LAND-at-scale

LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH

SOMALIA

Saameynta Longitudinal Research

Phase 2 Report



SAAMEYNTA

LANDac

Author: Marta Cavallaro

June, 2025

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of contents **1**

List of Figures **2**

List of Tables **2**

Acknowledgements **3**

1 Introduction **4**

2 Research framework **5**

2.1 Aims of phase two of the longitudinal study *5*

2.2 Methodology *7*

2.3 Data collection *9*

2.4 Challenges, lessons learned, reflections *10*

3 Key findings **14**

3.1 Assessing land dynamics nine months later *14*

3.1.1 Access to land, tenure security, and eviction in Bosaso 14

3.1.2 Uncertainty about tenure security in Gribble 19

3.1.3 Land governance dynamics 22

3.2 The broader impact of relocation *26*

3.2.1 Social networks and support system 27

3.2.2 Access to services 28

3.2.3 Livelihood and finances 29

3.3 The relocation process *30*

3.3.1 Process, actors, criteria 30

3.3.2 Key reflections and criticalities from the ground 31

3.4 The sustainability of the Gribble project *34*

3.4.1 Is Gribble appealing? 35

3.4.2 Which durable vision for Gribble, Tawakal, and 100Bush? 37

4 Conclusions, recommendations, and next steps **41**

4.1 General reflections *41*

4.2 Practical recommendations *43*

4.3 Next steps *45*

5 Annexes **46**

5.1 Gribble Questionnaire *46*

5.2 Tawakal and 100Bush Questionnaire 48

5.3 Host Community Questionnaire 51

List of Figures

Figure 1: Geographical scope of phase one 7

Figure 2: Geographical scope of phase two 8

Figure 3. The house of a HC member in Tawakal 16

Figure 4. IDPs' shelters in Tawakal 16

Figure 5. The yard of an IDP shelter in Easter Bosaso camps 18

Figure 6. The room of an IDP shelter in Eastern Bosaso camps 18

Figure 7: Example of a super logo (Bosaso City Strategy, 2024) 20

Figure 8. Map of Bosaso districts (Bosaso City Strategy, 2024) 23

Figure 9. A person on the road to Gribble from Bosaso 27

Figure 10. The cemetery between Bosaso and Gribble 27

Figure 11. The health center facility in Gribble 28

Figure 12. Construction of a new borehole in Gribble 28

Figure 13. An IDP shelters in Tawakal 35

Figure 14. Ruins of a latrine in 100Bush 35

Figure 15. Houses in Gribble with IDP-made iron extensions 36

Figure 16. New houses built by Saameynta in Gribble 36

Figure 17: One of the houses built by Saameynta in Gribble 37

Figure 18. Limited space between shelters in 100Bush 38

Figure 19. The space between two shelters in 100Bush 40

List of Tables

Table 1. Number of respondents per location and gender 9

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the invaluable support of Saameynta partners Federica Acquaviva, Mohamed Ahmed Dahir, Abdirashid Hassan, as well as Somali interpreter Zeinab Hussein Mohamud and enumerators Deka Mire Farah, Maxmuud Axmed Samatar, and Cabdiqar Cabdirashid Maxamed Yusuf. A heartfelt thank you to all of you — your dedication and collaboration were essential to making this research happen. Without your support in organising and carrying out the data collection and the crucial insights you shared throughout, this study would have lacked the depth and richness it ultimately achieved.

Citation: Cavallaro, M. (2025), *Saameynta Longitudinal Research, Phase 2 Report*. LANDac/LAND-at-scale.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands



Netherlands Enterprise Agency

This publication was prepared for the LAND-at-scale programme, funded by Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) and managed by the Netherlands Enterprise and Development Agency (RVO). However, the views expressed in the report do not necessarily represent those of the Netherlands Government.

© LAND-at-scale [2025]. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial Licence (CC BY-NC 4.0)

1 INTRODUCTION

This longitudinal study delves into the link between displacement patterns and land governance in the city of Bosaso, Somalia, as well as the impact of the solutions that are currently being used to address displacement in the context of the UN-led Saameynta program.

Overall, the research intends to shed light on the changes over time of internally displaced people's (IDPs) perceptions of their land rights and tenure security and how these intersect with their displacement status. Specifically, the study is carried out in the city of Bosaso, in the Puntland State, which has been a common destination for many displaced Somalis due to its relative stability if compared to the rest of the country. According to the latest Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) cluster assessment in April 2024, Bosaso counts 22 IDP camps, hosting nearly 117,000 individuals, that are all classified as having an extreme or high risk of eviction.[1] Bosaso, alongside Baidoa in South-West State, is one of the two cities where the Saameynta program operates: it was chosen as the target location for the longitudinal study given that, unlike Baidoa, it has not been overcrowded with humanitarian/development interventions up until today, thus allowing both Saameynta to play a leading role in setting the baseline for future development efforts in the area and this research to be truly reflective of the program's impact on the ground.

Implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat), Saameynta aims to find durable solutions to displacement in Somalia through a variety of different means, including physical interventions that improve IDPs' access to key services (water, sanitation, hygiene, housing); provision of funds and financial support to both IDPs' and host community members to improve employment opportunities; support to local authorities in the development of strategies and norms aimed at fostering urban growth and local integration, as well as capacity building for their implementation. The project operates within the framework of the Secretary-General (SG) Action Agenda on Solutions to Internal Displacement, also known as the Durable Solutions Agenda.[2] According to the IASC Framework on Durable Solutions to Internally Displaced People,[3] a durable solution "is achieved when internally displaced people no longer have any specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement." Specifically, durable solutions can materialise through sustainable reintegration at the place of origin ("return"), sustainable local integration in areas where IDPs take refuge ("local integration") or sustainable integration in another part of the country ("settlement elsewhere in the country").[4]

[1] See the CCCM assessment, available here (last access: 24 February 2025)
[2] Read the Agenda, available here (last access: 24 February 2025)
[3] See the IASC Framework, available here (last access: 24 February 2025).
[4] *Ibid.*

Saameynta tries to promote IDPs' local integration through relocation processes that are tied to the provision of a portion of land, a housing unit, and a land title deed to achieve better tenure security. In Bosaso, this takes place in the relocation site of Gribble, at the core of this study, where the project coordinates the relocation of IDPs from a targeted number of camps within the city. Gribble was the result of a shelter project carried out by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and funded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that, since 2019, has handed over houses to displacement-affected households in Government-allocated portions of land that constitute today's Gribble. A total of 434 houses have been built throughout the years by NRC, all funded by UNHCR. In November, Saameynta constructed an additional 61 houses, where 61 households were relocated. Two future rounds of relocation, coordinated by UN-Habitat and UNHCR and expected to take place in 2025, are also planned to move respectively 30 and 44 households. To better inform Saameynta interventions, the research set out to understand IDPs' perceptions of how their land rights and tenure security change throughout the relocation process, as well as how this impacts their sense of displacement and integration.

This report sheds light on the second and last round of data collection informing a longitudinal study, which was carried out in January 2025. The first round of the study was carried out between April and May 2024.[5] Both studies were developed as part of the Knowledge Management Component of the LAND-at-scale programme. Specifically, the second chapter will address the research framework guiding the second phase, with a focus on its aims and methodology and how these developed out of the findings and recommendations of phase one. The chapter also focuses on the data collection implementation, drawing reflections on the obstacles on the ground and their respective lessons learned. The third chapter will address the key findings of the research, leading to the recommendations and the next steps in the final chapter.

2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The following chapter presents the research design that guided this study. First, attention is given to the aims and the research questions of this second phase of the longitudinal study and how these are connected with phase one. Second, the methodology followed in carrying out the data collection research is outlined, as well as how this developed from the findings and recommendations of the first phase of the study.

2.1 AIMS OF PHASE TWO OF THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

The data collection informing the first phase of this longitudinal study[6] was carried out between April and May 2024, and focused almost exclusively on land rights, tenure security, and land conflict

[5] Read the report of phase one, available here (last access: 24 February 2025)
[6] *Ibid.*

resolution-related matters. It aimed to produce a baseline report that would reflect the situation on the ground in Bosaso, prior to Saameynta's physical interventions, to provide the contextual information needed to plan the relocation process coordinated by the project.

Specifically, phase one explored the dynamics of access to land and property, perceptions of tenure security, land rights, and risk of eviction, and land conflict resolution mechanisms in the relocation site of Gribble and in the informal displacement camps of Tawakal and 100Bush, where IDPs are being selected for relocation. The research also sheds light on relocated people's feedback on life on the Gribble side, as well as the changes in their perception of their displacement throughout the relocation process. The data collection informing the second phase of the longitudinal study was carried out nine months later, in January 2024, following a round of relocation organised by the Saameynta project and Bosaso local authorities. Indeed, phase two aimed to broadly assess the relocation, which affected 61 households who moved from the IDP camps of Tawakal and 100Bush to the Gribble site, to understand how the process was perceived by voices from the field and shape recommendations that can inform Saameynta's interventions accordingly.

Stemming from the findings and recommendations of phase one, phase two was designed to be broader in the reach of its data collection as well as its thematic focus. Specifically, the second phase of data collection was planned to be long enough to reach a wider number of respondents and broaden the geographical scope of the study beyond the relocation site of Gribble and the IDP site of Tawakal, to include other IDP sites as well as host community (HC) households. Thematically, phase two was meant to follow up on the land-related dynamics that were explored in phase one in different ways: understanding whether any change has been recorded in the sites of Gribble and Tawakal in the nine months between the first and the second data collection; further comparing what was observed in phase one with the situation recorded in the new sites and targeted populations visited in phase two; and addressing more in detail the land dynamics which were left unclear in phase one. Additionally, as mentioned, the second phase of data collection was carried out in the immediate aftermath of a round of relocation organised by Saameynta and aimed to assess how the process was perceived by both those who were and those who were not selected for relocation. Finally, phase two intended to understand the broader impact of relocation in Bosaso beyond tenure security to explore its consequences on the livelihood, social networks and support systems, and access to services in Bosaso. Phase two was then guided by the following research questions:

- How did land dynamics for IDPs in Tawakal and relocated people in Gribble, explored in phase one, change throughout time?
- How are they different from the ones experienced by the host community in Bosaso or by IDPs in other camps?
- How was the relocation process carried out by Saameynta perceived by both beneficiaries and those who were eventually not selected for relocation?
- What is the broader impact of relocation beyond tenure (livelihoods, social networks and support, access to services, etc.)?

2.2 METHODOLOGY

Phase two of this study is informed by qualitative data collected **between January 14 and 27, 2025,** nine months after the first data collection. The data collection was led by the LAND-at-scale researcher, supported by the Saameynta project, and involved semi-structured interviews, conversations with key informants, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The findings also draw from the field notes taken by the researcher throughout the field mission.

As mentioned, phase two was planned to be broader in the geographical scope of the data collection, directly building on the insights from phase one. Phase one was carried out exclusively in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush – even if the latter was only visited very briefly – and the relocation site of Gribble, which Saameynta has expanded through the construction and the relocation of 61 households in November 2024, which will soon be followed by an additional round pioneered by UN-Habitat to further move 30 households). On the other hand, while Saameynta does not carry out direct interventions in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush, the sites were nevertheless included in the data collection because IDPs residing there were identified to benefit from the relocation process to Gribble. At the same time, Tawakal and 100Bush were identified by the CCCM cluster assessment in May 2023 as the most vulnerable sites in terms of risk of forced eviction.[7]



Figure 1: Geographical scope of phase one

During phase two, the research team came back to the IDP camps of Tawakal and 100Bush, as well as the relocation site of Gribble. The opportunity was used to better visit and carry out more interviews in 100Bush, which borders Tawakal and was only briefly visited in the first round of data collection. In Gribble, interviews and exchanges were carried out with both newly relocated households' members, namely people who benefited from the relocation process coordinated by Saameynta and people who have been residing in the site longer and were moved in one of the previous rounds of relocation led by NRC and UNHCR. As one of the main lessons from phase one was the need to include HC members in the study, – especially since IDP respondents themselves often noted that host community households faced a similar, if not worse, situation in relation to land, housing, and property rights, – data collection in phase two also included HC households living in the surroundings of Tawakal and 100Bush, as well as a one-day visit to the IDP

[7] See the CCCM assessment, available here (last access: 24 February 2025)

sites on the Eastern side of Bosaso, on the way to Gribble, known as "Old Gribble." This allowed the study to provide a more comprehensive picture of whether and how certain vulnerabilities are shared across the wider urban population. As in phase one, exchanges were also organised with key respondents, including local authorities, key actors in Bosaso's land panorama, and humanitarian and development practitioners having a role in the relocation process.

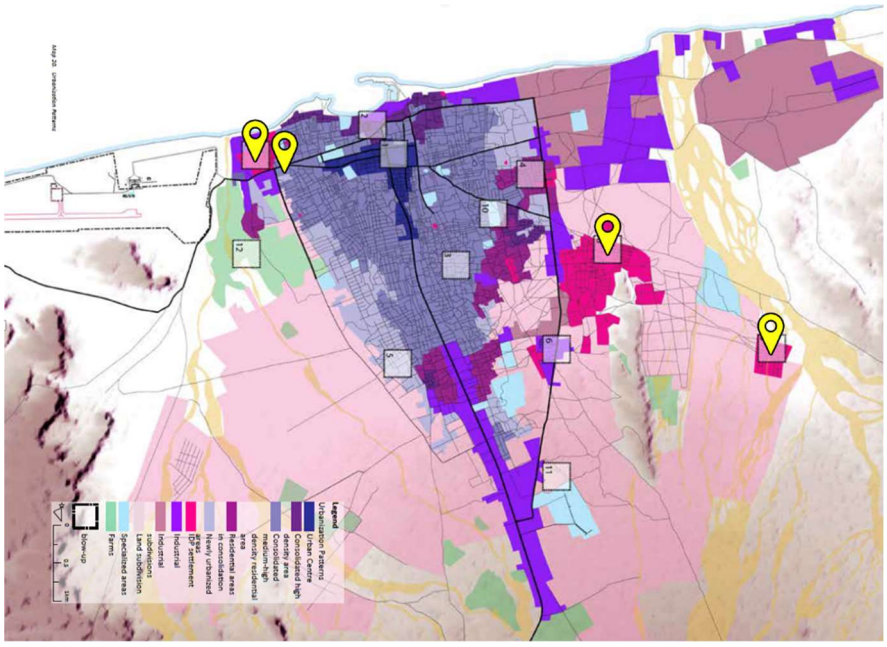


Figure 2: Geographical scope of phase two

While the first phase of the longitudinal study was also supported by quantitative data (which had been collected by the Saameynta project for Monitoring and Evaluation purposes), in this second round of data collection, the choice was made to rely on **qualitative methods** exclusively. This shift was informed by two main factors: first, unlike in phase one, no quantitative data collected by the Saameynta project was available for this round of research; second, phase one revealed the limitations of quantitative data in capturing nuanced perceptions. Indeed, the longitudinal study attempts to explore perceptions of land and tenure-related dynamics from a variety of different perspectives, from displaced communities themselves to host communities, local authorities, and, marginally, practitioners operating in the country. Being perceptions hardly calculable or measurable, qualitative methods were deemed more apt to grasp complexity and capture different nuances informing respondents' perspectives. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, with questionnaires tailored for each group to be targeted during the exercise, were then chosen in the optic that they would provide a more flexible and interactive approach. The design of questionnaires was informed by lessons from phase one, where the research team realised the need for short, simple, and focused interviews to improve clarity and relevance for respondents.

