs, FGDs, and observational methods provided a robust foundation for understanding the complex relationship between climate change and migration in Baidoa. While each method had its limitations, their complementary nature ensured a rich, multifaceted dataset that accurately reflected the realities of climate-induced migration.

### **1.3 Research Limitations**

The study on conflict-related migration in Baidoa, Somalia, faced several limitations that affected the scope, depth, and quality of the data collected. These limitations were largely related to the sensitive nature of the study, logistical constraints, and the socio-political context of Baidoa, particularly regarding the role of the SWS (SWS) government, community dynamics, and security concerns.

A major challenge of the study was the limited engagement with SWS government officials due to the political sensitivity of migration and displacement issues. To address this, the study strategically focused on civil society members, displaced populations, and host communities. While this pivot provided valuable grassroots insights, secondary data and publicly available government documents were incorporated to partially address the gap in understanding official policies and responses. Triangulating these sources helped to contextualize findings and mitigate the lack of direct governmental input.

Some gatekeepers and IDPs exaggerated their situations, introducing response bias. To manage this, the research team employed cross-verification techniques, comparing participants' accounts with data from multiple sources, including NGOs and independent observers. Additionally, efforts were made to ask indirect and situational questions rather than directly soliciting personal experiences, allowing researchers to discern broader patterns and reduce reliance on potentially biased narratives.

Security concerns limited fieldwork to Baidoa city, excluding rural areas. To address this limitation, the study incorporated remote interviews with key informant's familiar with rural settings and consulted reports and studies conducted by organizations active in these areas. This approach provided a supplementary understanding of rural-urban migration dynamics, though direct observational data remained absent.

Research fatigue among participants affected the quality of responses, while high expectations of aid shifted the focus of discussions. To address this, the research team emphasized the purpose of the study during participant briefings, clarifying that it was for academic and policy purposes, not immediate aid delivery. Furthermore, the team adopted participatory methods, such as focus group discussions, to reinvigorate interest and elicit richer, community-driven insights. Offering non-material incentives, like feedback sessions to share study findings with participants, also helped foster goodwill and engagement.

Recognizing the potential gender imbalance in the study, deliberate steps were taken to include women-focused focus groups and interviews to capture their unique experiences and perspectives. Collaborations with local women's organizations facilitated access to female participants, enriching the gender dimensions of the data.

The study's challenges, while significant, were addressed through adaptive strategies such as triangulation of data, use of secondary resources, cross-verification techniques, and participatory approaches. These measures not only helped to mitigate limitations but also underscored the importance of flexibility and innovation in conducting research in complex and conflict-affected environments like Baidoa. However, the findings highlight the need for future studies to prioritize government engagement, gender inclusivity, and rural perspectives to provide a more holistic understanding of migration and displacement dynamics in the region.

## Chapter 2: Historical Roots and Contemporary Realities

To understand the relationship between climate change-induced migration and security, it is essential to examine the intricate social, political, and environmental factors that shape these dynamics. The Horn of Africa, and particularly Somalia, represents a critical case study due to its unique convergence of severe environmental stressors, long-standing conflict, and fragile governance structures. In regions like Baidoa, where climate change exacerbates existing vulnerabilities, the interrelationship between migration, conflict, and security becomes even more complex. As environmental degradation and climate-related disasters, such as droughts and floods, increase, these phenomena act as “threat multipliers,” amplifying existing tensions and vulnerabilities (Selby et al., 2017; IPCC, 2022). In Baidoa, this has contributed to a growing pattern of rural-to-urban migration, where displaced populations seek refuge in the city, straining its already limited resources and escalating tensions between host communities and incoming migrants. This section provides a brief historical overview of Baidoa’s socio-political landscape, followed by an analysis of the current situation in the context of climate change and security.

### 2.1 Brief Historical Background

Baidoa, the interim capital of Somalia's SWS, has long held a strategic position in the country due to its significance as a trading hub and agricultural center. Historically, the city has been central to migration patterns influenced by a combination of environmental, economic, and political factors. Located about 250 kilometers west of Mogadishu, Baidoa lies within one of Somalia’s most agriculturally productive regions, often referred to as the “breadbasket” of the country. The city’s prominence dates back centuries, though its modern history has been marked by the turbulence following the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 (Menkhaus, 2014). The fall of the Siad Barre regime ushered in a prolonged period of civil war, leading to the disintegration of formal state structures and the rise of clan-based militias. This power vacuum rendered Baidoa a focal point for various armed groups due to its strategic position and resource-rich surroundings. Over the years, control of the city shifted frequently among entities such as clan militias, the United Somali Congress (USC), the Rahanweyne Resistance Army (RRA), and eventually, Al-Shabaab, which held the city from 2009 to 2012 until federal forces supported by AMISOM regained control. The city also served as the temporary headquarters of the Somali

Transitional Federal Government (TFG) until the establishment of the SWS government in Baidoa in 2014, part of Somalia's federal political structure.

Since the 1990s, the city's stability has been further challenged by persistent environmental stressors. The Horn of Africa is prone to climatic variability, experiencing recurrent droughts, floods, and other extreme weather events. The frequency and severity of these events have intensified in recent decades due to climate change, exacerbating food insecurity and threatening livelihoods. Droughts, in particular, have devastated Baidoa's surrounding pastoral and agricultural communities, pushing many to abandon traditional means of survival and migrate to urban centers like Baidoa. In conjunction with ongoing conflict, these environmental pressures have created a unique and complex backdrop where displaced populations, particularly IDPs, converge with local residents, leading to increased competition over limited resources.

Baidoa's role within the federal system has added another layer to its sociopolitical landscape, as it became the center of SWS, encompassing Bay, Bakool, and Lower Shabelle provinces. While the SWS administration controls the primary urban areas with the assistance of ATMIS (formerly AMISOM), large parts of the surrounding regions remain under Al-Shabaab's control. The city currently hosts an estimated 600,000 IDPs, making it one of the most densely populated urban areas in terms of displacement in Somalia (OCHA, 2021). These IDPs, many of whom have been forced to migrate due to conflict and climate-related stresses, now contribute to rapid urbanization in Baidoa, which has triggered resource-based conflicts, particularly around land ownership and use.

The factors driving displacement and the influx of IDPs in Baidoa are multifaceted, including security concerns (such as inter- and intra-clan conflicts, criminal activity, and threats from Al-Shabaab), economic hardship (loss of livelihoods, the search for employment, and the pursuit of humanitarian aid), and climate-induced risks (such as drought-related crop failure and water scarcity). As climate-induced migration accelerates, Baidoa's population continues to grow, creating urgent pressures on its infrastructure, resources, and governance, further amplifying the delicate nexus between climate change, security, and migration in the Horn of Africa.

## 2.2 Current situation and dynamics

Baidoa's current situation reflects the compounded impacts of climate change and conflict. Today, the city hosts one of the largest concentrations of IDPs in Somalia, with over half a million individuals residing in informal settlements in and around the city (UNHCR, 2023). A joint IDP site verification exercise conducted by aid agencies operating in Baidoa in July 2022 identified 498 IDP sites hosting 89,476 households or 596,931 individuals.

Most of these individuals have been displaced by a combination of drought and insecurity in the surrounding rural areas. As Somalia continues to experience unpredictable rainfall patterns, recurrent droughts, and extreme weather events, Baidoa has emerged as a key destination for climate-induced migration. However, the city's limited infrastructure and governance capacity make it ill-equipped to handle this influx, exacerbating social tensions and increasing the potential for conflict.

The security landscape in Baidoa is closely tied to these migratory pressures. The city is located in a region still contested by the militant group Al-Shabaab, which retains control over vast rural areas in the Southwest State. While Baidoa itself is under the nominal control of the federal government (FG) and African Union forces, the presence of Al-Shabaab in the surrounding countryside restricts movement and access to resources for both displaced and host communities (Elmi, 2021). This creates a dual burden for the city: managing the humanitarian needs of a growing displaced population while grappling with ongoing security threats that disrupt trade, aid delivery, and governance. Moreover, the local economy, traditionally dependent on agriculture, has been severely weakened by climate change. Reduced agricultural productivity has not only increased food insecurity but also diminished employment opportunities, leaving many IDPs reliant on humanitarian assistance.

Compounding these challenges is the fact that local governance structures remain fragile. Baidoa's municipal government, though supported by the FG and international donors, lacks the institutional capacity to effectively manage the large-scale displacement crisis. The absence of coordinated urban planning and the limited provision of public services contribute to the growth of informal settlements, which lack basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation, and healthcare. In these conditions, tensions between host communities and displaced populations are rising, as both groups compete for limited resources and

access to aid (Sheikh, 2020). Additionally, the influx of displaced people has led to rapid urbanization, straining the city's social fabric and leading to concerns about urban conflict and insecurity.

## **Chapter 3: Navigating Change: The Dynamics of Migration and Displacement in Baidoa**

Chapter 3 explores the complex drivers and impacts of migration and displacement in Baidoa, where a combination of insecurity, environmental degradation, and economic pressures have compelled many Somalis to leave their rural homes. Among the primary drivers of displacement are environmental factors such as recurrent droughts, land degradation, and unpredictable rainfall that have drastically affected agricultural productivity and rural livelihoods. These environmental stresses have intensified over recent years, pushing rural communities to seek refuge in urban areas like Baidoa to survive. Through interviews, including personal accounts from IDPs and returnees, this chapter captures the loss of livelihood security in rural areas, with respondents frequently noting the severe impacts of drought and resource scarcity on their decision to migrate.

The chapter also addresses the broader socio-economic and social dynamics that influence migration patterns and integration challenges within Baidoa. As displaced populations settle in urban areas, their presence strains already limited resources, impacting access to essential services such as clean water, healthcare, and education. Social structures and clan affiliations further influence migration and settlement patterns, while a lack of documentation for many IDPs complicates their ability to access rights and services. Despite these obstacles, some IDPs find new opportunities in urban education and employment, though the hope of returning home remains a distant reality due to ongoing environmental and security challenges. The chapter ultimately underscores the persistent vulnerability of displaced communities, who often find themselves navigating a delicate balance between survival and the aspiration for stability.

### **3.1 Drivers of Displacement**

Climate change is increasingly recognized as a critical factor contributing to displacement worldwide. In Baidoa, Somalia, the impacts of climate change particularly through recurrent droughts and erratic rainfall have significantly influenced the movement of people, especially vulnerable populations such as women and children. This section synthesizes insights from interviews with local leaders and community members to highlight how climate change drives displacement in the region.

### 3.1.1 The Impact of Prolonged Droughts and Climate Change on Displacement in Baidoa

The recurring droughts in Somalia, particularly over the last decade, have had devastating effects on agriculture and livestock, the two mainstays of the Somali economy. Traditionally, the Somali people relied on two rainy seasons, known as Gu and Deyr (Hutchinson, 1992), to replenish their water supplies and sustain their crops and livestock. However, this pattern has shifted dramatically, with extended droughts becoming the new norm. As one interviewee emphasized, *“The livelihood of Somali people mainly depends on livestock and agriculture. We have rainy seasons known as (Gu and Deyr) in a calendar year; if we miss one season, we usually get the other one. But in the last decade, we witnessed three consecutive years of drought without rain, leading to the destruction of livestock and farms.”*<sup>1</sup>

Half of the population of Somalia depend on pastoralism as a source of livelihood. Pastoralism is highly dependent on precipitation timings. Failure of rainy seasons can result in a drought, reducing vegetation and pasture growth. The effects of these prolonged droughts are profound, severely reducing crop yields and decimating livestock populations. This can be more severe in a country that experiences arid and semi-arid climate (Omar et al., 2022). Many families depend on these resources for income and sustenance, and without rain, they are left with little to no options. This has forced countless families to migrate to urban centres like Baidoa in search of survival (Fanning, 2018). An IDP poignantly shared, *“We (IDPs) migrated due to the recurring droughts in the last decade, which caused the destruction of livestock and made farms unproductive.”*<sup>2</sup> A project officer from a local NGO explained, *“The majority of people in my community have lost their means of subsistence due to repeated droughts. They have no choice but to seek safety and support in Baidoa.”*<sup>3</sup> Testimonies from IDPs illustrate the severity of their plight. One participant described their village's dire situation: *“In my village, the harvest has gone from 50 sacks to fewer than 10 in just a few seasons. With such dramatic declines in agricultural output, families have no choice but to abandon their farms and seek better opportunities in cities.”*<sup>4</sup> A

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<sup>1</sup> A traditional leader discussing reliance on traditional rainy seasons (Gu and Deyr) and the impact of consecutive droughts, 2024

<sup>2</sup> Testimony from an internally displaced person (IDP) explaining reasons for migration to Baidoa due to drought., 2024

<sup>3</sup> Project officer from a local NGO describing the loss of livelihoods in their community

<sup>4</sup> Participant's account of drastic reductions in harvests leading to migration

traditional leader also remarked, *"We used to harvest enough to sustain our families, but now we are struggling to find food."*<sup>5</sup> Focused group discussions reinforced the consensus that climate change particularly prolonged droughts and environmental degradation is the primary driver of displacement among IDP communities in Baidoa. One participant encapsulated this struggle: *"I tried three times to farm my land and failed; I decided not to try the fourth time, but those who did also failed."*<sup>6</sup> This stark reality underscores how the relentless environmental challenges have rendered traditional farming practices unsustainable.

Recurring droughts and floods in Somalia disrupt pastoralism and agricultural production, resulting into displacement of vulnerable populations, especially the rural and nomadic communities (M. M. Ahmed et al., 2024a). Droughts and political fragmentation have caused people to migrate to new places to settle. Communities have been moving to or back to cities such as Hargeisa, Mogadishu, Basaso, and Baidoa (Bakonyi & Chonka, 2023a).

Baidoa has increasingly become a refuge for IDPs fleeing climate-related crises and insecurity. The population of Baidoa has risen from 1.2 million in 2022 to more due to the forced and climate induce migration (Koser & Martin, 2011). As food shortages worsen and prices rise, many families are left with no option but to migrate to urban centers like Baidoa, where they hope to access humanitarian aid and better economic opportunities. Testimonies from IDPs revealed a significant shift in coping mechanisms. Historically, farmers would store part of their harvest to survive during droughts. One participant recalled, *"Farmers used to store half of the product in the ground or empty drums to survive when drought hit. But recently, we have witnessed consecutive droughts that have led people to move to Baidoa when they finished their meagre crops."* A humanitarian worker in Baidoa noted, *"Many of those displaced were forced to leave due to limited rainfall and the threats from Al-Shabaab. Climate change has made our lives unsustainable."*<sup>7</sup> The interplay between climate change and social dynamics highlights the urgent need for integrated responses

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<sup>5</sup> Community leader lamenting the unsustainable conditions caused by prolonged drought.

<sup>6</sup> IDP testimony describing repeated failed attempts to farm their land

<sup>7</sup> Humanitarian worker in Baidoa highlighting climate change as a major driver of displacement., 2024

that address both immediate humanitarian needs and long-term resilience strategies (Hanefeld et al., 2018).

### 3.1.2 Decline in Agricultural Productivity

Studies have found out that land degradation and climate change negatively affect agricultural productivity in Somalia. For instance, degradation in one hectare of land causes five percent decline in agricultural productivity (A. A. Mohamed & Nageye, 2020). In Somalia, the once-fertile farmlands have become unproductive in many rural areas due to erratic rainfall and shifting weather patterns. Farmers who once harvested abundant crops now find themselves with insufficient yields to sustain their families. This decline forces them to abandon their farms and seek better opportunities in urban centres. As one interviewee explained, *“In my village, the harvest has gone from 50 sacks to fewer than 10 in just a few seasons. With such dramatic declines in agricultural output, families have no choice but to abandon their farms and seek better opportunities in cities.”*<sup>8</sup>. This reduction in yields has created a situation where staying on the land is no longer viable, pushing people into towns like Baidoa, where they hope for a better livelihood.

The unpredictability of the weather further exacerbates the situation (Nicholson, 2017). In the last seven seasons, rains have been sporadic, and even when they do arrive, they often cause more harm than good. Flooding from heavy rains can destroy crops, damage roads and transport infrastructure and hamper farming activities (Nur et al., 2024). One farmer lamented, *“The farms have yet to produce enough crops, and heavy rains have caused devastation. In the last seven seasons, only two rains have fallen, and both resulted in floods that caused death and destruction.”*<sup>9</sup>. The combination of inadequate rainfall and destructive floods leaves rural communities with no option but to migrate to urban areas in search of safety and economic stability. This has resulted in to increased urban population and socioeconomic crises. The primary data gathered substantiates the terrible economic challenges experienced by the displaced communities. The communities underscore how climate change has negatively affected agricultural production and caused forced

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<sup>8</sup> CEO on a Climate Change NGO in Baidoa, 2024

<sup>9</sup> A Traditional Elder in Baidoa, 2024

migration. There is need for targeted interventions to revive agricultural systems and way of life of the pastoral communities (Osman & Abebe, 2023a).

### 3.1.3 Conflict and Insecurity

Somalia has experienced food insecurity, water insecurity, environmental insecurity, access to humanitarian aid as well as human insecurity. The food insecurity is caused by reduced agricultural production, linked to drought and famine (M. M. Ahmed et al., 2024a). The displacement crisis in Baidoa has been greatly exacerbated by a convergence of environmental factors and escalating conflict and insecurity. While drought and environmental degradation, driven by climate change, have forced many rural communities to leave their homes, the persistent threat of violence from militant groups like Al-Shabaab has compounded these challenges, making life in rural areas increasingly untenable for IDPs. Even if environmental conditions improve, the persistence of violence makes it unlikely that many displaced families will ever return to their villages.

One of the major drivers of displacement is the violent activities of Al-Shabaab, which continues to control large swathes of rural territory around Baidoa. Rooted in Somalia domestic issues and clan politics, the Al-Shabaab group continue to be resilient in Somalia, fighting guerilla warfare and attacking locals as well (Anzalone, 2016). These areas are subject to brutal attacks, restrictions on movement, and oppressive taxation that make it impossible for families to sustain their livelihoods (O'Neill, 2020). As a humanitarian worker in Baidoa explained, *"Many of those displaced were forced to leave due to limited rainfall and the threats from Al-Shabaab. Climate change has made our lives unsustainable, but insecurity is equally devastating."*<sup>10</sup> The double blow of environmental stress and insecurity leaves families with no choice but to flee their homes.

The effects of insecurity on displaced communities go beyond immediate violence. In areas controlled by Al-Shabaab, access to essential resources and humanitarian aid is severely restricted, isolating entire villages. Al-Shabaab are motivated by financial gain, and the nature of the insecure environment. This has obstructed access of the conflict settings in Somalia (Tronc et al., 2018). Al-Shabaab's control over rural areas frequently prevents aid organizations from reaching those most in need, compelling families to make dangerous

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with a humanitarian worker in Baidoa, August 2024.

journeys to urban centers like Baidoa, where they hope to access support. As one focus group participant highlighted, *"Even if the rains came, we would still struggle because we cannot move freely to markets or seek assistance due to Al-Shabaab's control."*<sup>11</sup> This restriction exacerbates the vulnerability of rural communities, creating a cycle of poverty, hunger, and displacement.

Displaced individuals often recount the harrowing experiences of fleeing conflict zones. One man shared his ordeal: *"I had to flee with my family in the middle of the night after our village was attacked by Al-Shabaab. We had nothing and walked for days to reach Baidoa. The insecurity was too much, and we could no longer stay."*<sup>12</sup> This speaks to the desperation of families, forced to leave behind everything they own in pursuit of safety (Maszka, 2017).

Beyond Al-Shabaab's activities, inter-clan conflicts and broader political instability are also significant contributors to the crisis. Various clans in Somalia have had conflicts, with the pastoral community taking the lead. Baidoa has registered various conflicts with communities fighting over resources and political issues (Barrow, 2020a). From the study, it was reported that Land disputes, resource competition, and political power struggle frequently escalate into violence, creating volatile environments where security is fragile and life is unpredictable. A traditional leader remarked, *"The conflicts over land and resources create a volatile environment where safety is uncertain. Many people have no choice but to leave."*<sup>13</sup> These conflicts further complicate the displacement dynamic, making it difficult for families to know when it might be safe to return to their homes.

In regions like Bay and Bakool, residents are subjected not only to violence but also to harsh economic exploitation. The Digil and Mirifle tribe and sub tribes don only fight over resources(Barrow, 2020a). Militant groups impose excessive taxes and threaten rural populations, pushing families to flee (Ingiriis, 2020). A camp manager noted, *"The life threats from the armed groups in rural areas leave people with no choice but to flee. The over-taxation is unbearable."*<sup>14</sup> This creates a situation where even those capable of

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<sup>11</sup> Focus group discussion participant, Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>12</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>13</sup> Traditional leader interview, Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>14</sup> Camp manager interview, Baidoa, August 2024.

withstanding the environmental hardships are ultimately driven out by the combination of insecurity and economic exploitation.

The breakdown of traditional coping mechanisms has further worsened the displacement crisis. In the past, rural communities employed strategies like crop storage to prepare for tough seasons, but conflict has shattered these systems (Lwanga-Ntale & Owino, 2020). one focus group participant recalled that *"In the past, we stored half of our crops to prepare for bad seasons, but now it's not possible. When Al-Shabaab attacks, you cannot save anything,"*<sup>15</sup>. This disruption makes it nearly impossible for families to sustain themselves through traditional means, leaving them more vulnerable to displacement.

The psychological impact of displacement also cannot be overlooked. Many IDPs have experienced profound trauma, anxiety and depression due to forced evictions and violence (Dahie et al., 2024). One displaced individual from Lascanood recounted their traumatic experience of eviction, describing the actions taken by authorities as discriminatory. These targeted evictions often force individuals to seek refuge in areas dominated by their clans, further fracturing social networks and complicating migration patterns. *"When we left our village, we lost contact with family members who could have helped us. The insecurity split us up, and we haven't seen some of them in years,"*<sup>16</sup> one displaced person shared, illustrating the profound isolation that can come with displacement.

The prolonged conflict and large-scale displacement in Southwest Somalia have had profound environmental repercussions, further complicating the region's ecological and social recovery. Conflict waste, including remnants from weaponry, blasts, and unexploded ordnance, has polluted water sources and soil, threatening both human health and agricultural productivity. Abandoned farmlands, left untended due to conflict or displacement, have experienced increased soil erosion. This degradation reduces the land's future agricultural viability, exacerbating food insecurity in a region already burdened by climatic challenges.

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<sup>15</sup> Focus group discussion participant, Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>16</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024.

Moreover, rapid and unplanned urbanization in displacement hubs like Baidoa has intensified deforestation, as trees are cut down for firewood or makeshift shelters. An IDP community member noted, *“We clear forests not just for survival but also because we have no other resources to rebuild or fuel our cooking fires.”*<sup>17</sup> The lack of coordinated environmental management further compounds these impacts, leaving the land vulnerable to desertification. Initiatives like soil rehabilitation on abandoned farms and the safe disposal of conflict waste could mitigate long-term environmental harm while fostering sustainable livelihoods for displaced and host communities. Partnerships between humanitarian agencies, local authorities, and environmental experts will be crucial in aligning immediate recovery needs with long-term ecological restoration goals (UNEP, 2009).

As the conflict evolves, addressing the root causes of displacement in Baidoa requires a multi-faceted approach. Effective conflict resolution, strengthened governance, and improved security in rural areas are essential. Without these, families will continue to flee in search of safety, and the displacement crisis in Baidoa will only deepen (Barrow, 2020a). Comprehensive solutions must address both the effects of climate change and the persistent violence that leaves rural life unsustainable for so many.

### **3.1.4 Economic factors contributing to ongoing displacement in Baidoa**

The displacement crisis in Baidoa is deeply rooted in economic instability, as families are forced to abandon their homes due to collapsing rural livelihoods, oppressive taxation, limited job opportunities, and the high cost of living in urban areas. Through interviews and focus group discussions, it is evident that economic hardship exacerbates the effects of environmental degradation and conflict, driving displacement on an unprecedented scale.

One of the most significant economic contributors to displacement in Baidoa is the collapse of traditional rural livelihoods. Repeated droughts, resource depletion, and insecurity have devastated agriculture and livestock herding, which are the main sources of income for many rural communities in the Bay and Bakool regions (Braam et al., 2021). Farmers who once thrived on their land are now unable to sustain their families due to crop failures and livestock losses. As a farmer from Bakool expressed during a focus group

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<sup>17</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024.

discussion, *"The scarcity of jobs has become unbearable, especially after the closure of agricultural areas and the increased frequency of droughts."*<sup>18</sup> This trend of high unemployment rate is in line with the rest of Somalia where general rate of unemployment in the previous year was assessed as 19.03% and that of the youth was even higher at rate of 34.28% (Macrotrends, 2024). Additionally, the ongoing conflict and insecurity have also disrupted traditional economic networks, cutting off access to markets and preventing rural communities from selling their goods. *"We used to trade with nearby villages and towns, but now the roads are too dangerous, and there are checkpoints everywhere. We can't move our goods, so we have no choice but to leave,"*<sup>19</sup> a displaced trader explained.

Without the ability to transport and sell goods, many have seen their businesses collapse, leaving them no choice but to flee to Baidoa in search of economic opportunities. This sentiment reflects the broader crisis as rural livelihoods become untenable, forcing families to migrate in search of alternative opportunities.

For many, migration is not a choice but a necessity. The closure of agricultural land due to conflict or drought has stripped families of their means of subsistence (Hermans & McLeman, 2021). Displaced individuals migrate to urban areas like Baidoa in search of stability, but they often find that urban environments come with their own set of economic challenges. Despite these difficulties, the prospect of earning some form of income, no matter how uncertain, remains a key driver of urban migration.

Beyond environmental devastation, rural communities face severe economic exploitation, particularly in the form of over-taxation by armed groups like Al-Shabaab and even local authorities (Levy & Yusuf, 2021a). The local authorities impose heavy taxes on agricultural produce, livestock, and household goods, leaving families with little to sustain themselves. As one respondent explained, *"The local authorities taxed us on everything we tried to sell. We couldn't even sell our livestock without paying a fee. How can we survive like this?"*<sup>20</sup> This oppressive taxation is a major factor driving people to flee rural areas, as they are left with no resources to survive. This relentless economic pressure strips families of what little they have, leaving many with no option but to seek refuge in Baidoa.

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<sup>18</sup> FGD participant, Bakool, August 2024

<sup>19</sup> Displaced trader, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>20</sup> Local resident, Baidoa, August 2024

For displaced individuals who migrate to Baidoa, the hope of finding work is often met with harsh realities. The urban economy, though potentially offering more opportunities than rural areas, is still limited in its capacity to absorb the growing number of displaced people. Many IDPs arrive in Baidoa with the expectation of finding jobs, only to discover that employment is scarce and often requires skills they do not possess.

As one displaced woman shared, *"We thought that in Baidoa, we could find work, but it's been hard. I don't know how to do the kinds of jobs that are here. We are still struggling."*<sup>21</sup> This experience is common among many displaced individuals who, after fleeing their rural homes, face stiff competition for low-paying jobs in the city. *"When we came here, we hoped to find jobs, but there were too many people and not enough work. We can't even afford food for our children,"*<sup>22</sup> another interviewee explained.

Just like many other countries in the developing world, Somalia faces the challenge of joblessness for the youth and its growing population, which pose a significant economic issue (Yasin Gelle et al., 2021). This scarcity of employment opportunities not only affects individuals but also contributes to broader economic vulnerability, reinforcing a cycle of poverty and displacement (Schuettler & Verme, 2019). The high level of competition for limited job openings often results in disillusionment for those hoping to build a stable life in Baidoa.

