LAND-at-scale

LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH

SOMALIA

Saameynta Longitudinal Research

Phase 1 Report

Photo by F. Acquaviva (IOM)

SAAMEYNTA

LANDac

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September 2024

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1 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

The longitudinal study aims to delve into the link between displacement patterns and land governance in 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.

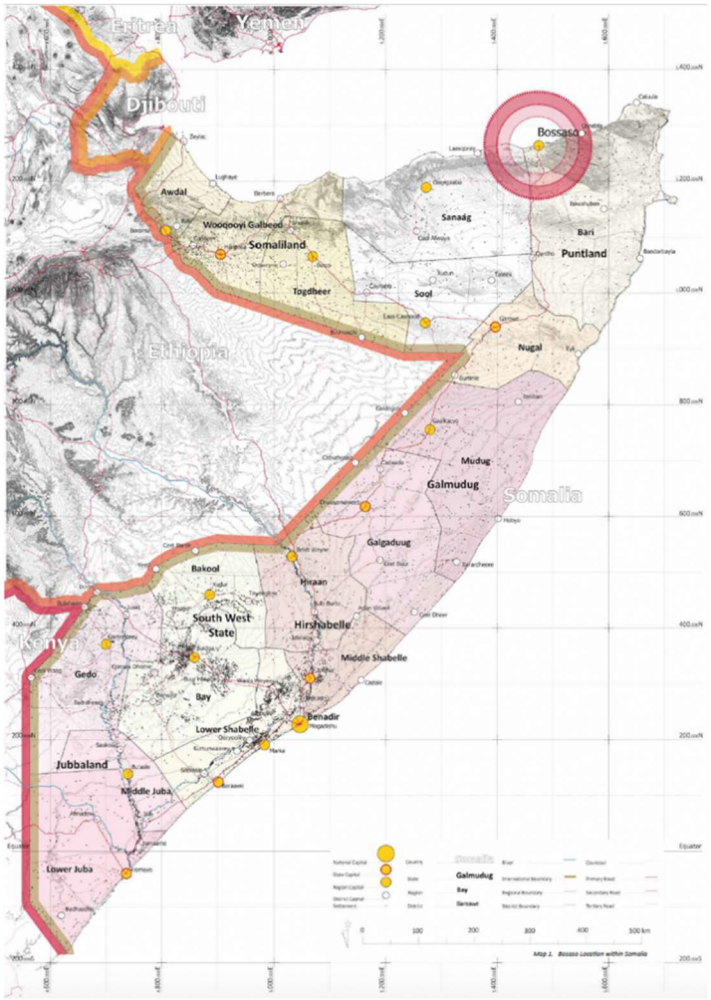

Figure 1: Bosaso location within Somalia (Bosaso City Strategy, 2024)

Specifically, the study focuses on the city of Bosaso, in the Puntland State, one of Saameynta's three target locations for project activities. Puntland is one of the Federal Member States of Somalia, located in the northeastern part of the country. Due to its relative stability if compared to the rest of the country, the region has been a common destination for many Somalis displaced. According to the latest site verification carried out by the Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) cluster assessment in May 2023, the city of Bosaso alone currently hosts a total of 25 internally displaced people (IDP) sites equal to 21,052 households and 126,544 individuals. The city of Bosaso was chosen as the target location for the longitudinal study given that, unlike the other cities targeted by the Saameynta project, it has not been overcrowded with humanitarian/development interventions up until today. This allows the Saameynta program to better contribute to development efforts in the area, by setting a baseline for future intervention, while making sure that the information collected throughout the longitudinal study is truly reflective of the program's impact.

The longitudinal study was designed to offer an in-depth understanding of the impact over time of Saameynta interventions on tenure security. An additional focus is on formal and informal mechanisms of conflict resolution and access to justice as key factors in tenure security. Specifically,

the study explores how such topics are conceptualised among IDPs residing in the informal displacement camps of Tawakal and 100Bush and IDPs who have been moved to the relocation site of Gribble outside of Bosaso city and provided with a land title deed.

The research was thus guided by the following research questions:

- How is tenure security perceived among IDPs and relocated people in Gribble?
- How does the displacement status of respondents influence the level of enjoyment of their housing, land, and property rights, as well as their ability to access land tenure security?
- How does relocation change respondents' tenure security, livelihood strategies, and housing quality?
- How does tenure security affect respondents' broader quality of life and standards of living? Specifically, how is it linked to respondents' livelihood, access to employment, and access to fundamental services?
- What are the channels used for resolving land disputes, perceived as the most common and effective by the different target populations?
- What is the impact of land governance interventions on tenure security, land dispute resolutions, and land conflict management?

Finally, the research looks into the relationship between land, tenure security, and displacement. Specifically, the study tries to understand how access to land, property, and tenure security impacts displaced persons' perception of their displacement status. According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, IDPs are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border."[1] This definition is usually the one adopted by humanitarian and development actors. However, it presents several shortcomings when applied to the Somali context. First, the definition focuses only on a limited set of circumstances of forced mobility that can lead an individual to be categorised as an IDP. This excludes from the conversation on the root of displacement in Somalia many instances of structural governance, political and economic conditions that lead people to move – and end up in displacement sites as well – in lack of a specific situation of escape from "armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters." Secondly, the definition does not allow to capture the protracted nature of displacement in Somalia, where IDPs can reside in displacement sites for decades or, alternatively, be described as "born in displacement" if they are born from a displaced family in an IDP site. Finally, the definition is silent on the thresholds

[1] Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. For more information, visit OHCHR International Standards, available here (last access: 31 August 2023)

to be overcome to exit the IDP category. While we might know who qualifies as an IDP, it is still unclear how IDPs stop qualifying as such.

This point is key for the Saameynta project, whose main objective is to achieve so-called durable solutions to internal displacement in Somalia. 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."[2] According to the IASC Framework,[3] a durable solution to displacement can materialize through three main approaches: sustainable reintegration at the place of origin ("return"); sustainable local integration in areas where IDPs take refuge ("local integration"); sustainable integration in another part of the country ("settlement elsewhere in the country"). Saameynta's focus is placed especially on the local integration of IDPs through relocation processes in sites where IDPs are believed to benefit from tenure security, better access to services, employment, and social integration. To better inform Saameynta interventions, the research attempts to understand displaced persons' own perception of the category in which they fall and focuses on the role that land and tenure security play on the local perception of displacement and integration.

The research was designed to cover three phases, with a research team regularly collecting information in the same target locations, to be able to measure how respondents' experiences and perceptions change before, during, and after Saameynta interventions. This report covers the **qualitative data collection that was carried out between April 28 and May 5, 2024, for the first phase of the longitudinal study**. The quantitative data collection carried out by the Saameynta project between September 28 and October 11, 2023, also informs the study as supporting evidence. Serving this as a baseline report, the data collected is intended to report what is the situation on the ground in Bosaso in terms of tenure security perception and land conflict resolution, thus providing the necessary contextual information to Saameynta to better plan its interventions.

1.2 Methodology

Most of the study is informed by qualitative data, which was collected by the LAND-at-scale researcher through semi-structured interviews, conversations with key informants, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The findings also draw from the field notes taken by the researcher in the context of the data collection. Finally, the study uses some of the quantitative data collected by the Saameynta project, for Monitoring & Evaluation purposes, as supporting evidence.

[2] See the IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons, available here (last access: 3 August 2023).
[3] Ibid.

1.2.1 Qualitative data collection

The qualitative data collection was carried out between April 28 and May 5. Two specific areas were targeted during the qualitative data collection: the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush, on the one hand, and the relocation site of Gribble, on the other. A specific rationale was followed in the choice of the two target locations for the data collection.

As far as Gribble is concerned, the relocation site is the place where Saameynta carries out most of its physical and direct interventions. 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, handed over houses to displacement-affected households in Government-allocated portions of land, that constitute today Gribble 1 Durable Solutions Site. A total of 282 houses have been built in Gribble 1. An additional 150 houses have been built by NRC, always funded by UNHCR, southern to Gribble 1, as part of the settlement called Gribble 2 Durable Solutions Site. Saameynta intends to construct 100 additional houses in a further expansion of the relocation site, known as Gribble 3.