As for the selection of respondents, this took place through a **random walk** in the target locations: the data collection team deployed in the field would walk around the site and ask residents whether they were willing to participate in the study. This often led to a **snowballing effect**, as each respondent would refer the team to other individuals available to be interviewed. This method, introduced in phase one and retained in phase two due to its effectiveness, was a conscious choice aimed at avoiding the bias of pre-selected respondent lists and ensuring broader community

engagement. In the case of the exchanges with key respondents – local authorities, development practitioners, and land stakeholders – these were reached through the Saameynta project.

As it was not selected from a sampling frame nor chosen through a statistically random selection, the sample used to carry out this study was subject to numerous biases. First of all, unlike individuals in a random sample, respondents did not all have the same probability of being included in data collection. Therefore, findings from such a snowball sample would not be generalisable.[8] Still, the methodology was fit for the research, whose aim was not to generalise to a population but rather to develop an in-depth and contextualised exploration of local perceptions of displacement, land, and tenure-related dynamics. Different strategies were also deployed to mitigate problems of sample diversity that are implied in snowballing sampling, such as the potential underrepresentation[9] of smaller and minority networks that are less likely to be referred and the overrepresentation of the networks of the first respondents, following the phenomenon known as "anchoring."[10] First, the initial set of respondents was selected to be as varied as possible, at least geographically – as, during each round, the random walk was carried out starting from different areas of the camps and the site targeted – and demographically – as the initial set of respondents during each day of data collection was selected to be as varied and different as possible, at least in terms of sex and age, from the ones of the previous rounds. Finally, different waves of referrals were pursued to increase the likelihood of being referred to an interviewee from a particularly difficult-to-reach position.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

A total of 49 respondents were reached throughout the data collection, as Table 1 shows. The field mission thus doubled the number of participants involved in the exercise if compared to the 25 respondents consulted for phase one.

Location	# of Interviews	# of FGDs	# of Male respondents	# of Female respondents	Total
Gribble	4	4	9	10	19
Tawakal	2	3	5	7	12
100Bush	3	1	0	6	6
Eastern IDP sites	3	1	2	4	6
HC members	4	1	1	5	6
Total	**16**	**10**	**17**	**31**	**49**

Table 1. Number of respondents per location and gender

[8] Morgan, D. (2008). Snowball Sampling. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. SAGE Publications Inc.

[9] Shaghaghi, A., Bhopal, R., & Sheikh, A. (2011). Approaches to Recruiting "Hard-To-Reach" Populations into Re-search: A Review of the Literature. *Heal Promot Perspect*, *1*(2), 86–94.

[10] Waters, J. (2015). Snowball sampling: A cautionary tale involving a study of older drug users. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *18*(4), 367–380.

Additionally, the data collection involved a number of exchanges with eight key informants that were deemed necessary to complement the information collected on the ground. Specifically:

- One exchange took place with the current Head of the Bosaso Land Department, as well as the former Head who was in office in 2024 and was thus consulted for phase one of the study.
- One interview was carried out with a member of the Reer Askar family, also known as Reer Ugaas, belonging to the *Dishiishe* clan, who privately owns the land where 100Bush camp lies.
- One interview was carried out with two land brokers operating in Bosaso.
- One meeting was held with the Mayor of Bosaso at the end of the mission.
- One meeting was held with two members of the relocation committee, respectively from the Migration Protection and Assistance Division of IOM and the Shelter Unit of NRC.

The team that carried out the data collection was composed of the researcher, one IOM international project officer under Saameynta, one IOM national project officer under Saameynta, one interpreter, and three enumerators provided by the Bosaso Government. The team was escorted by one UN Security Officer and five policemen and followed on the ground by three bullet-proof vehicles. The data collection included a brief meeting with the enumerators, who were chosen to be the same who had participated in phase one of the data collection, to explain the new scope of phase two and its connection with phase one, and to review the questionnaires together. A total of eight days were spent in the field, respectively two days in the Gribble site, one day in the Eastern IDP site, and five days in the area of Tawakal and 100Bush, where IDPs from both camps and HC members living in the surroundings were interviewed. Exchanges with key informants were held in Bosaso UNHCR compound.

2.4 CHALLENGES, LESSONS LEARNED, REFLECTIONS

The security situation on the ground highly impacted the implementation and outcome of the data collection. Specifically, the field mission was carried out during an ongoing military offensive launched in December 2024 by Puntland authorities against the Somali local branch of the Islamic State, located in the Cal Miskaad Mountains, which lie behind Bosaso. The heightened security situation implied that the research team was allowed less time in the field than originally agreed, while being more closely monitored and followed by a military escort. In terms of numbers, the data collection took place between 9 AM and 12 PM, only a few hours per day, considering also the logistical time needed to reach respondents, carry out the random walk, and trust the snowballing and referral process. Overall, this impacted the study by making it harder to access not only places but also people: the number of male respondents, for instance, is considerably lower than the number of female interviewees, as males in IDP camps, as well as the broader city of Bosaso, are usually busy working in the morning and thus unavailable. Finally, other security measures included a stricter presence of a military escort and bullet-proof vehicles following the research team during the data collection, thus drawing more attention within the IDP camps and surely altering everyday life dynamics of the places visited.

Time management and logistical reflections stem from the lessons learned from phase one. Phase one was carried out in April and May 2024, at a time of the year when temperatures during the day are always recorded above 35°C. This time, with the field mission taking place in January, temperatures were milder and lower, thus creating less draining conditions for a smooth data collection exercise. Another key takeaway lesson from phase one was the need to allocate more time for data collection to allow for greater flexibility and to prevent research fatigue and rushed fieldwork. Accordingly, this second round of data collection was planned to be long enough, at least two weeks, to allow the research team the flexibility needed on the ground to adjust the mission plan when needed.

Despite these adjustments, data collection still ended up being condensed into 6 (out of the total 8) consecutive days in the field, leaving the research team with very limited time to get the rest and the time needed to recover mental and physical resources and process what inquired and witnessed in contexts of both great hardship and personal risks. This intense schedule inevitably impacted the clarity and responsiveness of the research team while on the ground and, thus, the quality of the data collected. In terms of responsibility, it is difficult to attribute the limited timeframe and resulting pressure experienced by the team to a single cause. Fieldwork in Somalia remains highly unpredictable, and the situation on the ground can shift rapidly. For example, the military operation launched in Bosaso just a few weeks before the start of the mission reduced the available time for field deployment, requiring last-minute adjustments to the research plan. In hindsight, the targets set for the mission may have been somewhat ambitious given the time constraints. This was likely compounded by the difficulty for the research team in fully anticipating the physical and emotional toll of such an exercise. Logistical limitations also played a role, including constraints related to securing accommodation in the UNHCR compound for a prolonged period, the availability of trained enumerators, and the need to coordinate with various local actors within a narrow time window.

At the same time, this experience served as an important learning moment. The key takeaway is that to ensure both the sustainability of such research efforts and the well-being of the research team, future exercises would greatly benefit from a longer deployment period. Ideally, this would mean planning for missions closer to one month — or even multiple months — to allow sufficient time for data collection, processing, and recovery. While it is acknowledged that extended fieldwork remains difficult to implement in Somalia, this remains a critical consideration for the planning of similar efforts moving forward.

In terms of **methodology**, once again, the random walk – a strategy validated during phase one – allowed the team to reach respondents who do not usually take part in surveys or data collection exercises carried out in Bosaso. These exercises often focus on pre-selected participants with specific knowledge of the topic and dynamics under study. By broadening the respondent base, the study helped mitigate the risk of respondent fatigue and captured diverse perspectives on land and relocation-related dynamics from residents of the camps, the city, and the Gribble site, regardless of their official roles or affiliations. However, the lack of a participants' list from phase one, for instance, made it hard in this second phase to interview the same people who participated in the first exercise.

Linguistic and cultural barriers impacted the data collection. Linguistic barriers, as neither the leading researcher nor the Saameynta international officer could speak Somali, forced the team to rely on an interpreter and thus added a layer of distance between respondents. The interpreter and the enumerators supporting the exercise were chosen to be the same who accompanied the research team in phase one and who had been, back then, recommended by the Bosaso Municipality. As translation and interpretation are always invested with unequal power relations, an attempt was made to mitigate cultural and linguistic appropriations by having the proposed questionnaire tested before the field mission. While such measures were key in assessing and editing the questions to make them conceptually and culturally translatable, neither the differences in cultural and professional positions of the people involved in the data collection nor the languages employed were hardly ever neutral. Similarly, the research team's limited knowledge of the internal and interpersonal dynamics within the camps made it challenging to interpret respondents' feedback – whether expressions of frustration or complaints stemmed from internal divisions among camp factions, or whether positive assessments of camp leaders and local authorities reflected genuine satisfaction or a constrained ability to express dissent due to perceived limitations on freedom of expression.

As for the **composition of the research team**, several reflections can be drawn. Building on lessons from phase one, it was once again prioritised that the researcher be present on the ground during the entire data collection process. Despite the linguistic and cultural barriers, this allowed for constant quality assessments throughout the whole exercise. Specifically, during the interviews, the researcher was assisted by the interpreter, who translated every piece of information shared to make sure that data was being collected properly and to adjust practices if needed. Overall, as it happened in phase one, the research team composition was more numerous than necessary. For instance, the lack of proper knowledge of English by enumerators often made it impossible for them to interview respondents and then translate the data collected. This created a situation whereby, in each interview or FGD, the respondent was crowded by a variety of different actors – the researcher, UN officers, the interpreter, enumerators, and the military escort, – many of whom did not play a direct role in the interview process itself but were either necessary for logistical reasons or present due to contextual circumstances. This led to a complex environment that was not always conducive to open discussions on sensitive issues. Additionally, it is important to note that the enumerators had been identified during phase one by local authorities, meaning that their positioning – like that of each actor in the team – was not entirely neutral. Finally, a few reflections should be shared on the impact of Saameynta partners' presence on the ground, which is a core element of the study's design. Indeed, the longitudinal study is part of a broader knowledge management effort aimed at producing insights that support project partners in designing more effective and contextually grounded interventions and are also made available to the wider public and academic community. Saameynta's partners' presence throughout the data collection was mutually beneficial. Through Saameynta national and international Officers, the researcher was often able to better grasp the complexity of operating in a context like Somalia, directly observe – if not experience – the compromises that have to be made every day, voluntarily or not, to keep a project running; and the good intentions that are often behind the development and humanitarian interventions, despite their mixed results. On the other hand, the

presence of project partners in a qualitative exercise like this – designed to explore people's perceptions and everyday realities – provided them with a valuable opportunity to witness first-hand the impact of their interventions, whether positive or negative. This direct engagement allows for a more nuanced understanding of challenges and outcomes on the ground and thus informs future planning in ways that a mission report or study alone could not achieve. Such exercises are also more insightful and reflective of the realities faced by communities than the quantitative-based monitoring and evaluation exercises typically used in the humanitarian and development sectors to measure impact. Eventually, project partners gained a richer, more contextualised perspective that can ultimately contribute to more effective and responsive programming.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the research was carried out in a context marked by the existence of a **structural political economy of aid,** which inevitably influenced the process. First of all, it should be mentioned that data was collected in similar, if not the same, conditions that distinguish UN work in IDP camps and relocation sites – arriving to observe, interview residents, and assess conditions, often accompanied by military personnel and vehicles. As a result, interviewees frequently associated the process with project activities, sometimes even mistaking it for part of the same relocation selection that this study sought to analyse. It often took several explanations to clarify the study's "independent" nature (yet dependent, we might say, as accessibility to the Somali territory, and thus the possibility of collecting the data needed, was dependent on the resources, presence, and sponsorship of the Saameynta project). The uncomfortable realisation came that the interview process often reinscribed the same power relations that it aimed to explore and assess from the outset.[11] Secondly, this also made it challenging to manage expectations of future service provision when asking key questions for the research, such as "What do you think of Gribble? Would you want to relocate there? Why or why not?" Respondents might have viewed these questions as signals of upcoming relocation rounds, shaping their answers accordingly. It is important to acknowledge IDPs' agency in navigating and twisting the system: most of them are well aware of the mechanisms of aid distribution and how to position themselves within them. This raises several questions: to what extent did some interviewees adopt an overly critical stance toward Saameynta interventions under the perception that "this is an opportunity to speak up so they will do something about it?" Similarly, to what extent did respondents emphasise the severity of their living conditions in an attempt to fit the vulnerability criteria they know are used to determine eligibility for future services? To mitigate these challenges to the extent possible, efforts were made to distance the process from the same kind of performances and hierarchical interactions that typically define encounters between displaced communities and humanitarian or development actors. Recognising the inherent power imbalance, the researcher sought to create a more open dialogue by reversing roles, by encouraging respondents to ask questions themselves, or by leaving space at the end of interviews for open-ended conversations. This approach aimed, as much as possible, to foster a more genuine exchange and

[11] Hyndman, J. (2007). *Managing displacement: Refugees and the politics of humanitarianism* (Nachdr.). Univ. of Minnesota Press.

provide respondents with the freedom to shape the discussion based on their own thoughts and perceptions.