The lack of stable economic opportunities in Baidoa often leaves displaced families dependent on humanitarian aid for survival. Without access to consistent employment or reliable income, many IDPs rely on aid distributions to meet their basic needs (Kapoor Malhotra et al., 2023). However, as several respondents pointed out, this reliance creates a precarious situation. One IDP noted, *"When aid distribution becomes unreliable, we face significant challenges in accessing the support we desperately need."*<sup>23</sup> The intermittent nature of aid distribution exacerbates economic insecurity among displaced populations, pushing some families to consider further migration to areas where they perceive better access to resources (Jayakody et al., 2022). The uncertainty surrounding humanitarian

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<sup>21</sup> Displaced woman, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>22</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>23</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

assistance also highlights the need for more sustainable, long-term solutions to address the economic challenges faced by displaced individuals.

Economic difficulties are further compounded by the high cost of living in urban areas like Baidoa. Many displaced families arrive in the city with little to no savings, only to discover that necessities such as food, water, and shelter are prohibitively expensive. As one interviewee described, *"When we arrived in Baidoa, we found that everything was expensive—food, water, rent. We have nothing, and it's hard to survive."*<sup>24</sup>

Economic factors play a critical role in the ongoing displacement crisis in Baidoa. The collapse of rural livelihoods, over-taxation, limited employment opportunities, high living costs, and reliance on humanitarian aid all contribute to the worsening situation. Displaced individuals are forced to navigate an unstable urban environment, often finding that the economic challenges they sought to escape persist in different forms. Addressing these economic drivers alongside the root causes of conflict and environmental degradation is essential for mitigating displacement and supporting those affected by the crisis.

### **3.1.5 Social Factors Contributing to Displacement in Baidoa**

Social factors play a crucial role in driving displacement, often interacting with economic, political, and environmental pressures. The social factors may contribute to cultural discrimination, ethnicity, clan and tribal conflicts, gender inequalities, social exclusion and human trafficking (Freier et al., 2020). Ethnic conflicts exacerbate internal displacement, leaving affected individuals without social safety nets and increasing their vulnerability. (Akee et al., 2010). Social dynamics play a crucial role in shaping the experiences of IDPs in Baidoa, influencing not only their decision to migrate but also how they navigate the challenges of displacement. Family and community connections significantly impact the displacement process, providing essential emotional support and a sense of belonging amid the turmoil of leaving one's home (Bletscher & Spiers, 2023).

A compelling narrative comes from an IDP who articulated the sense of security found within clan-run camps: *"I feel safe here because I am with my people; we share the same history and support each other."*<sup>25</sup> This statement underscores the critical role that social

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<sup>24</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>25</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

networks play in providing both physical safety and emotional support during the tumultuous experience of displacement. Clan affiliations offer a familiar environment where individuals can draw strength from shared experiences and histories, fostering a sense of collective resilience. Such social ties act as a lifeline, helping IDPs cope with the isolation and uncertainty that often accompany their uprooting.

The choice to settle in camps associated with one's clan reflects a deeply ingrained need for belonging in the aftermath of trauma. For many IDPs, clan-run camps are more than mere shelters; they represent a continuation of cultural and social identities that have been threatened by conflict and displacement (Koshen, 2007). However, reliance on clan support can also perpetuate social divisions. As one IDP noted, *"Sometimes I feel pressured to conform to what the clan expects of me, even when I struggle with my new identity here."*<sup>26</sup> This pressure can complicate the integration process, as individuals navigate the expectations of their clan while also adapting to life in a new urban context.

The phenomenon of intermarriages between IDPs and members of host communities indicates a level of integration that has developed over time. One interviewee shared, *"Many of us have married into the host community. It shows that we are becoming part of Baidoa, even if we still face challenges."*<sup>27</sup> This integration exemplifies the complexities of identity and belonging for displaced individuals. While intermarriage can facilitate connections and promote social cohesion, it can also lead to tensions as IDPs navigate their cultural roots while striving to assimilate into a new social fabric. However, as Miri Song argues, intermarriage is not a straightforward indicator of social integration; the relationship between the two is far more tenuous and complex than previously assumed. (Song, 2009).

Adapting to a new environment is fraught with challenges, particularly as displaced individuals work to balance their historical ties with their aspirations for acceptance in Baidoa. The identity struggles faced by IDPs highlight the nuanced dynamics of migration, where the desire for belonging must be reconciled with the realities of displacement. An IDP articulated this struggle poignantly: *"I want to feel like I belong here, but sometimes it's hard to forget where I came from."*<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>27</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>28</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

Social factors extend beyond immediate clan connections to encompass broader community dynamics. The interactions between IDPs and host community members can lead to both collaboration and conflict (Hazizova, 2019a). While some members of the host community extend support and assistance, others may harbor resentment or competition for resources. This is especially true in a context where resources are scarce and living conditions are challenging. As one member of the host community remarked, *“We want to help, but it’s hard when we see our own people struggling for basic needs.”*<sup>29</sup>

This nuanced interplay of acceptance and resistance shapes the experiences of IDPs and influences their ability to adapt to their new environments. Tensions may arise when host community members perceive that IDPs are competing for limited resources, exacerbating existing divides. A study by George reflected that forced displacements result in land degradation and reduced agricultural production (George & Adelaja, 2021a). An IDP shared their experience of these tensions: *“Sometimes I feel unwelcome because people think we are taking their jobs or resources and It makes it harder to find a place here.”*<sup>30</sup>

Social factors are pivotal in shaping the experiences of IDPs in Baidoa, influencing their resilience and adaptability in the face of adversity. The interplay between clan support, intermarriage, and community relations underscores the importance of social networks in navigating the challenges of displacement. Understanding these complexities is essential for developing effective policies and support systems that address the unique needs of IDPs while facilitating their integration into urban life. Recognizing and strengthening these social dynamics can be instrumental in fostering an environment that promotes healing, integration, and sustainable livelihoods for displaced populations.

### **3.2 Migration Patterns and Dynamics of IDP Influx in Baidoa**

In Bay and Bakool, government control is limited to town centers and their immediate surroundings (typically within a radius of five kilometers). For instance, the government takes control of livestock taxation to maximize their revenue (Musa et al., 2021a). Beyond the towns, Al-Shabaab exerts influence over most rural areas and the interconnecting roads, which effectively restricts road-based movement and trade. In southern Somalia, Al-Shabaab exercised considerable authority throughout lower Jubba (Skjelderup, 2020).

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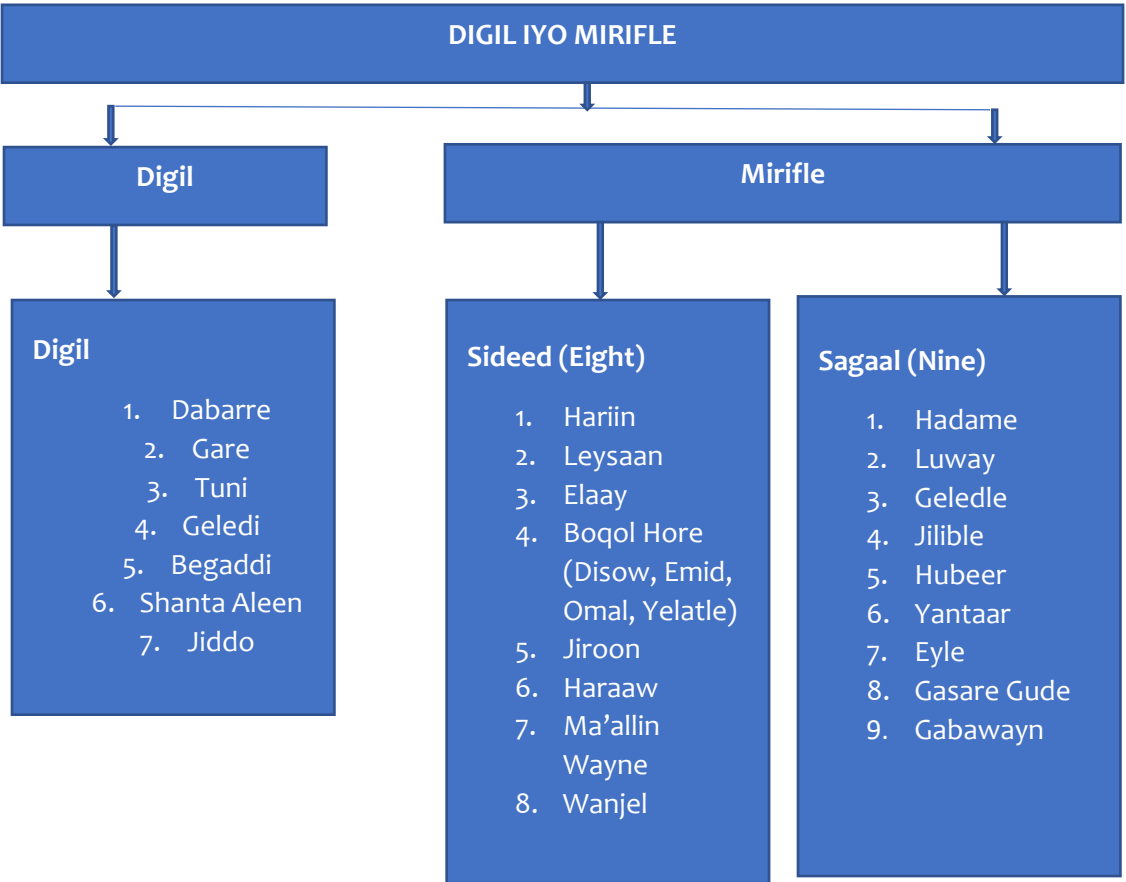
<sup>29</sup> Host community member, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>30</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

They have significant control over rural areas in south and central Somalia and maintain control over rural areas and road connection networks (Speckhard & Shajkovci, 2019). The high costs and risks of transporting goods by road have forced communities to rely on expensive air routes, creating further food and supply shortages that compound economic vulnerability in rural areas. This economic and security landscape makes urban migration, particularly to Baidoa, an increasingly necessary survival strategy. For instance, IDPs from Bakool often travel to Baidoa via indirect routes, avoiding AS checkpoints and utilizing clan networks to ensure safe passage (Hansen & Gelot, 2019).

The migration patterns and settlement dynamics of IDPs in Baidoa are shaped by a combination of economic strain, security concerns, and entrenched social structures, particularly clan-based networks. As people displaced from districts in Bay and Bakool regions converge in Baidoa, clan-based affiliations, controlled routes, and inter-clan territorial considerations play a significant role in shaping both migration paths and settlement locations within the city.

To better understand the migration and settlement dynamics of the sub-clans moving to Baidoa and those hosting them within the city, it's essential to provide an overview of the lineage of the Digil and Mirifle clans through a clan tree diagram below.



The demographics and clan affiliations of IDPs settling in Baidoa reveal a continuation of historical spatial settlement patterns tied to clan identities. Table 1 illustrates how these dynamics manifest, with IDPs from specific districts in Bay and Bakool regions choosing areas within Baidoa that correspond to their sub-clan affiliations. This clustering, or "ghettoization," reflects both the protective role of clan networks and the structural constraints these networks impose on broader social integration.

Table 1: IDP Demographics and Clan Composition in Baidoa City

<b>Region</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Dominant Sub-Clan</b>	<b>Direction of Origin from Baidoa</b>
<b>Bay</b>	Baidoa	Cosmopolitan (all clans represented)	Varies based on sub-clan
	Dinsor	Dabare (majority), Gelidle, Ajuran, Cormale	Southwest
	Qansax Dheere	Gelidle (majority), Huber, Yantaar, Luwaay, Emed	west
	Berdaale	Leysan (majority), Harin	Northwest
	Burhakaba	Elay (majority), Boqol Hore	East
<b>Bakool</b>	Hudur	Hadame (majority), Luwaay, Leysan	North
	Rabdhure	Hadame	Northwest

	Wajid	Jiroon	Northwest
	El Barde	Ogaden (non-Digil Mirifle clan)	They mainly move to Ethiopia
	Tiyeglow	Jilible (majority), Gelidle, Boqol Hore	North East

The table highlights the concentration of sub-clans in specific parts of Baidoa. For instance, IDPs from Hudur predominantly settle in northwest Baidoa, while those from Burhakaba congregate in the southern and eastern parts of the city. These spatial distinctions reflect the strong clan-based affiliations that determine where IDPs can settle securely, surrounded by familiar community structures.

Clan-based support systems further reinforce the spatial organization of IDP settlements. Each sub-clan’s territorial presence in Baidoa ensures that newcomers receive support from their kin, with clan elders or community leaders often mobilizing resources for new arrivals (Barrow, 2020b). This pattern provides security and social belonging, as IDPs can rely on familiar networks for assistance. One IDP explained, *“My uncle helped me find a place in the camp. It’s through our clan that we manage to settle and support one another.”*<sup>31</sup> The choice to settle in designated clan areas, as shown in Table 1, underscores the importance of these support networks in navigating urban displacement.

However, this reliance on clan-based settlement patterns also reinforces historical divisions within Baidoa. Each sub-clan’s territory becomes more deeply entrenched as new IDPs arrive and settle within pre-existing boundaries. This dynamic can limit broader social integration and create a socio-spatial structure that both stabilizes and segregates. This has also been noted in Asia where Clans significantly impact post transitional regimes and their potential for regime durability in Central Asia, transforming formal institutions and creating an informal regime known as clan politics (Collins, 2004a).

Economic factors also drive migration, with prolonged droughts and agricultural challenges in the Bakool region rendering rural life increasingly unsustainable (Sarkar et al., 2022). As

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<sup>31</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

one IDP noted, *“The displacement from Bakool region has been ongoing for the last five years, with an increase in arrivals since April of this year.”*<sup>32</sup> The migration into Baidoa represents a search for improved living conditions, as the city offers better access to humanitarian aid, albeit inconsistently.

The uneven distribution of resources within Baidoa further complicates the IDPs' experience. Settlement areas like ADC and Bula Jameeco face significant disparities in service access. Water is a vital commodity for human life and socioeconomic development. Its scarcity causes detrimental impact on human life and economic development. Rural areas in Somalia are struggling with water challenges due to lack of water reservoirs, declining ground water and increasing demand of the commodity for displaced people and their livestock (Mohamed, 2022). Somalia is also challenged with inadequate healthcare, with limited skilled healthcare workers and limited healthcare service delivery (Z. Ahmed et al., 2020a). As one interviewee shared, *“In our area, there are few resources. It’s hard to find water, schools, and healthcare, which makes life even tougher for us.”*<sup>33</sup> This uneven development compounds the hardships for IDPs, revealing the intersection of migration, community dynamics, and resource allocation in urban displacement contexts.

The migration and settlement dynamics in Baidoa reveal a complex social structure influenced by economic necessity, security concerns, and entrenched clan affiliations. The clan-based spatial organization within Baidoa provides both support and separation, enabling displaced persons to navigate urban life but limiting broader integration. By relying on clan-based networks for support and security, IDPs maintain historical settlement patterns within Baidoa, as illustrated in Table 1, reinforcing clan boundaries that both protect and isolate communities within the city. These dynamics highlight both the resilience of traditional support systems and the broader challenges of integrating displaced communities within Baidoa’s urban landscape.

### **3.3 Clan Networks and Settlement Dynamics of IDP Communities in Baidoa**

In Baidoa, the arrival and settlement of IDPs are largely shaped by clan networks and localized support systems rooted in community ties. Each sub-clan within Baidoa is

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<sup>32</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>33</sup> A humanitarian worker in Baidoa, August 2024

represented by kin from various districts, forming a cohesive network of support that offers displaced individuals a critical sense of security and familiarity during the challenging process of resettlement (Jama et al., 2023). One IDP articulated this sentiment, stating, *“Being with my clan makes me feel like I am home again, even in this new city.”*<sup>34</sup> This “ghettoization” of clans, where members of the same clan or sub-clan settle together in distinct neighborhoods, has historical roots; Baidoa has long been organized around clan connections due to rural migration patterns. This spatial clustering enables IDPs to settle in proximity to their extended families and clan members, reinforcing existing social structures and providing a stable foundation amidst the upheaval of displacement (Abdirahman Osman, 2018).

### 3.3.1 Informal Governance Structures

The settlement process is heavily influenced by informal governance structures within these clan-based enclaves. Clan elders, camp leaders, and family members collaborate to facilitate the resettlement of newly arriving IDPs, effectively managing resources, arranging accommodations, and helping newcomers adjust to life in the city (Bakonyi & Chonka, 2023b). One IDP emphasized, *“Our elders help us find a place to stay and show us how to live here; they make everything easier.”*<sup>35</sup> This informal support system is vital, as it enables IDPs to integrate quickly within familiar surroundings (Abdinasir, 2021).

These clan-based settlements often reflect deep social bonds that function as informal welfare systems, offering access to resources, guidance, and community solidarity. Sub-clan elders and “gatekeepers” within these enclaves mobilize resources for incoming IDPs, assisting them in obtaining essential items, securing housing, and integrating into the urban fabric of Baidoa (Osman & Abebe, 2023b). This kinship-based support serves as an essential buffer against the absence of formal aid, especially in camps where services are scarce and government support is limited. However, while this setup fosters stability and offers critical networks of support, it also reinforces social stratification within Baidoa. As one elder remarked, *“We look after our own, but sometimes this means we forget those who are not from our clan.”*<sup>36</sup> The spatial organization of the city, where clans are confined to

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<sup>34</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>35</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>36</sup> Clan elder interview, Baidoa, August 2024

certain areas reinforces historical clan boundaries and limits broader social integration, confining individuals to communities dominated by their sub-clans and reducing opportunities for cross-clan interaction.

### 3.3.2 Land Access and Housing Challenges

All over in the world, IDPs experience housing challenges, which calls for reinforced international policies in refugees' resettlement (Thiele, 2000). In Somalia, the availability of land for IDPs within these camps is often controlled by private citizens from the clan who may lease the land to displaced families. This increases the suffering to the IDPs, who are basically people from marginalized or minority clans from Bay and Bakool or Shabelle regions (Jelle et al., 2021a). This arrangement underlines the importance of clan-based relationships in a context where formal land ownership options for IDPs are limited. Without these kinship connections, many IDPs would struggle to secure housing, making these clan-based networks essential to their survival. One IDP noted, *"Without my uncle's help, I would have nowhere to go. It's the clan that keeps us safe."*<sup>37</sup> At the same time, this arrangement introduces complexities, as clans that own larger tracts of land may be able to accommodate more IDPs, creating an uneven distribution of settlement spaces within Baidoa.

The IDP settlements in Baidoa, such as ADC, illustrate a range of development disparities that impact IDPs' access to basic services and resources. Some settlements have limited access to water, healthcare, and schools, exacerbating the hardships faced by displaced populations. An interviewee highlighted, *"We have to walk long distances for clean water; it's not like our home where everything was available."*<sup>38</sup> This uneven development reflects the broader challenges of urban displacement, where IDPs are often relegated to areas with fewer resources, perpetuating cycles of poverty and limiting their opportunities for socioeconomic mobility (Cotroneo, 2017).

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<sup>37</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>38</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

### 3.3.3 Urban Segregation and Social Cohesion

Clan-based kinship can significantly shape urban structures by influencing social organization, resource distribution, and cultural dynamics. Urban environments often maintain traditional kinship ties, especially in cultures where clans provide economic, emotional, and social support, as seen in West African and Arab communities (Aldous 1962). A study by (Yazew & Kassa, 2024) found out that the links of customary law practices and traditional communication as well as our social networks are significant in social structure and how we perform social interactions. The spatial dynamics in Baidoa further demonstrate how clan-based kinship and community bonds influence the overall urban structure. While providing an essential framework of support for IDPs, these networks also contribute to distinct urban segregation, as new migrants tend to gravitate toward neighborhoods or camps affiliated with their clans. An IDP explained, *“I went to a different neighborhood once, but it felt strange. I missed my people.”*<sup>39</sup> This reinforces spatial and social boundaries, limiting inter-clan interaction and, in some cases, complicating efforts for broader social cohesion in the city.

Urbanization transforms clan structures, erasing their influence, where people can blend modern systems, while retaining traditions (Tang 2017). In this way, clan-based settlement practices in Baidoa, though essential for immediate survival and support, inadvertently reinforce long-standing divisions and create social enclaves that inhibit broader urban integration. As one community leader stated, *“We need to find a way to bring everyone together, not just those who share the same clan.”*<sup>40</sup> This highlights the ongoing need for inclusive strategies that can bridge clan divides and foster a more integrated urban environment.

### 3.4 Integration of IDPs in Baidoa

IDPs can increase the socioeconomic burden of the host community, as witnessed with the international migration caused by the Russia war against Ukraine (Voznyak et al., 2024). Host community may present opportunities such as strengthening social cohesion, small business opportunities and such for integration of IDPs. In Baidoa, IDPs have generally found a more receptive environment compared to other cities like Mogadishu, fostering

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<sup>39</sup> IDP interview, Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>40</sup> Community leader interview, Baidoa, August 2024

notable social integration with local communities. The city's welcoming atmosphere has facilitated mutual support networks and a degree of social cohesion among IDPs and host families. Many displaced individuals have established meaningful, reciprocal relationships with local families, forming survival-focused alliances. As one participant noted, *"In our camp, we share resources with local families. We help each other when we can."*<sup>41</sup> This interdependence has been essential for survival, offering IDPs better access to resources such as food, shelter, and critical information about the local area.

A key element in this integration process is the prevalence of intermarriages between IDPs and the host community, highlighting a deeper social acceptance (Mohamoud et al., 2013). Yussuf observed, *"We have intermarried from both sides. They married host daughters, and hosts also married IDPs"*<sup>42</sup>. This level of social integration contrasts sharply with the conditions in urban centers like Mogadishu, where IDPs often report higher levels of exploitation and discrimination, including financial burdens such as a "50% commission on cash transfers (Jelle et al., 2021b)."*In Baidoa, however, IDPs have found it more feasible to purchase land and settle permanently, signifying a certain level of stability and social inclusion. In areas like Al-Ahmaar, for instance, only a small fraction of camps (4 out of 58) does not own the land they occupy, with many even operating under temporary leases granted freely by landowners*<sup>43</sup>.

Education access has become a significant driver of integration for IDP families, especially in terms of securing a future for their children. *"Our kids receive free education in Baidoa, which is a big opportunity for their future," shared one participant.*<sup>44</sup> Education, regarded as a pathway out of poverty and instability, has encouraged families to view Baidoa as a long-term home. However, while access to education is available, the quality and consistency of resources remain uneven. Some families still face challenges in securing adequate educational materials or qualified teachers, potentially hindering the full integration of children into the city's social and economic fabric (Nwokeocha, 2021).

Despite successes in social and educational integration, economic participation remains limited and challenging for many IDPs. This has been noted in areas with displaced

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<sup>41</sup> Interview participant, Baidoa IDP Camp, August 2024

<sup>42</sup> Interview participant, Baidoa IDP Camp, August 2024

<sup>43</sup> Interview participant, Baidoa IDP Camp, August 2024

<sup>44</sup> Interview participant, Baidoa IDP Camp, August 2024

communities such as Ukraine, where it has been observed that IDPs are rarely involved in employment and support programs (National University of Water Management and Environmental Engineering, Rivne, Ukraine et al., 2023) . In Baidoa, some displaced individuals engage in small-scale entrepreneurship or informal labor, demonstrating resilience and adaptability. However, the opportunities for formal employment are scarce, and many IDPs find themselves confined to low-wage, insecure jobs that do not offer a stable income. This economic marginalization creates disparities, impacting the potential for long-term economic integration. Moreover, political and economic exclusion is a recurrent issue for IDPs in Baidoa. Access to local political representation and business contracts remains limited for the displaced population, often confining them to the periphery of economic and decision-making spaces. It has been reported that in Somalia, forced eviction have exacerbated existing vulnerabilities of IDPs, leading to psychological distress, stress and other health issues (Jelle et al., 2021c). This exclusion further perpetuates a sense of marginalization and restricts their ability to influence policies that directly impact their lives. This lack of political representation not only affects their immediate circumstances but also hampers efforts to advocate for systemic changes that could support greater inclusivity.

Social integration through marriage, though widespread, presents complexities. While intermarriages between host community men and IDP women occur frequently, they are often influenced by economic hardships within the IDP community, which increases vulnerability. Financial constraints associated with dowries and household responsibilities can create economic burdens for IDP families. As one woman noted, *“Marrying outside is hard; we often have to choose partners from within our community where things are simpler”*<sup>45</sup>. For many displaced men, marrying within the host community remains financially prohibitive due to different social and economic expectations. As a result, many IDPs choose to marry within their own community, where cultural and economic compatibility align more closely with their circumstances.

While Baidoa’s relatively supportive environment has facilitated a level of social integration for IDPs, there are still significant barriers to full economic and political inclusion. The experiences of IDPs in Baidoa underscore the complex interplay between social

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<sup>45</sup> interview participant, Baidoa IDP Camp, August 2024.

acceptance, resource access, and structural limitations that shape the integration journey. As Baidoa grows, the need for policies that address these multifaceted integration challenges becomes increasingly important to foster a genuinely inclusive urban community.

### 3.5 Challenges Faced by IDPs in Baidoa

Despite notable efforts toward integration, IDPs in Baidoa encounter a multitude of challenges that complicate their attempts to build stable lives. Access to basic services such as clean water, healthcare, and education remains a primary concern, with many IDPs residing in under-resourced areas. A similar study conducted in Mogadishu found out that IDPs have limited access to water and sanitation, with many households sharing latrines and not able to clean their hands after visiting the toilet (Ahmed Hassan Saed et al., 2023a). This lack of essential services is exacerbated by the uneven distribution of resources across Baidoa, leaving many IDPs struggling to meet their basic needs. Such disparities create stark divides, often intensifying the sense of marginalization among displaced communities.

A lack of sufficient humanitarian aid further complicates the situation. According to one IDP, *“There has been a blackout in aid distribution in the last nine months.”*<sup>46</sup> underscoring the precariousness of external support. With inconsistent aid, IDPs face exacerbated food insecurity and struggle to access essential services. A common sentiment among participants was the difficulty of sustaining livelihoods in an urban setting, as many IDPs rely on sporadic humanitarian assistance to meet their daily needs. This dependency on external assistance underscores a deeper issue: the lack of reliable support mechanisms fosters a persistent sense of instability and uncertainty, as many IDPs feel that their futures are contingent on the availability of temporary aid. Cash-based interventions for the IDPs have helped with the IDPS in opening small businesses and supporting their households. However, this is not enough, the IDPs can be provided with job opportunities (Grijalva-Eternod et al., 2018).

Legal insecurity also places IDPs in vulnerable situations, as many lack formal recognition or legal documentation. This absence of legal status creates barriers in securing land and housing, often leaving IDPs at the mercy of landlords or vulnerable to eviction. One

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<sup>46</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

respondent expressed this fear, saying, *“We don’t have any documents to prove we belong here. It makes it easy for people to take advantage of us.”*<sup>47</sup> Without formal legal protection, IDPs frequently face exploitation, highlighting the need for clearer property rights and more inclusive governance measures to support displaced populations.