On the other hand, Saameynta does not carry out direct interventions in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush. However, these sites were included in the data collection because IDPs residing there were and will be the ones 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.

Targeting these two areas thus allowed us to understand the change in the level of respondents' enjoyment of their housing, land, and property rights throughout the relocation process.

Figure 2. Areas targeted during the data collection

During data collection, respondents were selected 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.

1.2.2 Saameynta quantitative data collection

The quantitative data collection was carried out by the Saameynta project for Monitoring and Evaluation purposes between September 28 and October 11, 2023. Considering that this quantitative data is here used as supporting evidence, this paragraph will briefly outline the sampling and methodology followed by Saameynta.

The data was collected by 25 enumerators, divided into four teams with one team leader each. All participants in the exercise were trained on the Saameynta Programme, the LORA exercise, Saameynta data collection methodology, sampling strategies, the practical steps of the data collection exercise, and the ethical conduct to maintain during the interviews.

The data collection consisted in the implementation of the LORA (Local Re-integration Assessment) quantitative survey, whose object is understanding the determinants of local integration and shed light on the most significant inequalities between IDP and host communities.[4] The survey deployed by Saameynta was composed of 276 questions – approximately 45 minutes, – encompassing several dimensions of material, physical, and legal safety and reflecting the IASC indicator framework.[5] This report uses only some of the questions that were asked to respondents, regarding their housing, land, and property situations.

The data collection covered the wider area of Bosaso city with a focus on the IDP sites of Tawakal & 100Bush, the urban areas in Bosaso, and Gribble. A different sampling strategy was crafted each area.

- In Tawakal and 100Bush, a total of 350 interviews were conducted with a margin of error of 4,76%, following a 95% confidence interval. The respondents were identified by applying the random-walk methodology, in which enumerators would begin on a starting point at the beginning of the day, identified by their team leader, and interview every third household. In other words, after having interviewed one household, the enumerators had to skip two before conducting the following interview. Enumerators were only allowed to hold interviews at the house of the respondent, and specifically not in public space.

[4] For a more in-depth understanding of the methodology and its historical evolution, previous LORA survey reports can be accessed on https://www.regionaldss.org/danwadaag/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Danwadaag-Consortium-LORA-Endline-Report.pdf (last access: 22 May 2024).

[5] For more information, visit the IASC Framework for Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons website, available on https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/other/iasc-framework-durable-solutions-internally-displaced-persons (last access: 22 May 2024).

- In Gribble, efforts were made to apply a census (100% sampling) to the community. Having received comprehensive targeting lists from NRC and UNHCR Programming from 2019, 2020, and 2023, an expected 532 households were thought to be living in Gribble. A total of 538 households were identified as living in Gribble and reached through an interview through (1) a door-by-door interviewing methodology, including a cross-reference of the HH lists received; and (2) a snowball sampling methodology, i.e., asking respondents if they know of a HH who hasn't been interviewed.
- In the urban areas of Bosaso city, a total of 637 interviews were conducted. Considering that this area comprises both IDP sites and urban spaces occupied by the host community, a total of 159 interviews were conducted with IDPs with a margin of error of 7.8%, following a 95% confidence interval; 321 interviews with HCs, with a margin of error of 5.5%, following a 95% confidence interval; 166 interviews with returnees, with a margin of error of 7.6%, following and 95% confidence interval. In Bosaso City, households were randomly selected by applying remote sensing technologies by IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) team.

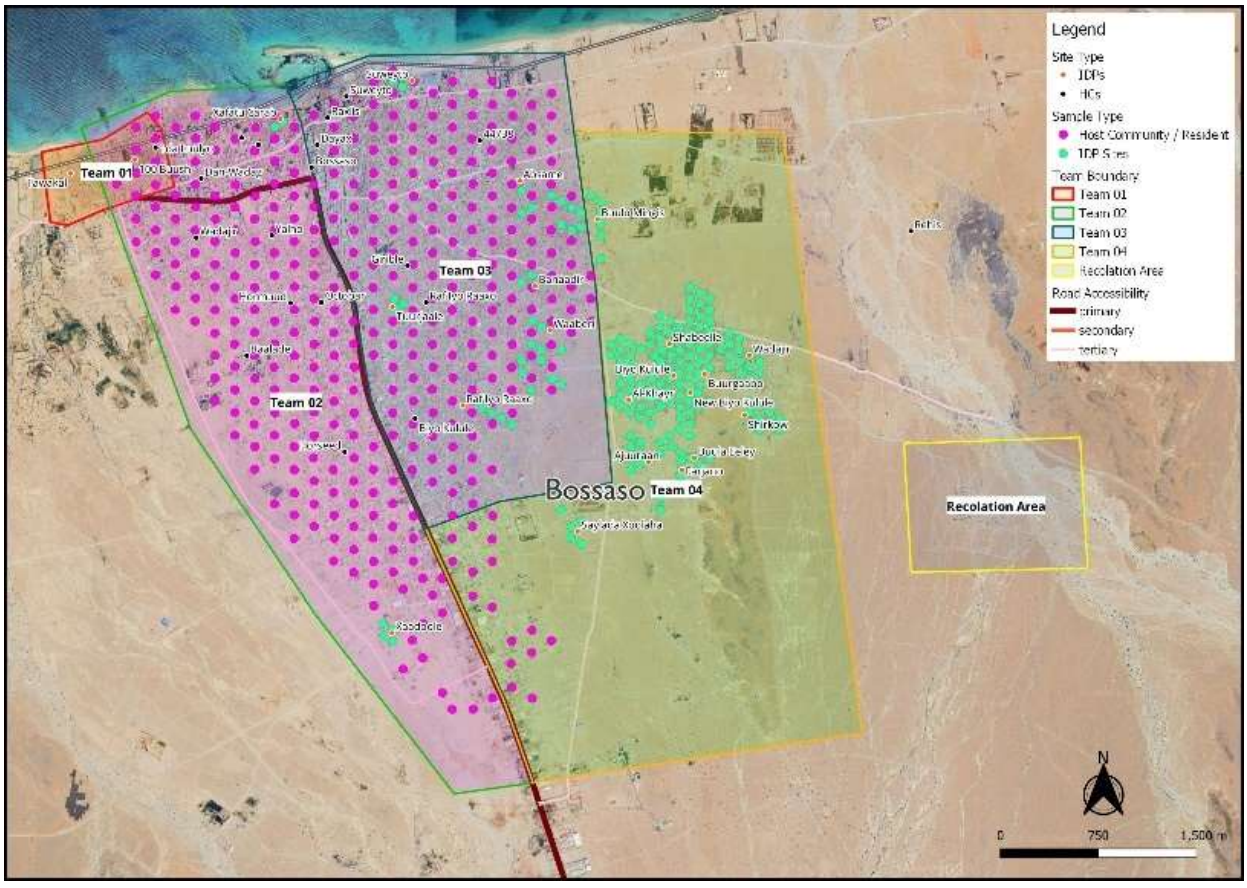

Figure 3. Map of Saameynta data collection

2 RESEARCH SET-UP AND IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter focuses entirely **on the qualitative data collection**, carried out by the local researcher, which represents the bulk of the first phase of the longitudinal study.

2.1 DATA COLLECTION

A **total of 25 respondents** were reached throughout the data collection, as Table 1 shows.

Location	Male	Female
Gribble	3 individual interviews	3 individual interviews
	1 FGD with three participants	1 FGD with three participants
Tawakal and 100Bush	3 individual interviews	4 individual interviews
	1 FGD with three participants	1 FGD with three participants
Total = 25	12	13

Table 1: Interviews & FGDs carried out per area

Additionally, the data collection involved one meeting with the Mayor of Bosaso, one meeting with the Director of Bosaso land department, and an exchange with some employees of Bosaso land department.