3 KEY FINDINGS

This section presents the main findings in relation to the main themes of the research. The first paragraph focuses on the changes throughout the last nine months in IDPs and relocated people's perception over land dynamics, as well as how these compare to what is experienced by the HC in Bosaso. The second section addresses the broader impact of relocation to Gribble in terms of social networks and support systems, access to services, livelihoods, and family income. Third, the relocation process is described, analysed, and assessed. Finally, some final reflections are shared on the sustainability and impact of the Gribble project in Bosaso.

3.1 ASSESSING LAND DYNAMICS NINE MONTHS LATER

Returning to Bosaso nine months after the data collection for phase one of this study, it became evident that little had changed in the land-related dynamics affecting life in the camps visited between April and May. However, phase two provided valuable insights into how certain trends observed earlier had intensified over time while also expanding the scope of analysis to include the experiences of both HC and IDPs living in Eastern Bosaso. This section will first examine issues related to access to land and property, tenure security, and perceptions of eviction, with a focus on how they are differently experienced in Tawakal and 100Bush, IDP camps in Eastern Bosaso, and the HC involved in the data collection. A second section is then dedicated to Gribble and, specifically, the title deed that relocated people receive upon relocation. It will then shift focus to land governance dynamics, following recommendations from phase one to explore the roles and coordination levels of key actors involved in Bosaso's land governance.

3.1.1 Access to land, tenure security, and eviction in Bosaso

One of the key findings from phase one of this longitudinal study was that, since the outbreak of the Somali civil war in 1991, most of the land in Bosaso – as well as across Somalia – has become privately owned.[12] As a result, **IDPs in informal settlements like Tawakal and 100Bush** typically rent the land they occupy directly from private owners, where they construct their own shelters. Due to financial constraints, purchasing land is generally not an option for IDPs. To find land, IDPs either seek out landowners themselves or are directed to them by the community, negotiating oral rental agreements. Land brokers can also play a role in this process, acting on behalf of private owners to manage land and engage with IDPs on-site. These oral agreements usually specify only the monthly rent amount while remaining silent on critical aspects such as the duration of stay or any protections

[12] For more information, read Surer, Q. M. (2023). *Somalia Land Governance Review*. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Land-Governance-Review-.pdf (last access: 6 March 2025)

against eviction. While arrangements vary, IDPs are often allowed to sublet both the land they rent and the shelters they build on it.

Since April, little has changed in the ways IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush access land and property. Renting land informally from private owners remains the predominant practice. During phase one, rising land prices were already identified as the primary challenge to securing land, as well as a key driver of evictions, as IDPs are often forced to leave when they can no longer afford rent payments. Nine months later, the perception of soaring rental costs persists, with many reporting that the situation has worsened due to a broader economic crisis in the entire city of Bosaso, affecting both IDPs and HC. During this phase of data collection, the growing difficulty of finding stable employment, particularly for IDPs, who predominantly rely on casual labour and informal employment,[13] was perceived as a further factor of insecurity that leads IDPs to experience eviction. This economic instability, coupled with increasing rent prices, has made the threat of eviction feel even more imminent and overwhelming than before.

Surprisingly, a key finding of phase two is that many of the challenges faced by IDPs in informal settlements are affecting Bosaso city as a whole, as emerged from the interviews held with HC members. Unlike IDPs, **host community members in Bosaso** have access to a wider range of options for securing land. Those with the financial means typically purchase land or property through a more formalised process compared to renting. Specifically, once the piece of land or the house is chosen, the buyer liaises with the private owner to negotiate an arrangement. In many cases, land brokers facilitate this process by helping identify available properties. Once an agreement is reached, public notaries certify the transaction, which is then officially registered at the Municipality.[14] At this stage, the family receives the title deed, which, according to our interview with the Land Department, costs between $70 and $100 for HC members. This fee remains fixed regardless of land size or location, but can be subject to informal negotiation based on the buyer's financial situation. Overall, when it comes to buying, among the host community, the prevailing trend is to purchase houses rather than empty plots on which to build.

However, for those unable to afford land ownership, renting remains a common alternative. In such cases, the process closely mirrors that of IDPs, with individuals securing oral rental agreements directly with private owners or through land brokers while facing similar challenges related to tenure security, fear of eviction, and affordability. Half of the HC members interviewed for this study were renting their homes. Like IDPs, their tenure security relied on informal agreements that specified only the monthly rent, with no formal protections against eviction. The key differences in the renting process are that HC members typically rent housing units rather than empty land and often finalise agreements in the presence of a witness. The type of land and property rights enshrined in the agreement vary, with some private owners allowing tenants to sublet or expand the property. The

[13] Schmitt-Degenhardt, S., & Aden, A. (2024). *Gribble Economic Study*. UNDP, Saameynta.
[14] Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024, p. 36. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/bosaso-city-strategy-2024 (last access: 6 March 2025)

primary challenge in securing rental housing, even for HC members, is the high cost of rent, followed by landlords' reluctance to lease to large families with many children. For instance, three interviewees living near Tawakal and 100Bush cited affordability as the main reason for choosing that area, noting that while it is cheaper, it remains close to the city centre.

Notably, eviction is also widely perceived as a "common and widespread" phenomenon among HC members. As with IDPs, rising rent prices are the main factor leading to eviction, compounded by job insecurity and financial instability, as "people do not find a job or do not have enough money to pay rent on time." One HC respondent shared an experience that could have been told by an IDP: after her husband, a casual labourer in the mechanics sector, was unable to secure enough income to pay rent on time, the family was evicted and had to search for a new place to live. Now, eight months later, they continue to struggle – having missed five months of rent payments in their new home, they live in fear of eviction as the landlord "keeps asking for money." Among other HC respondents, while they had not personally experienced eviction, all could point to a friend or relative who had faced a similar fate.



Figure 3. The house of a HC member in Tawakal



Figure 4. IDPs' shelters in Tawakal

Overall, **eviction is a reality that affects both HC and IDPs**, though with different frequencies and underlying causes. The primary factor determining security from eviction is the presence of a stable income that ensures timely rent payments. In this regard, the key distinction between the two groups lies in employment stability – while HC members generally have access to more secure jobs and

income sources,[15] making them less exposed to eviction, the urban poor within the HC community still face similar risks as IDPs.[16] However, even among the most economically disadvantaged HC members, housing conditions tend to be better, as these typically live outside camps in more permanent structures rather than makeshift shelters or corrugated iron sheet shelters, which remain the norm for IDPs.

Also, as explored in phase one of the study, within IDP camps, eviction is often met with a sense of helplessness, as no formal protections exist. When displaced families are forced to leave, their only option is to search for another place to settle. However, social structures within the camps do provide some level of support. Camp leaders and committees – whose roles are further detailed in the next paragraph – often act as intermediaries, "advocating as a community" (as described by Tawakal camp leader) with private landowners to grant families additional time to pay rent or secure a notice period before eviction. In some cases, they even assist IDPs in finding job opportunities to help them meet their rental obligations, or they might raise the money collectively within the camp to pay rent for the household in need. For HC members, no such community structures exist to mediate or offer support in times when eviction threats materialise. As explored further in the next section, trust and satisfaction with community figures or local representatives remain low, leaving HC members to navigate eviction alone. In these situations, they must either rely on personal networks of family and friends – much like some IDPs – or fend for themselves entirely. Additionally, social stigma might also play a role in discouraging HC members from seeking help. As one interviewee explained, "People [within the HC] are shy," meaning that while IDPs are widely recognised as vulnerable and in need of assistance, struggling HC members are expected to be self-reliant: "You look for yourself, you find a job, and you try to support your family." This perception might further isolate HC families facing eviction, reinforcing the idea that, unlike IDPs, they should not seek external support even in times of need.

Finally, land-related dynamics are notably different **in Eastern IDP sites**, which constitute another model of land accessibility and tenure security practices in Bosaso. Already in phase one, Eastern IDP sites were mentioned when presenting the "two types of solutions" adopted by local authorities and the humanitarian and development community in Bosaso to reduce the eviction risk for IDPs in the city. Tawakal and 100Bush coastline sites were described as targeted with a "permanent solution" to displacement, namely relocation to Gribble, due to the strategic value of the land for investment and Bosaso infrastructural development. The situation in Eastern IDP sites, on the other hand, was being addressed through a "temporary solution" in the form of temporary agreements negotiated between local authorities and landowners to allow IDPs to occupy land for a specific period, with the government stepping in if land rights are threatened. In this second data collection phase, one day

[15] Schmitt-Degenhardt, S., & Aden, A. (2024). *Gribble Economic Study*. UNDP, Saameynta.
[16] Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/bosaso-city-strategy-2024 (last access: 6 March 2025)

was dedicated to assessing the land-related dynamics in the eastern IDP camps to better understand the implementation of these temporary agreements and the overall impact on IDP tenure security.

Access to land in the Eastern IDP camps follows a different process compared to Tawakal and 100Bush, as well as Bosaso. Most of the people living in these camps were relocated since the early 2010s[17] with the support of local authorities, as well as humanitarian and development agencies. Reportedly, a large portion of these IDPs had previously been exposed to environmental hazards, such as fires, in makeshift camps within Bosaso. Another group had suffered collective eviction due to a dispute between a private landowner and a land broker who was selling land without the owner's permission. In both cases, these IDPs were directed by NGOs and the government to the new land in Eastern Bosaso, where they did not have to negotiate directly with the private landowners. Instead, they were assured that agreements between the government and landowners would provide them with a secure tenure for a limited time – usually, five to seven years. With this support, they were also able to construct more durable shelters, often using corrugated iron sheets for walls and roofs.



Figure 5. The yard of an IDP shelter in Easter Bosaso camps



Figure 6. The room of an IDP shelter in Eastern Bosaso camps

Over time, the tenure agreements between the owners and the government were sometimes renewed, allowing IDPs to stay in the area under the same terms. Today, in some parts of the camps, these agreements have now officially expired. In some of these cases, IDPs were then required to pay rent directly to the landowners. In other cases, while agreements with local authorities were not

[17] *Ibid,* p. 88.

renewed, landowners still allow IDPs to remain on the land for free. Regardless of the situation, the form of tenure security in these camps remains largely informal, relying on oral agreements that do not protect in case of eviction.

While eviction is less frequent in these eastern IDP sites compared to locations like Tawakal and 100Bush, the fear of eviction still persists. The main reasons for this are different. Firstly, the oral nature of the agreements leads to a perceived lack of protection, as “they can be broken at any time” without warning. Like in the rest of Bosaso, there is a growing concern about increasing rent prices, which further exacerbates the fear of eviction. As one respondent explained, "When prices increase, it is usually a sign that eviction threats are upcoming." The expansion of Bosaso toward the Eastern camps, along with improved accessibility, has made the area more attractive to host community members, driving up land prices. One interviewee noted, “The city is expanding, and land prices in the camp will rise as transportation to Bosaso becomes more accessible.” Another respondent further explained, “Bosaso city is expanding toward the camp, with a lot of people (…) who have money, and they buy land for business purposes, they open shops. This is a cause for fear of eviction” because “the new owners [might] decided they want to invest and open a shop and ask IDP to leave the land, legitimising the request by saying that the [IDP] family had already been allowed to stay for many years without paying rent.” These dynamics, compounded by the perceived instability of their land tenure, contribute to a widespread sense of insecurity among the IDPs in Bosaso Eastern camps as well.

3.1.2 Uncertainty about tenure security in Gribble

In phase one of this study, several key concerns were raised regarding the land rights associated with the *super logo*, the title deed given to IDPs upon their relocation to Gribble. Specifically, local authorities and residents provided conflicting information on which land rights are enshrined in the document, whether the relocation grants full ownership of the land and housing unit that relocated households receive throughout the process or simply certifies their right to stay. While it was clear that the *super logo*, issued by Bosaso Municipality, acknowledged the provision of land and a house to selected IDPs, it was unclear whether it conferred full ownership rights, including the ability to sell the land and property.

In phase one, while the Mayor of Bosaso emphasised that the land provided to IDPs in Gribble is considered an issue of social welfare and cannot be sold, the former Director of the Land Department suggested that beneficiaries possess full ownership, with the government merely advising against selling. Interviews with Gribble residents further confirmed this uncertainty, as some believed they

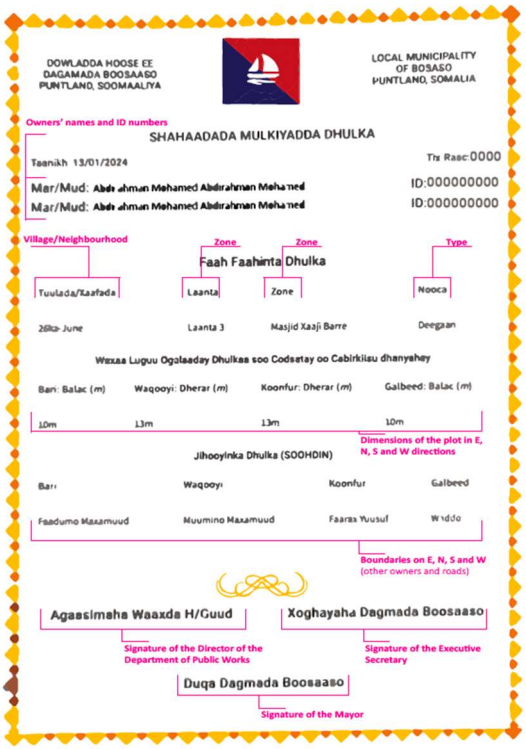


Figure 7: Example of a super logo (Bosaso City Strategy, 2024)

had the right to sell or sublet their land, while others understood that they could not. This lack of clarity prompted one of the key recommendations from phase one: for both the project and the study to further explore and clarify the issue of land rights in Gribble. Phase two, therefore, aimed to address this gap by gathering more detailed information from various stakeholders, including local authorities, IDPs themselves, and development and humanitarian actors.