In addition to legal uncertainty, insecurity remains a constant worry for many IDPs, as they continue to face threats from armed groups and violence, even within Baidoa. Additionally, IDPs face other challenges such as lack of state protection, recurring humanitarian crisis and are vulnerable to abuse (Ali Abdirahman, 2021). The IDPs shared that *Even within Baidoa, they fear for our safety. The memories of what they escaped are still fresh, and new threats kept emerging. The fear of violence and instability not only hinders integration but also contributes to ongoing cycles of displacement.*

The psychological toll of displacement is significant as well. Many IDPs struggle with trauma from their past experiences, which affects their ability to adapt to life in Baidoa. There are high levels of depressive disorder and PTSD among IDPs in Mogadishu, which is linked to displacement and their susceptibility to trauma (M. Ali et al., 2023). There are no mental health resources and as such, many IDPs continue to carry substantial psychological burdens. Without access to mental health services, IDPs often find themselves unable to engage fully in social or economic activities, further complicating their integration.

Social discrimination adds yet another layer to the challenges faced by IDPs, as they often encounter stigmatization that impedes their ability to integrate fully into the host community. which further negatively impacts the mental health of refugees (Ellis et al., 2010). The IDPs claimed that the locals view them as others. This perception of “otherness” can manifest as exclusion from social services, limited access to economic opportunities, and entrenched marginalization, reinforcing barriers to integration. Although IDPs might feel socially welcomed in certain respects, this subtle discrimination in daily interactions often limits their prospects and underscores the difficulties in bridging social divides.

Economic challenges further hinder integration, as the limited availability of jobs for IDPs compounds their vulnerability. *“Although we are welcomed, the economic gap is glaring. Many of us struggle to find work, and the host community often views us as competitors for*

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<sup>47</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

scarce resources,”<sup>48</sup> remarked one IDP, illustrating the ongoing competition for limited economic opportunities. Another interviewee spoke about the added impact of environmental changes, noting, “*The drought has taken everything from us. Where we used to grow food, now there’s just dust.*”<sup>49</sup> We cannot survive on our land anymore.” The need to transition from rural livelihoods to urban economies, compounded by the lack of jobs, only heightens the difficulties faced by IDPs in Baidoa.

The influx of IDPs into urban areas like Baidoa has also driven up demand for resources, creating strain on both IDP and host communities. A camp manager explained, “*With so many new faces in the city, the demand for basic services has skyrocketed, and prices have followed suit. Inflation is a daily reality for everyone.*”<sup>50</sup> This rising cost of living due to intensified competition for limited resources has made it challenging for both IDPs and host communities to maintain a reasonable standard of living, often heightening tensions between the two groups. Influx of IDPS also result in land degradation and reduced production. Research has proved that forced displacements generally result in reduced agricultural production due to lower land and labor productivity (George & Adelaja, 2021b).

While local governance mechanisms and traditional support structures play an essential role in addressing some of these needs, they also underscore the limitations in formal support systems. Traditional clan leaders, who often provide essential aid and guidance, remain crucial for IDPs who lack official recognition. One IDP noted, “*While the government may not recognize us officially, our clans ensure we have food and medical care. It’s not perfect, but it’s a system that works for us.*”<sup>51</sup> This reliance on informal governance reflects the need for a more inclusive, formal approach that incorporates displaced populations into official support structures and policy-making.

As IDPs navigate their precarious situations, it becomes evident that a more robust governance approach is required to address their complex needs (Adeleye & Aremu, 2023). Without inclusive policies aimed at equitable resource distribution, enhanced economic opportunities, and mental health support, the challenges faced by IDPs will likely

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<sup>48</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August, 2024

<sup>49</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>50</sup> An IDP Camp manager in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>51</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

persist, entrenching their vulnerability and inhibiting their journey toward stability and self-sufficiency. For Baidoa to become a true haven for displaced individuals, it is essential to address these multifaceted challenges holistically, creating a more resilient and inclusive environment for both IDPs and host communities alike.

### 3.6 Return Possibilities

The possibility of return for IDPs in Baidoa is complex, shaped by a combination of security challenges, economic constraints, and environmental factors in their home regions. While some IDPs express a desire to return, for many, returning remains a distant and challenging option. One participant shared that although some would consider going back if security improved, those who have no wealth, like livestock left behind, are unlikely to return. This highlights the economic obstacles faced by IDPs, as the loss of assets, such as livestock and farmland, limits their ability to sustain livelihoods back in their places of origin. These IDPs can be supported through entrepreneurial skills and getting them some capital to get started (Institute of Industrial Economics of the NAS of Ukraine et al., 2021).

Drought and the degradation of agricultural land compound these economic difficulties, further disincentivizing return. Drought in Somalia leads to mass displacement, widespread death of livestock and devastating food crisis (“SOMALIA,” 2022). Another participant voiced their desire to return to their original home in Ufuroow town but felt compelled to stay in Baidoa due to persistent insecurity and social discrimination, because Al-Shabaab remained a security threat to them. The influence of armed groups, such as Al-Shabaab, creates an environment of fear and restriction in many rural areas, making a safe return nearly impossible. The ongoing drought and environmental degradation underscore the bleak reality in areas where subsistence farming has become untenable.

The potential for return largely hinges on significant improvements in security and the re-establishment of sustainable livelihoods. While some respondents voiced cautious optimism that, if conditions stabilize, a return could be possible, they acknowledged the risks involved. As one interviewee articulated, *“Even if we want to go back, the situation is still risky. We need to feel safe and have resources to rebuild our lives, but that’s not guaranteed.”*<sup>52</sup> For many IDPs, the insecurity and lack of economic resources in their home

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<sup>52</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

regions leave them in a prolonged state of limbo, where return remains an aspiration but not an immediate option.

Many displaced individuals feel they have no option but to stay in urban centers like Baidoa indefinitely. Their farms are no longer productive, and they have no choice but to adapt to life here in Baidoa. Urban areas offer more stable access to services such as healthcare, education, and humanitarian aid, essential lifelines that make returning to under-resourced rural areas less feasible. This sentiment is reflected in the mixed feelings of IDPs about return: There are two kinds of people - those who are prepared to return home in the event of rain while family members still reside in the villages. Some refuse to go back because they have assimilated into the town, and their kids receive free education. For families with children, access to education has become a critical factor, with many prioritizing their children's opportunities over the uncertainties of returning to potentially unstable regions. Many IDPs rely on humanitarian assistance, which has become an anchor, as expressed by one participant: *"Drought or instability forces people to leave their homes when humanitarian groups provide them with food and other essentials."*<sup>53</sup> The distribution of aid and access to essential services in Baidoa make it difficult for many to consider returning home. The prospect of returning to rural areas lacking consistent aid and resources would mean forgoing a relatively stable, albeit precarious support system in favor of an uncertain and potentially unsustainable existence.

This pattern of rural-to-urban migration reflects a broader shift influenced by climate change, economic hardship, and social dynamics. For many IDPs, urban centers offer a degree of stability unavailable in rural areas. The possibility of returning remains uncertain, as ongoing insecurity, environmental degradation, and a lack of economic opportunities in their home regions persist. These factors create a challenging dilemma for IDPs, who are often forced to weigh the advantages of urban support systems against the emotional and cultural ties to their rural homes.

While some IDPs express hope for eventual return if security improves, the reality remains that a significant portion may be compelled to stay in Baidoa or other urban settings indefinitely. For sustainable returns to occur, substantial interventions are necessary to address insecurity, rebuild rural economies, and restore environmental viability in home

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<sup>53</sup> Humanitarian worker in Baidoa, August 2024

regions (Shehu & Abba, 2020). Without these improvements, many IDPs will likely continue to navigate the uncertain terrain of urban displacement, with limited prospects for a stable return.

## Chapter 4: Resilience Amidst Displacement: Coping Mechanisms of IDPs in Baidoa

IDPs in Baidoa encounter a multitude of challenges as they transition from rural to urban life, navigating not only the pressures of displacement but also the demands of adapting to a new and often unfamiliar city environment. Baidoa's IDP population has been uprooted due to conflict, drought, and other climate-related pressures, making their adaptation journey a complex one. Nevertheless, despite these substantial adversities, IDPs have developed a range of coping mechanisms that demonstrate both adaptability and resilience. The strategies they employ underscore the resourcefulness required to survive and even thrive under such precarious conditions, revealing a nuanced portrait of resilience in the face of ongoing instability. Through these experiences, IDPs not only manage their immediate needs but also establish the foundation for a more stable future within Baidoa.

This chapter draws on insights from comprehensive interviews with IDPs to delve into the specific coping strategies they utilize. Key themes highlighted include the reliance on social support networks, which play a pivotal role in providing emotional and material assistance; engagement in various forms of economic activities and informal work, which enable IDPs to generate income in an uncertain urban economy; and the pursuit of education and skills development as a means to improve future prospects. Additionally, mental health and psychological resilience emerge as critical elements of survival, as IDPs adopt practices to sustain their emotional well-being amidst the challenges of displacement. Other vital strategies include adapting to urban lifestyles, leaning on traditional governance and clan systems for support, and leveraging humanitarian aid to meet basic needs. Together, these coping mechanisms illustrate the adaptive resilience of Baidoa's IDP community and offer valuable insights into their efforts to reshape their lives within an evolving city landscape.

### 4.1 Social Support Networks

A fundamental coping mechanism for IDPs in Baidoa is the reliance on social support networks rooted in family and clan affiliations, which provide essential emotional and material assistance (van Zandvoort et al., 2022). For many, the bonds of kinship offer a safety net in times of need, as one interviewee shared, *"When I lost everything, my relatives*

*welcomed me into their home. They helped me get back on my feet*<sup>54</sup> This support system extends beyond immediate family; many IDPs experience a communal solidarity where sharing resources is customary. In the camps, the IDPs share the little food they have. They also come together to help, when someone is in need. This mutual assistance not only helps meet basic needs but also fosters a sense of belonging, security, and resilience, alleviating some of the emotional and psychological burdens of displacement.

However, while these networks are essential for survival, IDPs also face limitations due to reliance on inconsistent humanitarian aid, which impacts their ability to become self-sufficient. Many IDPs recognize the importance of this external support, noting they rely on humanitarian aid to survive, which is not always available. Humanitarian aid is considered insufficient for AIDPS, and is necessary to intensify and accelerate empowerment of IDPs through income generating activities (Deme & Kabre, 2023) . While aid provides stability in times of extreme need, the inconsistency in distribution and dependence on it can hinder IDPs' long-term recovery and adaptability. Aid supplies essential needs but also reveals the vulnerability in their reliance on outside sources that may not always be dependable.

The establishment of IDP camps in Baidoa further encourages a communal living environment that reinforces social support networks. Within the camps, IDPs share not only material resources but also crucial information that can improve their chances of finding work or accessing resources (Sadat et al., 2021). As one respondent put it, "Living in the camp means we look out for each other. We share food and information about where to find work."<sup>55</sup> These communal networks help reduce the feelings of isolation often associated with urban displacement and foster a collaborative environment, allowing IDPs to navigate the complex urban challenges with the support of their community. In essence, these networks offer more than immediate relief, they provide a foundation for resilience, solidarity, and mutual survival in an uncertain environment.

## **4.2 Economic Activities and Informal Work**

Engaging in economic activities has become a vital coping mechanism for IDPs in Baidoa, with many displaced individuals turning to small-scale entrepreneurship and informal

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<sup>54</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>55</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

employment to support themselves and their families. Necessity and opportunity have driven the informal entrepreneurship activities within the IDP camps as it has been witnessed in other populated areas such as Kakuma in Kenya (Sadat et al., 2021). Small businesses such as selling fruits, vegetables, and basic goods allow IDPs to sustain their households despite challenging circumstances. One interviewee shared, *“I sell fruits and vegetables in the market. It’s a struggle, but it helps us survive.”*<sup>56</sup> Through these efforts, IDPs not only earn a livelihood but also contribute to Baidoa’s local economy, fostering a sense of belonging and integration into the city.

Temporary work in sectors like construction and agriculture also provides essential, albeit unstable, income for IDPs. Casual labor opportunities, though limited, allow some flexibility, and enable them to earn some money to pay bills. This adaptability enables IDPs to navigate an urban environment where formal job opportunities are scarce and economic instability is common (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2020). Additionally, some IDPs have brought entrepreneurial practices from their rural lives, such as selling firewood collected with donkey carts, a resource they carried with them to the city. While this entrepreneurial activity enables IDPs to create supplementary income streams crucial for family survival, it carries significant environmental implications. The widespread collection and sale of firewood contribute to deforestation, which is already a critical issue in Southwest Somalia due to years of environmental degradation and unsustainable land use. The removal of trees and vegetation for firewood weakens the region’s natural resilience to climate shocks, such as droughts and floods, both of which are prevalent in the area. As trees are cut down, the soil loses its protective cover, leading to soil erosion and desertification, which further reduces agricultural productivity in the long term.

Moreover, deforestation exacerbates the effects of climate change, as fewer trees mean less carbon sequestration, intensifying local temperature fluctuations and environmental vulnerability. The over-reliance on firewood as an energy source reflects a lack of alternative sustainable livelihoods or energy solutions, creating a feedback loop of environmental degradation and livelihood dependence. As one community leader in Baidoa stated, *“We depend on firewood to survive, but soon we will have no trees left, and we will face more droughts and hunger.”*<sup>57</sup> Addressing these environmental concerns

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<sup>56</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>57</sup> Host traditional leader, Baidoa 2024.

requires efforts to introduce sustainable energy alternatives such as solar stoves and promoting reforestation initiatives to restore degraded land while supporting IDP livelihoods. Though selling firewood provides short-term economic relief, its long-term environmental impacts pose challenges to the sustainability of natural resources, underscoring the urgent need for eco-friendly livelihood programs and environmental conservation strategies in Baidoa.

### 4.3 Skills Development and Education

Access to education and skills training is essential for improving the long-term prospects of IDPs in Baidoa, who view these opportunities as vital for escaping poverty and securing a better future. Many parents see education as the most viable path to break the cycle of hardship, with one participant affirming, *“Our kids receive free education in Baidoa, which is a big opportunity for their future. We believe that education will help break the cycle of poverty.”*<sup>58</sup> Another parent echoed this sentiment, stating, *“I want my kids to go to school so they can have a better future. Education is our way out of this situation.”*<sup>59</sup> By focusing on education, families invest in hope and resilience, using knowledge as a way to envision a more stable life for the next generation (Sarkinfaada & Kyari, 2022).

Importantly, skills suited to the urban environment are seen as practical and empowering, allowing children to later contribute economically to their families. Interdisciplinary learning, reflective thinking and experimental learning are crucial in sustainable future of development. (Taylor et al., 2021). Teaching children’s skills relevant to their urban setting, such as basic literacy, numeracy, and vocational skills, is perceived as a direct way of ensuring their future self-reliance and capacity to support their families. One interviewee reflected, *“The children will later support the parents and support themselves,”*<sup>60</sup> highlighting the importance of skills education as a strategy for long-term adaptation in a new environment.

Community organizations and local initiatives offering vocational training and education programs play an invaluable role in this transition (Metzler et al., 2021). Many adults in Baidoa have found empowerment and new opportunities through vocational training. As

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<sup>58</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>59</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>60</sup> Host community member in Baidoa, August 2024

one IDP shared, *“I attended a sewing workshop, and now I can make clothes to sell. It’s been a great help.”*<sup>61</sup> These programs not only impart practical skills but also provide a sense of agency and renewed purpose for IDPs, enabling them to contribute economically and improve their livelihoods despite the challenges of displacement.

Beyond individual benefits, skills development and training foster community integration and resilience. These initiatives help IDPs form new social connections and build trust with the local population (Mkandawire & Chapman, 2023). IDPs have been recruited in vocational training programs to learn new skills and given a chance to connect with locals. By bridging divides between displaced and host communities, skills training contributes to greater social cohesion, empowering IDPs to become active, self-reliant members of society rather than passive recipients of aid.

#### **4.4 Mental Health and Psychological Resilience**

The psychological toll of displacement on IDPs in Baidoa is profound, as many face ongoing trauma from their disrupted lives and uncertain futures (Rizzi et al., 2022). To cope with these challenges, IDPs often turn to communal spiritual practices and community gatherings as sources of comfort and connection. The IDPs pray together and share their stories, which helps them feel connected and less alone. This collective reliance on faith and storytelling provides emotional support, a sense of shared resilience, and a vital lifeline of hope during difficult times.

In addition to communal practices, many IDPs adopt individual coping mechanisms to manage stress and anxiety. Simple personal activities, like taking a walk or journaling, provide an outlet for processing trauma. These self-guided strategies illustrate the resilience and adaptability of IDPs as they seek balance amidst instability, using these quiet moments as opportunities to decompress and reflect.

Recreational activities also play a key role in maintaining psychological well-being, offering relief and fostering camaraderie among the displaced. In Baidoa’s camps, organized events, such as football matches, allow individuals to experience moments of normalcy and joy. As one respondent observed, *“We organize football matches in the camp. It gives us a*

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<sup>61</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

*chance to forget our problems for a while and just enjoy being together.*"<sup>62</sup> These gatherings not only provide an emotional respite from the harsh realities of displacement but also strengthen social bonds within the community.

Despite the resilience shown, IDPs in Baidoa face a precarious future, particularly as they grow increasingly dependent on imported food supplies. Disruptions to global supply chains pose a serious risk to food security within the camps (Rahbari et al., 2024). One interviewee highlighted this vulnerability, stating, *"Last year, when wheat importation was disrupted, the difference was felt on the ground. This is a real challenge"*<sup>63</sup>. Such dependency underscores the urgent need for sustainable, local solutions to support food security and economic resilience. Addressing these vulnerabilities can reduce the reliance on external aid, fostering a more secure and stable environment for Baidoa's displaced communities.

#### **4.5 Adaptation to Urban Life**

Adjusting to urban life in Baidoa has become an essential coping mechanism for many IDPs who find themselves far from the agricultural livelihoods they once relied upon. The shift from rural to urban living often necessitates a complete transformation in daily routines, expectations, and economic activities. As one interviewee expressed, *"Our farms are no longer productive, and we have no choice but to adapt to life here in Baidoa."*<sup>64</sup> This adaptation is not merely a shift in location but involves adopting new ways of thinking, living, and earning a livelihood, reflecting the resilience of displaced populations.

A key aspect of this adaptation involves leveraging existing skills in creative ways. Many former farmers, for instance, now cultivate small vegetable gardens in urban spaces, such as balconies or communal plots, as a means to sustain themselves and supplement their income (Kalu Institute Spain et al., 2021). One IDP shared, *"I used to be a farmer. Now, I grow vegetables in pots on my balcony. It's not much, but it gives me something to sell,"*<sup>65</sup> This demonstrates the innovative ways IDPs employ their agricultural knowledge within the

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<sup>62</sup> IDP in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>63</sup> IDP: Statement on the necessity of adapting to urban life in Baidoa 2024

<sup>64</sup> Description of growing vegetables in an urban environment, Baidoa 2024

<sup>65</sup> IDP: Observation on the importance of organizing football matches for community bonding, Baidoa 2024

constraints of urban settings, providing them with a sense of continuity and a modest source of income.

Additionally, some IDPs have actively sought out training programs and community workshops designed to build skills suited to urban employment. These programs, often organized by local NGOs or community groups, offer training in skills like tailoring, carpentry, and basic entrepreneurship, which help IDPs better integrate into Baidoa's urban economy. By participating in these programs, they enhance their employability, diversify their income streams, and slowly build a foundation for financial independence (Maïga et al., 2020). This proactive approach is especially crucial in a city where job opportunities are limited, yet urban resilience and self-reliance are critical for survival.

This gradual adaptation to urban life highlights the ability of IDPs to reinvent themselves in response to challenging circumstances. By reorienting their skills and participating in local training opportunities, IDPs demonstrate not only resilience but also a strong commitment to contributing positively to their host communities, even as they navigate the obstacles of displacement. Their adaptation journey underscores the importance of accessible support systems that provide skill-building and economic opportunities to foster self-sufficiency in urban settings.

#### **4.6 Reliance on Traditional Governance and Clan Support**

For many IDPs in Baidoa, traditional governance structures and clan networks serve as essential sources of support and security. In the absence of stable state institutions, clan leaders play a pivotal role in organizing assistance and addressing the pressing needs of their members. One participant noted, *"Our clan leaders are our lifeline. They help us navigate problems and often provide food and legal aid when we need it."*<sup>66</sup> These leaders mediate disputes, provide guidance, and sometimes intervene on behalf of individuals facing challenges related to resources or safety, serving as an informal safety net that helps IDPs cope with the uncertainty of displacement. In Somalia, clan structure influences leadership attitudes in nation-building which is very important in post-conflict nation-building (Hassan, 2021).

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<sup>66</sup> IDPs Comment on the role of clan leaders as a vital source of support, shared during an interview in Baidoa 2024

In addition to leadership, the broader clan network itself acts as a fundamental support system for many IDPs, with mutual aid fostering resilience. The IDPs work within their clans to support one another, when there is a challenge. They provide food, money, and sometimes even shelter, for one another. This sense of solidarity is particularly important in Baidoa, where basic needs often outstrip available humanitarian assistance. By turning to clan members, IDPs can access essential resources such as food, temporary shelter, and even financial support, helping them to navigate the day-to-day challenges of life in displacement.

This reliance on clan support not only provides practical aid but also reinforces social ties and a sense of belonging. Amid the dislocation and fragmentation caused by conflict and climate-related migration, clan structures offer IDPs a continued link to their communities and a sense of continuity with their lives before displacement. Clan structures in Somalia have traditionally organized the society (Adam, 1992). However, this dependency also reflects the limitations of formal support systems, underscoring the need for more inclusive, state-led initiatives that could reduce the burden on traditional structures and ensure that all IDPs have access to necessary resources and protections. The interplay between clan support and humanitarian assistance remains vital for survival but also highlights the importance of integrating traditional support mechanisms within broader social and institutional frameworks.

#### **4.7 Utilization of Humanitarian Aid**

Access to humanitarian aid is a critical coping mechanism for IDPs in Baidoa. For many who have fled drought, conflict, and economic hardships, these aid distributions are often their primary source of sustenance. The aid packages, which typically include cash transfer, basic food supplies, water, and sometimes essential household items, help stabilize the immediate living conditions of IDPs, particularly those unable to secure income through work.

This reliance underscores the aid's role in ensuring food security and mitigating malnutrition in a context where alternative resources are scarce. Humanitarian aid also provides a buffer against extreme poverty and starvation, allowing families to redirect any limited resources they might earn toward other pressing needs, such as medical care, clothing, or educational supplies for children (Brown et al., 2021). Furthermore, this aid has a stabilizing effect on

Baidoa's IDP population, helping to reduce potential tensions that might arise from increased competition for limited resources among host and displaced communities. However, this dependency on aid also reflects broader systemic challenges, as the IDPs' reliance on external support indicates limited self-sufficiency and persistent vulnerabilities in their economic conditions. The importance of aid in Baidoa highlights the need for sustained, structured support to address both immediate needs and long-term resilience-building among displaced populations.

## Chapter 5: The Contribution of IDPs to the City of Baidoa

The arrival of IDPs in Baidoa has marked a transformative period for the city, as these individuals have not only reshaped the urban landscape but also invigorated its social and economic dynamics. Forced from their homes due to conflict, climate change, and other crises, IDPs bring with them a wealth of experiences, skills, and aspirations that contribute to the city's development. Their presence has catalyzed growth in various sectors, notably education and local commerce, as they adapt to their new environment and seek to build better lives for themselves and their families. The resilience displayed by IDPs has fostered a spirit of community and innovation, helping to address the city's pressing needs. This has also been witnessed in other places such as Colombia where influx of IDPs in to the cities impacted government, national and international organizations (Carrillo, 2009).

However, the influx of IDPs has also introduced a set of challenges that cannot be overlooked. As Baidoa expands to accommodate a growing population, issues related to sanitation and public health have emerged, straining the city's existing infrastructure. This chapter delves into the multifaceted contributions of IDPs to Baidoa, examining the ways in which they have influenced urban growth, enriched the educational landscape, and bolstered the local economy. While their integration has fostered a sense of community resilience and adaptability, it is crucial to address the concomitant challenges that arise, ensuring that Baidoa can thrive as an inclusive and sustainable urban center for all its residents.

### 5.1 City Expansion and Urban Growth

Baidoa has undergone substantial urban transformation driven by the influx of IDPs, resulting in rapid, often unplanned, urban expansion. This growth has altered settlement patterns and the urban landscape, with certain areas evolving based on the origins and affiliations of displaced communities IDPs have led to a shift in development strategy from regional to local development in South Africa (Fuo, 2017). As one interviewee observed, *"The town is expanding on three sides: Al-Ahmaar (Tufka Suroy), ADC (Agricultural Development Centre) area, and Hanaana neighborhood. The ADC side is the most populated and expanded."*<sup>67</sup> This expansion underscores how displacement-driven growth is

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<sup>67</sup> An IDPs observation. Observation on the areas of Baidoa experiencing urban expansion

reshaping the city, with each area becoming associated with specific clans or regions. For example, the Sagaal subclan has settled in Al-Ahmaar, turning previously agricultural lands into a densely populated residential neighborhood.

The substantial arrival of IDPs has pushed the city's boundaries outward, particularly to the north, south, and northwest. In the north, expansion into the Barwaaqo area has extended Baidoa's reach by nearly 10 kilometers, while in the south, Makuudo has grown approximately 7 kilometers. The northwest has also witnessed considerable growth toward Al-Ahmaar/ADC, linking Baidoa to nearby Bonkaay village, now just 5 kilometers away. These developments highlight how the need for residential land and services has transformed the city's edges into new urban zones. This evolution from periphery to core exemplifies the impact of IDP settlements in Baidoa's rapid urbanization.

However, the swift and largely unplanned expansion has brought with it challenges in sustainable urban planning. Much of the city's growth occurs in an ad hoc fashion, often without adequate infrastructure, leaving new neighborhoods vulnerable. As one interviewee pointed out, "*Unplanned urbanization has led to a greater risk for human lives and properties.*"<sup>68</sup> The lack of formal planning has resulted in limited access to basic services such as water, sanitation, and waste management, intensifying health risks and environmental degradation. This haphazard development also puts pressure on public resources, with limited capacity to manage the needs of an expanding population.

Baidoa's expansion due to IDP influx reflects a common pattern in conflict-affected areas where urbanization is driven by migration rather than economic growth. This IDP-driven urban sprawl presents both an opportunity for economic dynamism and a set of risks to urban sustainability, especially as Baidoa is ill-equipped for such rapid growth. Integrating IDP communities into the city's framework is essential, yet difficult under current conditions. If unaddressed, the unplanned spread could exacerbate poverty, contribute to social tensions, and make effective governance of these areas even more challenging.

## 5.2 Economic Contributions

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<sup>68</sup> A local resident of Baidoa, 2024

IDPs in Baidoa have become crucial players in the city's informal economy, contributing significantly to local trade, labor markets, and overall economic resilience despite the obstacles they face. Many IDPs turn to small-scale entrepreneurship, setting up stalls to sell essential items like fruits, vegetables, and firewood. These activities not only help them earn a modest income but also enhance local commerce by providing affordable goods. One interviewee explained, *"I sell fruits and vegetables in the market. It's a struggle, but it helps us survive."*<sup>69</sup> Other IDPs have small shops for selling food items, which helps them support their families. Through these small businesses, IDPs foster a vibrant local market and make affordable products accessible to other residents, which is especially valuable in an environment marked by economic hardship and limited resources. Local integration of IDPs can promote expansion of basic economic requirements without affecting the host community, enhancing employment opportunities, wealth and education (Mohamud et al., 2018).