The team that carried out the data collection was composed of the researcher, one of Saameynta members, and five enumerators provided by the Bosaso Government. The team was escorted by one UN Security Officer and five policemen. The data collection exercise included training with enumerators to explain the scope of the study and the questionnaires to be presented to respondents, and four visits to the field, respectively two in Gribble and two in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush.

2.2 WHAT WORKED

- **Enumerators were successfully trained**, showed interest and engagement throughout the data collection exercise, and were able to explain the questions to respondents when needed.
- **Respondents were approachable and interviews were always informative**. The conversation flowed, with respondents opening up, allowing the team to maintain a semi-structured interview approach, where questions only represent a basis for a more tailored conversation. Also, all the respondents interviewed declared that this was the first time they were being approached for an interview: the random walk methodology – rather than receiving pre-selected lists of possible respondents – was thus successful in mitigating the risk of respondents' fatigue.
- The **presence of the researcher**, supported by a Saameynta member, on the ground allowed for constant quality assessments throughout the whole exercise. Specifically, during the interviews, the researcher was assisted by one enumerator who translated every information shared, to make sure that data was being collected properly, and to adjust practices if needed.
- The **choice to interview both respondents and government officials** was successful to the extent that it allowed the researcher to understand whether and how their priorities and

needs are aligned while comparing their different narratives on land, housing, and property rights.

2.3 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

- **Contextual difficulties**. The context where the data was collected was difficult and draining. Temperatures during data collection were always above 35°C. Also, being a random walk exercise, some interviews were carried out on the street, when it was impossible to enter respondents' households or access the community centres in the sites. This sometimes led to a chaotic environment for a smooth data collection.
- **Time (mis-)management.** Due to security reasons, the team was permitted to collect data on the field only between 8 AM and 1 PM. These few hours, if considering also the moments where respondents were away due to prayers time, were barely enough to collect the number of interviews set as the objective of the exercise.
- **Logistics**. Logistical obstacles often prevented the team from spontaneously organizing follow-up meetings with local authorities and/or respondents. Specifically, due to the security concerns of the area, each activity outside the compound had to be escorted by UN security officers and local police. Inviting respondents and/or local authorities inside of the UN compound also proved similarly difficult. Finally, the recruitment process for enumerators was finalised only on the second day of the mission, leading to the data collection on the ground starting with a one-day delay.
- **Enumerators' English level.** Lack of proper knowledge of English by enumerators often made it hard for the researcher to understand what was being shared during the interviews. Only one enumerator was able to translate the answers provided by respondents. Enumerators were not able to translate the notes or transcripts taken, thus the job was carried out by the researcher who took notes and transcribed them.
- **Methodological limitations.** The random walk methodology allowed the team to reach respondents who do not usually take part in surveys or data collection exercises carried out in Bosaso, thus mitigating the risks of respondents' fatigue and increasing the exercise's representativeness. However, the lack of a participants' list makes it hard for future rounds of data collection to interview the same people who participated in the first exercise. During the data collection, it was hard to record the names and contacts of the interviewees properly. This obstacle, common when deployed on the field, is usually overcome thanks to the presence of lists that already record names and contacts of pre-selected participants before the data collection takes place.
- **Lack of knowledge of individuals that will benefit from relocation.** When the data collection occurred, the Saameynta project had yet to engage with local authorities to define relocation criteria and select beneficiaries for future relocation rounds. This allows this first report to produce recommendations on relocation criteria and practices that can inform Saameynta partners already at this very initial stage. However, for this same reason, the people interviewed in Tawakal and 100Bush in this round of data collection will not necessarily

be the ones who will benefit from relocation under Saameynta. This makes it harder for the longitudinal study to measure the impact of relocation on the land rights of respondents involved in the study.

- **Poor representation of vulnerable categories.** While the exercise was successful in making sure that male and female respondents were interviewed in separate settings, limited time and space could be allowed to reach respondents with different layers of vulnerability, i.e. minority groups, persons with disabilities, youth, pregnant women, single women, etc.

2.4 LESSONS LEARNED

This data collection exercise was the second attempt to collect qualitative information in Bosaso. The first exercise was carried out in December 2023 by a third party contracted by Saameynta, but resulted in poor-quality data that was deemed unfit for the longitudinal study. In that case, the poor quality data might have been caused by the lack of leadership and experience of the firm in charge of collecting the data, the poor performance of enumerators provided by the government, complex and far-fetched data methodologies, and an inability to engage respondents during the interviews. This exercise was designed by drawing from the lessons learned in the previous one, leading to the following reflections.

- The **presence** of the researcher and/or a member of Saameynta **on the ground** is fundamental to ensure constant quality checks and assessments during the data collection. For future exercises, should the researcher be present on the ground again, it is recommended to avoid the employment of more than 1 or 2 enumerators and to make sure that those employed are fluent in English.
- The decision to choose a **random walk to reach respondents**, instead of relying on pre-selected lists of interviewees, was key in ensuring that broader perspectives were incorporated into the study. It also might have the risk of incurring instances of respondents' fatigue and/or lack of engagement.
- The **questionnaires** deployed for this data collection were **shortened, revised, and simplified** if compared to their previous form. They focused on land dynamics only. The presence of the researcher on the ground allowed for the revision of the questionnaires also during the exercise, when a question or a concept proved to be difficult to understand for respondents. For instance, the concept of "tenure security" does not translate well in Somalia, and was thus paraphrased. Also, all questionnaires were translated by a professional translator from English to Somali.
- Future exercises would benefit from the **allocation of more than one week** time horizon for the completion of the data collection. It is recommended to plan for at least 2 weeks of work, in order to collect the data with a more relaxed and healthy mindset and be better able to cope with unforeseen obstacles.
- Future exercises would benefit from the **inclusion of host community members** in the research design. Very often, IDPs themselves referred to host community members as living

in similar, if not worse conditions concerning their land, housing, and property rights. Addressing host community perceptions would also allow the research to reflect on whether some vulnerabilities recorded among IDPs reflect a more general trend in the city.

3 KEY FINDINGS PER THEME

This section presents the key main findings, in relation to the main themes of the research. The findings are disaggregated per the geographical scope of the data collection, namely the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush and the relocation site of Gribble. When cited as supporting evidence, quantitative values also present percentages that represent the wider area of Bosaso, including the residential areas for the host community and the other IDP sites in the eastern part of the city. No distinction was found between findings that emerged during individual interviews and focus group discussions, as feedback provided by respondents was consistent throughout the whole data collection.

The first paragraph sheds light on the insights obtained from the exchanges with local authorities: specifically, it focuses on the measures that authorities are putting in place to counter IDPs' eviction, formal land governance dynamics, and the local government's priorities for the Gribble relocation site. The following paragraphs, on the other hand, present the findings from the interviews of respondents on the field, focusing on (2) respondents' access to land and property, (3) respondents' tenure security and land, housing, and property rights, (4) perceptions of risk of eviction, (5) land conflict resolution, (6) respondents' feedback on the Gribble relocation site, (7) the link between land rights and displacement, and (8) female respondents-specific vulnerabilities.

3.1 EXCHANGES WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The exchanges with local authorities included a meeting at the office of Bosaso Mayor, an interview with the Director of Bosaso land department, and an informal conversation with the employees of the land department. The conversations with local authorities were essential in understanding what are the priorities concerning land, housing, and property rights at the level of the Municipality, as well as the interventions that local authorities have either already put in place or are planning to implement to counter eviction and violations of land rights. The following paragraphs underline what emerged from these conversations in terms of tenure security solutions for IDPs and wider land governance dynamics.