Nine months after the initial findings, **uncertainty over the *super logo* and whether this enshrines the right to land transfer in Gribble remains unresolved**, with different key actors still providing contradictory information. During a meeting with the Mayor of Bosaso, he reiterated that the *super logo* grants "full ownership rights" because relocated families "can stay in Gribble as long as they want." However, he also emphasised that "relocated people remain beneficiaries" and that "the land [donated to them] remains the property of the government." Additionally, he revealed that, following a new policy in his administration, newly relocated IDPs who moved to Gribble under Saameynta did not receive the super logo immediately but would only obtain it after two years to ensure they "stay and do not leave the land." Meanwhile, two employees from the Land Department described the relocation process as a form of "land donation" by the government, reiterating that "for the time being, people are not allowed to sell." Unlike the Mayor, they suggested that this restriction is only temporary. According to them, once the relocation process is complete and "Gribble becomes a host community centre," IDPs will be permitted to sell their land. They also admitted that, in some cases, exceptions can be made, and there is "room for negotiation" if a household provides a valid reason for wanting to leave and sell their property.

During the second visit to Gribble, relocated residents largely expressed the belief that they had full ownership rights, including the ability to sell or rent their property. When asked, most stated that they could sell or rent their property without notifying local authorities "because it is my property." Only two respondents disagreed, stating that they did not have the right to sell their land or house. Respondents also confirmed that they had been briefed about the relocation process and the *super logo* at different points throughout the relocation process by both the Municipality and the NGO and UN agency coordinating their relocation. As in the previous phase, there was a strong sense of tenure security and trust that the government would protect them from eviction. Phase one had already shown that, upon relocating, people generally felt more secure in their tenure. Gribble, in particular, was perceived as safer than Tawakal and 100Bush, largely because no eviction cases had been

recorded there. Respondents also expressed confidence that, should any threat of eviction arise, they could rely on the *super logo* document to assert their right to remain. In phase one, this sense of security was consistent across all rounds of relocation. However, phase two revealed a shift among families recently relocated by Saameynta. Unlike those moved in earlier rounds, these households had not yet received the *super logo*, despite several months having passed since their relocation—a delay linked to a new policy adopted by the Municipality. This caused a sense of uncertainty and distress among the newly relocated, with some expressing anxiety over the absence of official documentation. Three female participants in a focus group discussion admitted: "While we don't have the piece of paper, we are still afraid of eviction."

Finally, this issue was discussed with members of the relocation committee, who pointed out that, while the government claims that selling land in Gribble is prohibited, no official law or written policy exists to formalise this restriction. In practice, relocated households receive the same title deed as host community members who purchase land, register transactions, and obtain property registration documents. This suggests that, in legal terms, relocated IDPs may indeed have full ownership rights, including the ability to sell, despite the conflicting messages from local authorities.

The ongoing uncertainty surrounding land rights in Gribble is deeply problematic for several reasons. First, Saameynta and the broader Durable Solutions program fundamentally base their interventions on the principle of tenure security, positioning relocation as the pathway for IDPs to rebuild their lives, integrate socially, and establish long-term stability. Yet, it is deeply concerning that several rounds of relocation have by now already been carried out without first ensuring clarity on what "tenure security" actually entails.

The argument that relocated IDPs are legally equivalent to host community members, since they receive the same title deed, does little to address the real problem. While this might imply ownership rights, in theory, it provides no practical guarantee of protection. Many IDPs might lack the legal knowledge, financial resources, or institutional access necessary to assert their rights effectively. If they are unaware of their legal standing – or if government authorities themselves give contradictory messages – then, in reality, their tenure remains fragile. The absence of a formal law or written policy does not protect them; rather, it leaves them vulnerable to future policy shifts or arbitrary decisions by authorities. If the government wanted to reclaim land or prevent sales, it might be the case that they could likely do so without IDPs having the means to challenge it.

Moreover, as findings from phase one highlight, for IDPs, receiving land and becoming recognised as property owners are the key precondition for exiting displacement. Many perceive land ownership as the defining factor that transforms them from IDPs into members of the host community. Nine months ago, people in Gribble explained "If I don't have food, I will eat tomorrow. That is not important;" "If you have the right to stay in a place, you stop being an IDP. Livelihood, you can always find." The current situation distorts this process – relocated individuals believe they are receiving secure tenure, yet in reality, they remain in a precarious and uncertain position. This disconnect is

particularly alarming given how central the notion of tenure security is in both IDP perspectives and the narratives of development and humanitarian actors.

3.1.3 Land governance dynamics

Land governance in displacement-affected areas operates through a complex interplay of formal and informal structures, creating a hybrid system of governance and dispute resolution. This hybridity[18] is evident in the co-existence and overlapping of different forms of authority structures, sets of rules, and claims to power that find their roots in both state and non-state societal structures, such as clan and tribal dynamics.

Findings from phase one of this study revealed that in Tawakal, 100Bush, and Gribble, land conflict resolution is *de facto* not managed by state institutions but instead relies on a mix of non-governmental authorities, including camp committees and clan elders. While formal mechanisms do exist – such as the conflict resolution committee at the municipal level and Land Dispute Tribunals, designed to offer a more direct and efficient process than formal courts[19] – IDPs and relocated people in Gribble largely bypass these structures. Instead, they turn to their camp leaders and clan elders for mediation and negotiation. Most land-related disputes are resolved at this informal level and rarely escalate to state mechanisms or Sharia courts.

The Social Cohesion Formative Assessment for Puntland State[20] also reaffirmed the key role of traditional governance structures in mediating and resolving conflicts in Puntland. Specifically, the assessment highlights customary mechanisms such as *Xeer* (customary law) and *Sulh* (conciliation) as central to dispute resolution, with elders (*Isimada*) playing a respected role in mediating conflicts over land and resources. Religious leaders also contribute through Sharia-based arbitration, applying principles such as mewat (unused land) and waqf (charitable land) to address disputes over land allocation for displaced persons. These principles have, at times, encouraged landowners to donate land for public benefit, often facilitated by religious leaders. This was echoed in our discussion with a member of the family that owns the land where 100Bush is located. He noted his family's willingness to donate land in an area known as *Reebi,* to government authorities for relocation purposes, which was ultimately used for an electrification project. While these traditional governance structures remain widely respected and preferred for their accessibility and legitimacy, they often exclude marginalised groups, particularly women and youth, limiting their inclusivity. Conversely, formal mechanisms struggle with implementation challenges, limited accessibility, and inconsistent enforcement, further reinforcing reliance on informal systems. Recognising these gaps, the assessment emphasises the need to strengthen the integration of formal and customary mechanisms,

[18] Boege, Volker, M. Anne Brown, and Kevin P. Clements. 2009. "Hybrid Political Orders, Not Fragile States." Peace Review 21(1)
[19] For more information, read Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024, p. 40. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/bosaso-city-strategy-2024 (last access: 6 March 2025). Information is also provided in the phase one report of the longitudinal study, available here (last access: 6 March 2025).
[20] Acumen Research. (2024). *Social Cohesion Formative Assessment for Puntland State*. Saameynta. The document was not yet publicly available at the time of publishing this second phase report.

ensuring that traditional governance structures are better institutionalised while also promoting greater inclusivity and fairness in dispute resolution.

Building on these insights, phase two of the study set out to explore in greater depth the role of different governance and conflict resolution actors in Bosaso. Specifically, it examined their level of coordination and how IDPs, relocated people, and host community members perceive their roles, mandates, and authority. Bosaso district consists of 16 administrative villages or sections, increasing to 17 if Gribble is included.

Each village has a section committee responsible for key functions such as security, economic planning, public works, revenue, and social services.[21] To better understand how these section committees coordinate with IDP camp committees, camp leaders, and clan elders, data collection included interviews with Bosaso Land Department employees, a section committee chairman, and camp leaders and committee members from Tawakal and Gribble.

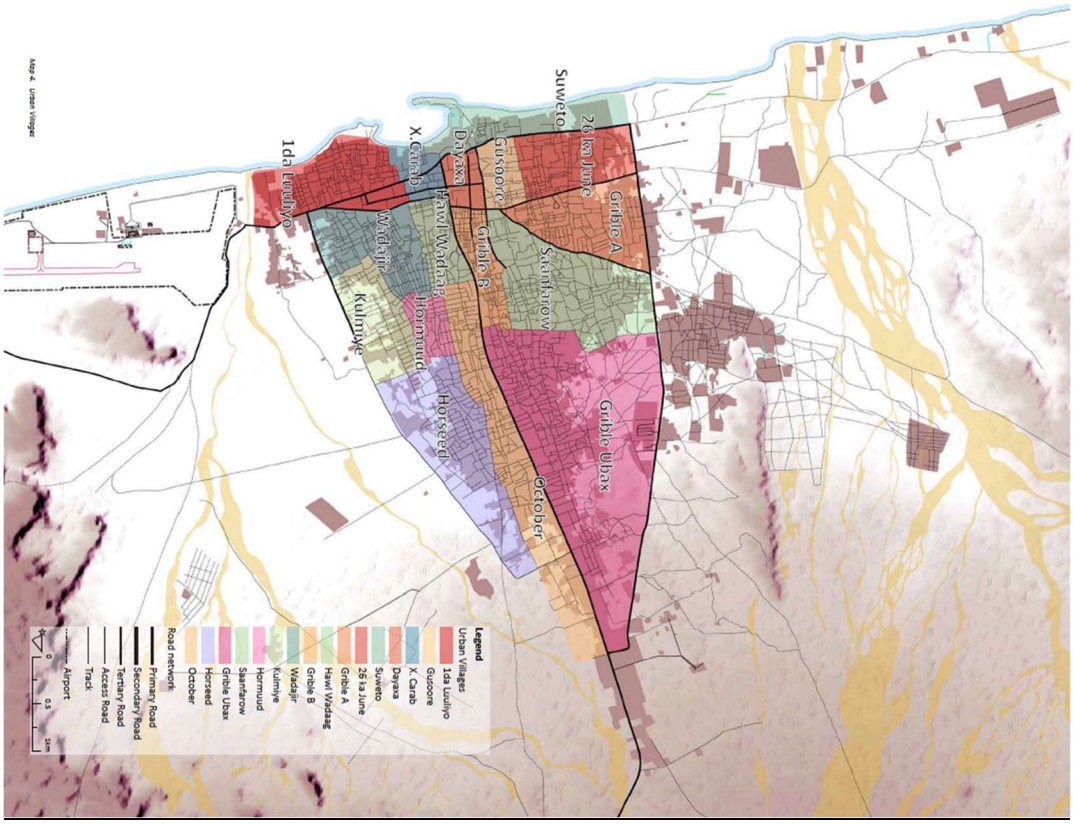


Figure 8. Map of Bosaso districts (Bosaso City Strategy, 2024)

The chairman of the **1da Luuliyo section committee**, whom we interviewed, oversees the second subsection of the committee responsible, which covers an area that includes both Tawakal and

[21] For more information, read Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024, p. 30. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/bosaso-city-strategy-2024 (last access: 6 March 2025).

100Bush IDP camps. 1da Luuliyo section committee is divided into four subsections, each with 21 members, making a total of 84 committee members. While committee members are elected by the local community, chairmen are appointed by the Mayor. The chairman's primary responsibility is to represent the needs of his subsection to higher levels of the governance structure. Additionally, he plays a key role in the local distribution of aid and services, collaborating with relevant organisations as directed by the Mayor, who directs humanitarian and development organisations to the appropriate section and subsection chairmen as needed.

Coordination with IDP camp leaders and clan elders is central to the committee's work. Although IDPs do not participate in the elections for the section committees, their needs are communicated through their camp leaders. These leaders work closely with the section committee on a range of issues, including security maintenance within the camps, advocacy for health services, emergency responses in the event of fires, and garbage collection. When HC members need the committee's support, they typically do so through their neighbourhood representative – one of the elected members of each subsection – while IDPs act through their camp leaders, who then liaise with the neighbourhood representative of the area before reaching the chairman. Clan elders, on the other hand, primarily focus on conflict mediation and resolution. Coordination with them takes place when conflicts cannot be mediated locally and are thus referred to as formal systems of governance. Overall, the chairman emphasised a sense of mutual responsibility in these efforts: "We have a responsibility to each other." He insisted that coordination among various stakeholders functions smoothly, as roles and responsibilities are clearly defined.

Phase one of the study showed that in Bosaso, camp leaders play a key role in coordinating the activities of the camp, offering protection and help in case of eviction, and ensuring that the needs of IDPs are communicated to local authorities. In phase two of the study, we interviewed the current **leader of Tawakal camp and some members of the camp's committee**. This followed an interview with the previous camp leader during phase one, but in the time between the two data collection exercises, the former leader passed away, and her son took over the leadership role. Likewise, we also interviewed **Gribble community leader and four members of the Gribble committee**.

The Tawakal camp committee is composed of 12 members selected by the IDP community and then communicated to the Municipality. These members serve on the committee for an extended period, though changes may occur if someone dies, leaves the camp, or is no longer considered able to fulfil their duties. In Gribble as well, committee members are elected by the community, with no fixed term limits. The leader of the Gribble committee and his vice were elected one year ago, while the secretary and another member have served for four years. Community members have the power to remove a committee member at any time if they feel their work is ineffective or lacks impact. When such decisions are made, the community gathers at the community centre to discuss and vote on the matter.

In Tawakal, the committee is responsible for a range of tasks, including negotiating with private landowners, mediating conflicts, advocating for the needs of the camp to different levels of

government, and supporting community members in helping each other. In terms of relocation, as described in more detail in the following chapters, the camp leader specifically plays an important role in identifying the IDPs eligible for relocation. The current camp leader shared that during the last relocation process, he assisted his mother, the former leader, in guiding the relocation committee through the camp. He and another committee member helped the team visit each section of the camp and indicate the most vulnerable households. In Gribble, too, the committee plays a crucial role in maintaining order, mediating conflicts, and advocating for the needs of residents. However, while both committees share similar responsibilities, the Gribble committee places a stronger emphasis on monitoring and evaluating the activities of NGOs, UN agencies, and government programs, ensuring that external interventions align with the community's priorities. Additionally, they manage the selection of beneficiaries for aid and food distribution, ensuring that assistance reaches those in need.