Beyond entrepreneurship, IDPs contribute to Baidoa's labor market by taking on casual jobs in sectors like construction, agriculture, and domestic work. This adaptability addresses critical labor shortages in the city, supporting local infrastructure development and agricultural needs. As one IDP noted, *"I work as a day laborer. I help local farmers with their fields. It's tough work, but it's a way to earn money and contribute to the community."*<sup>70</sup> The IDPs are versatile and resilient in securing employment wherever opportunities arise: This willingness to perform various forms of labor contributes to the city's overall economic dynamism, linking IDPs to local development processes and reinforcing social cohesion through shared economic pursuits.

Additionally, IDPs are instrumental in driving market activity through their interactions with humanitarian aid distributions. Aid influxes frequently stimulate local commerce, as cash and goods increase purchasing power among both IDPs and host communities. As one respondent explained, *"Whenever aid is distributed, the local market economy booms, contributing to local economic development."*<sup>71</sup> This cyclical boost benefits the entire urban economy, increasing demand for local goods and services and supporting businesses owned by IDPs and residents alike. The economic role of IDPs, therefore, extends beyond

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<sup>69</sup> IDP in Baidoa, 2024

<sup>70</sup> IDP explaining how they earn a living in Baidoa, 2024.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with A local resident in Baidoa, in a FGD, Baidoa, 2024.

direct labour contributions, highlighting how humanitarian aid indirectly fuels Baidoa's economy and promotes small-scale trade within the city.

However, the economic contributions of IDPs come with significant challenges. Their informal employment status makes them susceptible to exploitation, low wages, and job insecurity, particularly during economic downturns or during the rainy season, which disrupts many labor-intensive activities. *"When the rainy season comes, work dries up. It's hard to make enough to support our families."*<sup>72</sup> one IDP noted. This seasonal variation in job availability leaves many IDPs facing uncertain income flows and limited means to manage basic expenses, especially as labor opportunities diminish (Di Marcantonio et al., 2020). The lack of job stability underscores the vulnerability inherent in relying on informal sector work for economic survival.

Further, IDPs often encounter barriers in scaling their small businesses, primarily due to limited access to capital, lack of skills training, and weak market linkages. While some IDPs engage in petty trade and work on farms around Baidoa, the growth of these enterprises is often hampered by their precarious living conditions and restricted economic opportunities. These challenges are compounded by competition for resources and the limited institutional support available to help them expand their businesses. Nonetheless, IDPs remain remarkably resilient, showing an ability to adapt and persist despite these constraints.

Overall, IDPs in Baidoa play a vital role in sustaining and even expanding the local economy through entrepreneurship and labor contributions, despite facing numerous obstacles. Their participation in the informal sector, while challenging, injects vitality into the urban economy and underscores their resilience. This economic involvement, while often unrecognized, contributes to Baidoa's broader urban development and highlights the need for policies that support both IDPs and the host communities in fostering a more inclusive and sustainable economic environment.

### **5.3 Social Integration**

The influx of IDPs in Baidoa has brought profound changes to the city's social fabric, reshaping both community interactions and cultural dynamics. As IDPs settle within Baidoa,

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with IDP participant, Baidoa, 2024

they increasingly interact with local communities, forging new social connections and strengthening communal bonds. This integration is evidenced by instances of intermarriage, which symbolizes the merging of displaced and host populations into a more unified social landscape. *“We are slowly becoming part of the community, and intermarriages between IDPs and locals are happening, which shows that we can coexist.”*<sup>73</sup> one interviewee shared. These unions highlight the potential for deeper integration, suggesting that the boundaries between IDPs and host communities can gradually dissolve as they build mutual trust and understanding. However, adaptation of IDPs in new communities depends on satisfying social, educational and cultural needs (Hazizova, 2019b).

In addition to fostering new relationships, the arrival of IDPs has enriched the cultural vibrancy of Baidoa. IDPs bring with them distinct traditions, music, and culinary practices, contributing to a more diverse cultural environment. As one interviewee pointed out, *“We bring our traditions, music, and food to Baidoa. It creates a vibrant community where everyone can learn from each other.”*<sup>74</sup> This cultural exchange enables local residents and IDPs to engage in mutual learning and appreciation, facilitating social cohesion. For the host community, exposure to diverse cultural practices can expand social horizons and foster a greater understanding of the challenges faced by displaced persons. For IDPs, sharing their culture helps them establish a sense of identity and pride in a new environment while also strengthening their connection to the host society. In Nigeria, IDPs and host communities have mixed friendly and conflicting relationships, with closed networks limiting resources and economic opportunities (Kamta & Scheffran, 2022).

However, social integration is not without its challenges. Many IDPs still face difficulties in fully assimilating into urban life, often due to differences in lifestyle, economic constraints, and social biases. The integration process is gradual, and some segments of the host community may view IDPs with suspicion or associate them with increased competition for resources (Jelle et al., 2021d). Despite these challenges, shared social interactions and cultural exchanges between locals and IDPs have fostered new relationships, helping to

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<sup>73</sup> Interview with IDP participant, Baidoa, 2024

<sup>74</sup> Interview with respondent from FGD, Baidoa, 2024.

bridge divides and reduce tensions. As these relationships evolve, they can contribute to a more harmonious urban community that values diversity and inclusivity.

The establishment of community-based events and shared public spaces further supports this integration. By participating in religious gatherings, neighborhood meetings, and market activities, IDPs and locals regularly interact in settings that encourage mutual understanding and community building. These interactions help to mitigate the isolation that displaced individuals often experience and create a foundation for collective resilience. The gradual integration of IDPs into Baidoa's social and cultural life ultimately contributes to a more cohesive urban environment, promoting peace and stability in a city that has long been impacted by conflict and displacement.

Through these growing social networks and cultural exchanges, IDPs contribute to a collective sense of community identity in Baidoa. Their presence challenges initial stereotypes and builds a shared experience of urban life, enhancing a sense of belonging among all residents. As a result, the social integration of IDPs in Baidoa not only fosters social cohesion but also strengthens the city's resilience, laying the groundwork for a more inclusive and unified future.

#### **5.4 Community Resilience and Adaptability**

Beyond economic contributions, the IDPs in Baidoa have demonstrated significant resilience and adaptability, which has had far-reaching effects on the broader community. Faced with the challenges of displacement and the need to establish new livelihoods, IDPs have fostered a collective resilience that transcends their immediate community, positively influencing Baidoa as a whole. Through the creation of informal support networks, IDPs not only manage the hardships of displacement but also strengthen communal bonds and solidarity. One IDP commented, *"We have to rely on each other to survive here. Everyone helps where they can, and it brings us closer together."*<sup>75</sup> This spirit of unity helps IDPs confront common struggles and contributes to Baidoa's social fabric, adding layers of community support that benefit both displaced and host populations.

The adaptability of IDPs is particularly evident in their entrepreneurial initiatives, which have bolstered Baidoa's informal economy and inspired a broader spirit of entrepreneurship.

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with IDP participant, Baidoa, 2024

Through setting up makeshift markets and engaging in various types of labor, IDPs have provided essential services and goods, stimulated local trade and created new economic opportunities. This entrepreneurial spirit has had a ripple effect on the host community, encouraging local residents to explore small business ventures themselves. One resident observed, *“Seeing how the displaced communities set up businesses and markets has pushed many of us to think about new ways of making a living.”*<sup>76</sup> The IDPs’ resilience has thus spurred creativity and resourcefulness, enabling Baidoa’s economy to expand in innovative directions.

Additionally, IDPs have introduced sustainable practices and creative solutions to resource scarcity, which contribute to the community’s overall resilience. For instance, their ability to reuse materials in building temporary shelters or repurpose items for resale showcases an adaptability that resonates within the host community. These practices reflect a shared sense of resourcefulness that has become essential in the face of limited resources and infrastructure in Baidoa. By utilizing available resources and maintaining low-cost living arrangements, IDPs offer practical models of sustainability, which, in turn, influence the community’s approach to managing scarcity.

Moreover, the IDPs’ resilience extends to social and cultural adaptation, integrating their customs and practices with those of the host community (Ensor et al., 2018) to foster a more unified Baidoa. Community gatherings, shared cultural events, and collaborative religious practices have become essential in reinforcing a collective identity that values solidarity amid adversity. For example, IDPs actively participate in neighborhood meetings and religious observances, which helps bridge cultural divides and foster mutual understanding between the displaced and host populations. This cultural integration highlights the capacity of IDPs to not only adapt to but enrich their new environment, creating a more cohesive and inclusive city (Гончаренко, 2019).

The resilience displayed by Baidoa’s IDP community serves as a powerful example of how displaced populations can positively impact urban centres, even under difficult circumstances. Their adaptability, community-centred approaches, and entrepreneurship illustrate how they contribute to a communal strength that benefits Baidoa as a whole. This collective resilience, while born out of necessity, also provides a blueprint for communities

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with resident from FGD, Baidoa, 2024

facing similar challenges of displacement, conflict, and scarcity, underscoring the critical role that IDPs can play in rebuilding and sustaining local economies and social structures. Through their contributions, Baidoa's IDPs are not only coping with their own hardships but are actively building a foundation for a more resilient and adaptable urban community (Rizzi et al., 2023).

## **5.5 Competition on Scarce Social Services**

The influx of IDPs in Baidoa has significantly impacted the availability and quality of social services, particularly in the areas of education, healthcare, and water supply. While these pressures have strained local resources, they have also catalyzed important discussions and initiatives around improving service provision for both host communities and displaced populations. For instance, community outreach services and labor room services for IDPs improve antenatal care coverage and maternal mortality (Lassi et al., 2015).

One of the most visible contributions of IDPs in Baidoa is their effect on school enrollments. Displaced children from rural areas now have access to formal education opportunities that were previously unavailable to them, which has led to a surge in school attendance. *"Before we came here, there was no school for my children back in the village"* shared one IDP parent, emphasizing the transformative impact of urban migration on educational access<sup>77</sup>. This increased demand has placed pressure on Baidoa's educational infrastructure, leading to overcrowded classrooms, a shortage of teachers, and limited educational resources. However, this strain has also underscored the critical need to expand educational facilities and resources, not only to accommodate the growing student population but also to foster long-term socio-economic improvement by providing quality education to displaced and marginalized children. Education access is increasingly viewed as a tool for breaking the cycle of poverty and offering future opportunities for these children, potentially reducing dependence on humanitarian aid in the long term. Refugee and IDP children have similar education outcomes to natives, but learning problems are common, including discrimination, inadequate learning material and misunderstandings (Graham et al., 2016).

Healthcare services in Baidoa have also felt the impact of the growing IDP population. Health facilities, already limited in number and capacity, now face heightened demand,

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with IDP parent, Baidoa, 2024.

resulting in longer wait times, overburdened healthcare staff, and shortages of essential medical supplies. IDPs in Somalia face inadequate access of essential health services, with mental health and gender-based violence being less visible challenges (Lindvall et al., 2020a). As one local healthcare worker noted, *"Our clinic was not equipped to handle this many people. We are struggling to keep up."*<sup>78</sup> Despite the strain, the increased utilization of health services has brought attention to the need for stronger healthcare infrastructure and greater investment in medical resources, potentially benefiting both the displaced and local populations in the future. Nevertheless, the challenges remain significant, as limited resources and personnel are stretched thin across an expanding population base, often making it difficult to deliver consistent care. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many IDPs lack formal documentation, making it challenging for healthcare providers to track patient histories or coordinate care effectively (Clifford et al., 2023).

Water scarcity is another pressing issue exacerbated by the rapid increase in Baidoa's population. The demand for clean water has surged, but existing infrastructure is insufficient to meet the needs of both residents and displaced persons (Barrow, 2020c). This competition for limited water resources has heightened tensions between the host community and IDPs, particularly during periods of drought or reduced water availability. An IDP described the situation, stating, *"Getting enough water is a daily struggle, and sometimes we have to choose between buying food or water."*<sup>79</sup> While efforts have been made to improve water supply through humanitarian interventions, the ongoing scarcity highlights the importance of sustainable water resource management to prevent conflicts and ensure equitable access. The strained water supply system has also sparked discussions about potential long-term solutions, such as drilling additional boreholes or implementing rainwater harvesting systems, which could improve resilience against future droughts.

The large influx of undocumented IDPs has introduced additional security challenges in Baidoa. The rapid population growth, combined with the informal nature of many settlements, makes it difficult for local authorities to monitor and manage the IDP population effectively. The lack of documentation among many IDPs complicates efforts to ensure safety and order, as some individuals remain unregistered and thus fall outside the formal governance and social protection systems (Wood et al., 2021). This issue has

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<sup>78</sup> Interview with local healthcare worker, Baidoa, 2024

<sup>79</sup> Interview with IDP, Baidoa, 2024

fostered concerns about rising crime rates and the potential for insecurity within both IDP camps and host communities. As one local resident noted, *"We don't always know who is coming and going, and that creates uncertainty."*<sup>80</sup> This situation underscores the need for a more robust system for registering and integrating IDPs into the local governance framework, which could facilitate better management and improve overall security.

While the presence of IDPs has created competition over scarce social services, their impact has also revealed the gaps and opportunities within Baidoa's infrastructure and service delivery systems. The increased demand for education, healthcare, and water, along with the challenges of undocumented populations, has brought these issues to the forefront, prompting discussions on sustainable solutions that could ultimately enhance the resilience of Baidoa for all its residents.

## **5.6 Poor Hygiene and Sanitation**

The rapid urban expansion in Baidoa, primarily driven by the influx of IDPs, has led to pressing hygiene and sanitation challenges that impact public health across the city. IDP settlements, often established on previously undeveloped land or urban fringes, lack adequate sanitation infrastructure, resulting in unhygienic conditions that foster the spread of disease (Ahmed Hassan Saed et al., 2023b). Many IDPs, especially those from rural backgrounds, continue to engage in open defecation due to limited access to sanitation facilities and ingrained cultural practices. *"We don't have toilets here,"* shared one IDP, *"and we're not used to using the kind you find in the city."*<sup>81</sup> This reliance on open defecation presents a significant public health hazard, as waste is disposed of indiscriminately near homes and communal spaces, leading to contamination risks for water sources and further health complications (Saleem et al., 2019).

Additionally, the construction of makeshift homes in IDP camps compounds these sanitation issues. Many IDPs build their shelters using discarded materials and urban waste, which offer little protection from the elements and lack proper waste disposal systems. This living arrangement creates breeding grounds for pathogens, intensifying the risk of waterborne diseases and infections. A local health worker emphasized, *"The sanitation here is a crisis. The waste piles up and there's no system for getting rid of it, so diseases spread*

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with local resident, Baidoa, 2024

<sup>81</sup> Interview with IDP, Baidoa, 2024.

quickly.”<sup>82</sup> The cramped and unsanitary conditions in the settlements facilitate the spread of infections, particularly among vulnerable groups such as children and the elderly, who often bear the brunt of health-related impacts.

Furthermore, poor drainage systems in these informal settlements exacerbate the problem, especially during the rainy season (Ajibade & Tota-Maharaj, 2018). Floodwaters mix with waste, spreading contaminants throughout the camps and nearby communities, creating an environment ripe for cholera and other waterborne diseases (Dept. of Nursing Science, University of Southern Somalia, Baidoa, SWSS, Bay Regional Hospital, Baidoa, Southwest State of Somalia, SWSS et al., 2023a). This situation places an additional strain on Baidoa’s limited healthcare resources, as health centers face an increased number of cases related to poor sanitation. IDPs and host communities alike are exposed to these health risks, illustrating how inadequate sanitation in IDP settlements has far-reaching consequences for Baidoa’s urban health landscape.

The hygiene and sanitation challenges in Baidoa highlight the urgent need for sustainable solutions that address the unique conditions of IDP settlements. Improved sanitation infrastructure, such as accessible latrines and waste disposal systems, is essential to reduce public health risks and support the well-being of both displaced and local populations (Shackelford et al., 2020). Community-led initiatives that encourage safe sanitation practices, alongside public awareness campaigns, could mitigate some of these issues and promote cleaner, healthier environments within the camps. As one IDP noted, *“If we had the resources and education, we would want to improve these conditions.”*<sup>83</sup> Addressing sanitation and hygiene issues within Baidoa’s IDP settlements is critical not only to the welfare of these displaced populations but also to the broader health resilience of the entire city.

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<sup>82</sup> Interview with local health worker, Baidoa, 2024

<sup>83</sup> Interview with an IDP participant, Baidoa 2024

## **Chapter 6: Governance and Exclusion in Baidoa: Political Dynamics**

Chapter 6 probes into the intricate dynamics of governance and exclusion faced by IDPs in Baidoa as well as the clan spatial and power dynamics. As the city grapples with a significant influx of IDPs, the challenges of governance become increasingly pronounced, highlighting issues of representation, access to essential services, and the overarching impact of skewed development. IDPs in Baidoa experience a multifaceted struggle for inclusion within political frameworks that often overlook their needs and contributions. From inadequate representation in local governance to limited access to basic services and humanitarian aid, the chapter examines how these factors contribute to the marginalization of IDPs in both urban and rural contexts. Furthermore, land and urbanization issues exacerbate the vulnerabilities of displaced populations, creating additional barriers to their integration and economic stability.

In addition to the structural challenges, the chapter explores the complex interplay of clan demographics and historical power dynamics that shape Baidoa's political landscape. The historical dominance of the Sideed sub-clan in political representation has resulted in significant disparities in development and aid distribution, fostering grievances among marginalized groups. The chapter also addresses the emergence of clan-based spatial settlements and the corresponding power dynamics that influence governance. As armed sub-clans threaten to escalate tensions within the community, the need for policy interventions that promote inclusive representation becomes paramount. By highlighting the challenges and opportunities within Baidoa's governance framework, this chapter aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how political dynamics affect IDPs and to propose pathways toward a more equitable and inclusive future.

### **6.1 Challenges in Governance and Inclusion for IDPs in Baidoa**

Governance issues in Baidoa present complex challenges that significantly impact both the IDPs and the broader community, shedding light on critical gaps in local government structures and institutional frameworks. The governance-related challenges identified in this study illustrate the lack of formal mechanisms and systems that effectively address the needs and rights of IDPs, who often remain marginalized and excluded from decision-making processes (Landgren et al., 2019). These issues not only hinder IDPs' ability to integrate into the host community but also restrict their access to essential services such as

healthcare, education, and humanitarian aid. As IDPs face ongoing struggles for representation and basic rights, governance deficiencies exacerbate the vulnerability of these populations, contributing to their continued social and economic exclusion. This has also been witnessed in Ukraine where IDPs face multiple forms of social exclusion due to gender, old age and lack of state recognition, along with economic resources for social policy (Kuznetsova & Mikheieva, 2020).

### **6.1.1 Lack of Representation and Inclusion in Governance for IDPs in Baidoa**

One of the central governance challenges identified in this study is the exclusion of IDPs from meaningful participation in local decision-making processes. Despite constituting a large and influential segment of Baidoa's population, IDPs remain marginally represented within formal governance structures, leaving them without a voice on policies that directly impact their well-being. This highlights the need for legal protection and effective humanitarian response (Jelle et al., 2021e). While camp leaders sometimes act as intermediaries, providing limited access to NGOs and government offices, this does not equate to genuine representation within Baidoa's local governance framework. Consequently, IDPs find themselves with limited influence over critical decisions regarding infrastructure, resource distribution, and security. Interviewees expressed frustration over this lack of participation, with one IDP stating, *"We don't have a voice in local government. It feels like our issues are overlooked."*<sup>84</sup> This lack of input leaves many IDPs feeling disenfranchised, excluded from decisions shaping their daily lives and future.

In some instances, IDPs are nominally included in committees that focus on camp-specific issues, but these bodies generally lack broader authority within Baidoa's local administration. This tokenistic involvement underscores the extent of their exclusion. As one IDP leader explained, *"We are consulted when there is a crisis in the camps, but when it comes to decisions about the city's development, we are not part of the conversation."*<sup>85</sup> This marginalization limits IDPs' ability to advocate for improved living conditions and essential services, reinforcing a governance system where their concerns are peripheral. Furthermore, Baidoa's governance structures are significantly influenced by clan dynamics, which results in a distribution of resources and decision-making power that often-

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<sup>84</sup> An IDP's Comment on lack of representation in local governance, Baidoa 2024

<sup>85</sup> IDP leader: Remarks on limited consultation regarding city development, Baidoa 2024

marginalized groups without clan-based connections to local elites. Many IDPs originate from other regions, and this lack of clan affiliation compounds their exclusion. An interviewee observed, *“Those who belong to powerful clans have better chances of getting help, but the rest of us are often left out.”*<sup>86</sup> This dynamic exacerbates social inequities and contributes to a governance structure that prioritizes clan allegiance over equitable representation (Jelle et al., 2021f).

This systemic exclusion was noted by several participants, with one IDP lamenting, *“When decisions are made about security or services, we are the last to know. We live here too, but it feels like we are invisible to the authorities.”*<sup>87</sup> Such exclusion deepens the isolation experienced by IDPs and hinders their ability to integrate into Baidoa’s social and economic fabric. Additionally, the informal nature of many governance processes further diminishes their participation. The IDPs depend on their community leaders to negotiate for them, but they don’t have enough power. This reliance on informal networks, while sometimes effective, is inconsistent and often unable to meet the larger needs of the IDP community.

The lack of formal representation for IDPs in Baidoa’s governance structures perpetuates their marginalization and vulnerability. Without a concerted effort to incorporate IDPs into governance systems, including those focused on economic inclusion and public service access, their disenfranchisement will persist. This exclusion not only weakens social cohesion but also undermines the potential for inclusive development and equitable resource allocation in Baidoa. Strengthening formal representation for IDPs is crucial for fostering a governance model that reflects the diversity and needs of all Baidoa residents, laying the foundation for a more resilient and unified community (Chumo et al., 2023).

### **6.1.2 Access to Basic Services and Humanitarian Aid for IDPs in Baidoa**

IDPs to access essential services, such as healthcare, education, and humanitarian aid, is closely linked to the effectiveness of governance structures in Baidoa. Several interviewees indicated that poor coordination between government entities and humanitarian agencies has resulted in inconsistencies in aid distribution, leaving many IDPs without the support

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<sup>86</sup> Member of host Community Commenting on the preferential treatment of powerful clans, shared during an interview in Aug 2024

<sup>87</sup> An IDP giving an explanation regarding the reliance on community leaders for advocacy, provided in an interview in Aug 2024

they need. One respondent expressed frustration, stating, *"We often don't receive the aid we need on time, and when it comes, it's not enough for everyone."*<sup>88</sup> This reflects the broader challenge of mismanagement within governance frameworks that are responsible for overseeing the distribution of aid, ultimately leaving many IDPs underserved. Additionally, IDPs in Somalia face limited accessibility to affordability of healthcare facilities, hindering provision of quality reproductive healthcare (Shaikh, 2008).

Moreover, IDPs often rely on informal governance systems or community leadership, particularly in camps where official government presence is minimal (Bulley, 2014). These decentralized governance structures can lead to inconsistent access to services, depending on the capacity and influence of local leadership. As one interviewee mentioned, *"Sometimes, we depend on our community leaders to negotiate for services on our behalf."*<sup>89</sup> While these informal systems can help fill the gaps left by weak official governance, they also introduce disparities in service provision, as some leaders may have stronger connections and negotiation power than others (Ilcan & Rygiel, 2015).

The distribution of humanitarian aid is further complicated by issues of transparency and fairness. While International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) often ensure more equitable distribution of resources among IDPs, government-led aid efforts are frequently marred by misappropriation and favoritism. Aid distribution is often influenced by personal connections, known locally as *"ina adeerow"* (my cousin/whom you know). As a result, some camps are neglected despite their clear needs. A traditional leader remarked, *"You will find some camps that have existed for many years and have never received attention."*<sup>90</sup> Forgotten camps like in ADC, Beer Jiroon, and Towfiiq area have received minimal aid, underscoring the inequalities in the aid distribution process. This scenario has also been witnessed in other IDP camps such as in Nigeria where inequality in AID distribution has led to higher likelihood of water, food and air related diseases and poor quality of life for IDPs (Ekezie et al., 2019).

The involvement of local administration and INGO staff in misdirecting aid to those with clan connections further highlights the governance failures in accountability and

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<sup>88</sup> IDP, Baidoa, 2024

<sup>89</sup> Discussion with a Baidoa IDP regarding informal leadership's role in accessing services, conducted in August 2024

<sup>90</sup> Traditional Leader giving Insights on camp neglect and unequal aid distribution, Aug 2024

transparency. Traditional elders have attempted to address these grievances but have been largely unsuccessful, indicating weak governance mechanisms for resolving such issues. As one traditional leader explained, *"Humanitarian aid requires lobbying and 'ina adeerow.' If you don't have the right connections, your camp may be ignored."*<sup>91</sup> These issues not only hinder the well-being of IDPs but also perpetuate their marginalization within the broader community.

### **6.1.3 Skewed Development and Infrastructure**

Development projects in Baidoa include the establishment of boreholes, particularly in the Bonkaay area, which is rich in water resources. Schools have been built across the city, with notable institutions in ADC, Barwaaqo, Bulo Jameeca, and the city center. Health facilities, including hospitals and maternal and child health (MCH) centers, are also spread throughout the city and its IDP camps. Roads have been improved, with the northern parts of the city benefiting the most, while areas like Howlwadaag have seen less development. This has led to limited access to essential prevention and treatment resources within the Somali IDP camps (Alawa et al., 2021a).

However, development initiatives, such as road and water infrastructure, are concentrated in specific areas of the city, particularly in the northern regions, while areas like ADC remain underdeveloped. According to a traditional leader, *"No water for ADC... Similarly, no road infrastructure on the ADC side. Road and light infrastructures are concentrated in the north of the city..."*<sup>92</sup> this has also been witnessed in Kakuma IDP camp where spatial organization of Kakuma refugee camp reinforces pre-existing power differentials among Somali refugees, promoting economic dominance and marginalizing the Bantu community (Iazzolino, 2020). The lack of balanced urban development reflects governance failures in planning and equitable resource allocation, contributing to the marginalization of IDPs and exacerbating inequality between host and IDP communities.

### **6.1.4 Land and Urbanization Issues**

The rapid urbanization in Baidoa, largely driven by the influx of IDPs, has led to a significant increase in land demand, resulting in inflated prices and a precarious housing situation for

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<sup>91</sup> Traditional Leader commenting on humanitarian aid distribution challenges, Aug 2024

<sup>92</sup> Traditional Leader: Insights on development disparities in Baidoa 2024

many. Governance mechanisms intended to regulate land allocation and manage urbanization effectively are either absent or ineffective. This lack of oversight has resulted in unregulated settlement patterns, creating an environment ripe for disputes and insecurity regarding land rights. According to Baonyi (2020), settlements of displaced people in Somalia cities are embedded in varied practices of rent seeking, contributing to the commercialization of land and housing, and leading to further land speculations (Bakonyi, 2021).

Many IDPs find themselves in a precarious position concerning land and property rights. Due to the urgency of their displacement, they often lack formal documentation proving their ownership or tenancy, leaving them vulnerable to claims from others. One interviewee in Interview 7 articulated this concern, stating, *"If we leave for too long, others may claim our land, and we don't know if we'll be able to get it back."*<sup>93</sup> Even formal ownership does not provide adequate tenure security for IDPs when the rule of law is lacking, and obtaining access to property is more critical than obtaining rights (Jacobs et al., 2019). This highlights the deep-seated fear that IDPs experience regarding their land rights, as many are uncertain about their legal standing and what recourse they may have if disputes arise.