3.1.1 Tenure security solutions for IDPs

Most of the land in Bosaso, as in the wider territory of Somalia, is currently owned by private owners since the eruption of the Somali civil war in 1991. Due to this reason, IDPs in the city of Bosaso rent the land that they occupy directly to private owners. The Mayor and the Director of Bosaso land department both underlined that two types of **measures** are being adopted to **limit the risk of eviction** that IDPs face in the city:

- **"A temporary solution**," whereby local authorities reach an agreement with landowners, spanning for a specific period of time, to allow IDPs to stay on and use the land they occupy. In such cases, the government should intervene if IDPs' land rights are threatened by

landowners. Once these land agreements expire, the government tries to renew them to preserve IDPs' right to occupy the land. These temporary agreements are in place in the IDP sites in the eastern part of the town. This information is consistent with what was reported by Bosaso City Strategy,[6] which describes IDP settlements in easter Bosaso as "planned settlements on private land," where Bosaso district manages tenancy agreements for displaced communities in the form of written 5 years contracts. However, land tenure is still considered insecure, because contracts can be terminated without any notice.[7] The sites near the coastline, like Tawakal-100Bush, on the other hand, are not covered by any formal temporary agreements. This is the case because their location is strategic for investment, leading private owners to be reluctant to sign such agreements. This is also the reason why the Municipality is targeting these specific IDP sites for relocation, either in Gribble or in the areas around Gribble.

- Gribble, on the contrary, represents **"a permanent solution**." The land was bought from private owners by the Municipality and allocated for the construction of a relocation site. The site was constructed by UNHCR and NRC. Once the people are relocated to the site, the land department gives each household a title deed that belongs to them and ensures the household's right to reside on the land. Relocation takes place at the household level, meaning that entire households are selected to benefit from it. However, the land title deed is signed by an individual, deemed responsible for the household.

The Director of Bosaso land department also explained the reasons why the Municipality is currently opting for relocation rather than working in the sites where IDPs have already settled. He mentioned that, in the past, the Municipality has worked alongside the UN agency for Urban Settlements (UN-Habitat) to intervene in IDP sites directly: the Municipality would negotiate time-bound agreements with private owners to allow UN-Habitat to construct shelters and to ensure IDPs' rights to reside in the area. The problems often incurred once the agreements negotiated expired and private owners claimed back their land, whose value had in the meantime increased due to the development of broader IDP settlements including not only shelters but also new facilities and services. Such past experiences led the Municipality to opt for permanent relocation to land that has been bought by the Municipality, i.e. Gribble.

Figure 4: Example of a super logo

[6] Tonnarelli, Francesco. 2024. Bosaso City Strategy. UN-Habitat. https://unhabitat.org/bosaso-city-strategy (last access: 9 September 2024)
[7] Ibid.

Local authorities were further asked to clarify **which land rights are enshrined in the title deed given to IDPs relocated in Gribble**. This point raised several doubts throughout the mission, as divergent pieces of information were provided by the Mayor and the Director of Bosaso land department. In Bosaso, authorities and residents refer to this title deed as a *super logo*. The *super logo* is provided by the Government to each household that has been selected for relocation to Gribble, and signed individually by one household member responsible for the family. The *super logo* certifies the provision of land that has been made by local authorities to selected IDPs. It is however unclear whether this certificate enshrines beneficiaries' ownership of the land that they have been provided.

The Mayor of Bosaso underlined that the Municipality is working on a new policy that will prevent IDPs in Gribble from selling the land. According to this new policy, if an IDP decides to leave the relocation site, the piece of land will fall back directly into the hands of the Government. The rationale behind this new policy is that, in the eyes of the Government, the provision of land to IDPs in Gribble is an issue of social welfare: if at some point the beneficiary prefers to leave, the land should be provided to someone else in need. In the words of the Mayor, "*If you stay, the land is yours; if you do not stay, you leave the land behind*." Consequently, the *super logo* as of right now does not enshrine IDPs' ownership of the land, but only certifies beneficiaries' right to stay.

However, the Director of Bosaso Land Department portrayed a different scenario. He explained that, through the *super logo*, beneficiaries in Gribble have full ownership of the land. The government can only advise against selling. The Director explained that, in the past, it happened that there were a few returnees who left the site to go back to their place of origin: since then, the government is making sure to tell beneficiaries beforehand that if they intend to leave Gribble and Bosaso, they will not be considered for the relocation.

As the following chapters will show, a lack of clarity on this was also recorded during interviews with respondents in Gribble. While some respondents declared being able to sell their land, others underlined that they do not have such a right.

According to the Government**, beneficiaries who relocate to Gribble should abandon the land they were previously renting in the IDP sites**. It is up to the people in Gribble to remove their shelter in Tawakal and 100Bush. If this does not happen, it is up to landowners to remove anything from the piece of land. The Director of Bosaso Land Department further explained that if the person vacates the shelter and the landowner finds a new tenant, the newcomer will not be considered nor treated as an IDP by local authorities. The rationale behind this is that relocation to Gribble aims to eventually empty the sites near the coastlines, where new investments are being planned and in some cases already taking place. It is not clear whether IDPs are aware of the loss of their status if they occupy the land left by a beneficiary.

The Mayor of Bosaso underlined two key **priorities** that should be taken into account **for future durable solutions interventions in Gribble:**

- The construction of bigger houses. The houses built by NRC and UNHCR in the second phase of relocation in Gribble 2 only have 1 room and 1 toilet. Previously, however, 2-room houses had been constructed in the first phase of relocation in Gribble 1. As Saameynta is planning the construction of 100 additional houses in Gribble, the Mayor's office underlined the need for houses with 2 rooms. The Mayor emphasised that the families moving to Gribble are numerous, with often 6 or 7 children. The preference thus lies in the construction of bigger houses under Saameynta, even at the cost of decreasing the total number of houses to be constructed.
- Better connection to the city. A key priority is also a better connection between the Gribble site and Bosaso city. Gribble is 6 km away from the city centre. Reaching Bosaso is extremely costly for Gribble residents. Gribble residents who come to the city to work usually end up spending everything they earn on transportation. Also, the current state of the road connecting Gribble with Bosaso should be improved: women, for instance, have reported not feeling safe enough to travel along that route.

Respondents interviewed seemed to share similar points of view, showing that the two sides are aligned and authorities are indeed advocating for local needs.

3.1.2 Land governance dynamics

Land tenure and governance dynamics in Somalia can be guided by formal, Sharia, and customary Xeer laws. While Sharia law is based only on Islamic principles and administered by religious leaders, Xeer law is a mix of Islamic sharia law and customary practices and is administered by elders.[8] According to what was reported by Bosaso City Strategy, the formal legal system has gradually increased its relevance in urban areas like Bosaso, where the government is present and recognised.

The conversation with Bosaso Land Department Director and employees shed some light on formal land governance dynamics at the Municipality level. The Land Department is in charge of issuing land titles, maintaining records of land transactions, and verifying land properties.[9]

The land department has different sections dealing with **property registration**. One geometric section is in charge of ownership claims over land. Engineers visit and assess the land that is being claimed, they check whether the land is safe and usable, e.g., no strategic investment is planned. Once engineers confirm the usability of the land, the data section intervenes to gather information to register the land. Then, the taxation section intervenes to define taxation measures. According to Bosaso City Strategy, land registration should be carried out by the local government and then fed into a national registry whose mandate lies in the hands of the Ministry of Public Works. However, this does not happen in practice due to the lack of such a national registry in place and of scrutiny from

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

regional and central authorities.[10] A GIS-based property survey was created in 2008, in collaboration between local authorities and UN-Habitat, and updated in 2016 and 2022, with the aim to improve local authorities' revenue from property registration – thus taxation – as well as the security of tenure of residents. However, the functioning of the database is impaired by a lack of data sharing between the departments within the Municipality – the database is currently in the hands of the Revenue Department and not in use by the Land Department – and the absence of land registration and building permit system – the Land Department continues to rely on a paper-based system for issuing land titles and releasing building permits, that are not usually recorded in the database.[11]

Formal processes to buy and rent land were also addressed. Land is bought and sold through public notaries authorised by the Government, and local authorities are not usually involved in the process. This is confirmed by Bosaso City Strategy, which reports that while an official confirmation and recording of any transaction should be provided by both Bosaso District and the Ministry of Interior, this step is usually skipped, as it would imply fees and taxes.[12] As a matter of fact, notaries have emerged as primary issuers of title deeds with little oversight of their operations, leading often to multiple claims on individual plots.[13] When it comes to buying and selling the land, a transaction tax is collected by the Ministry of Finance (although until recently it was collected by the Municipality). The role of the government is then to transfer ownership from the seller to the buyer. Once the transaction tax has been paid to the Ministry of Finance, the parties to the transaction go to the Municipality with their notary and the transfer of ownership takes place.