In terms of coordination, in both Tawakal and Gribble, the committees work closely with clan elders, who are respected for their role in conflict mediation. When disputes arise that the committee cannot resolve, they usually turn to clan elders for assistance. Overall, the committees and the elders work together to address disputes, security concerns, and protection issues within both the camps and the Gribble site. In cases where conflicts cannot be resolved internally, they escalate matters to the police, security forces, or government authorities. Tawakal camp leader, for instance, seemed familiar with the broader governance structures in Bosaso, including the 1da Luuliyo section committees: he confirmed that the Tawakal camp committee works with the section committee on initiatives such as garbage collection, community awareness campaigns, and environmental greening projects, demonstrating the coordination between camp leaders, community representatives, and local government structures.

Phase two of the study also revealed the **positive perception of Bosaso Municipality** within these lower levels of governance actors. Indeed, the 1da Luuliyo section committee, Tawakal camp committee, and Gribble camp committee generally perceive the Municipality as responsive to their concerns, though their levels of influence and engagement vary. In Gribble, the camp committee believes it has gained stronger advocacy power since the site became an official section of Bosaso. Similarly, the Tawakal camp leader expresses confidence that the government listens to their security concerns and has at times deployed policemen to guarantee security in the camps from theft, knife threats, and gender-based violence. Meanwhile, the chairman of the 1da Luuliyo section committee feels that the needs of his subsection are overall acknowledged and addressed by the Municipality, mentioning the provision of financial support for vulnerable children's education and assistance for survivors of gender-based violence. It is important to note, however, that these positive perceptions might, at least in part, reflect socially desirable responses, as community representatives may be reluctant to openly criticise the Municipality given their reliance on government support and the potential risks of antagonising local authorities. For instance, findings from both phase one and phase two of the study show that, in the IDP camps, local authorities are not commonly perceived as responsive actors or as playing a significant role in protecting communities from eviction. As the former head of Tawakal's camp committee emphasised during phase one, people in the camps still

see themselves as IDPs also because they are not recognised by the government: "Me, I am still an IDP. People in Gribble are recognised. They are seen. If they want a road, someone will build it. They are recognised by the government. Here, no one recognises me." Similarly, while the head of the 1da Luuliyo section committee described feeling supported by the Municipality, he also consistently advocated for greater attention and resources for his community, emphasising the need to target both IDPs and host community members equally with services and support.

On the other hand, assessing **the perception of community members** – IDPs, relocated people, and HC – toward the section and camp committees proved challenging for several reasons. As outlined already in the reflections on data collection and methodology, understanding local perceptions toward figures of authority fully would require, first of all, a deeper knowledge of internal camp dynamics. Additionally, the interview settings were rarely neutral, which may have influenced responses. For example, in Tawakal, a group of women was interviewed in the community centre immediately after the camp leader, with some of them having witnessed the previous discussion. Similarly, during interviews with HC members living near 100Bush, a section committee member deliberately accompanied the team, requiring her to be asked to leave to ensure privacy. Finally, the ongoing relocation process further complicated the neutrality of the interview setting, as committee members play a role in the selection of those eligible for relocation. This dynamic may have led some respondents to withhold criticism to avoid jeopardising their chances for future selection, while others may have blamed these figures for being left out.

Once these limitations are acknowledged, we can report that findings from phase two indicate a widespread sense of representation and awareness of leadership structures within Gribble, Tawakal, and 100Bush. Community members in these sites generally recognised the presence and role of camp committees and leaders and expressed trust in their work. In Tawakal, one woman criticised the camp leader for favouring certain individuals in the relocation process, but this was an isolated complaint, as most others seemed satisfied with the committee's efforts. On the other hand, the perception among HC members was notably different. Several of those interviewed either did not know their section committee or neighbourhood representatives or had only vaguely heard of them without understanding their exact role. Among those who were aware, a common concern was that aid and services were not always distributed to those most in need. One HC woman living near 100Bush stated that while she occasionally interacted with the section committee when mosquito nets were distributed, she felt that the poorest members of the neighbourhood were often overlooked. Similar concerns were echoed by HC residents near Tawakal, where some respondents had heard of the section committee but did not have any direct interaction with it.

3.2 THE BROADER IMPACT OF RELOCATION

While phase one of the longitudinal study examined how relocation to Gribble affected IDPs' access to land and property, tenure security, land rights, and risk of eviction, phase two expanded the focus to assess its broader impact on livelihoods, social networks, support systems, and access to services

in Bosaso. This shift was influenced by key concerns that emerged during the first site visits in April and May 2024. Gribble, located approximately 5.5 km from Bosaso, is about a 40-minute car drive on a rough, unpaved road. The site is adjacent to the city's cemetery, situated between IDP settlements in eastern Bosaso and the relocation site, earning it the local nickname “If iyo aakhiro”(“between life and death” in Somali)[22] among locals.

The visits raised critical questions: While relocation may provide greater tenure security and protection from eviction, how do relocated individuals maintain their social ties, jobs, and livelihoods? How do they access essential services, which remain largely lacking in Gribble? Phase two’s data collection was planned to follow the most recent relocation round in late 2024, organised by the Saameynta program to move 61 households from the Tawakal and 100Bush camps. The research team interviewed several recently relocated individuals to explore their social networks, support systems, access to services, and overall financial and livelihood security.



Figure 10. The cemetery between Bosaso and Gribble



Figure 9. A person on the road to Gribble from Bosaso

3.2.1 Social networks and support system

When it comes to **social support systems**, a key and positive finding of phase two is that, upon relocation, people are able to maintain strong ties with the family and friends left behind in the camps while also developing a new sense of community in Gribble. Most respondents from Gribble, as well as Tawakal and 100Bush, explained how relocated individuals and IDPs in the camps frequently visit

[22] *Ibid,* pg. 63

one another, particularly during holidays, weddings, and funerals. Relocated individuals often host family and friends from the camps, inviting them to stay overnight in their homes. During the summer, IDPs from Tawakal and 100Bush commonly spend time in Gribble, where the cooler temperatures provide relief from the heat.

Also, since relocation has so far targeted only the Tawakal and 100Bush camps, many relocated individuals find themselves reunited with people they already know from their time in the camps, which helps foster a strong sense of community. One interviewee described being part of a community as "being aware of each other, knowing your neighbour, and being available to provide help." When asked about her sense of a solution for displacement, another respondent emphasised the importance of collective support, explaining, "The key (…) is having a community where people support each other and connect. In a community, some people can be more vulnerable, and others can be less vulnerable; that is why the key is collective support. In Gribble, I have a sense of community – if I need food or sugar, I ask my neighbour. "The Gribble community leader reinforced this sentiment, stating, "People in Gribble are happy, but they still have connections with the [Tawakal and 100Bush] camps, where family and friends live. People from Tawakal and 100Bush often come during the weekend; they see the houses, and they often say that they would like to move to Gribble. (…) People in Gribble [also] interact with each other, they are familiar, they know each other, very often they come from the same camps, and they have similar needs."

3.2.2 Access to services

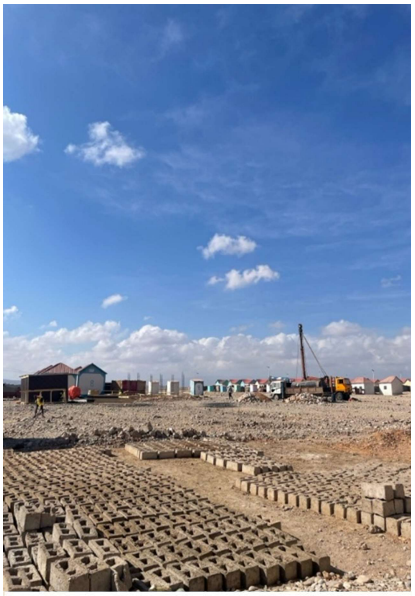


Figure 12. Construction of a new borehole in Gribble

When it comes to **access to services,** on the other hand, the relocation process results are more disruptive. While respondents in Gribble highlighted how their living conditions have improved – particularly due to the provision of housing and private latrines – the relocation has overall reduced access to critical services. Although some services are available in Gribble, many are considered too expensive. For example, the cost of electricity – $0.50 per night from 6 PM to 6 AM for two lamps and a charger – was frequently mentioned as a financial burden. Some other key services are not present on the site: while facilities for a market and health centre were built, they remain non-operational, forcing Gribble residents to travel to the city when assistance is needed. The site's distance from the city, coupled with the lack of a reliable road and affordable transport, makes accessing healthcare particularly difficult.



Figure 11. The health center facility in Gribble

This is especially challenging for people with disabilities, pregnant women, the ill, and the elderly. The Gribble community leader noted that "There are people with specific needs and vulnerabilities in Gribble (…) whose situation was better in the city because they could have access to healthcare, education, and financial support from family and friends that they do not always receive in Gribble." This lack of access to services was echoed by relocated individuals. One disabled man explained, "I'm different from many people with different needs. I have a disability, and before, accessibility was better." Another respondent in Tawakal, a woman, shared that although she had been selected for relocation, she returned temporarily to Tawakal to care for her son, who had been diagnosed with tuberculosis. She explained, "In Gribble, I couldn't do it because the city is too far, and [travel] is too expensive." Similarly, an elderly man who had stayed in Tawakal despite his family being relocated to Gribble explained, "I am older, and I often get sick. I stayed in Tawakal because Gribble is too far, and from there, I do not have access to health services and support. I am afraid to get sick in Gribble because the place is too far away from the city. I need a health centre nearby, and here my neighbours help me by giving me food."

3.2.3 Livelihood and finances

Finally, relocation to Gribble significantly impacts the **livelihoods and finances** of relocated individuals, with many losing their jobs as a result. Gribble Economic Study,[23] produced in September 2024, reveals that IDPs in Bosaso primarily rely on daily labour and informal employment, as paid, stable jobs are largely reserved for members of the host community. While in the camps, IDPs often take on physically demanding roles such as construction labour, carpentry, welding, roofing, and cleaning. Gender also plays a role in employment patterns, with most IDP women working as cleaners or in marketing-related activities. These jobs are often seen as less desirable by the host population, creating a labour market dynamic where IDPs fill roles requiring manual effort while the host community secures more technical or managerial positions. Phase two of the longitudinal study revealed that because their jobs lack long-term protections and depend heavily on easy access to the city centre, IDPs' livelihoods are highly vulnerable to the relocation process.

Indeed, once relocated, the distance from the city and the high cost of transportation make it difficult for many IDPs to maintain their previous employment. As one respondent explained, "The city is too far, and the road is the biggest problem. We don't have the money to go to the city." Another explained, "In Bosaso city, with one dollar, we could buy food, but here, we only spend that dollar on the transport to the city." The cost and unreliable nature of transportation make daily commuting a financial burden, and often, when customers need a quick job, relocated people are not able to arrive promptly, leading customers to turn to others. Furthermore, limited internet connectivity in Gribble exacerbates this issue, as customers are unable to reach workers by phone.

As a result, although relocated families save on rent in Gribble, their overall income decreases due to the loss of employment opportunities. In the camps, neighbours who were better off could provide

[23] Schmitt-Degenhardt, S., & Aden, A. (2024). *Gribble Economic Study*. UNDP, Saameynta.

some support, but in Gribble, everyone faces similar economic hardships, making it harder to rely on neighbours for financial assistance. To mitigate these challenges, some families adopt strategies such as having family members stay behind in the camps to continue working and support the rest of the family. In other cases, while both parents would work when living in the camps, upon relocation, the household decides that only one of them should keep their job so as to save on the cost of transportation. Mostly, the father remains employed while the mother stays home to care for the children, as the long distance to the city makes it impractical for both parents to leave them unattended. This was confirmed by Gribble community leader, who emphasised that women are particularly affected by the loss of employment, as the gendered division of labour means that women often bear the responsibility of caring for children, leaving them with fewer opportunities for income-generating activities. In his words, "women are more affected by the loss of jobs than men during relocation for many reasons: the city is far and expensive to reach, so often the household can afford one person only travelling there for work every day. The choice often falls on the man because someone, the mother, also has to look after the kids in Gribble, who cannot be left alone considering the long distance [between the site and the city]."

3.3 THE RELOCATION PROCESS

Phase two of data collection took place shortly after a relocation round co-organised by the Saameynta project and Bosaso local authorities, which moved 61 households from the IDP camps of Tawakal and 100Bush to Gribble. To assess the impact of Saameynta's activities on the ground, phase two also examined how the relocation process was perceived by both those selected for relocation and those who were not. To this end, interviews were conducted with newly relocated households in Gribble as well as IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush who witnessed the process but were not selected. Additionally, key actors involved in the relocation, including members of the relocation committee, the Tawakal camp leader, and local authorities, were interviewed to provide further insights into the process.

3.3.1 Process, actors, criteria

Each relocation round to Gribble is overseen by a relocation committee composed of representatives from humanitarian and development agencies alongside local authorities. In the case of the Saameynta-organised relocation, the committee included two members from the municipality, one from UN-Habitat, one from IOM, one from the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), two from NRC, and one from UNHCR. Their general role is to ensure a fair and coordinated selection of beneficiaries based on predetermined criteria.

The process begins with the committee convening to define the selection criteria, ensuring a focus on the households most in need. Once the criteria are established, camp leaders and key individuals in the IDP settlements are informed about the upcoming relocation, and IDPs are asked to remain in the camp on the day of registration to ensure they are present when assessments take place. The committee then visits the camps to conduct general observations of living conditions. They engage

with camp leaders, who help identify the households most in need. The relocation committee members we interviewed were keen on stressing that, due to the very limited target of each relocation process, not every family in the camp is interviewed and visited. Overall, real-time observations when in the field and camp leaders play the most significant role in directing the committee toward households in need. Based on both these elements, the committee interviews households they believe fit the criteria, registering their information for further review. Following the interviews, the committee finalises the selection of beneficiaries and communicates their decision to those chosen. Before relocation, selected households are taken to visit the Gribble site to assess whether they are willing to move or prefer to remain in the camps.