The informal governance structures that have emerged to address land issues often overshadow formal legal frameworks. For instance, land is frequently leased for free to IDPs by private citizens from the same clan, reflecting the influence of clan dynamics in land allocation. One IDP emphasized this point, with one respondent noting, *"Clan members help each other out with land, but it's all based on trust and not on any legal documentation."*<sup>94</sup> While this system may provide immediate relief for some IDPs, it poses significant long-term challenges regarding land tenure security and potential disputes. The reliance on informal arrangements means that land rights are often unclear, leaving IDPs susceptible to exploitation and conflict. IDPs often face difficulties in reclaiming their homes and lands, which can jeopardize their health, physical safety and opportunities to earn a living (McCallin, 2017).

The increased competition for land exacerbates tensions within communities, particularly as urbanization continues to surge. Many interviewees expressed that this competition has

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<sup>93</sup> Discussion with an IDP member regarding fears of land claims due to lack of formal documentation, August 2024

<sup>94</sup> Discussion with an IDP regarding land leasing practices and clan dynamics, conducted in Baidoa, August 2024

led to conflicts, noting that, *"When new people arrive, we often argue about land because there isn't enough for everyone."*<sup>95</sup> These disputes often lack clear resolution mechanisms due to the ineffectiveness of local governance structures, further complicating the living conditions for IDPs.

The interplay between rapid urbanization, land demand, and inadequate governance creates a challenging landscape for IDPs in Baidoa. Without effective regulatory frameworks to address these issues, IDPs remain caught in a cycle of uncertainty regarding their land and property rights, heightening their vulnerability and hindering their ability to establish stable living conditions in their new environment. For instance, in Colombia, land restitution process helps IDPs to reclaim land dispossessed during conflict, though slow progress may lead to insecure property rights and hinder IDP investments in agriculture (Wiig & García-Reyes, 2020). As such, addressing governance deficiencies in land management and property rights is crucial for enhancing the well-being and security of IDPs in Baidoa.

### **6.1.5 Exclusion from Economic and Livelihood Opportunities**

While IDPs feel socially integrated, they face economic exclusion, lacking opportunities for livelihoods and experiencing a significant economic gap compared to the host community. This exclusion from the formal economy reflects governance failures in creating inclusive policies for the economic integration of IDPs. Somali government has failed in fostering endemic political violence and insecurity, hindering the establishment of legitimate, centralized authorities (Elder, 2022a). According to a traditional leader, *"IDPs feel at home but they feel excluded in the economic and livelihood fronts...The economic standard gap between the IDPs and host is a major obstacle to integration."*<sup>96</sup> . The vulnerability of IDPs to exploitation, particularly in inter-marriage situations, further underscores governance gaps in providing adequate social protections and promoting equality.

### **6.1.6 Security and Protection Issues for IDPs in Baidoa**

Governance-related security concerns are a major issue for many IDPs in Baidoa. IDPs often flee their home regions due to insecurity, but even after arriving in Baidoa, the

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with an IDP highlighting conflicts over land due to increased competition, Baidoa, Aug 2024

<sup>96</sup> Interview with a traditional leader in Baidoa, conducted in August 2024

governance structures intended to provide safety and protection are frequently inadequate or non-existent. As one IDP explained, "*I cannot go back [to Ufuroow] due to insecurity and the AS factor.*"<sup>97</sup> This sentiment reflects the broader issue of governance failures in addressing security concerns both in IDPs' home regions and in Baidoa itself. Many IDPs find themselves in a state of limbo, unable to return home or feel truly safe in their new environment. Insecurity perceptions in conflict affected areas are widespread, with the presence of IDPs in villages and camps increasing these concerns, suggesting poor governance and lack of social integration (Van Der Bracht et al., 2017).

Further highlighting the insecurity within Baidoa, another IDP reveals that governance in some IDP camps is riddled with bias, often influenced by clan allegiances. The interviewee noted that local leadership in the camps sometimes favors their own clan members, resulting in unequal protection and marginalization of certain groups. "*The local leadership often sides with their clan members,*"<sup>98</sup> the IDP mentioned, underscoring how weak governance structures fail to provide impartial security and create an atmosphere of vulnerability for those outside the dominant clan networks. Additionally, clan governance, characterized by extreme female subordination in marriage practices within the camps, is a useful predator of state stability and security across societies (Hudson et al., 2015) .

In addition to these governance gaps within the IDP camps, the broader political and security landscape in Baidoa exacerbates the vulnerability of displaced populations. The city's history of political disputes, especially during election periods, has led to outbreaks of violence, as noted in several interviews. Armed confrontations during humanitarian aid distributions have resulted in civilian casualties, reflecting the volatility of the region and the fragile nature of governance systems (Bakonyi & Chonka, 2023c). Inter-clan conflicts over land are another source of tension, although they are occasionally mediated through traditional clan networks and the SWS (SWS) government. Clan and clannism are leading causes of Somalia's destabilization, along with radical extremism, corruption and militarization of clan members (Bade, 2021). These interventions, however, are not always effective in preventing violence.

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<sup>97</sup> Interview with an IDP interviewee in Baidoa, August, 2024

<sup>98</sup> Interview with an IDP interviewee in Baidoa, August, 2024

One of the most troubling aspects of security governance in Baidoa is the targeting of IDP youth by local security forces. According to another displaced person, IDP youth are often accused of being affiliated with Al-Shabaab (AS) simply because they are newcomers and unfamiliar with local dynamics. A traditional leader confirmed this, saying, *"Sometimes youth are targeted by the security forces, where they are accused of AS affiliation since they are newcomers and don't understand the local dynamics."*<sup>99</sup> These accusations create further mistrust between IDPs and local authorities, leaving many young displaced individuals feeling unfairly stigmatized and vulnerable to harassment. Enhancing community and family protective resources can help manage the risks of radicalization and recruitment amongst the youth and young adults (Weine et al., 2009).

Moreover, these accusations are rarely addressed through formal governance structures, further alienating the IDP community. Weak governance in addressing these security issues not only perpetuates a cycle of discrimination against IDPs but also prevents their meaningful integration into the wider societal fabric of Baidoa. As one traditional leader put it, *"Governance here is not strong enough to protect us from these unfair accusations. Our people are left vulnerable."*<sup>100</sup>

These security and protection issues highlight the pressing need for stronger governance mechanisms in Baidoa. Without fair and robust governance structures, IDPs will continue to face marginalization, discrimination, and threats to their safety. For many, the lack of governance and security leaves them in an ongoing state of uncertainty, struggling to adapt to their new circumstances while still fearing for their safety.

### **6.1.7 Traditional and Informal Governance Mechanisms**

In the absence of formal government intervention, much of the support and advocacy for IDPs in Baidoa, including legal aid, food distribution, medical assistance, and conflict resolution is organized through informal clan networks and the guidance of camp leaders. Modern government in Somalia is influenced by clan-based institutions, and traditional institutions work with the government to address local governance concerns and foster social cohesion (A. Warsame, 2024a). These traditional governance structures have

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<sup>99</sup> Interview with an IDP in Baidoa, conducted in August 2024

<sup>100</sup> Interview with a traditional leader in Baidoa, August 2024

become crucial lifelines for displaced populations, offering an essential support system for navigating daily hardships. As one participant observed, *“Our clan leaders play a crucial role in helping us navigate challenges here. They provide us with food and legal aid.”*<sup>101</sup> Clan leaders and elders, familiar with local customs and the specific needs of their communities, act as intermediaries between the IDPs and available resources, using their influence and connections to ensure that basic necessities are met (Creed et al., 2021). This reliance on informal networks speaks to the adaptability and resilience of IDP communities, who have repurposed traditional structures to survive amidst limited institutional support (Comes, 2016).

However, while these informal mechanisms provide immediate relief and assistance, they lack the institutional strength, resources, and accountability necessary for long-term governance solutions (A. Warsame, 2024a). Unlike formal government systems, which can theoretically enforce laws and regulate services consistently, traditional governance structures often lack transparency and can be susceptible to bias. The absence of oversight means that the distribution of aid and resources might not always be equitable, as decisions often depend on the influence and discretion of clan leaders. This dependence on informal systems creates a parallel governance structure that, while temporarily effective, cannot fully address the systemic challenges facing IDPs in Baidoa. By filling gaps left by formal governance, these traditional networks underscore the urgent need for a more inclusive, transparent, and accountable governance framework that recognizes the rights of IDPs and provides sustainable support. Enhancing good governance practices both at the government and traditional level and improving public service delivery in Somalia can improve public trust and foster sustainable development (Kulmie et al., 2024).

### **6.1.8 Challenges with Law Enforcement and Justice in IDP Governance**

The governance challenges faced by IDPs in Baidoa extend to significant weaknesses in the local law enforcement and justice systems. Across all the interviews, the recurring theme of corruption, inefficiency, and lack of accountability within the justice system presents a major obstacle to IDPs seeking legal recourse when their rights are violated. The study exposes a justice system that fails to protect the vulnerable, leaving many IDPs at the mercy of informal systems that are often biased or ineffective. For instance, existing

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with an IDP community member in Baidoa, August 2024

national and international accountability mechanisms in Somalia struggle to hold Alshabab accountable for their crimes against humanity, hence inadequate justice for the victims, which is a similar case for the IDPs (Mutuma & Thuo, 2022).

Lack of accountability in the justice system has been echoed by the IDPs. One of the IDPs interviewed stated, *"Even if we report problems, nothing gets done. The authorities don't take our complaints seriously."*<sup>102</sup> This sentiment reflects a wider issue within Baidoa's law enforcement structures, where IDPs often feel ignored or dismissed when they try to address grievances, whether related to security, exploitation, or resource disputes. The inability to access a functioning justice system leads to a deep sense of disempowerment among IDPs, who are already vulnerable due to displacement. In the same way, the government does not incorporate the decisions and choices of IDPs when designing humanitarian measures, leading to a culture of humanitarian aid dependency (Iorbo et al., 2024).

A key challenge highlighted in several interviews is the prevalence of corruption within law enforcement agencies. IDPs consistently reported that law enforcement officials often prioritize the interests of powerful local actors or clans over those of marginalized IDPs. In Interview 9, one interviewee remarked, *"The police don't work for us. If someone with money or clan connections wants something, they will get it before we do."*<sup>103</sup> This sentiment underscores the governance failures within Baidoa's justice system, where law enforcement is perceived as serving the interests of the powerful at the expense of the most vulnerable.

Land disputes are a significant issue in IDP camps, and the weak justice system exacerbates these tensions. An IDP explained how land disputes in camps often remain unresolved due to the inability of local authorities to enforce decisions fairly. *"We have no one to turn to when there are land problems. The authorities just ignore us,"*<sup>104</sup> the interviewee shared, reflecting the powerlessness felt by many IDPs. This lack of effective legal recourse means that IDPs are often forced to rely on clan-based or informal systems of dispute resolution, which may not be impartial or fair, particularly when power imbalances exist between clans. As an interviewee noted, *"If you don't belong to a strong clan, you can't win a land*

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with IDP community member in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>103</sup> Interview with IDP community member in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>104</sup> Focus group discussion with IDPs on land disputes and justice in camps, conducted in Baidoa. 2024

*dispute.*"<sup>105</sup> These informal systems often favor the more powerful clans, leaving marginalized groups further disadvantaged. Anti-corruption measures in law enforcement agencies should be targeted focusing on identifying the causes and conditions and implementing targeted measures (Bondarenko, 2023).

The informal labor market also presents a significant area where IDPs are vulnerable to exploitation, with limited access to justice to address abuses. In one of the interviews, an IDP described *how weak law enforcement enables employers to exploit IDPs with impunity, saying, "They know we have no one to defend us. If we complain, they just find someone else who will work for less."*<sup>106</sup> This reflects the governance failure in protecting IDPs from economic exploitation, as the absence of a reliable justice system makes it nearly impossible for them to hold exploitative employers accountable. Without proper enforcement of labor laws, IDPs are left with few options but to accept poor working conditions and unfair wages. Jelle (2021) highlights the need for legal protection and effective humanitarian response, in his article where he discusses forced evictions and their social and health impacts in Southern Somalia (Jelle et al., 2021g).

Corruption within the judiciary further complicates IDPs' access to justice. Interviewees expressed that legal processes are often manipulated by those with financial resources or clan influence. One interviewee stated, *"If you don't have money to pay the judges or know someone powerful, you won't win a case."*<sup>107</sup> This reality discourages many IDPs from seeking justice through formal channels, as they are aware that they cannot afford to bribe officials or compete with those who have more resources (Mishra & Abdullahi, 2020). The systemic corruption within Baidoa's judiciary creates a barrier to justice for IDPs, compounding the challenges they already face as a displaced population.

In several interviews, IDPs noted that they have little trust in the law enforcement system, and many prefer to avoid it altogether. one IDP mentioned, *"We are afraid to go to the police because they don't protect us. Sometimes they even work with those who hurt us."*<sup>108</sup> This fear of law enforcement reflects a significant governance failure, as the very institutions that are meant to ensure safety and justice are instead viewed as threats (Mishra &

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<sup>105</sup> Interview with IDP community member, conducted in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>106</sup> Interview with IDP on labor market exploitation and law enforcement in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>107</sup> Focus group discussion with IDPs on judicial corruption and access to justice, conducted in Baidoa, August 2024

<sup>108</sup> Focus groups with IDPs in Baidoa, August, 2024

Abdullahi, 2020). The lack of trust in the police and judiciary leaves IDPs with limited recourse when they experience violence, theft, or other violations of their rights.

The challenges with law enforcement and justice in Baidoa represent a critical governance failure that disproportionately affects IDPs. Corruption, inefficiency, and a lack of accountability within the justice system prevent IDPs from seeking legal redress, whether for security issues, land disputes, or labor exploitation (Husin, 2024). The reliance on informal dispute resolution systems, often biased by clan dynamics, further marginalizes IDPs and leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Strengthening the law enforcement and justice systems is essential to improving governance and ensuring that IDPs have access to fair and effective legal mechanisms to protect their rights.

### **6.1.9 Poor Coordination Between Government and Humanitarian Actors**

Another governance-related issue that emerged from the interviews is the poor coordination between government authorities and humanitarian organizations. This is influenced by political agenda, security challenges, inadequate funding and governance issues. This gap has contributed to inefficiencies in aid delivery, resource allocation, and long-term planning for IDPs. One respondent pointed out, *"The government and aid organizations don't always work well together, and we end up suffering because of it."*<sup>109</sup> The lack of coordinated efforts between various governance actors means that IDPs often fall through the cracks, receiving inadequate assistance and support. This reflects the long history of politicization of humanitarian operations in Somalia (Z. Ahmed et al., 2020b). Humanitarian and development interveners have struggled to coordinate or operate in Somalia, challenging their conventional methods of intervention, due to poor governance and coordination (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019).

Additionally, several interviewees mentioned that while international organizations provide crucial assistance, the lack of involvement of local governance structures in planning and implementation can hinder sustainable solutions. For example, one interviewee stated, *"Aid helps us survive, but we need the government to take charge and provide lasting solutions."*<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Interview with a representative of a humanitarian organization, Baidoa. August 2024

<sup>110</sup> Focus group discussion with IDP community members in Baidoa, August 2024

This sentiment reflects the need for stronger governance leadership in addressing both the immediate needs and the long-term challenges faced by IDPs.

## **6.2 Governance and Political Representation Amidst IDP Influx: Baidoa's Clan Demographics and Emerging Grievances**

The influx of IDPs into Baidoa City has fundamentally reshaped the socio-political and governance landscape of the city. With the arrival of IDPs, who are predominantly members of the Sagaal sub-clan, Baidoa has witnessed significant shifts in clan demographics, particularly within traditional clan settlement areas and the city's political power dynamics. The city's two major political players—the Sideed and Sagaal sub-clans of the Mirifle clan are now experiencing intensified contests for power and representation.

### **6.2.1 Clan-Based Spatial Settlements and Power Dynamics**

Baidoa's settlement patterns reveal a longstanding division rooted in clan affiliation, specifically between two prominent sub-clans of the Mirifle clan: The Sideed and Sagaal. Historically, the Sideed sub-clan has held a dominant presence in the northeastern to southeastern parts of Baidoa, while the Sagaal clan primarily occupies the southwestern to northwestern areas. These geographic divisions have historically reinforced clan-based power dynamics, with each sub-clan exerting influence over particular urban zones, which in turn, shape access to resources, social cohesion, and political representation. Modern government in Somalia is influenced by clan-based institutions and traditional institutions work with the government to address local governance and foster cohesion (A. Warsame, 2024b).

The recent arrival of Sagaal IDPs, some of whom have migrated from as far as the Bakool region, has begun to reshape these established spatial dynamics. The newcomers are settling in areas traditionally dominated by their kin, which has led to an expansion into former agricultural lands that are now rapidly being transformed into residential neighborhoods. A local land broker in Baidoa remarked, *"Farmlands have been transformed into settlements, noting IDPs as the propagators of the land commodity in Baidoa."*<sup>111</sup> This influx is creating new settlements on the periphery, especially within the western and southern boundaries, further challenging the established clan-based settlement patterns

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with IDP and a land broker in the eastern side of Baidoa, August 2024

and pushing the city's boundaries outward. This has resulted in economic growth and improvement of security in Baidoa (Barrow, 2020d).

This transformation of farmland into residential settlements has intensified land commodification and created a competitive property market that many long-term Sideed residents feel is being disrupted by the Sagaal IDPs. Given the historical ties between clans and territories, the Sideed see the newcomers as temporary residents without legitimate claims to the land or governance representation. The Sideed often perceive Baidoa as "their city," and their historical control over governance institutions reinforces their sense of territorial ownership and entitlement to political power. The Sideed's continued assertion of ownership over Baidoa, despite the growing presence of the Sagaal, echoes similar dynamics seen in other Somali cities, where dominant clans have historically resisted any shifts in political power driven by demographic changes. Land commodification is a source of municipal finance and leads to economic growth (Lin & Zhang, 2015).

The Somali cultural context places immense value on land and territory as markers of identity and belonging, which strengthen each clan's claim to governance. Territory in Somalia has become more rigid and exclusive, with demarcated territories becoming key political resources in state formation (Hoehne, 2016). For the Sideed, Baidoa's governance structures represent not just administrative control but a symbolic validation of their historical presence and authority. One Sideed interviewee expressed frustration, noting, *"They [the Sagaal] come from other regions and now expect a seat at our table. This has always been our land, and we've kept it safe through years of conflict."*<sup>112</sup> This sentiment captures the broader disenfranchisement felt by the Sideed as they perceive the Sagaal's increasing numbers as a direct threat to their control.

However, the Sagaal IDPs see their residence in Baidoa as a natural and necessary response to displacement, with many expressing the desire to integrate fully into the city's social and political fabric. IDPs have an average integration into local communities and desire for employment (Chernihiv National University of Technology et al., 2018). With increasing numbers, they now challenge the traditional power structures and call for equitable representation in governance, a stance that is not universally accepted. This tension over legitimacy and identity is not unique to Baidoa. Durable solutions focusing on integration

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<sup>112</sup> An interviewee from Sideed community in Baidoa, August 2024

and inclusion are crucial for preventing conflict and supporting social cohesion in urban communities (Jelle et al., 2021h). Similar challenges are observed in other Somali cities such as Beledweyne and Mogadishu, where clan diversity has fueled intense debates over representation and political control. In such contexts, the concept of “ownership” extends beyond mere residency, as identifying oneself with a place is a powerful social force that can outweigh even the physical act of settlement.

Moreover, the demographic changes prompted by the IDP influx exacerbate fears of altered political representation. For the Sideed, the fear of losing their governance majority is palpable, as the Sagaal IDPs steadily gain numbers and seek greater involvement in Baidoa’s administration. A Sideed elder remarked, *“Our city council has always served our people, reflecting our values and history. How can we trust outsiders to uphold that?”*<sup>113</sup> Such concerns over governance structures reveal the underlying apprehensions among the Sideed about the future composition of political representation in Baidoa. The prospect of including Sagaal representatives in decision-making processes threatens the Sideed’s historical dominance and raises critical questions about the inclusivity of Baidoa’s governance framework. Improved local governance actions and encouraging community engagement ensure fairer resource distribution (M. M. Hussein, 2023).

In cities like Baidoa, where clans hold significant power over political and social systems, sudden shifts in demographics can lead to instability. For instance, inter-clan conflicts in Baidoa, Bay region are driven by land ownership disputes, pastures, water and political power sharing, with lack of rule of law and urbanization contributing to the conflict (Barrow, 2020e). While clan alliances are strong, they are also exclusive, and the resistance to accommodating the Sagaal IDPs within formal governance structures highlights the challenges of transitioning to more inclusive political systems. The growth of Sagaal IDPs, both in number and socio-political influence, represents a shift in Baidoa’s demographic landscape, challenging long-standing social norms around governance and territorial control. This evolving power dynamic calls for a new governance model that can address both the rights of established residents and the representation needs of newly settled IDPs.

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<sup>113</sup> A host community member from Biadoa city, August 2024

## 6.2.2 Historical Dominance of the Sideed Sub-Clan in Political Representation

The Sideed Sub-Clan's historical dominance over Baidoa's political and economic landscape is deeply embedded in the city's governance structures and development priorities. For decades, they have held the reins of authority, occupying key leadership roles in Baidoa's regional and local administration, including positions such as the president of the SWS, the governor of the Bay region, and the district commissioner/mayor of Baidoa city. Clans significantly impact post transitional regimes and their potential for regime durability transforming formal institutions and creating an informal regime of clan politics (Collins, 2004b). This influence extends into the Baidoa City Council, which has been instrumental in city planning, resource allocation, and managing humanitarian aid. Sideed leaders have used this power to shape development initiatives, often prioritizing Sideed neighborhoods in the eastern parts of the city. An IDP camp leader in Baidoa highlighted this disparity, remarking, *"Barwaqo neighborhood in the north attracts the majority of beneficiaries of humanitarian aid in Baidoa, while Towfiq and Al-Ahmaar neighborhoods are less recognized."*<sup>114</sup> This favoritism toward Sideed-dominated areas has reinforced socioeconomic disparities across Baidoa, contributing to longstanding grievances among the less-represented Sagaal sub-clan and particularly affecting the IDPs who have settled in underdeveloped areas on the city's western periphery (Dickens, 2016).

The Sideed's grip on Baidoa's political structure not only perpetuates these inequalities but also fosters an environment resistant to reform. International initiatives aimed at fostering inclusive governance have been met with opposition, as power dynamics within the city council remain deeply entrenched (Buijs et al., 2016). Efforts to restructure Baidoa's council to accommodate representatives from both the Sideed and Sagaal sub-clans have stagnated, as the Sideed perceive any shifts in representation as a direct challenge to their supremacy. This resistance is especially pronounced as the Sagaal sub-clan, bolstered by an influx of IDPs from regions like Bakool, increasingly assert their presence and demand equal representation. The Sagaal's newfound demographic strength threatens to upend Baidoa's political landscape, sparking fears among the Sideed that their long-standing dominance may be at risk. One Sideed elder expressed his concerns, noting, *"Any push to*

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<sup>114</sup> Interview with IDP camp leader in Baidoa, August 2024.

*include more Sagaal in the council feels like a threat to our community's history and investment in this city.*"<sup>115</sup>

The widening rift between the two sub-clans reflects broader issues in Somali politics, where clan-based governance often clashes with modern concepts of democratic representation (Gemechu, 2024). The Sideed's resistance to an inclusive city council underscores their apprehension of sharing power with the Sagaal, whom they historically perceive as outsiders or newcomers. This sentiment is echoed in the words of a Sideed community leader who remarked, *"Baidoa has always been ours to govern. If the Sagaal wants representation, they should understand the history that binds this city to the Sideed."*<sup>116</sup> This viewpoint illustrates how, in the Somali cultural context, control over a particular area is more than administrative, it is tied to legacy, identity, and perceived entitlement to authority. For the Sideed, the idea of yielding any part of their political stronghold is unacceptable, as it would dilute their longstanding influence in both Baidoa and the broader SWS.

The Sagaal IDPs, on the other hand, argue that their growing numbers warrant a shift in political representation that accurately reflects Baidoa's evolving demographics. For many Sagaal, their status as residents of Baidoa, however recent, gives them a legitimate claim to governance roles and decision-making power. One Sagaal community organizer explained, *"We may have come here out of necessity, but we are here to stay and our own Sagaal community has indigenous presence in the city hence we are not visitors but locals from clan lineage perspective. Our children are growing up in Baidoa, and we deserve a seat at the table."*<sup>117</sup> This assertion reveals the Sagaal's sense of belonging and their determination to secure a future in Baidoa for their community, challenging the Sideed's exclusive claim to the city's governance.

Complicating matters further is the role of international actors who, while promoting inclusivity, inadvertently fuel the tensions between these sub-clans. Efforts to establish a representative city council under the SWS Federal Member State structure are often viewed with suspicion by the Sideed, who interpret these initiatives as attempts to dilute

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Sideed Sub-clan clan leader in Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Sideed Sub-clan clan leader in Baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Sagaal IDP Interviewee in Baidoa, August 2024.

their political authority (Gemechu, 2024). The struggle for representation between the Sideed and Sagaal sub-clans encapsulates the complexities of clan-based governance in Somalia, where formal political structures are deeply intertwined with traditional systems of clan loyalty and territorial claims. As Baidoa's demographic landscape shifts, the Sideed's insistence on preserving their dominance could hinder the city's progress toward more equitable governance and exacerbate tensions with the Sagaal.

In essence, the historical dominance of the Sideed in Baidoa's governance presents a formidable barrier to meaningful change. The influx of Sagaal IDPs adds urgency to the need for a more inclusive political framework, but the deeply rooted power dynamics between the sub-clans continue to resist reform (Dept. of Nursing Science, University of Southern Somalia, Baidoa, SWSS, Bay Regional Hospital, Baidoa, Southwest State of Somalia, SWSS et al., 2023b). Without a balanced approach that recognizes both the Sideed's historical connection to Baidoa and the Sagaal's current demographic influence, Baidoa's governance will likely remain skewed, perpetuating a cycle of exclusion and tension that undermines the city's resilience and unity.

### **6.2.3 Development Disparities and Aid Distribution Bias**

The imbalance in political representation within Baidoa's governance structures has led to pronounced disparities in development and resource distribution, particularly impacting the city's infrastructure, healthcare, and education access (Gele, 2020). The Sideed sub-clan's control over the city council has allowed them to direct resources and development initiatives predominantly toward eastern neighborhoods, where Sideed communities are concentrated, leaving the western areas largely inhabited by Sagaal IDPs severely underserved. This prioritization of Sideed neighborhoods has created a stark division in access to essential services. IDPs in Somalia have limited access to essential prevention and treatment resources, such as sanitation and health services (Alawa et al., 2021b). A traditional elder from the ADC area of Baidoa underscored the neglect faced by western neighborhoods, remarking, *"No water infrastructure on the ADC area of Baidoa which belongs to the Sagaal side, propaganda was given that the area water table is low and doesn't have water available for extraction. Similarly, road infrastructure is limited on the ADC side."*<sup>118</sup> This quote reflects the frustration felt by Sagaal community members who feel that the

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with traditional elders from ADC area, Baidoa, August 2024.

city's political bias has restricted their access to essential services under the pretense of logistical challenges, perpetuating their sense of marginalization.

The disparity in infrastructure development between Sideed- and Sagaal-dominated neighborhoods has far-reaching effects. In the Sideed areas, relatively better access to roads, water supply, and public services facilitates greater economic opportunities and improved living conditions. Meanwhile, Sagaal IDPs, many of whom settled in Baidoa due to displacement from rural areas affected by drought and conflict, find themselves in a precarious situation in the under-resourced western areas of the city. The lack of adequate infrastructure not only limits their daily life but also stymies any potential for social mobility, as limited access to education, healthcare, and transportation perpetuates poverty and reinforces the socio-economic divides in Baidoa (Hassen et al., 2018). For many Sagaal IDPs, these conditions create a feeling of being "outsiders" in a city where they are politically and economically marginalized, exacerbating tensions between the two sub-clans. The perception given by the city municipality and what they envision in the paper form as indicated in the figure below is different from the reality on the ground.