The Government applies **a property tax**, which is based on the parameter and volume of the land. The land department is planning to work on a new proposal to change how land is taxed. Taxing the land based on the parameters and volume is not deemed a fair system, because the land has different value based on its position in the city, its value, investment plans, etc. This is confirmed by Bosaso City Strategy which underlines how "flat" area-based tax rates cause inequalities – flat rates give no consideration to the actual value of a property, conditions of the building, and use for its location – as well as a "loss" in the property tax potential – flat rates are also unable to capture the increase in value of a property that usually follows public investment in infrastructure, public facilities, and services.[14]

As for **land conflict resolution**, there is a conflict resolution committee at the Municipality level, that deals with some types of land conflicts, specifically conflicts over land ownership. If the conflict is based on the contested boundaries of the lands, on the other hand, this is dealt with by the Ministry of Public Works. If the conflict is beyond the capacity of the conflict resolution team, then the parties usually go to the Court. Some people do not opt for government court procedures but rather opt for

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

Sharia courts or tribal courts. Bosaso City Strategy mentions the existence of Land Dispute Tribunals as a mechanism to resolve land disputes through a more direct and efficient process than formal courts.[15] These tribunals should ideally act as hybrid institutions composed of seven members – of whom at least two should be women and among which two members should be nominated by district authorities, one by the Ministry of the Interior, one by the police, one by the Ministry of the Interior in consultation with local elders, one by the Ministry of the Interior in consultation with local sheiks, and one member of civil society nominated by Puntland State Non-Actors Association.[16] The Director of Bosaso Land Department clarified that in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush things work differently. The land belongs to different private landowners and there is no formal or written agreement between the landowners and the IDPs renting the land. According to the Director, IDPs often first go to their camp leader and, if the camp leader is not able to solve the issue, they resort to local authorities. When IDPs are threatened with eviction, local authorities can only advocate for IDPs' rights to stay, and try to explain to private owners IDPs' vulnerabilities. Considering the lack of a formal agreement, the Government is not able to take any further measures.

3.1.3 Attention points

- Local authorities' priorities and requests for future intervention in Gribble do reflect Gribble's residents' perspectives and needs. Saameynta should take them into account and attempt to adjust its planning and interventions in the area accordingly, considering that they reflect both authorities' and beneficiaries' expectations.
- Lack of clarity over the rights enshrined in the *super logo* has been registered both within the Municipality and among respondents. Similarly troubling is the tendency of local authorities to deny the recognition of the IDP status to IDP newcomers who settle in Tawakal and 100Bush on the land emptied following relocation, considering that with IDP status comes benefits and allocation of services and aid. It is not clear whether IDPs are aware of this dynamic. Saameynta should engage with local authorities to further clarify this issue and plan related awareness-raising activities targeting the sites of Tawakal and 100Bush.
- A clear tension emerges in Bosaso between the need to protect IDPs from eviction and the plans for the city's wider investment and development. The IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush are considered key in the expansion of essential Bosaso infrastructures – such as the city port and the airport, making it hard for local authorities to negotiate protection measures for IDPs in the area. At the same time, the strategic role of the coastline IDP sites raises doubts about a possible general reluctance from decision-makers to invest in protection measures *in situ* and a tendency to prefer relocation elsewhere, in order to empty the sites and pave the way for further investments. These dynamics raise doubts on the nature and aim behind relocation schemes, that can be exploited by authorities to push people out of increasingly gentrified urban areas and move them to sites that are – as of right now – detached from the city, its

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

services, and opportunities. Saameynta, as well as the humanitarian and development community active in Bosaso, can help in improving the state of relocation sites like Gribble with the provision of services and better livelihood conditions. However, the question remains on the relationship between the plans for Bosaso future development, the duty of care towards people threatened by eviction, and the need to respect the "do not harm" principle in relocation processes.

- A better exchange of information and feedback is needed between Saameynta partners. Each agency should be aware of previous activities (land-related and not) that have been carried out by their partners in the past in Bosaso, for Saameynta planning to be better informed.

3.2 Access to land and property[17]

3.2.1 Tawakal and 100Bush

The tendency among IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush is to rent empty pieces of land from private owners, and then construct their own shelter. Some IDPs also directly rent a shelter from other IDPs who have rented the piece of land from private owners and constructed a shelter on the site. This finding is consistent with what was reported by the Assessment of Local Habit in Bosaso, carried out by the IOM Shelter Unit between July and September 2023.[18] According to the Assessment, "most IDPs in informal settlements within the city (such as Tawakal or 100 Bush) rent the land where they live and build a makeshift shelter there on their own means. (…) 99% of the residents in IDP sites in Bosaso currently reside on private land and most of them do not have land with title deeds or legal documents."[19] Access to land through purchase and thus inheritance is usually impossible for IDPs, mainly due to a lack of financial resources.

Many IDPs reported that, initially, when they arrived the land was given to them as charity. However, as more people started occupying the site, bringing with them services and businesses, the private owners started requesting monthly rent. Sometimes, it can also happen that private owners sell their property to other people, leading IDPs to renegotiate the terms of the agreement with the new owner.

[17] In this report, land is understood as the earth's surface including all its natural resources, while property is understood as the buildings, structures, and infrastructures attached to the land, with a focus on housing units.
[18] IOM, CRAterre. (2023). Assessment of Local Habitat in Bosaso, Bari Province, Puntland, Somalia.
[19] Ibid.

Figure 5: Makeshift shop (by M. Cavallaro)

The process to find the land can be different. Sometimes, IDPs arrive at the sites, spot an empty piece of land, and deliberately occupy it. Usually, the owner appears at their doorstep at some point, to request them to pay the rent. Other respondents have reported that IDPs usually actively look for the owner, find them by referral, and discuss the terms of the monthly prices before occupying the land. IDPs can also speak with a so-called broker or a mediator who then liaises with the private owners. Brokers are usually individuals chosen by private owners to take care of their land and engage with IDPs on the site. Sometimes, IDPs arrive at the camp in a group of several households and discuss the terms of the agreement with the owner collectively rather than individually.

The main challenge in accessing land is the expensive rent rates. Respondents described that rent prices have been increasing over the years. One mentioned that, while in 2000 he was paying $3 per month to rent the land, they are now paying $10. Another respondent also mentioned that a challenge is the new tendency of private owners to request rent payment in dollars, rather than in the local currency. One respondent explained that it is becoming increasingly difficult to rent land in Tawakal and 100Bush because of the construction and investments that are being planned around the camps. The camps are becoming the centre of the city: the port, the airport, and the city itself are all nearby, and further investments are being planned. This attracts people who are willing to buy land and invest in it, rather than renting it to IDPs. Some respondents also cited not being familiar with the owners and the host community. Another challenge is the price of the material and equipment needed to build a bush on the land that is rented. If a newcomer has difficulties in finding land to rent, they can sleep in the community centre of the camp whose rent is collectively paid by the community.


Figure 6: Makeshift shelter (by M. Cavallaro)

As for the type of shelters that IDPs reside in, they are often either a *Buush* makeshift shelter or metal sheet walls and roof shelters, following the categorization by IOM – Shelter unit.[20] *Buush*, also known as *buul*, are shelters self-constructed by

[20] Ibid.

IDPs with material sourced in nature, such as cartons, plastic, pieces of cloth, woven mats, vegetal fibers, and steel sheets. Metal sheets walls and roof shelters, on the other hand, are entirely made of steel sheets.[21] Other than in IDP sites, both structures can also be found in areas occupied by families with low income.[22]

3.2.2 Gribble

Everyone in Gribble accessed land by being selected as a beneficiary during the relocation process. When moving to Gribble, they had access to a piece of land of 13x13m or 20x10m, a house or equipment to build the housing unit, and a written agreement by land authorities, called *super logo*. All respondents interviewed declared that they do not have any land or property in the IDP sites of Tawakal or 100Bush, since they moved to Gribble.