As mentioned, the selection of beneficiaries for relocation is guided by a set of criteria designed before the process to prioritise the households most in need. One of the key factors that guided the latest round of relocation is the condition of the shelter in the IDP camps: households living in structures deemed unsafe, inadequate, or at high risk of collapse were given priority. The risk of eviction is another critical factor, as families facing imminent displacement due to land tenure insecurity were prioritised for relocation. Additionally, special consideration was given to households with elderly members, individuals with chronic illnesses, people living with disabilities, families caring for orphans, and survivors of gender-based violence. Marital status, as well as the number and age of children within a household, also play a role in the selection process, ensuring that those with greater caregiving responsibilities receive support. Furthermore, households from minority clans with no social support networks are prioritised, as they often lack the community-based safety nets that others might rely on.

3.3.2 Key reflections and criticalities from the ground

The process described above reflects the official account provided by decision-makers and those responsible for organising the relocation. The reflections below stem from exchanges with IDPs and relocated individuals in Gribble, offering a perspective "from below" on how the relocation process is perceived by those directly impacted.

The first critical element emerging from these discussions is the **limited awareness among IDPs regarding crucial aspects of the relocation process**. While there is a general familiarity with relocation due to its ongoing nature since 2019, many IDPs lack clarity on specific elements, such as the selection criteria, the purpose of the initial interviews in the camp, and the roles of different actors involved. Although some respondents recalled that the committee explained the criteria, this information was described as minimal. As one interviewee put it, “They explained the criteria a bit, but not much.” Others stated that they understood that the selection was based on vulnerability, with a focus on orphans and people with disabilities, yet they were unclear about who exactly made the decisions. “A committee comes, but we don’t know the details. They select, they always come, interview, we give them the answers.” Overall, there is a lack of awareness about who is in charge of the process and the composition of the relocation committee. When asked about the members of the committee, one respondent replied: “Maybe NGOs or the government, maybe the camp leader.”

This lack of transparency extends to the involvement of camp leaders, whose role is often described vaguely. Furthermore, in most accounts, the visit from the relocation committee came as a surprise. Several interviewees recalled that the committee arrived unexpectedly at their homes and began asking questions without prior notice. “They came just like you, we were not aware,” one woman explained. While she acknowledged that the camp leader was involved to some extent – “giving some directions to show who were the most vulnerable” – she, like many others, was not informed in advance that a selection process was taking place. This element of unpredictability, combined with the limited communication about the decision-making structure, contributes to the perception that the process lacks transparency. It also limits possible accountability channels – if people have concerns or complaints about the process, how do they know whom they can turn to?

This limited awareness of the selection process contributes to a widespread sense among the IDPs who were left in the camps that **the selection is arbitrary or unfair**. Some people described being chosen as a matter of fate or luck rather than a structured decision-making process. For instance, one woman stated, “God has its own plan for beneficiaries,” while another added, “Sometimes relocation is a matter of luck. We never know. God gives you relocation by luck.” Others who were not selected expressed similar views, believing their exclusion was due to a lack of luck rather than a transparent and systematic process. One woman reflected, “Maybe it was not our fate that they would come to us, maybe there were more vulnerable people.” Her husband reinforced this perspective, saying, “Justice lies in God’s hands.”

While some viewed relocation as divine fortune, others believed that the process was simply random. Several IDPs expressed frustration that beneficiaries seemed to be chosen without clear reasoning. One person who was interviewed by the committee but not selected commented that “the relocation committee chooses, sometimes randomly, sometimes by observation.” Another stated outright, “The main problem is that beneficiaries are chosen randomly.” A common criticism was that the committee’s selection process relied too much on swift, surface-level observations rather than in-depth engagement. One woman explained, “The selection is not fair for different reasons, including that the camp is big, but the relocation committee comes and observes around too quickly.” Another added, “They don’t observe the whole camp, and they don’t talk with everyone.”

In addition, some IDPs suspected that the camp leader’s involvement might introduce bias, with certain individuals being favoured. One woman claimed, “The camp leader has his favourites and always includes them in the selection.” While the involvement of camp leaders is seen as essential by the relocation committee – given their deep knowledge of the community and their ability to verify who is most vulnerable – this perception of favouritism raises concerns. Ensuring that their role remains one of facilitation rather than influence and making sure that this is acknowledged by the community is critical to maintaining trust in the process.

Another set of reflections concerns the **criteria used for relocation**, which present several challenges when applied to the reality of IDPs in Bosaso. First, the approach of selecting only a small number of people per round and prioritising the "most vulnerable" raises fundamental questions in a context

where nearly everyone is already in an extremely precarious situation. How does one determine the most vulnerable among a population that is already among the most vulnerable in Bosaso? This issue is reflected in the words of one woman who, while not resentful, acknowledged the difficulty of such a decision: “I cannot be jealous of people. We have the same needs, the same status, the situation is the same.”

Second, the reliance on shelter conditions as a selection criterion appears inconsistent with the volatile nature of both housing conditions and tenure security in the camps. A household might have a relatively stable shelter one day but face eviction the next, making this criterion an unreliable measure of vulnerability. This was the case for one man who believed he had been excluded from the relocation because his shelter was in good condition when the committee visited the camp. However, by the time we interviewed him, he had already been evicted and was in the process of rebuilding a new makeshift shelter. Similarly, another woman noted that she was not chosen because she lived in a sturdier corrugated iron sheets shelter rather than one made of cloth, yet she still felt extremely vulnerable. She emphasised, “They have to select me,” citing insecurity in Tawakal, threats from outsiders, and exposure to gender-based violence.

Finally, a paradox emerges in the prioritisation of certain groups—such as the elderly, chronically ill, and single women—who, despite their vulnerabilities, often struggle the most in Gribble due to its lack of services and economic opportunities. As previously discussed, these groups are disproportionately affected by the challenges of relocation, making the prioritisation of their move a double-edged sword: while they are rightly recognised as most in need, their hardships often worsen upon arrival in Gribble. This raises a critical question about the long-term sustainability of the relocation process and whether additional support mechanisms should be in place to prevent further marginalisation of those already at the greatest disadvantage.

The final set of reflections concerns the **emotional toll of the relocation process**, both for those who relocate and for those who remain behind. For those moving to Gribble, the experience has been described as disruptive. While many maintain social ties with their previous communities, their daily lives change significantly, often in ways that cause distress. One woman described the relocation as profoundly difficult: “Changing life is difficult.” She had owned a small shop in front of her house in 100Bush, but “it is now destroyed.” Others spoke of feelings of loneliness and loss, with one man reflecting, “There are challenges. I was with friends and family in Tawakal for 20 years; the city was near, and I had my own car and employment. With the relocation, I felt disconnected.” Another woman, who had lived with her mother for 25 years, described the pain of separation: “Socially, we are destroyed. My family and my mother are still in Tawakal. She is very far away, and I miss her, but I cannot leave this house because now this is my reality.” These experiences highlight the emotional weight of relocating, even when relocation is framed as a positive opportunity.

For those who remain in the camps, the relocation process also carries emotional consequences. Expectations often run high before each round of selection, and for those not chosen, rejection leads to disappointment, frustration, and a sense of discrimination. Many express feelings of being left

behind and struggle with a loss of morale and self-esteem. As one man explained, after each relocation, the emotional state of those remaining in the camp declines: "The self-esteem and the morale in the camp changes and decreases." This also affects trust within the community, particularly toward camp leaders. A camp leader from Tawakal noted that people often blamed him for the selection process despite his lack of decision-making power. In some cases, rumours of unfairness and favouritism spread, deepening frustrations. One man shared, "After the relocation, rumours increased and spread in the camp that the relocation was not fair and that there was discrimination. The committee and the camp leader had to explain that there were limited resources available. In any case, we are always waiting for more relocation rounds." Similarly, in 100Bush, residents described feelings of anger and exhaustion from waiting for relocation: "We were tired of waiting." Some even felt abandoned, with one woman lamenting, "We also feel that nowadays no one comes to us for relocation." However, as time passed, the initial emotional reactions subsided, and life in the camp resumed its usual rhythm: "Then things went back to normal."

These reflections emphasise that relocation is not just a logistical process but an emotional one marked by loss, uncertainty, and complex social dynamics. While the initiative aims to provide a better future for selected households, it also leaves behind a toll of emotional hardship for both those who leave and those who stay.

3.4 The sustainability of the Gribble project

Relocation to Gribble has been an ongoing process since 2019, gradually reshaping the landscape of displacement in Bosaso. Five years after the first relocation round, the site has expanded and grown, accommodating an increasing number of households. This final paragraph reflects on the overall long-term sustainability of the Gribble project. It tries to trace the trajectory of the initiative, to understand how the idea of relocation developed over time and explore the visions different stakeholders initially had – not only for Gribble itself but also for the Tawakal and 100Bush camps from which people have been relocated.

3.4.1 Is Gribble appealing?

Is moving to Gribble appealing? This is one of the questions that phase two of this longitudinal study set out to address, after having assessed more broadly the impact of relocation beyond tenure security to better understand how moving to the Gribble site more comprehensively changes the life of relocated households. Overall, the short answer is that for IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush, moving to Gribble is usually appealing. But, it should be noted, there is more to unpack from this to better understand the complexity and nuances of IDPs' perception of the relocation process. As this paragraph tries to explain, for many, relocation is often about escaping conditions that have become unbearable in the camps. As one interviewee in 100Bush put it, "As long as I leave this place…" While securing land and a latrine in Gribble is undoubtedly an improvement, the site's appeal is largely tied to the prospect of receiving basic assets and services for free – raising important questions about the long-term sustainability of the relocation process.



Figure 13. An IDP shelters in Tawakal



Figure 14. Ruins of a latrine in 100Bush

When respondents in Tawakal and 100Bush were asked to assess their lives and identify the key challenges they faced in the camps, the prevailing perception was one of unbearable living conditions marked by insecure tenure, poor hygiene, and a lack of protection. Many respondents cited the lack of access to basic facilities, such as toilets and safe shelter, as primary sources of stress. For instance, women described the constant threat of violence, particularly at night when using shared toilets, with reports of rape and theft, further compounded by the lack of safety when disputes between police and other groups spill into the camp. In 100Bush, the scarcity of affordable latrines forces residents to defecate in plastic buckets within their shelters. As one woman explained, "We want to leave this place, so we need to relocate as soon as possible. Even if they will not give us a shelter, we want to move." This sentiment was echoed by others in Tawakal who described a sense of constant fear and instability, with some even facing direct threats of violence, including knife attacks and theft by people who come to the camps at night. To make matters worse, this sense of physical insecurity is compounded by the growing fear of eviction, which, as seen above, is an increasingly prevalent concern in the camps.

When the same question was posed to residents of Gribble, most expressed that the relocation had significantly improved their situation. Key reasons included the sense of security they felt from eviction, as they now have their own land and house (at least in their perception), access to private latrines, and a general feeling of safety within the site. In the words of one respondent, "In 100Bush, I was suffering the lack of shelter and security, having no toilet, having to pee at night in a bucket, suffering constant eviction. Now, I am happy to have a shelter." However, many also pointed out that despite these improvements, Gribble is not a panacea. There is still much to be done to better develop the site, particularly in terms of service provision, with the market and health centre being frequently mentioned as areas requiring attention, and improved accessibility and connection to the city.

Overall, respondents' accounts suggest that the desire to move to Gribble is not necessarily driven by its appeal as an ideal living situation but rather by the need to escape the unbearable conditions in Tawakal and 100Bush. While the relocation to Gribble is perceived as an improvement, it is largely seen as a means to secure basic rights, such as shelter and privacy, as well as a sense of stability. Many residents of Gribble emphasised the importance of having their own house and latrine, as well as the sense of safety from eviction that comes with a perception of land ownership. As explained by one respondent, to exit displacement, "you need a permanent base to start developing your life." When asked about relocating to Gribble, respondents in Tawakal and 100Bush consistently framed it as a way to achieve a fundamental shift in their living conditions. As one man put it, "With relocation, my life would change. I would get a piece of land that belongs to me and a latrine. Even if I lose my job, life in Gribble would be completely different." Others echoed this sentiment, with one respondent explaining, "If I get land and a house, a job will come," and another emphasising that "People in Gribble have their own shelter and latrine, and there is security and protection at night. In Tawakal, people are afraid to use latrines at night." The certainty of not facing eviction was also a recurring theme, with statements such as, "In Gribble, no one can kick you out." Even the challenges of distance and limited services were not perceived as deal-breakers; as one respondent noted, "There is always a plan. If we



Figure 16. New houses built by Saameynta in Gribble



Figure 15. Houses in Gribble with IDP-made iron extensions

are relocated, we will find a way to come to the city if we find a job. ”This perspective was further reinforced by the chairman of the 1da Luuliyo section committee, who described relocation as an adaptation process: “They will adapt as long as they have a house. The same goes for jobs. People adapt. In the first round of relocation, some families returned to the camp because they missed their community. But after facing eviction and the lack of shelter again, they went back to Gribble. And they adapted to that life.”

The real decisive factor in deciding to relocate is that key services, particularly land and latrine provision, come for free. Indeed, many respondents – both IDPs and host community members –were clear that they would not choose to move to Gribble if they had to pay rent once in the settlement. If the essential provisions came at a cost, most would prefer a location closer to the city. This was confirmed by two land brokers in Bosaso, who stated that, to their knowledge, there has never been interest in purchasing land near the site.

Ultimately, Gribble is not seen as an ideal destination but rather as the best available option in a context where alternatives are limited. While upon relocation IDPs lose their displacement status and are officially recognised as members of the HC – gaining, for instance, the right to vote in municipal elections – this shift in status does not significantly change their perception or experience in terms of access to aid. Although they are technically part of the HC, Gribble residents continue to benefit from durable solutions programming and related assistance, blurring the line between displacement and integration. Eventually, for many, Gribble is the lesser of two evils, with people eager to leave Tawakal and 100Bush for the chance to have a shelter, a latrine, and some sense of stability – regardless of the site's limitations. As one man from 100Bush explained, "People want to relocate to Gribble because they do not want to stay in Tawakal." The prevailing sentiment is clear: Gribble is not a panacea, but for those who have lived in the camps for years, it is a welcome alternative – as long as it remains for free.



Figure 17: One of the houses built by Saameynta in Gribble

3.4.2 Which durable vision for Gribble, Tawakal, and 100Bush?

The fact that Gribble's appeal is, at least today, largely tied to the free provision of land, housing, and latrines raises key questions about the long-term sustainability of the relocation process as it is done today. What will happen when the projects currently facilitating and financing the construction of houses and facilities in Gribble come to an end? Will people continue to settle in Gribble, and if so,

under what conditions? More broadly, what does the future hold for Tawakal and 100Bush once relocations slow down or stop altogether? To explore these questions, phase two of the study sought to understand the perspectives of key stakeholders – local authorities and government representatives – on the long-term vision for Gribble, as well as the future of the camps from which people are being relocated.