# Baidoa City Strategy



Map 1. Baidoa Strategic Vision

- |   |  |   |  |                                 |
|---|--|---|--|---------------------------------|
| <b>Bypass for heavy traffic</b>                     | <b>Densification</b><br>- Main Roads<br>- Urban Cores<br>- City Center | <b>Agriculture</b>                              | <b>Basic Infrastructure</b><br>- Water<br>- Sanitation<br>- drainage | <b>Mixed land use core</b>      |
| <b>Productive Activities</b>                        | <b>Housing upgrading</b><br>- DPs<br>- Urban Poor                      | <b>Riparian Protection &amp; Green Corridor</b> | <b>Public transport</b>  | <b>IDP project intervention</b> |
| <b>Renewable Energy</b>                             | <b>Mixed Land Use</b>  | <b>Public Spaces</b>                            | <b>Road Network</b>  | <b>Secondary node</b>           |
| <b>Commerce &amp; Livelihood</b>                    | <b>Social Infrastructure</b>   | <b>Parks</b>                                    | <b>Waste Management System</b>                                       | <b>Green corridor</b>           |
| <b>Livestock Market &amp; Animal Holding Ground</b> |  |   |  | <b>Agriculture</b>              |
- Population density (pp/Ha)  
 <80  
 80-150  
 150-300  
 300-500
- Road network  
 Bypass  
 Primary Road with Mixed Use  
 Rural Road  
 Airport buffer
- 0 1 2 3km

SAAMEYNTA



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Humanitarian aid distribution, especially that coordinated by international organizations, mirrors these development biases. The Sideed's political dominance allows them to influence aid distribution channels, often ensuring that Sideed neighborhoods receive priority access to assistance, leaving Sagaal IDPs with limited resources (Elder, 2022b). This discrepancy not only affects physical aid but also impacts the strategic deployment of aid programs, such as health initiatives or education support, which are more likely to be concentrated in Sideed areas. This favoritism fuels frustration among the Sagaal IDPs, who view the Sideed's control as a barrier to their survival and integration in Baidoa. As one Sagaal community leader put it, *"It feels like the aid is meant for them [the Sideed] while we are expected to fend for ourselves with whatever little we can find."*<sup>119</sup> Such sentiments reveal the depth of disenfranchisement felt by the Sagaal community, who perceive that their needs are systematically deprioritized.

The biases in development and aid allocation intensify clan tensions, creating resentment and stoking animosity among the Sagaal population. The perception that the Sideed Council manipulates resource distribution to maintain its dominance exacerbates divisions between the two groups, contributing to a climate of distrust. For Sagaal IDPs, who often arrive in Baidoa seeking refuge and stability, these challenges in securing fair access to resources reinforce their vulnerability and deepen the challenges of their integration into urban life. Furthermore, these dynamics perpetuate cycles of marginalization and poverty, as limited resources in Sagaal neighborhoods hinder the development of stable community infrastructure. They are vulnerable to protection risks, malnutrition, health risks, environmental degradation and other insecurities (Waaben Thulstrup et al., 2020).

Beyond immediate socio-economic implications, these disparities highlight broader systemic issues within Baidoa's governance. The allocation of resources based on clan favoritism undermines efforts toward cohesive urban development and long-term stability (Korotayev, 2024a). For Baidoa to thrive as a city capable of accommodating diverse populations, a shift toward equitable governance and inclusive resource distribution is essential (Patel & Lucey, 2024). Without addressing these biases, Baidoa's governance structure risks perpetuating divisions that may lead to greater instability. As the Sagaal IDPs grow in numbers and continue to seek fair representation and resources, the current

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<sup>119</sup> An IDP in Baidoa, 2024

governance approach may prove increasingly unsustainable, calling for urgent reforms to promote equity, transparency, and accountability in resource allocation across Baidoa's neighborhoods (Barrow, 2020f).

#### **6.2.4 Challenges in Establishing Inclusive Representation Mechanisms**

The recent demographic shifts due to the influx of Sagaal IDPs into Baidoa have laid bare the difficulties in establishing equitable representation within the city's governance structure. The Sideed sub-clan, which has traditionally held power in Baidoa, views increased Sagaal representation as a potential threat to their longstanding dominance. This resistance stems from fears that any redistribution of political power could disrupt the established clan hierarchy, which has governed Baidoa for decades. With Somali political representation rooted more in clan affiliation than in democratic constituencies, restructuring governance to include both sub-clans in a way that reflects Baidoa's changing demographics has proven highly contentious. Without formal mechanisms to integrate new populations, clan affiliations continue to dictate governance, making it challenging to balance representation without inciting tension or disrupting Sideed's historically privileged status (Korotayev, 2024b).

This issue reflects a broader, systemic challenge in Somali cities, as seen in other major urban centers like Beledweyne and Mogadishu. In these cities, the dominance of one clan often leads to the exclusion of others from political processes, thereby stifling efforts to form representative councils that reflect the diversity of the resident population (Korotayev, 2024b). Such governance models are heavily skewed toward preserving the interests of established clans, leaving new groups, like the Sagaal IDPs, without adequate representation. Baidoa's governance gap mirrors the limited access to political and economic participation faced by many displaced groups across Somalia, exacerbating their vulnerability and marginalizing them within urban settings. The absence of a viable model for inclusive representation further perpetuates these governance gaps, hindering efforts to integrate IDPs fairly and equitably, despite their growing numbers and need for basic rights and services (Masterson, 2024).

#### **6.2.4 Armed Sub-Clans and the Potential for Escalating Conflict: Need for Policy Intervention and Inclusive Representation**

Baidoa has faced decades of conflict, displacement, and political instability, deeply intertwined with Somalia's broader history. The collapse of the Somali state in 1991 following Siad Barre's ousting marked a turning point, as centralized governance disintegrated, leaving Baidoa vulnerable to occupation by armed factions. The subsequent control of the United Somali Congress (USC) deepened inter-clan rivalries, leading to displacement and localized power struggles (Menkhaus, 2003).

In the late 1990s, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA), primarily composed of Digil-Mirifle clans, reclaimed Baidoa. However, internal divisions led to the infamous Tuhun and Torabora wars, which devastated the city and entrenched spatial clan settlements, dividing neighborhoods based on factional loyalties (Mukhtar, 2003). The early 2000s "warlord era" exacerbated lawlessness, as powerful militias competed for resources and dominance. With no functioning government, Baidoa's communities endured prolonged insecurity and economic stagnation.

Al-Shabaab's capture of Baidoa in 2009 following Ethiopia's withdrawal brought new challenges. The group imposed harsh Sharia law, heavy taxation, and forced recruitment, forcing further displacement and strangling the local economy (Marchal, 2009). While Ethiopian-AMISOM forces recaptured the city in 2012, Al-Shabaab remains a significant threat in rural areas, sustaining instability and influencing political dynamics (Harper, 2012).

The creation of Southwest State (SWS) in 2014 marked a milestone in Somalia's federalization process but also revealed deep-rooted grievances. Leadership elections triggered violent protests, exposing underlying disputes over representation and power-sharing. Dominance by the Mirifle-Sideed sub-clans in governance has fueled perceptions of exclusion among other communities, particularly Sagaal IDPs who have grown demographically and politically stronger over time (Yasukawa Louisa, 2021). Armed sub-clans, particularly the Sideed and Sagaal, retain weapons from Somalia's civil conflict, intensifying the risk of renewed violence (Abdi Mohamed Qasaye, 2023).

The influx of IDPs into Baidoa has further complicated governance, exacerbating clan competition over land, resources, and political representation. Sagaal IDPs, in particular,

perceive Baidoa as their home, having invested in rebuilding their lives, yet they remain underrepresented in decision-making structures. As a Baidoa resident observed, "Without meaningful inclusion, the growing demographic shift could escalate tensions as marginalized groups turn to violence to assert their claims" (Gotteland, 2023). This situation mirrors broader patterns in Somalia where unresolved grievances have sparked conflict.

The growth of spatial clan settlements reinforces inequalities in aid distribution and land allocation, creating fertile ground for future disputes. As humanitarian resources become strained and politically influenced, disparities among communities are further entrenched. The presence of ATMIS forces currently neutralizes tensions, but this fragile peace could collapse with changes in their deployment, particularly as Al-Shabaab continues to encircle Baidoa's periphery (Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University et al., 2024).

Addressing these challenges requires urgent policy intervention to foster inclusive governance and equitable resource distribution. Baidoa's changing demographics demand mechanisms that integrate IDPs into political structures, such as council representation quotas or shared land ownership agreements (Mohamed Sala, 2017). Proactively addressing grievances will reduce the potential for conflict and promote a governance model that reflects both historical residents and the newly settled IDP communities.

Baidoa's experience serves as a microcosm of Somalia's broader struggles with inclusion, federalism, and conflict resolution. Without immediate action to resolve disparities and grievances, the city risks becoming a flashpoint for renewed violence. A forward-looking, inclusive approach is critical to ensuring lasting stability and setting a precedent for other urban centers in Somalia.

## Chapter 7: Emergence of multi-locational Livelihood System Among Baidoa IDPs

The displacement of communities into Baidoa has led to a significant transformation in traditional livelihood structures, giving rise to what can be described as a multi-locational livelihood system (Osman & Abebe, 2023c). This adaptation, born from necessity, sees families strategically dividing their members between rural and urban settings to mitigate the adverse impacts of climate change, economic instability, and ongoing security threats. In rural areas, family members who remain, often men and older boys, continue to engage in traditional livelihoods like farming and livestock rearing, despite facing challenges from recurrent droughts, new crop diseases, and locust infestations (Somali National University, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Animal Husbandry. et al., 2022). Meanwhile, family members in Baidoa, primarily women and young children, depend on humanitarian assistance and adapt to new income sources in the informal urban economy, such as laundry services, casual labor, and small-scale trading (Bakonyi & Chonka, 2023d). This split enables families to distribute risk and diversify income sources, creating a resilient livelihood model that leverages both urban and rural resources.

This multi-locational system not only demonstrates the resilience and adaptability of IDP families but also reshapes traditional roles and resources, creating a more flexible and interconnected livelihood approach. Family members support each other by sending goods and resources back and forth; rural members often send produce to their urban relatives, while those in the city provide cash and other essentials, they access through aid programs or employment. This reciprocal exchange serves as a lifeline, ensuring that both rural and urban family members can meet their basic needs despite the limitations in each location (Momeni et al., 2024) . The rural-urban livelihood split among Baidoa's IDPs reflects a broader trend of adaptive survival strategies in fragile settings, where resource-sharing, location-based labor division, and multi-source income generation become essential tools in the face of mounting socio-political and environmental pressures. This multi-locational livelihood system is not merely a stopgap but a dynamic and evolving response to the complex challenges shaping the daily lives of IDP communities in Baidoa.

## 7.1 Rural-Urban Division of Labor and Resources

The multi-locational livelihood strategy among Baidoa's IDPs illustrates a creative adaptation to their altered environment. Faced with significant social and environmental upheaval, IDP families have developed a system in which family members are divided between rural and urban locations, each playing distinct roles in household sustainability. In rural areas, husbands, older male children, and occasionally co-wives continue to manage what is left of the family's livestock or rain-fed farms. A gender specialist from the Ministry of SWS government elaborated on this split, noting, *"Some IDP families are made up of women and children, while men are left in the rural area to look after the farm and livestock. This family relocated due to instability and fears that Al-Shabaab will recruit their children as soldiers."*<sup>120</sup> This arrangement allows rural members to maintain traditional livelihoods while enabling urban-based family members to access resources unavailable in rural settings.

However, these traditional rural livelihoods have been severely affected by recurrent climate shocks, such as prolonged droughts, unpredictable rainfall, and crop diseases, leading to reduced productivity and a diminished resilience of both land and livestock. During an FGD, one participant expressed the profound impact of these climatic challenges, saying, *"Droughts have hit us hard – farm production drastically reduced due to the low rainfalls. In the eve of rains, the farms are still not productive. The livestock have also suffered equally. The animals cannot withstand severe drought as well as excessive rain. Both farmers and pastoralists were as a result displaced."*<sup>121</sup> This sentiment captures the dual hardship faced by rural IDPs, who must contend with environmental degradation while trying to sustain traditional sources of livelihood.

In contrast, mothers and young children have relocated to Baidoa, where they rely on humanitarian aid, particularly cash transfers, as well as access to essential services such as food, water, healthcare, and education. These resources provide a safety net for displaced families, allowing them to establish a basic level of stability within the urban setting. Alongside aid, women in the city often participate in informal employment, taking up jobs like laundry services to supplement their family's income. Meanwhile, men in the city

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<sup>120</sup> Gender specialist from Ministry of Women Affairs, SWS, baidoa, August 2024.

<sup>121</sup> FGD 1 session held at cadaada logistic venue in Baidoa on August, 2024.

occasionally secure construction jobs, which offer temporary but essential income streams (Grijalva-Eternod et al., 2023). This urban relocation, especially for women, represents a significant shift from their rural roles and has become a key component of the family's adaptive strategy.

The split family arrangement has fostered a reciprocal support system, where earnings and resources flow back and forth between rural and urban settings based on need and availability. Rural family members sometimes send produce to their urban-based relatives, providing them with staples like sorghum and vegetables. In return, urban family members, primarily through cash transfers, provide non-food essentials and imported goods that rural members would otherwise lack access to. One respondent described the interdependent nature of this arrangement, explaining, *"We depend on each other; those in the rural area send us food supplies when we are in need, and we send back what we can from the cash we earn in the city."*<sup>122</sup> This back-and-forth flow of resources not only sustains the family but also strengthens resilience by creating a balanced household economy, where both rural and urban members share the burdens and benefits of their dual-located livelihoods (Osman & Abebe, 2023d).

This system of reciprocal support fosters a unique resilience model for IDPs, allowing them to adapt to new urban demands while remaining connected to their traditional livelihoods. As urban members gain access to markets, healthcare, and educational opportunities in Baidoa, rural members continue the agricultural and pastoralist practices that define their heritage, albeit with significant adaptation. In many ways, this dual-locational arrangement exemplifies the adaptability of IDP communities in the face of complex challenges, including displacement, environmental stress, and economic precarity (Osman & Abebe, 2023e). It also highlights the importance of community solidarity, as family units rely on both geographic and economic diversifications to navigate their new realities.

Ultimately, the rural-urban division of labor among IDP families in Baidoa underscores a broader trend of flexible adaptation in fragile settings. By leveraging the resources and opportunities available across locations, IDPs in Baidoa manage to sustain their families through a web of mutual support and economic interdependence, which serves as a powerful coping mechanism in the face of adversity (Owigo, J., & Yusuf, O. 2020). This

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<sup>122</sup> IDP woman in Baidoa, August, 2024

system of multi-locational livelihood represents an emergent, yet crucial, model for survival and resilience, as IDP families balance the demands of both rural and urban life amidst significant socio-political and environmental change.

## **7.2 Climate Change as a Driver of Multi-Locational Systems**

Climate change has become a critical force shaping the multi-locational livelihood systems of Baidoa's IDPs, driving families to diversify income sources across both rural and urban settings. Extreme weather events, such as recurring droughts and unpredictable rainfall, compounded by locust infestations and new crop diseases, have dramatically altered the productivity of traditional agricultural practices (Lindvall et al., 2020b). This impact was poignantly described by an IDP gatekeeper in Kormari camp: *"We were displaced by the recurring droughts combined with new crop diseases which made farming untenable even during the few times we received rain. These factors resulted in loss of animals and crops; hence families resorted to flee their ancestral land to the cities for survival."*<sup>123</sup> This quote captures the severity of climate impacts, underscoring the structural shifts that push rural families to urban areas where they must redefine their means of survival. The inability to sustain agricultural productivity under climate stress leads to increased displacement, as rural areas that once supported entire communities no longer provide the resources necessary for survival (M. M. Ahmed et al., 2024b).

The detrimental impact of climate change on rural land viability has necessitated the shift to a multi-locational system, where IDPs diversify their income sources and, in turn, increase resilience across dispersed family units. However, emerging crop diseases pose an especially challenging problem, as local farmers often lack the knowledge and resources to combat these threats effectively (A. A. Warsame et al., 2021a). The introduction of targeted agricultural training, potentially through a Training of Trainers (ToT) model, could be a solution, particularly as this approach would help increase knowledge dissemination even in hard-to-reach areas, including those under Al-Shabaab influence. Addressing these knowledge gaps with tailored interventions would strengthen resilience and allow some rural families to remain in their ancestral lands.

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<sup>123</sup> IDP gatekeeper at Kormari camp, Baidoa, August 2024

This migration pattern has significant gendered implications, as men typically stay in rural areas to manage the reduced livestock and crop production, while women adapt to urban life by taking on informal work or relying on humanitarian aid in cities like Baidoa. The relocation of women and children to urban settings imposes distinct challenges on them, as they manage the dual responsibilities of securing livelihoods and overseeing household needs (Anastasiadou et al., 2024). A woman IDP in Baidoa highlighted this burden, stating, *“We are doing whatever we can here in Baidoa while our husbands manage what is left back home.”*<sup>124</sup> This division of labor reflects the intersecting effects of climate change and gender roles, complicating efforts to build sustainable livelihoods and necessitating gender-sensitive policies in humanitarian responses (Nasrah Noah, 2024). The challenges faced by these women underscore the importance of incorporating gender considerations in the design of aid programs to address the unique burdens that climate-induced displacement imposes on different family members.

### **7.3 The Complexities of Operating in Al-Shabaab-Controlled Areas**

The presence of AS creates significant challenges for rural-based family members within the multi-locational livelihood system, introducing ongoing taxation pressures and operational restrictions that stifle productivity. Al-Shabaab’s taxation system demands payments at nearly every stage of agricultural production, from the initial preparation of farmland to the sale of harvested crops (Levy & Yusuf, 2021b). This includes tolls imposed on transport routes used to bring produce to urban markets, adding further costs and logistical challenges to an already struggling agricultural sector (Romaniuk et al., 2024). A host community elder in Baidoa elaborated on this, sharing, *“Al-Shabaab imposed heavy taxation regimes and recruited children as soldiers. Majority of the households could not withstand these huge demands, so they fled to cities like Baidoa.”*<sup>125</sup> This statement underscores the intensity of pressures placed on rural households by AS, which systematically undermines families’ ability to earn a livelihood, making relocation to urban areas an increasingly necessary option for survival.

The taxation practices enforced by AS deter many IDPs from cultivating their lands, creating large tracts of abandoned farmland, which, after remaining unfarmed for several

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<sup>124</sup> IDP woman in Baidoa, August, 2024

<sup>125</sup> Host community traditional elder, Baidoa, August 2024.

seasons, often become overgrown and unusable (Ahmad et al., 2022). Additionally, AS's efforts to regulate deforestation, implemented in part to reduce visibility from drone surveillance, further complicate land use and productivity. However, this contradicts the accusations that Alshabaab fund themselves through illegal production and sale of Black gold (Ahmad et al., 2022). An interviewee illustrated this frustration, stating, *"We are taxed at every stage. It's like we're working for them instead of for ourselves."*<sup>126</sup> The combined effect of taxation and operational restrictions drives many farmers away from the land, reducing the availability of locally-produced food and compounding rural food insecurity.

The heavy taxation regime imposed by AS not only reduces rural productivity but also increases dependency on humanitarian aid, forcing IDPs to rely more on urban-based income sources and aid provisions to survive (Musa et al., 2021b). For humanitarian organizations working in these AS-controlled areas, the ethical and logistical dilemmas are profound. Accessing these areas means engaging indirectly with AS-imposed structures, as resources delivered to communities are often subject to AS taxation, posing ethical questions for aid organizations (Tase, 2013). This complex dynamic also intensifies market access issues for rural-based family members, who face significant risks and costs when attempting to bring goods to market. Consequently, families are compelled to rely more on urban income sources, reinforcing the shift towards multi-locational livelihood strategies as a necessary response to these compounded challenges.

#### **7.4 Economic Challenges, Market Dynamics, and Resource Scarcity**

Multi-locational livelihoods in Baidoa are significantly influenced by fluctuating market dynamics and persistent resource scarcity, which compound the economic challenges faced by IDPs. The rising cost of staple foods, such as sorghum and beans, is partly due to reduced agricultural output in rural areas, where recurrent droughts and lack of resources hinder production (A. A. Warsame et al., 2021b). At the same time, demand for these traditional foods has risen as more IDPs adapt to urban life, creating market conditions where food prices are inflated, particularly for locally-sourced items (M. Hussein et al., 2021a). This phenomenon highlights a critical gap between supply and demand, as rural productivity struggles to meet urban needs. One IDP household head underscored this challenge, noting, *"Food is expensive in Baidoa, both imported and locally produced. As the*

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with IDP farmer who was recently displaced, Baidoa, August, 2024

*children are adopting the imported food, our older family members prefer the healthy local produce for household consumption.*<sup>127</sup> His statement reflects the shifting consumption patterns within IDP households, where imported foods are sometimes chosen for convenience, but traditional grains remain highly valued for their perceived health benefits. This preference among older IDP members for local produce highlights the cultural continuity that persists in urban settings, even as younger generations adapt to new dietary options.

The emergence of these niche consumption trends among IDPs suggests potential economic opportunities for urban markets. A targeted response could focus on encouraging the local production and marketing of traditional grains and legumes, addressing both the demand for healthier foods and the scarcity of rural produce. This market-driven approach could support local farmers by creating a reliable demand for their products, thereby promoting food security and reducing dependency on external aid (M. Hussein et al., 2021b). However, this initiative requires interventions that address the root economic challenges, such as resource scarcity and lack of climate resilience, that affect rural productivity. Climate-smart agricultural practices, like the promotion of “smart farming” methods, could prove beneficial in this regard (Bashiru et al., 2024). While space constraints in urban Baidoa limit large-scale agriculture, climate-resilient crops and soil preservation techniques could be adapted for small-scale production within IDP communities. This would empower IDPs to produce their food, reduce the high costs of imported goods, and foster a self-sustaining economy that leverages local market dynamics.

By promoting climate-smart practices within IDP communities, donors and development organizations could simultaneously address food security and economic resilience. Investing in local staple food production would not only help IDPs achieve greater food autonomy but would also reduce their vulnerability to price volatility in urban markets.

## **7.5 Implications for Future Generations and Urbanization**

The shift toward a multi-locational livelihood model among Baidoa’s IDPs has far-reaching implications, especially for the younger generation. Many children born or raised in Baidoa

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<sup>127</sup> Interview with male household head in Baidoa, August, 2024

are increasingly disconnected from traditional rural livelihoods, as they attend school, learn urban skills, and form connections within the city. As one respondent noted, *“Our children know city life now; they won’t go back to the farms.”*<sup>128</sup> This sentiment illustrates a generational shift that is seeing younger members of IDP families grow up with an urbanized worldview, integrating more fully into city life. For them, returning to rural areas to sustain traditional pastoral or farming practices appears less likely, indicating that the multi-locational livelihood model may eventually become a fully urban-centered adaptation for the next generation. This has also been witnessed in conflict affected areas in Pakistan, which has led to economic gaps in educational attainment, impacting socio-economic well-being for internally displaced persons (Ullah et al., 2017). This trend also suggests that as time passes, rural Baidoa may largely be inhabited by older family members who remain in these areas due to limited alternatives or strong ties to ancestral land, while younger generations reshape the social fabric of Baidoa's urban landscape.

This generational urbanization presents new challenges and opportunities for Baidoa’s future, affecting issues such as land use, infrastructure, household responsibilities, and urban planning (M. D. Ali et al., 2022). Rural lands, which have been left uncultivated as IDPs migrate to cities, are likely to face degradation, reducing the potential for future agricultural recovery unless active rehabilitation programs are introduced. Policymakers and development organizations might consider re-establishing sustainable practices on these lands, perhaps by incentivizing reforestation, implementing soil preservation initiatives, or encouraging seasonal farming. Such interventions could help mitigate the effects of rural abandonment and stem the flow of rural-urban migration. The urban shift also raises pressing questions for Baidoa’s city planners. As IDPs integrate into urban life, they exert growing demand on the city’s limited housing, sanitation, healthcare, and educational facilities. Addressing these needs calls for a comprehensive urban planning strategy that not only meets IDPs’ immediate needs but also promotes long-term inclusivity and resilience.

In conclusion, Baidoa’s IDPs have demonstrated remarkable resilience and adaptability through the adoption of a multi-locational livelihood strategy, balancing urban and rural demands. While this approach provides immediate economic support and social cohesion,

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with IDP respondent in Baidoa, August, 2024

it also hints at a transitional phase for the city's future, where the next generation may fully transition to urban life. Ensuring that IDPs can contribute meaningfully to Baidoa's economy and social fabric requires strategic interventions that recognize the complex needs of both urban and rural landscapes. By investing in policies that bridge rural-urban development gaps, policymakers and humanitarian agencies have an opportunity to support Baidoa's evolving social structure while fostering a sustainable environment for IDP families and future generations.

## Chapter 8: Conflict Dynamics

The ongoing conflict in Baidoa is shaped by an intricate web of social, political, and economic dynamics that collectively sustain instability while simultaneously creating potential entry points for peacebuilding. As Kaldor (1999) posits in her theory of "new wars," such conflicts are often characterized by a blend of localized grievances, identity politics, and economic exploitation, which are evident in Baidoa. This chapter examines how these diverse factors interact, often amplifying tensions and heightening vulnerabilities across communities. Findings underscore that no single cause drives the conflict; rather, a combination of entrenched grievances and emerging challenges fuels the current climate of unrest. Among the core issues are the presence of the Al-Shabaab insurgency, longstanding clan rivalries, competition over essential resources, and the effects of political marginalization. These elements are deeply intertwined with identity politics, historical grievances, and socio-economic disparities, reinforcing cycles of violence (Menkhaus, 2018).

The analysis also explores the multifaceted role of external actors who, whether through direct intervention or indirect influence, affect the dynamics of conflict in Baidoa. As observed by Anderson (1999), external involvement, while often intended to provide relief, can inadvertently exacerbate tensions by disrupting existing social structures. Together with localized factors, such involvement has contributed to the escalation of certain tensions while occasionally providing pathways for conflict mitigation. This chapter breaks down these interrelated factors into key subsections, each offering insights into specific themes such as the Al-Shabaab insurgency, clan-based identity politics, disputes over land and resources, gendered experiences of conflict, and political exclusion. The chapter concludes by identifying peacebuilding opportunities that acknowledge these complex drivers of conflict, emphasizing the need for an inclusive and multi-dimensional approach to building resilience in Baidoa.

### 8.1 Al-Shabaab Insurgency Factor in Baidoa Conflict

Baidoa City remains a focal point of conflict and insecurity in Somalia, largely due to the persistent threat posed by the Al-Shabaab insurgency. This militant group continues to destabilize the region through targeted attacks, extortion, and recruitment, with substantial

implications for both local governance and community safety. These actions align with Reno's (2011) description of insurgent groups that utilize violence and coercion to undermine state authority while embedding themselves in local economies through taxation and extortion. A local resident expressed the situation starkly, stating, "Al-Shabaab's presence is a shadow over Baidoa; their attacks are constant reminders that peace here is fragile."