The committee to select beneficiaries based on vulnerability criteria included members of the government, UNHCR, and NRC. When asking respondents why they were selected, they usually declare the following vulnerabilities: being a single mother responsible for many children; having experienced eviction several times; being pregnant; being an elder; and having some disability. Some also explained that they were chosen randomly: apparently, while some beneficiaries were selected based on their vulnerability, some others were randomly picked among the IDPs residing in the camps of Tawakal and 100Bush. One respondent was selected because her husband knew a member of the relocation committee. One respondent complained about the lack of assessment and quality checks in relocation criteria and stated that some people lied to be relocated, while the very poor remained in the camps.

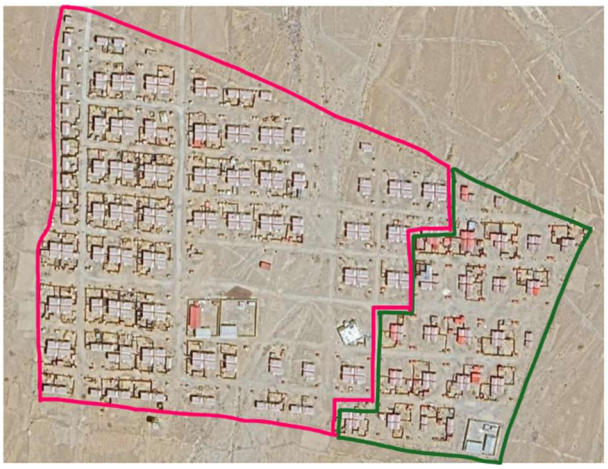

Figure 7: Satellite view of Gribble 1 (first phase in red; second phase in green)

In the case that the beneficiary of the *super logo* passes away, there are no clear rules for inheritance. One woman declared that she would choose which one of her children, the most vulnerable, would inherit the *super logo.* One interviewee, whose mother was a signee of the *super logo* and had recently passed away, explained that until the youngest of his siblings becomes an adult, they cannot legally inherit the super logo, but they do retain the right to stay in Gribble. He underlined that his siblings would share the house because they do not want conflict. He was not able to provide an answer regarding the procedure to formally inherit the *super logo*.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

When inquired about the issue, local authorities mentioned that the inheritance of the *super logo* follows the same rules applied to the rest of Bosaso city under customary law. As mentioned before, however, respondents rather referred to arbitrary family decisions as the main channel through which inheritance is handled.

Figure 9: A 2-room house in Gribble 1 (by M. Cavallaro)

Figure 9: A 1-room houses in Gribble 2 (by M. Cavallaro)

As for the type of houses that were provided to relocated people in Gribble, as previously mentioned, they are cement block structures with steel sheets as roofs. The main difference between the houses in the different parts of the site lies in the size of the houses. Most of the 289 houses constructed and provided to beneficiaries in 2019, which today constitute Gribble 1, include two rooms. 201 relocated households received a plot of 13x13m with a 5x8.5m two-room housing unit, with a veranda and a detached latrine. In a secondary phase of relocation to Gribble 1, around 80 households were provided with a smaller 4x4m house with one room, one 1x4m veranda, and a detached latrine, in 14x14m plots. Finally, in 2023, an "owner-driven" approach was followed by giving beneficiaries the material and training needed to construct their own houses, resulting in 150 4x4m houses constituted by one room and a detached latrine in a plot of 10x20m.

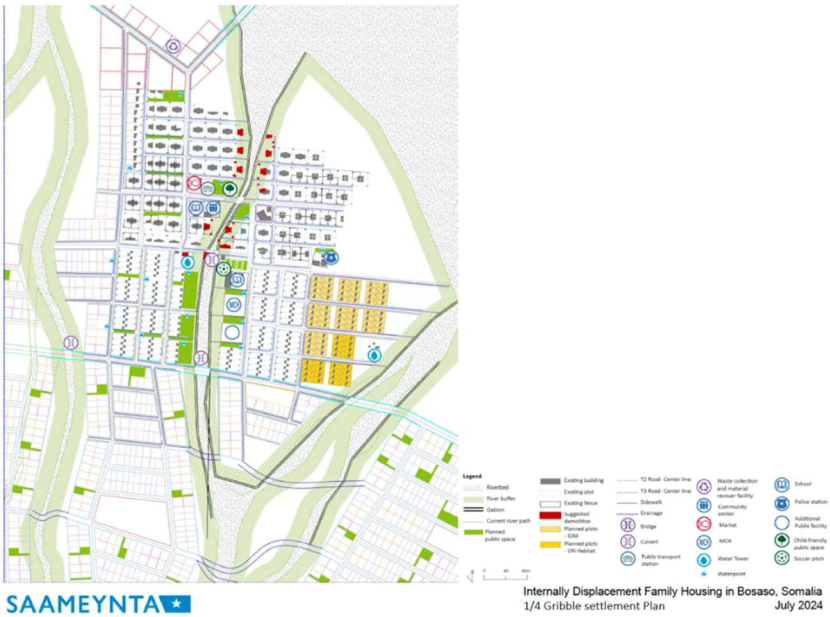

Figure 10: Gribble 2 plan (Saameynta)

3.2.3 Insights from the LORA

During the LORA exercise carried out by Saameynta, respondents were asked questions about the ownership of their house, barriers to access housing and land, and housing situation. The quantitative data overall supports the evidence produced by this study.

As Table 2 below shows, the majority of interviewees in Tawakal and 100Bush live on privately owned land. The picture is more varied in Gribble and Bosaso City. It is interesting to notice that Gribble, specifically, records the highest percentage of interviewees who have declared residing in their own property. This might indicate that several respondents in Gribble believe to be owners of their house, and thus shed some light on the land rights enshrined in the *super logo.* This issue will be touched upon more in detail in the next paragraph.

Who owns the house where you are living?				
	Overall	**Gribble**	**Tawakal/100Bush**	**Bosaso City**
Private owners	55%	14%	96.5%	66%
Our own (personal property)	28%	59%	0%	15%
Communal household	8%	14%	0%	8%
Government /local authorities/municipality	7%	8%	0.5%	9%
Refuse to answer	2%	2%	3%	1%

Table 2: LORA insights on house ownership.

Interviewees were asked to list the main barriers to access to housing and land. In both cases, the vulnerability of residents in Tawakal and 100Bush is evident, if compared to other categories (Table 3). Specifically, in terms of access to housing, 76% of interviewees in Tawakal and 100Bush declare facing problems of high rental prices and 54% denounce the unavailability of housing. The number of interviewees facing the same problems decreases considerably in Bosaso city and, especially, in Gribble, where 48% of respondents declared having no obstacle in accessing housing. A similar picture is conveyed when focusing on access to land, where the main obstacles overall for the whole sample are lack of financial means, lack of available land, and discrimination for displacement status (Table 4).

What are the most relevant problems/barriers to your household regarding access to housing in your community?				
	Overall	**Gribble**	**Tawakal/100Bush**	**Bosaso City**
High rental prices	45%	25%	76%	44%
Unavailability of housing	39%	27%	54%	41%
Inability to build/erect temporary tents	14%	9%	25%	12%
Denied access to housing/land/tents/buildings (e.g. denied because no land deed available)	7%	6%	3%	9%
Threat of eviction by land/authorities	6%	2%	14%	3%
Eviction or harassment by host community/other residents	2%	3%	3%	1%
Unequal access (IDPs, returnees, clan groups prevented from accessing housing	2%	2%	1%	1%
None	26%	48%	5%	19%

Table 3: LORA insights on access to housing.

What are the most relevant problems/barriers to your household regarding access to land in your community?				
	Overall	**Gribble**	**Tawakal/100Bush**	**Bosaso City**
Economic causes (lack of financial means)	43%	35%	60%	45%
Lack of available land	27%	15%	44%	23%
Because of my displacement status	27%	28%	50%	16%
Climatic causes	21%	18%	58%	27%
Insecurity/conflict	7%	7%	2%	8%
Because of my clan	5%	5%	4%	4%
None	23%	34%	7%	26%
Refuse to answer	1%	0.5%	1%	1%

Table 4: LORA insights on access to land.