From the outset, the relocation process was envisioned as a strategy to vacate the sites of Tawakal and 100Bush, as confirmed in both phases of this study through exchanges with local authorities as well as UN representatives. This objective was driven by two key factors. First, these settlements occupy land considered critical for the future infrastructural development and expansion of Bosaso, given their proximity to the city centre and key facilities such as Bosaso airport and port. This is reflected in the Bosaso City Strategy, which outlines a vision to preserve land in central areas for special uses and industrial development, including[24] the expansion of the port and airport. The strategy also emphasises the importance of steering urban redevelopment away from overcrowded zones — such as IDP camps — towards identified expansion areas, including those surrounding Gribble. Second, CCCM assessments indicated that IDPs in these sites faced a heightened risk of eviction compared to other informal settlements in the city. Thus, the objective was also to provide IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush with a "permanent solution" to displacement that would be different from what had been tried already in Eastern Bosaso IDP camps through the temporary agreements negotiated between Municipality and private owners to allow IDPs to settle with no exposure to eviction for a limited number of years.



Figure 18. Limited space between shelters in 100Bush

The choice thus fell on coordinating a relocation process which would eventually empty Tawakal and 100Bush by moving IDPs to public land previously acquired by the Municipality. An agreement was reached between the UN and the government, whereby the government would secure a piece of land for the relocated population while the UN and other stakeholders would provide funding and support for the process. When asked about what guided the decision to buy land in Gribble, members of the relocation committee explained that the primary factor guiding the selection was cost: land within the city was too expensive, and securing land outside the city was the only viable option. As one committee member put it, "The government was responsible for finding secure land before any

[24] Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024, p. 164-170. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/bosaso-city-strategy-2024 (last access: 6 March 2025)

implementation. They stated that land in the city was too costly, so the preference was to find a place outside the city."

Crucially, UN agencies had no direct oversight in the selection of the site. Their role was to mobilise resources and implement the relocation project once the government had identified the land. This dynamic raises important considerations. While the relocation efforts represent a significant investment – both in terms of financial resources and their impact on people's lives – the long-term sustainability of the process depends on ensuring that relocated populations are not simply displaced to areas where they face new challenges. “The hope,” as stated by the relocation committee, “is that over time, services and accessibility in Gribble will improve in the future,” making the site more attractive for the wider population of Bosaso. This vision was shared by the Mayor of Bosaso, who emphasised Gribble’s economic potential once the road connecting the site to Bosaso is developed and accessibility improved. In the vision of the Mayor, better connection between the site and the city will encourage economic growth, supported by targeted actions, such as the Municipality’s plans to establish the city’s main bus terminal in Gribble, with bus system workers selected from among its residents. In the Mayor’s words, the goal is that there will be “no more Gribble and Bosaso, but only Bosaso.” Given the scale of the relocation and its profound effects – both positive and negative – on affected communities, the decision to prioritise affordability over proximity underscores the complexities and trade-offs inherent in large-scale displacement interventions.

This resonates even more if considering that, while this rationale may be sound in theory – vacating IDP camps and relocating the population to Gribble while gradually improving services and accessibility – this vision is not, as of today, materialising in practice. In practice, Tawakal and 100Bush are not becoming any emptier. As confirmed by IDPs in the camps and our conversation with the relocation committee, the chairman of 1da Luuliyo section committee, and a member of the family owning the land where 100Bush lies, the space left by those who relocate is quickly filled in several ways. In many cases, part of the household selected for relocation remains behind, often younger family members who continue to live in the camp to retain access to employment opportunities in the city. In other instances, neighbours expand their shelters into the space left by a relocated family. Additionally, new IDPs continue to arrive, occupying vacated land. A few respondents even suggested that some IDPs from other camps in Bosaso move to Tawakal and 100Bush because they anticipate that these sites will be targeted for relocation in the future. As 1da Luuliyo section committee chairman put it, “They relocate people, but more people come, and the camps are still here.”



Figure 19. The space between two shelters in 100Bush

A major issue is the lack of monitoring or enforcement to ensure that vacated land remains empty. To address this, last year, the former Director of Bosaso's Land Department explained that local authorities had adopted a policy: if landowners rent the land left empty by a relocated family to a newcomer, the newcomer will not be recognised as an IDP. This measure, which reflects the broader goal of eventually clearing sites, in practice, has not been effective. IDPs appear largely unaware of the policy, and there is no coordinated effort – whether from landowners, the Municipality, or the UN – to track which plots have been vacated and whether they remain empty. Both the UN and local authorities maintain that, since the land is privately owned, it is the responsibility of the landowners to ensure it remains unoccupied after relocation. However, our discussions with one of 100Bush landowners, a member of the Reer Askar family that collectively owns the land where 100Bush lays, revealed that they have received no specific instructions from the Government on this matter. More importantly, they have no incentive to keep the land empty. Without a clear investment plan for the area, renting out the land remains a key source of income. As the private owner explained, his family has no long-term vision for the land – "IDPs are free to stay or move as they choose. In any case, Durable Solutions programs and the relocation process are not nearly large enough to move everyone."

In all honesty, the private owner might have a point. Eventually, the projects' financing of relocation will come to an end. And if Durable Solutions programmes are truly committed to their ideals – promoting sustainable, locally-led solutions spearheaded by government authorities to ensure that activities continue even after external funding runs out – then a realistic long-term vision must be in place. A vision that is not only ambitious but also practical, with safeguards to keep the relocation process sustainable in the long run. As it stands, the relocation is caught in a vicious cycle. People move to Gribble because life in Tawakal and 100Bush has become unbearable. Yet, in Gribble, they find themselves in a situation that is far from perfect – often forcing them to maintain a foothold in the camps they supposedly left through family members or relatives who stay behind, as the camps remain the place where they can more easily access essential services and livelihood opportunities. The very location of Gribble – a site that may have been more affordable but was not the most appropriate because distant from the city and poorly connected – reinforces the same dynamics that prevent Tawakal and 100Bush from emptying. As one IDP from Tawakal put it, "Relocation will never end." Finally, the lack of coordination among key actors – local authorities, the UN, and private landowners – means that no coherent vision has materialised. Critical aspects of the process, such as the future of the sites or the tenure security implications of the *super logo*, remain unclear, possibly

exposing people to protection gaps and raising urgent questions about the long-term viability of the entire relocation process.

4 CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND NEXT STEPS

The findings of this study highlight both the achievements and the persistent challenges of the relocation process under the Saameynta project. While relocation to Gribble has provided many displaced individuals with improved housing conditions and a sense of improved tenure security, critical concerns remain about the long-term sustainability of the process.

Projects like Saameynta are making significant efforts to improve the situation in Gribble. Saameynta arrived in Bosaso at a stage when Gribble was already in existence and has since worked to align its efforts with previous initiatives to create a more coordinated approach – ensuring that multiple UN stakeholders are not operating in silos. Their work is focused on improving the site as much as possible within the given constraints. However, broader questions remain about whether relocation is truly the most effective tool in a context like Somalia, and if so, how it can be strengthened to ensure better outcomes. This chapter presents key reflections on these issues, as well as specific recommendations for the Saameynta project as it moves into its next phases and the next steps of this research.

4.1 GENERAL REFLECTIONS

The effectiveness of relocation as a durable solution remains uncertain. While it provides immediate relief by offering IDPs a more stable living environment in terms of tenure security, its disruptive nature on livelihoods, social networks, and access to services raises concerns. Given these challenges, alternative approaches – such as the urban upgrading of existing camps – should be seriously explored. If relocation is pursued, it must be planned more inclusively to mitigate the disruptions it causes while ensuring its long-term sustainability.

For instance, one of the key reflections that emerged from phase two was the extent to which IDPs from Tawakal and 100Bush were involved in the decision-making process regarding the Gribble relocation project. Had they been given a say, would they have chosen to build the site where it stands today? While many now accept Gribble as the best available option, their acceptance seems to stem more from necessity than genuine preference – it is free, and it offers a better alternative to the unbearable conditions in the camps. But this does not necessarily mean it was the right or most suitable choice for them. The lack of inclusion in site selection raises both ethical and practical concerns. Ethically, the process appears to have been largely top-down, shaped by UN institutions and government authorities rather than by the displaced communities whose lives are most affected by the relocation. Practically, the sustainability of Gribble depends on its long-term appeal. If people are moving primarily because it is free rather than because they see it as a viable place to settle, what will happen when external funding ends? The future success of the project hinges on whether Gribble

can become an attractive and self-sustaining urban settlement – not just a temporary solution driven by short-term incentives.

Another key reflection is how the relocation process has reinforced a particular narrative among IDPs, that the key way to exit displacement is to own a piece of land. This finding may, at least in part, stem from the common association, among respondents, of research efforts with the relocation process itself. However, it is also somewhat paradoxical when considering that many members of the host community do not own land either. The key difference between the two groups seems not to be land ownership but rather income stability. Those with secure and consistent earnings can afford to rent decent housing over time, avoiding the constant threat of eviction. In contrast, many IDPs, lacking financial security, can only afford makeshift shelters in displacement camps and struggle to pay rent on time, something that exposes them to eviction.

In light of this, it is important to note that the free provision of land and services, while offering immediate relief, risks fostering aid dependency or reinforcing the expectation that assistance will always be provided. A more sustainable strategy should go beyond the free provision of land or housing and instead address the broader economic and social factors that determine whether displaced people can truly establish stable and independent lives in the city.

This leads to crucial questions for future durable solutions programming. Rather than focusing mainly on relocating individuals and offering free land as a pathway out of displacement, a more holistic approach is needed – one that strengthens tenure security by improving livelihood opportunities, financial stability, and social integration within Bosaso. A key takeaway of phase two is that, while tenure security is crucial to exit displacement, interventions should carefully consider the means of achieving it. Providing tenure security solely through free aid risks creating an expectation of ongoing assistance. There might be less disruptive ways to achieve long-term tenure security, especially through improving income stability and livelihood opportunities. This is particularly true in a context where IDPs face social and logistical barriers to employment, particularly in roles that extend beyond casual labour, which limits their ability to secure stable tenure in the long term. For instance, hiring practices in Bosaso heavily rely on personal networks and clan affiliations, which disadvantage IDPs in accessing skilled or salaried employment. Despite claims of merit-based hiring, clan-based favouritism often keeps IDPs concentrated in short-term, informal, and physically intensive jobs, reinforcing their economic vulnerability and limiting upward mobility.[25] Additionally, cultural stigmatisation of IDPs as economic competitors further alienates them from host communities, creating additional barriers to social integration.[26]

While the Saameynta program attempts to adopt a more holistic approach by incorporating a livelihood component and developing a social cohesion strategy for Bosaso, it is worth questioning whether the relocation process itself is inadvertently hindering the very areas Saameynta aims to

[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Acumen Research. (2024). *Social Cohesion Formative Assessment for Puntland State*. Saameynta.

improve, such as access to livelihoods, services, and social cohesion. As highlighted in phase two of the study, relocation has, in many ways, impaired livelihoods and limited access to services. While Saameynta's interventions are still in the early stages and may not yet have had their full impact, the Gribble relocation plans began in 2019, meaning some IDPs have endured the negative effects of relocation on their livelihoods and service access for five years without substantial improvements. If this trend continues, the Gribble community risks becoming isolated, integrated only within itself, and disconnected from the broader social fabric of Bosaso. As a result, the integration between host communities and relocated populations remains limited, reinforcing existing social and economic divides. This situation risks becoming a vicious cycle, where challenges such as limited access to livelihoods, services, and social integration continue to reinforce each other in a negative way. For now, there is an urgent need to improve the Gribble site and its accessibility to the city in order to prevent this cycle from deepening. Moving forward, there should be a critical reflection on whether relocation remains the best tool for implementing the holistic and comprehensive set of measures needed for durable solutions or if alternative approaches could be more effective in fostering true integration and self-sufficiency.

4.2 Practical recommendations

Since this was the final round of data collection, Saameynta partners need to **maintain ongoing engagement with both relocated communities in Gribble and those residing in the camps**. Regular interactions on a fluid and consistent basis would help capture evolving needs, challenges, and perceptions. The presence of a Saameynta National Officer on the ground has been a valuable asset in this regard, and a key recommendation would be to appoint a second officer – preferably a woman to better account for the specific experiences and challenges faced by female IDPs and relocated individuals. Overall, it is equally important to speak with those in Gribble and those who remain in the camps. While relocation primarily impacts those who move, it also carries significant emotional and practical consequences for those left behind in the camps, who may feel overlooked or excluded from the process. These individuals, particularly those who were not selected for relocation, often hold the most grievances and frustrations, making their perspectives critical to understanding the broader impact of the relocation process.

A key recommendation is the urgent need to **clarify the meaning and legal implications of the super logo** for relocated households. Many perceive their move to Gribble as an improvement in tenure security, but at present, no clear or unified understanding exists among IDPs, local authorities, and UN stakeholders about what concrete rights are actually acquired when moving to Gribble. Are relocated households legally protected from eviction? Do they hold any formal land tenure? What guarantees does the super logo provide in the long term? This ambiguity exposes relocated families to potential protection risks, particularly if eviction threats were to arise in the future. Ensuring clarity on these matters is essential to providing relocated households with a genuine sense of security. Clear communication between the relevant authorities and UN actors, ideally in a coordinated and accessible manner, is needed to address this gap.

Concerning the relocation process, one critical improvement would be to **enhance awareness among IDPs** about the key details of the process, including the timeline, the steps involved, and the roles of the various actors engaged. There is often confusion about the process, which leads to misunderstandings, frustration, and distrust. Clear communication about the stages of relocation – what to expect, when to expect it, and how decisions are made – will help to reduce uncertainty and improve transparency. Increased understanding will also foster a greater sense of fairness and equity among the affected populations, ensuring that people feel informed and involved in the decisions that impact their lives.