Al-Shabaab has increasingly employed violent tactics to assert its influence over the region, particularly targeting government-affiliated personnel, civilians, and infrastructure. Their strategy reflects the broader trends of non-state actors employing asymmetric warfare, as identified by Mampilly (2011), to disrupt governance and maintain territorial control. Through roadside bombings, assassinations, and intimidations, the group aims to undermine state authority and foster instability. According to a traditional leader, "Al-Shabaab attacks almost feel routine, they control the roads, they take what they want from the people."

The group's influence extends beyond violence, impacting economic activity and social cohesion. Al-Shabaab imposes illegal taxes on local businesses, which are difficult to refuse due to a lack of robust security. This mirrors the practices of other insurgent groups in fragile states, as observed by Collier (2007), who noted that such tactics exacerbate local economic hardships while entrenching the power of the insurgents. "You either pay them, or you face consequences," one business owner shared, highlighting the limited choices local residents face. These insurgent-imposed taxes further exacerbate economic hardship, as individuals and businesses are financially strained by both insurgent demands and government taxes. The dual burden of these economic pressures reflects the fragile nature of local governance systems, which often lack the capacity to shield citizens from insurgent exploitation (Keen, 1998).

## **8.2 Clan Tensions and Identity Politics**

Clan-based tensions and identity politics emerged as a core theme in discussions, reflecting the pervasive influence of clan identity on access to resources, political power, and social status. In Baidoa, as in much of Somalia, clan identity is a defining factor that shapes an individual's opportunities and security within the community. Research by Menkhaus (2018)

highlights that clan affiliations often serve as the primary framework for political and economic decision-making in Somalia, perpetuating systemic inequities and marginalization of minority groups. Access to land, employment, political representation, and social services is frequently determined by clan affiliation, and those outside the dominant clan structure often find themselves marginalized and with limited options. As one community leader pointed out, “We need to find a way to bring everyone together, not just those who share the same clan.” This sentiment underscores the challenges of promoting inclusive community development amidst deeply entrenched divisions that often hinder collective action and peacebuilding efforts.

The concentration of resources and decision-making power within dominant clans fuels competition and resentment, as leaders often prioritize their kin, leaving minority clans with minimal representation and resources. This favoritism exacerbates social divides, where members of minority clans feel excluded from key opportunities for social mobility and stability. According to Hoehne (2015), the clan-based allocation of resources in Somali regions not only entrenches inequality but also fosters cycles of grievance and retaliation that escalate into conflicts over land and resources. In a focus group discussion, one participant shared, “If you are not part of the dominant clan, your rights are limited. You can't access land or government services easily.” This experience reflects a broader issue of clan-based marginalization that perpetuates economic inequality and social alienation, leading to grievances that frequently escalate into conflicts over land ownership, access to public services, and local political influence.

The clan structure's impact on land ownership and resource allocation is especially evident in Baidoa, where land is a scarce and highly contested asset. With the influx of internally displaced persons (IDPs) into the city, competition for land has intensified, particularly as some clans leverage their political influence to acquire valuable urban plots, leaving minority clans with limited options. Research by Lindley (2013) underscores how the intersection of displacement and clan dynamics exacerbates urban land disputes, particularly in Somali urban centers like Baidoa. The imbalance in land access is a key grievance among underrepresented clans, who view this as not only an economic setback but also a direct challenge to their identity and sense of belonging within Baidoa. Furthermore, control over resources extends to employment opportunities and local governance, where influential clans often dominate key positions, leaving minority groups

without a voice in decision-making. This exclusion perpetuates a cycle of disenfranchisement; as marginalized clans find it increasingly difficult to secure sustainable livelihoods or advocate for their communities' needs.

The influence of clan-based politics on local governance contributes to a volatile environment, as minority clans often resort to alternative means, including alliances with other marginalized groups or, in extreme cases, support for opposition factions to assert their presence. This situation is aggravated by the historical significance of clans in Somali society, where loyalty to one's clan often supersedes allegiance to formal institutions, creating a parallel structure of influence that undermines official governance frameworks. As Kapteijns (2013) notes, the historical entrenchment of clan loyalties in Somali politics complicates efforts to build inclusive and equitable governance systems. Efforts to establish inclusive governance are frequently challenged by these dynamics, as power-sharing agreements and development initiatives are often viewed through a lens of clan competition rather than community-wide benefits. Thus, clan-based divisions continue to stymie Baidoa's potential for cohesive development and social stability, underscoring the critical need for inclusive governance frameworks that can bridge these divides and foster a shared sense of belonging among all clans in the region.

To address these challenges, policymakers and community leaders must consider culturally sensitive approaches that balance clan identities with principles of equity and inclusivity. Developing mechanisms for resource-sharing and proportional representation within local governance structures could help mitigate these tensions, allowing for fairer distribution of resources and opportunities that transcend clan lines. This is consistent with the recommendations by Bradbury (2008), who highlights the importance of participatory governance models in conflict-affected settings. As Baidoa navigates the complexities of urban expansion and demographic shifts, fostering an environment that respects clan identity while promoting equal access to resources will be essential in paving the way for sustainable peace and resilience.

### **8.3 Resource Disputes: Land, Water, and Livelihoods**

Access to land and water remains crucial in Baidoa, a region where agriculture and pastoralism are lifelines for the majority. However, population growth from the influx of

internally displaced persons (IDPs), combined with the harsh impacts of climate change, has placed unprecedented pressure on these essential resources, making them flashpoints for conflict. As Homer-Dixon (1999) argues, environmental scarcity, when combined with social and economic pressures, often leads to resource-based conflicts. In Baidoa, climate variability has led to recurrent droughts that deplete water sources and reduce arable land, forcing communities to compete for survival. As one farmer explained, “When there’s a drought, everyone fights for the few water sources left.” This competition is not just between local farmers and herders but also includes the newly arrived IDPs, intensifying the struggle over diminishing resources. The scarcity of water, essential for both human consumption and agriculture, amplifies tensions, creating a cycle of resource-related conflict that threatens regional stability. This phenomenon aligns with research by Gleick (2014), who highlights that water scarcity in fragile states often exacerbates tensions and contributes to instability.

The strain on land resources is equally pronounced, as climate change alters the productivity of traditional farming and grazing areas, leading to shifts in land use that often spark disputes. For many IDPs, displacement was initially triggered by land conflicts in rural areas, only to find similar disputes waiting in Baidoa’s urban and semi-urban settings. “We were displaced from our home due to violence over land. Now, we are in a camp, and the same issues follow us here,” shared one IDP. This reflection underscores the persistent nature of land-based conflicts in Somalia, where rural disputes over land ownership and grazing rights often spill into urban areas as people relocate. Research by Adano et al. (2012) highlights similar patterns, where competition over land intensifies as population density increases and traditional governance structures fail to mediate disputes effectively.

IDPs arriving in Baidoa find themselves entangled in an ongoing struggle for access to housing, grazing space, and small plots of land to grow food. The influx of new settlers increases demand for land, making disputes over boundaries, ownership, and usage rights more common and intense, even within IDP camps and host communities. According to UNHCR (2020), urban centers like Baidoa are particularly vulnerable to resource conflicts due to the high concentration of displaced populations and limited institutional capacity to manage disputes.

Furthermore, the impacts of these disputes go beyond immediate survival, as they hinder long-term livelihoods and disrupt traditional resource-sharing agreements. Local communities have long managed land and water through customary systems that regulate access based on clan affiliations and social agreements. However, the scale of displacement and resource scarcity has strained these mechanisms. This finding aligns with studies by De Waal (2009), which note that traditional resource-sharing agreements often collapse under external pressures such as climate change and population growth. As Baidoa's population grows, traditional governance structures struggle to adapt to the expanded needs, leading to breakdowns in resource-sharing and creating further grievances.

These conflicts not only complicate community cohesion but also pose significant obstacles to sustainable development and peacebuilding efforts in Baidoa. Addressing these challenges will require innovative approaches that integrate climate resilience and equitable resource allocation into urban planning and governance frameworks, as suggested by Dodman et al. (2012). Such strategies can help stabilize local communities and improve livelihood security amidst growing resource competition.

#### **8.4 Political Exclusion Tension**

Political exclusion is a pervasive issue in Baidoa, with youth and marginalized groups voicing deep frustration over their lack of representation. This aligns with Stewart's (2008) research on horizontal inequalities, which emphasizes how systemic exclusion of certain groups fosters grievances and undermines social cohesion. Many residents feel that local government structures fail to address their needs, resulting in a growing sense of alienation and disempowerment. This exclusion is particularly felt by youth, who are often overlooked in decision-making processes, despite being a significant part of the population. As Collier (2007) notes, the lack of inclusion in governance disproportionately affects vulnerable populations, leading to a breakdown in trust between communities and political institutions. "We don't trust the politicians. They only listen to the big clans and forget about the rest of us," one young man expressed during a focus group discussion. This statement underscores the disconnect between political leaders and the communities they are meant to serve, especially those from minority clans or lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This disenfranchisement breeds resentment and a volatile environment, where individuals feel

compelled to voice their grievances through protests or, in extreme cases, violence, as peaceful channels for participation seem inaccessible to them.

Furthermore, this political exclusion is compounded by widespread corruption within local governance structures, further eroding trust in political institutions. The observation that political positions are often distributed based on clan affiliation and financial gain rather than merit mirrors findings by Menkhaus (2018), who highlights how Somali governance systems frequently privilege elite networks at the expense of broader inclusivity. In this system, those who belong to dominant clans or who have financial means can influence decisions, leaving marginalized groups without a voice. The effect is a political landscape that is perceived as biased and unjust, causing deep-rooted dissatisfaction among underrepresented groups. The inability of these groups to access fair representation has created a power imbalance, making governance appear not only exclusive but also resistant to meaningful reform. This environment perpetuates cycles of exclusion and social inequality, as political decisions and development efforts continue to favor influential groups, exacerbating the divides within Baidoa's already fragmented society. According to Fukuyama (2013), governance systems that fail to ensure inclusivity risk perpetuating instability and limiting sustainable development.

Concerns over external influences further intensify these issues, as participants highlighted the role of foreign actors in shaping local politics. "Some of our leaders are controlled by outsiders, and they make decisions that don't benefit the community," said one participant, underscoring the impact of foreign interests on local governance. This aligns with Anderson's (1999) critique of external interventions, which often prioritize donor agendas over community needs. International organizations and foreign governments, though often well-intentioned, can sometimes skew priorities to align with their agendas, which may not always reflect the needs of Baidoa's communities. This involvement complicates the political landscape, as local leaders may prioritize external relationships over addressing local issues, leading to policies and programs that feel disconnected from the community's immediate needs. As a result, the influence of external actors not only fosters distrust but also adds another layer of complexity to political exclusion, making it difficult for Baidoa's residents to achieve a truly representative and accountable governance system. Addressing these issues requires efforts to enhance local agency in governance and create inclusive political structures that prioritize community needs over external agendas. Such

strategies are supported by North et al. (2009), who argue that inclusive institutions are critical for reducing conflict and promoting development in fragile states.

## **8.5 Gendered Dimensions of Conflict**

In Baidoa, conflict has distinctly gendered impacts, with women facing unique and compounded challenges that heighten their vulnerability. Research by UN Women (2019) highlights that women in conflict zones disproportionately experience economic instability, social exclusion, and increased caregiving burdens, aligning with the experiences shared in Baidoa. The loss of livelihoods and displacement affects women deeply, as they are often left to provide for their families under precarious conditions. "During the conflicts, we women suffer the most. We are left to take care of the children, and when our husbands die, we have nothing," one woman explained in a focus group. Her statement underscores how women disproportionately bear the consequences of conflict, experiencing economic instability, increased responsibility for household management, and limited access to resources. Displaced women frequently struggle to secure consistent sources of income, making them more susceptible to poverty and food insecurity. These challenges mirror findings by El-Bushra and Sahl (2005), who argue that displacement exacerbates pre-existing gender inequalities, increasing women's vulnerabilities in humanitarian crises.

These burdens are intensified in displaced communities, where the absence of social safety nets or support systems leaves women shouldering responsibilities without adequate resources or assistance. The gendered nature of conflict places a significant toll on their mental and physical well-being, exacerbating inequalities that already existed prior to displacement. According to Freedman (2016), the psychological and social impacts of displacement often disproportionately affect women, compounding their marginalization in both public and private spheres.

Beyond the economic hardships, women in Baidoa feel marginalized from peacebuilding and decision-making processes. Several women voiced frustration over their exclusion from formal peace negotiations, emphasizing that their experiences and perspectives are often overlooked. "We are the ones affected by the conflict, but no one invites us to the peace meetings," one woman stated, underscoring how the systematic exclusion of women from these discussions undermines sustainable peace efforts. Research by Rehn and Sirleaf

(2002) indicates that such exclusion often leads to peace processes that fail to address the broader needs of society, limiting their inclusivity and effectiveness.

Women, who are frequently the primary caregivers and community organizers, possess valuable insights into the needs and dynamics of their communities; however, without formal representation, their contributions are often left unaddressed. As Kabeer (2005) argues, the empowerment of women through participatory governance mechanisms is critical for achieving gender-sensitive and sustainable development. This exclusion perpetuates a cycle where peace processes fail to encompass the needs of all community members, ultimately limiting the effectiveness and inclusivity of conflict resolution efforts. Addressing the gendered dimensions of conflict by actively involving women in peacebuilding could lead to more comprehensive and durable solutions that reflect the diverse needs and aspirations of Baidoa's residents. This aligns with the principles of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which advocates for the inclusion of women in all levels of peace processes (UN Women, 2000).

## **8.6 External Actors and Their Role in Conflict Dynamics**

The influence of external actors such as international organizations and humanitarian agencies, is a complex and multifaceted factor in Baidoa's conflict landscape. While many participants acknowledged the critical role these actors play in providing essential services, there were concerns about unintended consequences that come with their involvement. As Anderson (1999) notes in her work on the "Do No Harm" framework, aid interventions in conflict zones often risk exacerbating tensions if not delivered with cultural sensitivity and awareness of local dynamics. "Without the help of NGOs, we wouldn't have any services, but they sometimes take sides without knowing it," one participant shared, highlighting the difficulty in maintaining neutrality in a highly polarized environment. In regions where clan dynamics and local power structures are deeply ingrained, any perceived partiality can unintentionally favor one group over another, thereby altering local power balances. This dynamic aligns with the findings of Collier and Hoeffler (2004), who emphasize that external interventions can unintentionally fuel grievances when they disproportionately benefit certain groups or fail to address underlying inequalities.

This dynamic sometimes intensifies existing grievances, as humanitarian aid or development projects may be perceived as preferential, benefiting specific clans or groups and exacerbating local tensions. This underscores the importance of cultural sensitivity and a deep understanding of local social structures for external actors aiming to deliver aid effectively. A lack of this understanding can lead to unintended consequences, as highlighted by Keen (1998), who argues that poorly planned interventions often perpetuate or worsen existing conflicts by undermining traditional governance systems or empowering factions that exacerbate instability.

Another dimension of the involvement of external actors relates to dependency and its social implications. Many participants expressed concern that long-term reliance on international aid has created dependency, impacting the community's self-sufficiency. This dependency can fuel tensions among those who receive aid and those who do not, fostering competition over resources within an already fragile setting. According to De Waal (1997), aid dependency not only erodes local capacities but also distorts local economies, creating cycles of reliance that hinder sustainable development. This competitive dynamic often extends to displaced populations and host communities, as limited resources are further strained by growing demands. Moreover, the influx of aid can disrupt traditional economic practices and social hierarchies, occasionally leading to resentment toward aid agencies and their beneficiaries.

Some community members fear that this dependency hinders local development by discouraging initiatives aimed at building sustainable livelihoods. These concerns are consistent with the findings of Duffield (2001), who highlights the risk of external aid displacing local development initiatives, leaving communities ill-prepared to manage post-aid realities. Ultimately, while external actors are pivotal in addressing immediate needs, their involvement requires a nuanced approach that prioritizes long-term stability, local empowerment, and conflict sensitivity to prevent inadvertently deepening the very conflicts they aim to alleviate. As suggested by Slim (2002), integrating conflict-sensitive approaches into aid delivery can help mitigate these risks and enhance the effectiveness of external interventions in fragile settings.

## 8.7 Opportunities for Peacebuilding

Despite the deep-seated challenges in Baidoa, there is a shared hope among community members for a future rooted in peace, particularly through grassroots and community-led initiatives. Many participants emphasized the need for consistent dialogue between clans and displaced populations, seeing open communication as a foundational step toward reconciliation. This perspective aligns with Lederach's (1997) concept of conflict transformation, which emphasizes building relationships through inclusive dialogue and understanding to address deep-rooted grievances. "We need more dialogue between clans and IDPs. That's the only way we can move forward," a religious leader suggested, reflecting the potential for trust-building through sustained interaction. Such community-driven reconciliation efforts can create a platform for addressing longstanding grievances while building bonds across clan and social divides. This approach is supported by Paffenholz et al. (2017), who found that locally driven peacebuilding efforts are more likely to succeed when they include all segments of the community, particularly marginalized groups.

To ensure these peace efforts are comprehensive, numerous participants advocated for the inclusion of underrepresented voices, such as women, youth, and minority clans, which can lend credibility and inclusivity to peace processes, making them more likely to yield lasting results. This recommendation is consistent with the principles outlined in UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which underscores the importance of women's participation in peacebuilding (UN Women, 2000). Similarly, Chopra (2009) highlights that the inclusion of marginalized groups not only enhances the legitimacy of peace processes but also ensures that solutions are tailored to the diverse needs of affected communities.

In addition to reconciliation, participants highlighted the importance of shared economic opportunities as a pathway to peace. As one individual noted, "If people have jobs and land, they won't fight as much," underscoring the role of economic stability in reducing the root causes of conflict. Collier (2007) identifies economic deprivation and competition over resources as major drivers of conflict, arguing that economic stability can reduce grievances and foster social cohesion. Employment, access to resources, and sustainable livelihoods were identified as key factors that could address economic drivers of conflict, particularly in a city where resource scarcity and competition are prominent. Creating

programs that foster job creation, skills development, and fair access to land could not only alleviate economic pressures but also foster collaboration and mutual dependence across community lines.

The participants' reflections reveal the interconnected nature of conflict drivers in Baidoa, suggesting that peacebuilding efforts must be multifaceted. This aligns with Galtung's (1969) concept of positive peace, which advocates for addressing structural and cultural violence alongside direct violence to build sustainable stability. By grounding these efforts in the experiences of affected individuals and emphasizing inclusivity and economic resilience, Baidoa can lay a foundation for long-term stability that addresses both social and economic dimensions of peace.

## Chapter 9: Conclusions and Recommendations

### 9.1 Main Findings

This section summarizes key insights from interviews and focused group discussions conducted in Baidoa, focusing on the experiences of IDPs and their interactions with the local community. The study on the climate change-security-peace nexus in Baidoa revealed a complex landscape of challenges and coping mechanisms for IDPs. While their social integration and economic contributions to Baidoa are noteworthy, significant barriers to land ownership, political representation, and sustainable livelihoods remain. The increasing visibility of clan-based settlements and the competition for scarce resources further complicates the integration process. Addressing these issues requires coordinated policy efforts that prioritize land security, economic inclusion, and long-term livelihood solutions for both IDPs and host communities.

Several key themes emerged from the discussions, including the historical and contemporary realities of migration, the coping mechanisms adopted by IDPs, their contributions to the local economy, the governance challenges they face, and the multi-locational livelihood strategies developed in response to conflict and displacement.

#### 9.1.1 Historical Roots and Contemporary Realities of Migration and Displacement

The IDP crisis in Baidoa is profoundly tied to recurring climatic shocks and Somalia's prolonged conflicts, making the city a critical destination for displaced populations fleeing violence, drought, and famine. Interviewees noted that climate-induced displacement is now one of the most pressing and rapidly increasing drivers of migration. A growing number of families have been forced to leave their homes due to ongoing drought conditions, which, compounded with economic pressures, have left rural areas uninhabitable.

This sustained displacement has intensified existing social and economic challenges, particularly as Baidoa's urban infrastructure is strained under the expanding IDP population. Interviewees stressed that the city's rapid, unplanned expansion has led to informal settlements sprawling across available spaces, often without basic services. This uncontrolled growth, compounded by inadequate land allocation strategies, has led to the

conversion of agricultural land into residential areas, raising concerns over long-term food security. The lack of comprehensive urban planning is a pressing issue, with interviewees emphasizing the urgent need for structured land management to balance the demands of incoming populations with sustainable development and resource preservation in Baidoa.

### **9.1.2 Dynamics of Migration and Displacement**

Clan-based spatial settlements are increasingly defying Baidoa's urban landscape, as displaced families often seek safety and familiarity within areas where their clans are dominant. While these clan affiliations provide crucial support networks and protection for IDPs, they are also reinforcing divisions within the city. Respondents indicated that these clan-centered zones are not only shaping the spatial distribution of IDPs but are also affecting access to essential resources, security, and political representation. This pattern of settlement raises concerns as clans leverage their presence to secure resources and assert political influence within the city.

The visibility of these clan-based areas has, in some cases, intensified tensions, particularly over land disputes. Respondents highlighted the increasing scarcity of land in Baidoa and the ensuing competition among clans to claim available plots for their members. This competition underscores a potential for future conflict as land becomes more contested, with some residents voicing concerns about escalating inter-clan tensions. As these settlements solidify, a more pronounced socio-political fragmentation within Baidoa may develop, emphasizing the urgent need for conflict-sensitive land management strategies to address the city's growing pressures.

### **9.1.3 Resilience in Transition: Coping Strategies of Baidoa's IDP Community**

The coping strategies of IDPs in Baidoa illustrate diverse coping strategies and strong reliance on social support networks, which provide both emotional and practical assistance in times of need. Economic adaptation is also prominent, with many IDPs engaging in informal work to secure income within an unstable urban environment, while others pursue education and skills training to enhance future opportunities. Mental health resilience surfaces as a key factor, as IDPs actively adopt practices to sustain their emotional well-being amidst the uncertainties of displacement. Further strategies include adapting to urban lifestyles, leveraging traditional clan and governance systems for support, and

utilizing humanitarian aid to meet essential needs. Together, these coping methods underscore the adaptive strength of Baidoa's IDP community and highlight their efforts to establish new foundations within a rapidly evolving city landscape.

#### **9.1.4 Urban Expansion vs. Agricultural Sustainability: A Call to Action for Baidoa's Food Security.**

Unplanned urban growth in Baidoa City necessitates immediate attention, particularly regarding the conversion of agricultural land into settlements. Over the past few years, farmlands within a 10-kilometer radius of the city have been increasingly transformed into IDP settlements, significantly impacting food production in the region. This rapid urbanization poses a direct threat to the agricultural landscape, which is vital for the local economy and food security.

As IDPs are settled on previously productive farmlands, the availability of land for agricultural activities has dwindled, exacerbating food insecurity in the area. The displacement of farming communities and the loss of arable land undermine efforts to maintain a stable food supply, leaving the population vulnerable to hunger and malnutrition. Addressing these challenges requires urgent policy interventions to manage urban growth sustainably and protect essential agricultural resources.

#### **9.1.5 Contributions of IDPs to Baidoa's Economy**

Despite their precarious situation, IDPs have made notable contributions to Baidoa's local economy. Many engage in informal trading, small-scale businesses, and manual labor, helping to fuel the city's commercial activities. IDPs in Baidoa engage in small businesses such as selling vegetables in the market, washing clothes, among others, and this makes it possible to support their families in the camps and back in their villages.

However, these contributions remain largely unrecognized, and many IDPs face significant barriers to formal economic participation. Economic exclusion, particularly in access to formal employment and business opportunities, persists due to social and political marginalization. The IDPs lament that they work hard, but are still treated as outsiders. They do not get fair chances and opportunities as the locals of Baidoa.

### **9.1.6 Governance, Exclusion, and Political Representation**

Governance issues emerged as a recurring theme, with many IDPs feeling politically excluded and lacking representation in decision-making processes. The IDPs do not have a say in how things are run in Baidoa, because they do not have the power to raise their voices. This exclusion extends to access to land rights and local political participation, further perpetuating the cycle of marginalization.

While there are efforts by local authorities and humanitarian actors to address some of these issues, the lack of a coordinated policy framework was frequently mentioned as a barrier to resolving governance challenges. One community leader highlighted the need for greater inclusion, stating that the IDPs are part of our community now and as such they need policies that recognize that and bring everyone together.

### **9.1.7 Conflicts and Land Issues**

Conflicts over land and resources were highlighted as one of the most pressing challenges in Baidoa, with competition for land between IDPs and host communities intensifying. As the city continues to grow, agricultural land is increasingly being repurposed for settlement, threatening food production. The Baidoa residents claimed that they were losing their farms because everyone was settling on the land. This unplanned urban expansion is contributing to food insecurity and creating tensions between displaced and local populations.

IDPs are often caught in the middle of these land conflicts, with many unable to secure permanent land ownership. They lamented that "If the owners want their land back, we will have nowhere to go,". The uncertainty around land tenure adds another layer of insecurity for displaced families, making it difficult for them to establish long-term livelihoods.

### **9.1.8 Humanitarian Support and Split Livelihood Patterns**

The provision of humanitarian support has played a crucial role in sustaining IDP families in Baidoa, but it has also contributed to the emergence of split livelihood patterns. Families are now spread across multiple locations, with some members remaining in Baidoa to access aid, while others return to rural areas to engage in agricultural activities. While this strategy provides a short-term solution, it underscores the ongoing need for more

sustainable interventions that address both urban and rural livelihood challenges. Aid was helping them, but it was not a long-term solution. People need jobs, sources of livelihoods, education, and land security.

## **9.2 Conclusion**

The study reveals several important conclusions about the challenges and dynamics affecting IDPs and the broader community in Baidoa. First, climate-induced displacement has emerged as a major driver of migration to Baidoa. With ongoing droughts and extreme weather events, many rural communities have been forced to abandon their agricultural livelihoods and seek refuge in urban areas like Baidoa. This influx has strained local resources, infrastructure, and services, accelerated the city's unplanned urban growth and exacerbated resource scarcity.

Another key finding is the increasing prominence of clan-based spatial settlements within the city. These settlements, defined by clan affiliations, have intensified competition over scarce resources, particularly land. Clan-based divisions complicate the integration of new arrivals, who may find themselves excluded from access to land and other resources, reinforcing social and economic inequalities.

To cope with these challenges, many IDPs have adopted multi-locational livelihood strategies. Families are often dispersed across multiple locations, with some members remaining in rural areas to maintain agricultural activities while others migrate to Baidoa to pursue wage labor. This approach reflects the resilience of displaced families, but it also highlights the precariousness of their livelihoods, as they navigate an unstable environment marked by environmental, economic, and social pressures.

The rapid, unplanned expansion of Baidoa poses significant risks to the city's long-term sustainability. As the city grows to accommodate the influx of IDPs, valuable agricultural land is being consumed by urban sprawl, further diminishing local food production and intensifying food insecurity. Without proper urban planning and intervention, the loss of agricultural land will continue to undermine food security and deepen social tensions.

Governance challenges further complicate the situation for IDPs in Baidoa. Despite their growing numbers, IDPs remain marginalized in local governance structures and decision-

making processes, limiting their ability to advocate for policies that address their needs. Political exclusion, combined with economic marginalization, perpetuates a cycle of vulnerability for displaced communities and hampers their ability to fully integrate into the city.