LORA insights on respondents' housing situation reflect what was observed during the qualitative data collection: IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush face a situation where they most often either have no shelter or only a make-shift construction; on the other hand, the majority of residents in Gribble has access to an apartment or house, with different perceptions on whether the construction might be adequate or not – as described more in-depth in the paragraph on respondents' feedback on the Gribble site (Table 5).

How would you describe your current housing situation?				
	Overall	**Gribble**	**Tawakal/100Bush**	**Bosaso City**
No shelter	24%	8%	36%	30%
Apartment or house, not adequate	22%	34%	17%	14%
Apartment or house, adequate	18%	34%	1%	16%
Makeshift shelter (shack, kiosk, vehicle) / shelter not safe for safe habitation	20%	7%	32%	24%
Temporarily hosted by friends, family, community/faith group, or emergency shelter	9%	6%	12%	9%
Refuse to answer	5%	9%	0.3%	4%

Table 5: LORA insights on the housing situation

3.2.4 Attention points

- For most interviews, the difference between what is "land" and what is "property" is rather fuzzy and blurred. This was observed especially in Gribble, where residents received a package of land and a housing unit together. In Tawakal, respondents usually tended to refer to land when asked questions about access.
- During the mission, the researcher was unable to clarify which specific relocation criteria were applied during the relocation processes. Considering that Saameynta will be involved in the construction of 100 houses in Gribble and that IOM will be part of the relocation committee, the project needs to understand and assess the criteria that have been applied in the past to better plan the upcoming relocation process. Also, as one respondent raised during the data collection, quality checks should be maintained while relocation takes place to make sure that the beneficiaries selected truly respect the criteria. Finally, Saameynta should consider the need to include in relocation processes people who, despite their vulnerabilities, will be able to act on and invest in the development services provided and interventions carried out in Gribble, so as to avoid dynamics of aid dependency and make sure that Gribble becomes a self-sustainable and entrepreneurial community.
- The way inheritance works in Gribble is also not clear. Considering that most families who have been relocated to the site are numerous, it is fundamental to understand which system applies and then to make sure that residents are aware of the process to follow, to avoid conflicts over the inheritance of the *super logo*.

3.3 TENURE SECURITY AND LAND RIGHTS

3.3.1 Tawakal and 100Bush

All IDPs interviewed in Tawakal and 100Bush rely on oral agreements negotiated either directly with the owner or through a broker. This coincides with what was stated by local authorities, who admitted playing no role in the negotiation between IDPs in the coastline sites and private owners. The agreement usually defines only the amount of rent to be paid monthly, while it is silent on how long IDPs can reside on the land. Interviewees explained that they have no bargaining power on the amount of rent to be paid. The finding is consistent with what was reported by IOM in 2023, i.e. self-settlements in Bosaso are informally organised after very limited negotiations with the local population or private owners.[23]

Some respondents explained that private owners set fixed prices for rent depending on the location of the piece of land and how close it is to the city. The prices mentioned ranged from $7 to $10.

Most IDPs declared that they have the right to construct the land they occupy and to sub-let both the land and the property. Some respondents also pointed out that they are not allowed to construct toilets and latrines, and rather have to pay to use the few ones that are available on the camp.

3.3.2 Gribble

All respondents referred to the written agreement with local authorities, called *super logo*, that certifies beneficiaries' right to reside in the piece of land and the house allocated to them.

Different views were expressed on residents' rights over the land they occupy. Some respondents believed to be formal owners of the land and property, and thus being able to both sell and sub-let them. Other respondents, on the other hand, explained that they have an agreement with local authorities specifying that they cannot sell the house and the land. It was unclear whether this agreement is enshrined in the *super logo* or is reached orally. In this regard, one respondent declared that "I have the right to sub-let the house and I can also sell it, as long as I do not inform the Government. I have an agreement with the Government, saying that I cannot sell the house." Others refer to themselves as owners – because they can occupy the land as long as they want, and their children can stay as well after they pass away – but also stated that they cannot sell the property and that, if one day they decide to leave Gribble, the land will go back in the hands of the government.

All the interviewees declared that they do not sub-let their property and do not know of anyone in Gribble who does it. Some pointed out that people from Bosaso are not interested in renting in Gribble, because the site is too far away from the city. Sometimes, if people come from the city and

[23] Ibid.

want to stay, they are welcome for free. Other respondents in Gribble 2 also stated that they do not have enough space to rent part of their property because the house they were provided only has one room. One respondent, for instance, declared "*Me renting? Can you imagine? I sleep outside and I give the room to my kids and mom.*"

All respondents declared feeling that their rights over the land and property they occupy are protected.

Two respondents interviewed are not the direct beneficiaries of the *super logo* in Gribble. One was offered the possibility to reside in the place from a friend who had benefitted from relocation, without paying rent. He had an oral agreement with the beneficiary that allowed him to occupy the land for two months. The other respondent is being hosted by her mother.

3.3.3 Insights from the LORA

During the LORA exercise carried out by Saameynta, respondents were asked a question about the type of agreement over their property and land.

When it comes to access to land documentation, the LORA shows the prevalence of verbal agreement in Tawakal and 100Bush, with non-existent access to title deeds of written agreements. In Gribble, on the other hand, half of the respondents declared having a land title deed. It is still interesting that 41% of Gribble respondents declared possessing either a verbal agreement or a lack of agreement altogether (Table 6).

What type of document does your household have for the property / land you live?				
	Overall	Gribble	Tawakal/100Bush	Bosaso
Land title deed	25%	49%	0.3%	18%
Written Agreement	14%	14%	1%	20%
Verbal Agreement	47%	25%	83%	55%
No Agreement	12%	16%	15%	7%
Other	3%	7%	0.2%	0.2%

Table 6: LORA insights on land documentation

3.3.4 Attention points

- IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush can only rely on oral agreements reached with private owners, with limited if non-existent bargaining powers, specifying only the price of rent. It is less clear whether this is a trend in all IDP sites in the city, as the IOM – Shelter Unit 2023 Assessment seems to suggest,[24] or whether this dynamic is only limited to the coastline sites of Tawakal

[24] Ibid.

and 100Bush. As described in the previous chapter, local authorities state having time-bounded agreements with private owners in the IDP sites in Eastern Bosaso to allow IDPs to stay on and use the land they occupy. Saameynta should investigate more into this, to better understand whether the government indeed plays a role, even if limited, in the negotiations between IDPs and private owners.

- Similarly to the confusion that emerged during the exchanges with local authorities, a lack of clarity on the rights enshrined in the *super logo* was also recorded when interviewing Gribble residents. Saameynta should seek clarification into this and raise awareness among beneficiaries.
- While every respondent in Gribble confirmed their formal right – and willingness – to sub-let the land and property, they also described how, in practice, this is not possible. The difficulty in reaching Gribble from the city, which makes it not attractive for outsiders, and the very limited size of houses constructed in Gribble 2 lead to a situation where the right to sub-let is only guaranteed on paper. Saameynta should take into account how *de facto* obstacles impair beneficiaries' land rights, and thus plan future interventions to facilitate sub-letting practices in Gribble.

3.4 Risk of eviction

3.4.1 Tawakal and 100Bush

All IDPs interviewed have experienced eviction. They refer to the tendency of private owners to remove them from the land without any notice. Usually, eviction takes place either because IDPs are unable to pay the monthly rent in time or because private owners decide arbitrarily to use their land for other purposes – usually, to invest in it. In the words of some of the respondents, "If you don't pay on time, you go" or "I fear eviction every time, even today or tomorrow. We never know. Now the owner of the hotel [that they built nearby] maybe will get more money and will want to invest more, and we will be evicted." It can also happen that the private owner sells the land to another private, who decides to invest in it and remove IDPs, as one respondent described with the following words *"The owner would sell without saying nothing, then people came and wanted to build and evict us."*

The most commonly cited strategies to avoid eviction are (1) making sure that the monthly rent is paid on time – *"You just have to work and find the money"*; (2) using a relative or a friend as a broker with the private owner; (3) being friends with the owner. Two male respondents also describe that (4) they use their reputation as old men respected in the camp since they have been staying in the camp for a long time and they are familiar with the place and the residents.