Another aspect to consider is the **relocation criteria**. Phase two of the study highlighted that the current criteria for selecting households for relocation might need to be reconsidered. First, choosing individuals based solely on the conditions of their shelters seems arbitrary in a context where many IDPs could lose their shelter at any given moment due to the high exposure to eviction. Second, prioritising the "most vulnerable" – such as the ill, the elderly, or single women – may be counterproductive when these groups are the ones whose lives are most disrupted by relocation to a site that still lacks essential services and opportunities. In such cases, relocation may improve some aspects of their situation while worsening others, contributing to additional layers of hardship. In light of this, a more holistic and dynamic vulnerability analysis should underpin the design and implementation of relocation efforts. As highlighted in recent research by ODI[27], particularly in protracted and complex crises, vulnerability cannot be understood through one-off assessments or standardised tools alone. Instead, it must be treated as a continuous, critical, and reflective process that evolves alongside the intervention. This means going beyond surface-level indicators and integrating continuous monitoring and feedback loops to understand who is benefiting, who is being left out, and how the intervention itself might shift local dynamics or exacerbate exclusion. Such an approach requires openness to critique and a willingness to question assumptions, as well as input from a wider pool of experts, including social workers, community organisers, and academics. Given these considerations, it may be more effective to revisit the criteria for relocation with a more holistic approach. This would involve not only assessing who would benefit the most from the move in terms of shelter but also considering individuals who could actively contribute to the development and sustainability of the site. Prioritising those who are both likely to thrive in a developing area and contribute to its growth could help foster a more self-sustaining community in Gribble, benefiting both the relocated population and the wider development goals of the site.

Given that Gribble has already been established as a relocation site, a crucial next step is to **improve its connectivity and accessibility to Bosaso City**. Enhancing transportation links and reducing the distance to key services and employment opportunities would significantly improve the living conditions of Gribble's residents by alleviating the limited access to essential services and the difficulty of finding stable work in the city. This improvement in connectivity could make Gribble a more

[27] Levine, S., Barbelet, V. and Moallin, Z. (2025) Making vulnerability analysis useful for humanitarian response: lessons from Somalia and Ukraine. HPG report. London: ODI Global (www.odi.org/en/publications/making-vulnerability-analysis-useful-for-humanitarian-response).

sustainable long-term solution for those relocated, contributing to their social and economic integration.

The future of Tawakal and 100Bush requires clear and inclusive planning. **All relevant actors, including local authorities, the UN, private landowners, and IDP representatives, must come together** to collaboratively define the next steps. Private owners, in particular, eventually play a critical role in defining what happens to the empty land left in the camps, and their involvement is essential to ensuring a coherent and effective strategy. A coordinated approach that includes all stakeholders is necessary to establish a clear and shared vision for the future of these sites, ensuring that the relocation process is sustainable and well-managed.

4.3 NEXT STEPS

The findings of this phase will be circulated among Saameynta partners for their review and feedback. After sharing the findings, meetings can be organised to facilitate in-person discussions, where partners can further explore the results and provide their reactions. This collaborative approach will help refine the understanding of the data and ensure that all relevant stakeholders are aligned moving forward.

Additionally, the findings from this phase will be presented and disseminated at the LANDac Conference in Utrecht in July 2025. This provides an opportunity to share the lessons learned from the Gribble relocation process with a wider international audience of both experts and practitioners, contributing to the broader discourse on durable solutions for IDPs in complex contexts.

Finally, a third report will be developed to wrap up and summarise the findings of the entire longitudinal study. This comprehensive report will integrate the insights from both phase one and phase two, offering a complete analysis of the relocation process and its implications. The final report will provide a holistic perspective on the research findings and will serve as a valuable resource for future programming, as well as the ongoing work of Saameynta and its partners.

5 ANNEXES

Longitudinal study – phase 2

5.1 GRIBBLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Date	
Location	
Participant's name, age, gender	

Identification phase & consent

- Enumerator's introduction

Hello. My name is X, and I am an enumerator working for IOM, the United Nations International Organization for Migration. The main purpose of this group discussion is to understand the current situation of land rights and tenure security in Bosaso. You will not receive any direct benefits for completing this survey, nor will anything you say risk your rights to assistance. We will store and process your information securely and will use the data provided to measure the impact of development programs in Bosaso, ensure accountability, and make our programs better. This interview should take about 45 minutes of your time. Are you willing to participate?

- Interviewees identification

1. Do you agree to proceed with the interview?
2. Can you confirm that your name is X?
3. Can you confirm that you live in Grible?

General feedback on Grible

1. Are you happy in Grible?
   a. Why? Why not?
2. Has the relocation improved your situation?
   a. Why? Why not?

Relocation process to Grible

3. How did you learn about the relocation process?
   a. How did the relocation take place step by step?
   b. Were the criteria for selection explained to you?
   c. Was the selection process fair?
4. Why did you choose to move to Grible?
5. Do you see Grible as a permanent home, or do they expect to move again? Why?

Social networks and livelihood opportunities

6. Do you still maintain ties with people in Tawakal and 100Bush?
   a. Do you still go to Tawakal and 100Bush? When?

b. Do you still have friends or family in Tawakal and 100Bush? If yes, do you still see them? Do they come here?
c. If you need help, who do you ask for help?

7. Did you feel lonely or sad during the process?
    a. Why? Why not?
8. How has relocation affected your livelihood?
    a. Which job did you do before? Were you able to keep it?
    b. If not, what did you do? Did you find a new job in Grible?
    c. What about your wife/husband?
    d. How did the source of income of your household change?

Tenure security

9. Did you receive a super logo or similar documentation after relocation?
    a. What did they tell you about this document?
10. Can you rent the house or land?
    a. How does it work?
    b. Do you have to tell the government?
11. Can you sell the house or land?
    a. How does it work?
    b. Do you have to tell the government?

Eviction

12. Do you feel safe from eviction in Grible?
13. What would you do if you were threatened with eviction?
14. Who do you ask for help?

Land conflict resolution

15. Are there land conflicts in Grible?
    a. What are they about? *(EX: boundaries of property, contested ownership, etc.)*
16. What is the process to solve a conflict over land?
17. Who is involved in solving the conflicts?
    a. Is the camp committee involved?
    b. Are local authorities involved?
    c. Are clan elders involved?
18. What happens if someone disagrees with a decision made about a land dispute?

Camp committee & key actors

19. Do you have a camp committee?
20. Do you feel represented by the camp committees?
    a. What does it do for you?

Longitudinal study – phase 2

5.2 TAWAKAL AND 100BUSH QUESTIONNAIRE

Date	
Location	
Participant's name, age, gender	

Identification phase & consent

- Enumerator's introduction

Hello. My name is X, and I am an enumerator working for IOM, the United Nations International Organization for Migration. The main purpose of this group discussion is to understand the current situation of land rights and tenure security in Bosaso. You will not receive any direct benefits for completing this survey, nor will anything you say risk your rights to assistance. We will store and process your information securely and will use the data provided to measure the impact of development programs in Bosaso, ensure accountability, and make our programs better. This interview should take about 45 minutes of your time. Are you willing to participate?

- Interviewees identification

4. Do you agree to proceed with the interview?
5. Can you confirm that your name is X?
6. Can you confirm that you live in Tawakal or 100Bush?

General feedback

1. How is life in Tawakal and 100Bush?
    a. Which challenges do you face?
2. What would be a solution for you to your situation as displaced?

Relocation process to Grible

1. Do you know the relocation site of Grible?
2. Would you like to move there?
    a. Why?
3. How did you learn about the relocation to Grible?
    a. Do you feel the selection process was fair? Why or why not?
    b. Were the criteria for selection explained clearly to you?
    c. Do you feel that people who were recently selected for relocation were the most in need?
4. How do you feel about not being selected for relocation?
    a. What has been the impact of this on your family and your plans for the future?
5. Has the relocation of others to Grible changed anything in Tawakal/100Bush?
    a. Are there fewer conflicts over land or services now?
    b. Is there more space or availability of land for those who remain?
    c. Do newcomers occupy the land left empty by the relocated people?
6. Do you still maintain ties with people who have relocated?
    a. Do relocated individuals still interact with the camp (e.g., visit family, access resources)?
7. What do you think is the future for residents who remain in Tawakal/100Bush?
    a. Do you think relocation will continue, and do you hope to be included in future rounds?
8. What changes do you think relocating to Grible would bring to your:

a. Land rights?
b. Access to services (e.g., education, healthcare, water)?
c. Livelihood opportunities?
d. Relationships with your community and clan?

9. Do you feel relocation to Grible is a permanent solution to displacement?
    a. What would make it a durable solution for you?
10. What additional support do you think is needed for people who were not selected for relocation?
    a. Should there be better opportunities to address their needs without relocating them?

Access to land & property

11. Did you face any specific problems in accessing land/property in the last 6 months?
    a. Which ones? Why?
12. What is the process to rent land/property in Tawakal and 100Bush?
    a. Who do you go to if you want to rent land/property?
    b. Is it easier to rent land/property compared to the past? How?
    c. Have rent prices been changing in Tawakal and 100Bush? How? Why?
    d. Do you think they will change in the future?
    e. Who can afford to rent land/property now?

Tenure security & eviction

13. Have cases of eviction increased or decreased recently?
    a. Why do you think so?
    b. By whom? Where do you think the threat comes from? *(EX: authorities, clan, family members, etc.)*
14. What do people do if they are threatened with eviction?
15. Who do you ask for help?

Land conflict resolution

16. Are there land conflicts in Grible in Tawakal and 100Bush?
    a. Are there many? Are there more than in the past?
    b. What are they about? *(EX: boundaries of property, contested ownership, etc.)*
17. What is the process to solve a conflict over land?
18. Are local authorities involved?
19. Are clan elders involved?
20. What happens if someone disagrees with a decision made about a land dispute?
21. Are certain groups (e.g., women, minorities, displaced people) excluded or disadvantaged?
22. What changes or improvements would help reduce land conflicts in your area?
    a. Should the government play a bigger role?
    b. Should committees or other actors be strengthened?

Camp committee & key actors

23. How is the camp committee selected and formed?
24. Do you feel represented by the camp committees?
25. Do you feel heard and represented by local authorities?
26. Are they responsive to your needs?

Longitudinal study – phase 2

5.3 HOST COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Date	
Location	
Participant's name, age, gender	

Identification phase & consent

- Enumerator's introduction

Hello. My name is X, and I am an enumerator working for IOM, the United Nations International Organization for Migration. The main purpose of this group discussion is to understand the current situation of land rights and tenure security in Bosaso. You will not receive any direct benefits for completing this survey, nor will anything you say risk your rights to assistance. We will store and process your information securely and will use the data provided to measure the impact of development programs in Bosaso, ensure accountability, and make our programs better. This interview should take about 45 minutes of your time. Are you willing to participate?

- Interviewees identification

7. Do you agree to proceed with the interview?
8. Can you confirm that your name is X?
9. Can you confirm that you live in Bosaso?

Access to land & property

1. How did you access land here in Bosaso? *(EX: renting, buying property, inheritance – from private owners, local authorities, family, community, etc.)*
    a. Did you buy the land where you live? Or do you rent it? Or did you inherit it?
    b. What is the common way for most people you know?
2. How did you access housing here in Bosaso? *(EX: renting, buying property, inheritance – from private owners, local authorities, family, community, etc)*
    a. Did you buy the land where you live? Or do you rent it? Or did you inherit it?
    b. What is the common way for most people you know?
3. Do you face problems in accessing land here?
    a. Which ones? Why?
4. Do you face problems in accessing property?
    a. Which ones? Why?
5. What is the process to buy land/property in Bosaso?
    a. Who is involved?
    b. Who do you go to if you want to buy land/property?
    c. Is it easier to buy land/property compared to the past? How?
    d. Have prices been changing in Bosaso? How?
    e. Do you think they will change in the future?
    f. Are there areas in Bosaso that are more expensive? Why do you think they are more costly?
    g. Who can afford to buy land/property now?
6. What is the process to rent land/property in Bosaso?
    a. Who is involved?
    b. Who do you go to if you want to rent land/property?
    c. Is it easier to rent land/property compared to the past? How?

    d. Have rent prices been changing in Bosaso? How? In which specific part of the city? Why?
    e. Do you think they will change in the future?
    f. Who can afford to rent land/property now?
7. How does inheritance work in Bosaso?
    a. Who will inherit your property?

Tenure security

8. How long have you been residing here?
9. What type of agreement do you have over the land you occupy? (*EX: land title, written agreement, verbal agreement, no agreement, etc.*)
    a. What was the process to achieve it?
    b. Did you face any obstacles?
    c. Have you registered your land/property with the government?
    d. If so, how?
10. What are your rights over your land? *(EX: subletting, renting, selling, etc.)*
    a. Do you think your land rights are protected?
    b. By whom? How?
11. Are you afraid that you will be evicted from your land (or property) in the next five years?
    a. Why?
    b. By whom? Where do you think the threat comes from? *(EX: authorities, clan, family members, etc.)*
    c. Do you use any specific strategy to protect your right to stay?
    d. Who do you go to ask for help when you are threatened with eviction?
12. Have you faced eviction in the past?
    a. Why?
    b. Who helped you?

Land conflict resolution

13. What is the situation of conflict over lands in your locality?
    a. Are there many?
    b. What are they about? *(EX: boundaries of property, contested ownership, etc.)*
14. What are the actors that you would go to solve a conflict over land? (*EX: local authorities, clan elders, community representatives, religious leaders, courts, etc.*)
    a. Who do you trust the most? Why?
    b. Who do you not trust? Why?
15. What is the process to solve a conflict over land?
16. Do you think the process is inclusive?
17. What happens if someone disagrees with a decision made about a land dispute?

Displacement and displacement-related interventions

18. Have the land dynamics in your neighborhood or community changed due to the presence of IDPs?
    a. Have you personally experienced any changes in access to land or housing?
    b. Do you think that the presence of IDPs impacted the cost of land or housing in the city?
    c. Are there specific challenges or benefits you have noticed?
19. What do you think of the relocation site of Grible?
    a. How does the construction of Grible impact Bosaso?
    b. How does this affect you?

20. What suggestions would you make for future projects like Saameynta to ensure they benefit both displaced and host communities?
    a. What would you like these projects to do differently?