Overall, the study highlights the urgent need for long-term, inclusive solutions to address the complex challenges faced by IDPs in Baidoa. These solutions must prioritize secure land tenure, equitable access to resources, and the development of sustainable livelihoods. At the same time, governance structures must become more inclusive to ensure that both host communities and IDPs have a voice in decision-making processes. By addressing these multifaceted challenges, Baidoa can move toward becoming a more resilient and peaceful community amidst the growing impacts of climate change.

### **9.3 Future Research**

Based on the study's findings on the climate change-security-peace nexus in Baidoa, several key areas require further research to enhance our understanding of the challenges facing IDPs and the wider community. Investigating these areas will help inform more effective interventions and policies to address the complex issues affecting both displaced populations and host communities.

By filling these research gaps, future studies will provide deeper insights into the dynamics of displacement, climate change, and peacebuilding in Baidoa. These findings will be essential for shaping policies that foster sustainable and inclusive development for both IDPs and host communities in Somalia.

#### **9.3.1 Impact of Multi-Locational Livelihood Strategies**

The study highlights the growing trend of multi-locational livelihoods among IDP families, with members dispersed between rural and urban areas. Future research should investigate the long-term sustainability of this strategy, including how it affects family cohesion, economic stability, and access to essential resources like education and healthcare. Understanding the risks and benefits of multi-locational livelihoods will provide valuable insights into how IDPs can achieve economic resilience in the face of ongoing displacement and climate change.

### **9.3.2 Urbanization and Food Security**

Unplanned urban growth in Baidoa is leading to the loss of agricultural land, which poses serious risks to local food security. Research should explore the broader implications of urban expansion on food production and the agricultural sector, with a focus on identifying ways to balance urban development and food security. Additionally, studies could examine how the integration of sustainable agricultural practices in peri-urban areas might help mitigate the negative impacts of urbanization on food systems.

### **9.3.3 Governance and Political Inclusion**

Political exclusion remains a critical barrier for IDPs, who are largely marginalized from local governance and decision-making processes. Future research should explore how inclusive governance structures can be designed to ensure IDP representation. This could involve studying the mechanisms through which IDPs can participate in local politics, and examining the potential role of traditional clan-based governance systems in fostering more equitable decision-making frameworks.

### **9.3.4 Clan Dynamics and Resource Allocation**

The increasing visibility of clan-based settlements and competition for scarce resources is a major factor influencing social cohesion in Baidoa. Research should focus on understanding how clan dynamics affect resource allocation, access to land, and social integration, particularly for displaced populations. This could include examining the role of inter-clan negotiations, conflict resolution mechanisms, and power-sharing agreements in mitigating resource-related conflicts and fostering peaceful coexistence.

### **9.3.5 Climate Change Adaptation and Resilience**

While this study touches on the impacts of climate change on displacement, more in-depth research is needed to explore the adaptation strategies employed by IDPs and host communities. Future research should focus on identifying best practices for climate change adaptation at both household and community levels. This could involve examining the effectiveness of local and international interventions in building climate resilience and exploring how renewable energy, water conservation, and climate-smart agriculture could be integrated into livelihood strategies.

### **9.3.6 Youth and Gender Dimensions of Displacement**

Displacement and migration often have different impacts on various demographic groups, particularly youth and women. Research should investigate the specific challenges faced by young people and women among IDPs in Baidoa. This could include studying the barriers they encounter in accessing education, employment, and political participation, as well as exploring how targeted interventions could enhance their inclusion in social and economic life. Additionally, research on the gendered dimensions of migration and climate displacement could shed light on the unique vulnerabilities faced by women and girls.

### **9.3.7 Long-Term Impact of Humanitarian Aid**

Humanitarian support has played a crucial role in the survival of IDPs in Baidoa, but its long-term effects on the community's self-reliance and resilience require further examination. Future research could analyze how aid dependency affects the ability of IDPs to build sustainable livelihoods and integrate into the local economy. Additionally, exploring alternative models of humanitarian aid that promote self-sufficiency and economic empowerment, such as cash-based assistance or livelihood training programs, could offer valuable insights into improving aid effectiveness. These programs have been happening but there is a need for upscaling and the government getting more support to empower the IDPs and the host community in Baidoa.

## **9.4 Recommendations**

Baidoa faces interconnected challenges across climate resilience, governance, livelihoods, urban planning, and social cohesion. Addressing these requires integrated strategies that respond to both rural and urban vulnerabilities.

### **1. Climate-Resilient Agriculture and Adaptation Across Rural and Urban Areas**

Rural communities surrounding Baidoa and the city's growing urban settlements are increasingly vulnerable to climate shocks, threatening livelihoods and food security. A comprehensive adaptation strategy is needed, scaling up drought-tolerant crops, small-scale irrigation kits, and climate-smart technologies, alongside agricultural extension services promoting soil and water conservation, efficient irrigation, and livestock resilience through fodder production, veterinary outreach, and vaccination campaigns. Strengthening producer cooperatives and rural market linkages will

stabilize livelihoods and reduce climate-driven migration to Baidoa. Concurrently, urban adaptation measures including improved drainage, WASH services, waste management, and secure land tenure for long-term IDPs will mitigate climate-related risks in the city.

**2. Inclusive Urban Governance and Representation of Displaced Communities**

Displaced populations, women, youth, and persons with disabilities are often excluded from decision-making in Baidoa, limiting their access to services and perpetuating marginalization. Institutionalizing inclusive governance mechanisms through settlement-level governance units and municipal advisory committees that include IDP leaders, women, and youth can address this gap. Supporting these structures with leadership training, standardized consultation processes, and civic-awareness programs will embed community voices in formal governance, enhance accountability, and promote a cohesive and equitable urban system.

**3. Resilient and Integrated Urban–Rural Livelihood Systems**

Humanitarian aid has inadvertently created split livelihood patterns, with families dividing time between Baidoa for assistance and rural areas for farming, fostering dependency. Aid interventions should shift toward long-term resilience, supporting diversified, climate-smart livelihoods in both urban and rural areas. This includes agricultural recovery programs such as re-stocking, small enterprises, livestock services, and vocational training. Formal IDP registration and transparent aid-tracking systems will ensure equitable access. By promoting continuity of livelihoods and household self-reliance, families can maintain unity, reduce dependency, and pursue sustainable income sources.

**4. Collaborative Security and Community-Based Governance**

Safety and social cohesion remain fragile in densely populated settlements, particularly where tensions exist between IDPs and host communities. A coordinated, community-led security approach is needed. This includes establishing community policing units with IDPs, women, youth, and municipal authorities, alongside settlement mediation committees involving elders, local government, and IDP representatives. Training in conflict management, inclusive decision-making,

and resource allocation will strengthen trust and social cohesion, reduce conflict and support peaceful urban development.

**5. Economic Empowerment and Entrepreneurship for IDPs and Host Communities**

Sustainable economic recovery depends on expanding livelihood opportunities for both displaced and host populations. Initiatives should include microfinance schemes, rotating savings groups, and start-up grants for low-income households, combined with market-relevant vocational training in construction, tailoring, solar installation, carpentry, and agribusiness. Municipal incentives for local businesses to hire IDPs through public-recognition schemes, as well as formalization of informal market spaces with low-cost permits and shelter structures, will enhance small-business resilience and reduce economic vulnerability.

**6. Inclusive Urban Planning and Land Protection for Food Security**

Rapid and unplanned urban expansion threatens Baidoa's agricultural land, undermining food security. Authorities must implement an enforceable urban planning and land-management framework to preserve high-value farmland, strengthen transparent land-allocation processes, and adopt participatory planning involving both host communities and IDPs. Investments in essential urban services such as clean water, sanitation, drainage, and waste management will guide orderly growth, while mixed, integrated settlements can reduce land-use pressures and strengthen social cohesion.

**7. Integrated Urban Zoning to Reduce Clan-Based Segregation**

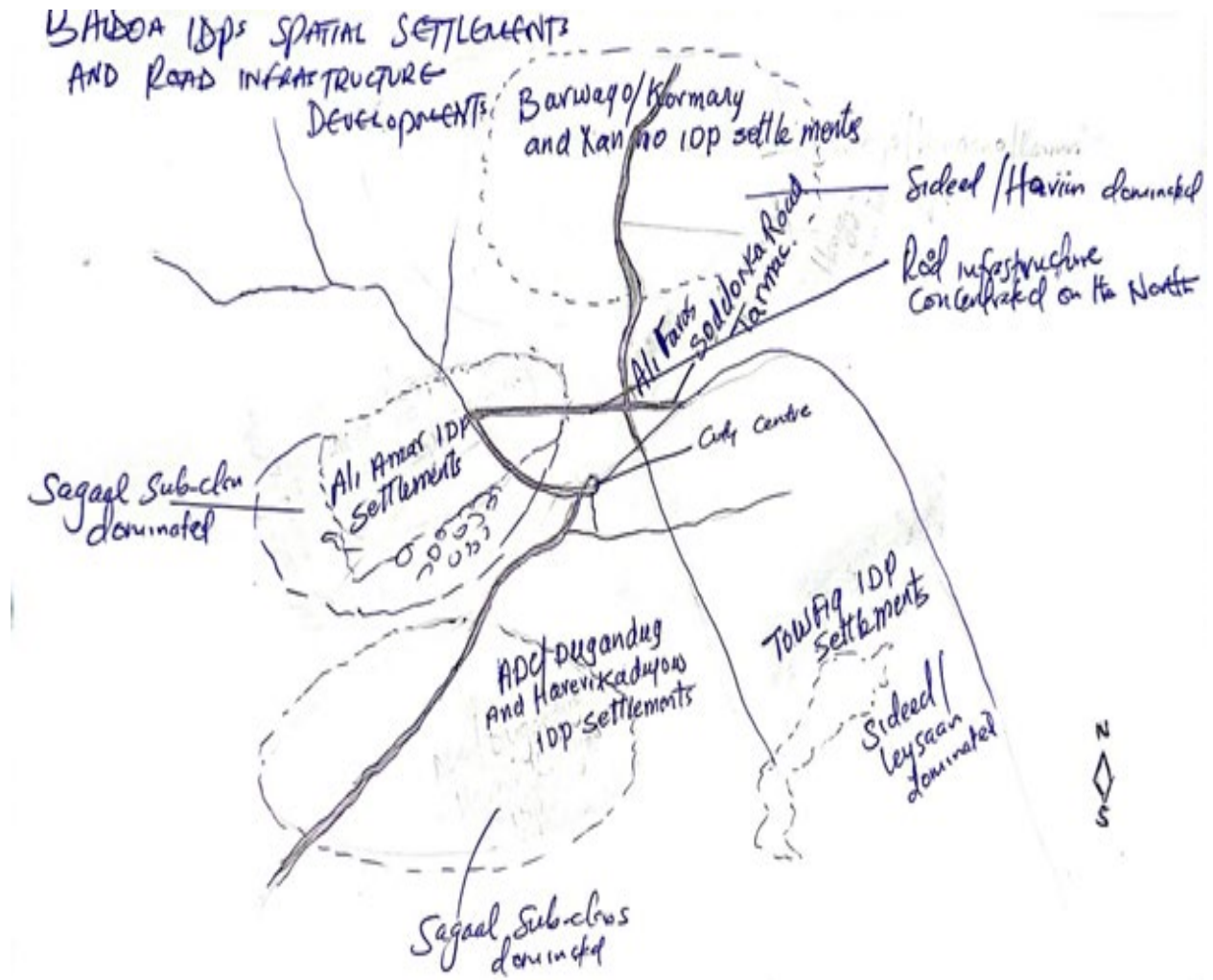
Baidoa's settlement patterns are deeply influenced by clan affiliations, particularly between the Sideed and Sagaal sub-clans, shaping access to services and political influence. Urban zoning should promote multi-clan settlement designs in both new and existing neighborhoods, ensuring equitable distribution of housing, markets, education, and health facilities. Collaboration between municipal authorities, traditional leaders, and community elders will harmonize modern governance with customary conflict-resolution practices. Institutionalizing community-led mediation for land and service disputes, alongside equitable access to livelihood and skills programs, will foster social cohesion and peaceful, integrated urban development.

## **8. Localized Early-Warning and Preparedness Systems for Rural and Urban Communities**

Both rural and urban communities are exposed to climate-related hazards, yet early-warning systems are limited. Integrated, community-specific early-warning mechanisms should translate national forecasts into actionable guidance disseminated through SMS, radio, mosque networks, community mobilizers, loudspeakers, and disability-inclusive formats. In rural areas, alerts should trigger protective measures for livestock, fodder reserves, shelters, seed stores, and water sources. In urban Baidoa, early warnings should prompt drainage clearing, evacuation route mapping, pre-positioning of emergency supplies, and strengthening flood-prone infrastructure. Coordination among municipal authorities, disaster-management committees, rural leaders, women's groups, and youth networks will enable rapid response and reduce losses of life, livelihoods, and property during climate shocks.

## Annexes

### Annex 1: Baidoa city IDPs settlements pattern and major infrastructural (road) developments



Map of Baidoa city IDPs settlements pattern and major infrastructural (road) developments ongoing.

## **Annex 2: Interview Guide (Research Questions)**

NB: the questions were tailored and adopted to the different respondents i.e for host and IDPs e.t.c.

### **1. Migration drivers and patterns**

- i) Where did you migrate from and why Baidoa was preferred destination? (region, district, village)
- ii) Can you rate on scale 1-10 (or use of proportional ranking) the relevance of each of the following factors for your migration to Baidoa: a) Climate related - droughts/floods, b) Conflicts, services, c) Humanitarian aid/Job opportunities, d) Others
- iii) How long have you stayed here and do you plan to return?
- iv) How did you get land you settled in Baidoa after displacement?
- v) How did your social networks, clan affiliations influence your choice of settlement in Baidoa?
- vi) Which area of the city is witnessing expansion, who settled where and why?
- vii) How does influx of IDPs and new settlements impact clan spatial settlements?
- viii) What are the demographic characteristics of IDPs in Baidoa?

### **2. How does climate-induced migration shape power relations and conflict dynamics**

- i) How is the feeling to live in Baidoa as displaced person? Do you feel at home?
- ii) Do you witness proper integration between the host and IDPs in Baidoa? Examples?
- iii) What challenges do migrants/IDPs face in their integration pursuit?
- iv) What remarkable contribution do the IDPs make in the city?
- v) How far are the migrants/IDPs included and represented in local governance?

- vi) How are resources (Humanitarian & Development) distributed in city across settlements? Do these differ among the host and the migrant communities?
- vii) What are the most common grievances in resource distribution?
- viii) How often conflicts arise among communities in Baidoa or in rural area?
- ix) What are the cause of conflicts? What are the outcomes? How is it resolved?
- x) How do national and international policies addressing climate change and migration affect the host and IDPs in Baidoa?
- xi) How can the city develop sustainably to accommodate climate migrants without compromising their resilience or negatively affecting conflict dynamics?

### **3. Climate change differential impact on livelihoods & mitigation strategies: rural vs urban**

- i) What climatic changes have you and other people living in your area observed in recent years?
- ii) What are the consequences of climate change in your area of settlements?
- iii) What is the impact of mass migration to Baidoa on local labor markets?
- iv) How does climate-induced migration impact the economic activities of rural and urban communities?
- v) Who are the most affected members of the community in the climate induced displacement economically and how does it affect them in rural and urban set ups?
- vi) How does these communities cope with the effects of climate change, and how effective are these strategies?
- vii) What is the continued relationships between migrants and their families back home?
- xii) What demographic shifts occurred as a result of climate-induced migration, and how do these shifts impact local economies and social structures?

## Annex 3: Climate-related migration study Photo Voice Training manual

### Samsung galaxy A15 4G features, front camera 13MP

#### Technical training:

- Stand still, hold camera still (*Intaad qaadaysaa sawir, ha dhaqdhaqaaqin!*)
- Press to focus, press further to take picture
- Don't use the zoom – use your legs!
- Take pictures early morning, late afternoon
- Practice!

#### Ethics:

- Ask permission when taking picture from others
- Inappropriate photos? Children?
- Police station/checkpoint – avoid harm – what could harm? (What is a dangerous photo?)

#### Using the camera:

- Take as many photos as you want – but we will take some for public exhibition.

#### Themes/questions:

- The journey of migration** - What moments or places from your migration journey do you remember most vividly? How can you capture that through a photo?
- Reasons for leaving home** - What pushed you to leave your home? Can you show this through an image?
- First impressions of the host city** - What was the first thing that struck you about this city when you arrived? Can you find an image that represents that feeling?
- Daily life and challenges.** - What is your daily life like in this city? What challenges do you face, and how can you represent them in a photo?
- Community and belonging** - What makes you feel like you belong or don't belong here? Is there a place or moment you can photograph that shows this feeling?
- Impact of climate on daily life** - How does the changing climate affect your life in this city? Can you capture this impact in an image?
- Adaptation strategies** - What have you or your community done to adapt to the climate changes? Is there something you can photograph that shows these efforts?
- Future in the host city** - What do you hope for your future in this city? Is there something you can photograph that represents your hopes or dreams?
- Fears and concerns** - What worries you about living here, either now or in the future? Can you take a picture that shows this concern?

## TRAINING PHOTO VOICE PARTICIPANTS

### WELCOME SESSION

- Greeting participants, serving Tea
- Introduction of trainers, introduction of interpreters
- Introduction of participants
- Explain (again) objective: Project looking for Photo Voice to inform politicians and other stakeholders on what are the histories and impact of climate change with Baioda IDPs. Aim: As participant you take pictures and use them as aid to share your story.
- End of session: Hand Out Cell Phones

**BREAK FOR 30 MINUTES:** Participants familiarize themselves with the camera function, take pictures of each other, anything they find interesting in the room, etc.

### TRAINING MODULE ONE: TECHNICAL TRAINING

- How to make sharp/clear photos
- Take many photos: practice makes master

### CLOSING MODULE: WRAP UP

1. You have a camera/cell phone
2. You have received training on how to operate the camera
3. You have received instructions on photo ethics and themes
4. Practice makes master: take many photos!
5. Review the photos, why are they important for you? What do you like about them? What are they telling about you and your life?
6. Looking forward to meeting you again on DATE.

## **Annex 4: Climate-related migration study Debrief Photo Voice Seminar manual**

### **Guiding ideas/principles (research ethics):**

- Debrief to be conducted in small groups separated on gender (male/female)
- Ensure safe, supportive, etc., atmosphere
- Consider Fardowsa, Somali-speaking research assistant, to engage women

### **(Some) Practical issues:**

- The seminars are conducted in the morning, when it's less hot, and ends with lunch
- There is a need of computers and sufficient equipment to load pictures onto the PC for better visualization of the photos as they are discussed.

### **Program for the Debrief:**

#### **I Welcome Session**

Our participants arrive and are served tea etc. While everyone has tea, the participants may each work with one support (one of us), who helps in uploading the pictures on the PC. This may have to be done one by one, depending on available equipment. This practical work needs to be done, and might take about an hour, perhaps. Our participants can then be greeted with information about this first part of the day: have tea and upload your photos; then they'll later present the pictures to everyone. Of course, this session needs to greet the participants properly, perhaps teaching them by example on how to narrate a story around a picture. The idea would be that the use of pictures is the focus of the day. What we show and what we think about beyond what the image shows, thus, image as prompter of stories not directly related to the image.

#### **II Presentation Session**

If each debrief seminar has three participants, this session begins by deciding on the order of the presenters. The timing is difficult, and given the signals so far about the participants being silent, it might be most reasonable to expect 15-30 Minutes presentations. This means we'd have to be prepared to ask questions. Importantly, we need to have a selection of pictures the participants would like to see used in the research.

#### **III Review of Pictures Chosen for exhibition**

After the presentation session, which also includes an indication of which pictures the participants would like to have for the exhibition, it might be useful to have a session in which we repeat the

pictures indicated for exhibition. This might trigger some new stories, as the participants are asked perhaps to indicate which pictures they'd prefer.

**IV Concluding Session:** Thank the participants and inform them to keep the phones!

## Annex 5: List of Key Informants Interviews

Date	Institution	Interviewees Name
07/08/2024	1. IDP Camp manager	Adan Malabow
07/08/2024	2. Traditional elder	Abdi Hared
08/08/2024	3. Traditional elder	Yussuf Maalim
08/08/2024	4. IDP Camp manager	Issack Dhahir
09/08/2024	5. IDP community member	Gumara Mohamed
09/08/2024	6. IDP and School camp manager	Ali Adan Robow
09/08/2024	7. DEEDO (Degaan Development Organization)	Mohamed Abukar Ali
10/08/2024	8. Wadajir-Takooy IDP Chairman /ADC Area	Ali Abdi Ahssan
10/08/2024	9. IDP community member	Habiab Ibrahim
10/08/2024	10. Bedenbedey 2 camp / Al-Ahmar area	Mohamed Hassan
11/08/2024	11. Ministry of Women & Human rights dev	Amina Mohamed Abi
11/08/2024	12. Women Right Organization	Fatima Ali Iman
11/08/2024	13. Baidoa Neighbourhood leaders	Ali Abdullahi Abdi
12/08/2024	14. Retail Businessman	Mohamed Salad Issack
12/08/2024	15. Health Professional	Hafsa Mohamed Ali
12/08/2024	16. University lecturer	Abdirashid Aden Yusuf
13/08/2024	17. Host community member	Fadrdownsa and Abdirahman
13/08/2024	18. Social activist - Community Action Forum (CAF) chair	Derow

13/08/2024	19. Religious leader - buundad mosque	Haji AMahmed Saney Ahmed
14/08/2024	20. Environment activist	Abdifitah Abdirahman Ibrahim
14/08/2024	21. Local leader - Berdale youth chairperson	Mahad Mohamed Abdi
14/08/2024	22. Returnee	Aden Ali Nor
15/08/2024	23. Former committee member	Nuura Mohamed Shabiyow
15/08/2024	24. Member of the host community in Towfiq village.	Shamsa Ali Issack
15/08/2024	25. Religious leader	Sheikh Hassan
16/08/2024	26. Chairlady	Amina Abdirahman Jamac
16/08/2024	27. Child Right Welfare	Mohamud Abdi Aden
16/08/2024	28. Amana Insurance Company	Fatima Armie Abdulahi
16/08/2024	29. IDP Camp committee	Habiiba Mohamed Ali
16/08/2024	30. SWS women development and human rights network	Mulki Ibrahim Ahmed
17/08/2024	31. DG SWS Ministry of Planning	Yakub
19/08/2024	32. Chairman of technical skills school, in SWS	Batuulo Hussein sheikh
19/08/2024	33. Member of youth leadership	Fartuun Hassan Ali
22/08/2024	34. CCM IOM	Hussein Hassan Mohamed
22/08/2024	35. CCM Taakulo	Mohamed Hassan Adan
22/08/2024	36. CCM	Zainab Ali Abdi
22/08/2024	37. GRRN Coordinator	Hanad Hassan Ali
23/08/2024	38. Yalale-Elder (Nabadon)	Malaq Ibrahim Sheikh Salad

23/08/202 4	39. Youth Alliance	Ahmed Sheikh Mukhtar
24/08/202 4	40. BAYWAN NGO	Deqa Ahmed Yusuf
24/08/202 4	41. Transporters association - Dhaweeye	Abdulahi Hassan Nor
25/08/202 4	42. Traditional Elder	Malaq Isack Hassan

## Annex 6: List of FGDs

- 1) Host Community FGD 1– West of Baidoa Held at Cadaadda Logistics and Venue in Baidoa Town on 17.08.2024

No	Name	Tell	Category
1.	Hussein Yussuf Hassan	061-9977346	Teacher
2.	Ismail Abdullahi Mohamed	061-7041435	Nurse
3.	Abdifatah Kusow Adam	061-5193665	Elder
4.	Nuur Hajio Ali	061-5749396	Health
5.	Nuurto huusein Issack	061-5413648	Broker
6.	Ubah Mohamed Adam	061-2067194	Student
7.	Muno Wardhere Adan	061-6920242	Elder
8.	Suado Abdirzack Mayow	061-2951531	Unemployed
9.	Mohamed Ibrahim Moalim	061-8816483	Teacher
10.	Suado Adam Hassan	061-3077761	Community mobilizer
11.	Fuad Abdirazack Manow	061-4295183	Landlord
12.	Abdillahi Abdi	061-5821765	Farmer

- 2) Host Community FGD 2– East of Baidoa Held at Cadaadda Logistics and Venue in Baidoa Town on 19.08.2024

No	Name	Tell	Category
1.	Yusuf Ali Ibraahin	061-8414939	Teachers
2.	Aadi Shakuur Maxamed	061-456076	Teachers
3.	Cali Isaaq Ibraahin	061-5157760	IDPS
4.	Nuurto Abduqaadir	061-6131022	IDPS
5.	Ali Abdirahmaan Maxamud	061-5703774	Elder Community

6.	Aniso xasan Maxamed	061-7744071	Women Right Organizations
7.	Faamo Macalin Aadan	061-6187529	Women Right Organizations
8.	Ali Ibraahin	061-5511934	Elder
9.	Muumino Maxamed Ali	061-8978160	Mother
10.	Faysal Ali Axmed	061-2156448	Elder
11.	Nurow Ahmed	0615027948	Farmer
12.	Fadumo Yussuf	0612624239	Women organization chair

3) Host Community FGD 3– Baidoa Eastern Side IDP Communities Held at Cadaadda Logistics and Venue In Baidoa Town on 20.08.2024

No	Name	Tell	Category
1.	Muslima Hasan Noor	061-4127356	IDP
2.	Faduma Abdirahman Iman	061-7107520	IDP
3.	Habibo Abdi Ibrahim	061-3121029	IDP
4.	Owlia Malim Mukhtar	061-4497922	IDP
5.	Habibo Ibrahim Mohamed	061-9329746	IDP
6.	Abdi hassan Abdi	061-3323424	IDP
7.	Ismail mohamed Yare	061-5477014	IDP
8.	Mohamed Ibrahim Abdi	061-9820478	IDP
9.	Mohamed Issack Ali	061-2994458	IDP
10.	Mursal Abdi Mukhtar	061-4000109	IDP
11.	Ubah Mohamed	061-9444268	IDP
12.	Hared Noor	061-768096	IDP

4) FGD 4 – Baidoa Western Side IDP Communities Held at Cadaadda Logistics and Venue in Baidoa Town on 20.08.2024

No	Name	Tell	Category
1.	Dhigin Abshirow Adan	061-9282010	IDP
2.	Habiibo Ibrahim Mohamed	061-0169291	IDP
3.	Adey Abdikadir Ali	061-429245	IDP
4.	Anisa Mohamed Ali	061-8083147	IDP
5.	Barey Jabril Abdulle	061-8918872	IDP
6.	Hussein Ibrahim Ali	061-6921421	IDP
7.	Mikaaail hassan Ibrahim	061-2849268	IDP
8.	Ali Hussein Adan	061-7955199	IDP
9.	Hassan Adan Abdi	061-5394872	IDP
10.	Mursal muhidin Qasim	061-5223027	IDP
11.	Seynab Mohamed	061-4500231	IDP
12.	Jamilo Hassan	061-5082038	IDP

**Annex 7: List of Photo Voice Participants**

No	Name	Tell	Category
1.	Saynab Mohamed Adam	061-4500231	IDP
2.	Jamilo Hassan Iftin	061-5082038	IDP
3.	Fadumo Yussuf Abdirahman	061-2624239	IDP
4.	Ubah Mukhtar Mohamed	061-444268	IDP
5.	Nurow Ahmed Iman	061-5027948	IDP
6.	Hared Ali Noor	061-7680969	IDP
7.	Abdullahi Issack Abdi	061-5821765	IDP

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