Many IDPs have stated that, when they are threatened with eviction, they have nowhere to go or no one to ask for help. One respondent, for instance, declared *"When the owner says, 'you go,' no one helps you."* According to many, the only thing to do is to find another place and move there. Some other interviewees mentioned the possibility of resorting to the camp committee and the head of the

committee – whose role is better described in the following paragraph, – who acts as a guarantor to liaise with the private owners to grant some time to find the money to pay rent or at least a notice period before IDPs are forced to relocate. Others mentioned the tendency to speak directly with the owner to *"beg for more time to find the money or another place before I have to relocate."* Others mentioned the role of clan elders – *"It is like our law. If we get into conflict, me and my clan go to the owner's clan elder and we complain. First, I go to my clan, then my clan will interact with the other's clan elder."*

Many IDPs have stated that they experienced eviction as a community problem rather than individually. Often, many households were evicted altogether. According to some, when this happens, the community has more power to advocate for their rights through the camp committee than the individual.

3.4.2 Gribble

All respondents declared that they do not feel at risk of eviction. They stated that they were never threatened since when they moved to Gribble and this was often one of the reasons that they cited to explain their feeling of safety today. If they were threatened by eviction, respondents declared that they would resort to local authorities for help, because they have a written agreement that certifies their right to occupy the land and property in Gribble. In the past, most respondents experienced eviction during their time residing in Tawakal and/or 100Bush. Their accounts of eviction experiences reflect the ones provided by respondents in Tawakal and 100Bush.

3.4.3 Insights from the LORA

During the LORA exercise carried out by Saameynta, respondents were asked a question about the perception of their risk of eviction.

LORA values confirm the highest perceived vulnerability among IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush. Residents in Gribble, on the other hand, seem to feel the most protected, with similar values to what is recorded in Bosaso City. Still, 28% of Gribble respondents declared feeling like they face a "medium"-level risk of eviction (Table 7).

What is your household's risk of eviction from the property / land where you live?				
	Overall	Gribble	Tawakal/100Bush	Bosaso City
Negligible	36%	45%	3%	31%
Low	24%	24%	17%	28%
Medium	30%	28%	49%	31%
High	12%	4%	27%	9%
Extreme	1%	0.1%	5%	0.5%

Table 7: LORA insights on perception of eviction

3.4.4 Attention points

IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush are in constant daily fear of eviction. They believe that, in most cases, no one can provide help and support if threatened with eviction. For this reason, during interviews, the focus was rather placed on the measures to avoid the threat in the first place, from finding a way to always pay rent on time to building familiarity with the owner. The government was never mentioned as a possible resort to seek protection from. On the other hand, more hope is placed on communal bonds, such as the support of the overall neighbourhood or the camp committee: these are not able to eliminate the threat of eviction but can play a role in providing support if IDPs are evicted or liaising with private owners to bargain for a notice period.

Gribble represents the opposite scenario, as respondents all declared feeling safe from eviction. Interestingly, if a threat ever materialised, all respondents in Gribble mentioned that they would directly and individually resort to local authorities, showing the *super logo* that certifies their right to occupy the land. In Gribble, faith in the Government is thus higher and the tendency is to approach eviction on an individual rather than a communal level.

3.5 LAND CONFLICTS

3.5.1 Tawakal and 100Bush

When asked about land conflicts, respondents often referred to eviction cases between IDPs and private owners. As for conflicts between residents in the camp, they usually concern the boundaries and demarcation of the land rented. In lack of clear demarcation, neighbours often find over the boundaries of the portion of land that they rent. Many interviewees, however, underlined that conflicts over land are very limited if compared to the conflicts over sanitation facilities and latrines.

To solve conflicts among residents, some respondents referred to the role of clan elders. Others cited the role of the camp committee, that gathers in the community centre of the camp. Most people interviewed feel represented by the camp committee. Only one interviewee from a minority group stated that she did not.

The head of Tawakal's camp committee, who was interviewed, explained to us that she was elected by the community to represent the IDP camp. Her responsibilities are to mediate in case of conflicts, protect the rights of the residents, advocate for money if residents get sick and do not have resources, and facilitate relationships between the government and the residents. She was selected as camp leader and head of the committee 8 months before the interview. In terms of conflict, she explains that the police and the armed forces are involved in conflicts for criminality or if someone gets injured. In case of peaceful disagreements and if no one is injured, the committee intervenes. If someone disagrees with the committee's decision, the committee has the power to remove them from the camp. Before doing so, they go to their clan elder, in the hope that they will try to reason with the

person involved in the conflict. If the person still does not accept and keeps fighting, the committee has the power to evict them from the camp.

3.5.2 Gribble

Most respondents often declared that in Gribble there are no conflicts over land because the demarcation of neighbours' property is very clear. One respondent declared that conflicts on inheritance are more likely to arise when beneficiaries and signatories of the *super logo* pass away. Another one stated that land disputes in Gribble are common when people want to expand or increase the portion of land allocated to them and cross over to other residents' boundaries.

In case of a conflict, some respondents stated that they would go to local authorities directly because they have a clear written agreement that certifies not only their right to occupy the land but also the boundaries of the land. Others also declared that they would resort to the committee representing Gribble to the local authorities. All respondents felt represented by the committee, as one interviewee stated "*Yes, they are our representatives. We select them, this is our voice.*"

The former head of Gribble's committee, who was interviewed, explained that he had several responsibilities, such as negotiating conflicts for the neighbourhood, advocating for social issues and needs, and representing the community to the government and local authorities. He was chosen because he was living in Gribble 2, he was the one moving there and constructing their own house. He explains that there is one committee for all Gribble, with 5 members appointed by the Government upon indication of the community. He explained the process to solve conflict: the committee first hears both sides, then they try to reconcile them focusing on the need to prioritize the well-being of the community. The committee provides both sides with a decision. If the people do not agree to the decision, the committee resorts to clan and religious elders. He stated that in Gribble residents have more right to advocacy, "*Yes here in Gribble we can advocate for our rights. We are a village, not an IDP camp. We have political rights, we can elect, and we can be candidates for election. We are host community automatically.*"

3.5.3 Insights from the LORA

During the LORA exercise carried out by Saameynta, respondents were asked a question about their involvement in land-related disputes.

Values confirm that land disputes are not an everyday reality for people in Gribble, Tawakal and 100Bush, and more generally Bosaso. Still, 82% of IDPs in Tawakal and 100Bush declared having been "sometimes" involved in such conflicts. It is possible that respondents implied eviction-related conflicts with land private owners, as also happened during the qualitative data collection (Table 8).

Have you or your family been involved in disputes or fights related to access to land on which you live, for the past three months?				
	Overall	Gribble	Tawakal/100Bush	Bosaso
Never	17%	22%	1%	22%
Rarely	11%	13%	2%	14%
Sometimes	42%	22%	82%	38%
Often	9%	7%	1%	15%
Refuse to answer	21%	37%	14%	11%

Table 8: LORA insights on land conflicts

3.5.4 Attention points

A feeling of representation is widespread both in Gribble and in Tawakal and 100Bush towards camp committees. As Saameynta activities also include capacity building of local authorities on land conflict resolution, the project should take into account that the government did not emerge as an avenue that respondents would resort to in case of a land dispute, – except for the case of two respondents in Gribble. This is consistent with the limited role the government also seems to play in cases of eviction in Tawakal and 100Bush. In Gribble, on the other hand, respondents would resort to local authorities if they were threatened with eviction, most of them mentioned the committee as the main avenue for the resolution of land conflicts among residents. Overall, the government is usually taken into account if the dispute involves a private owner and a resident, while the committee is the preferred option when conflict arises between residents.

Land conflict resolution in Tawakal, 100Bush, and Gribble can be described as a case of hybrid governance. The introduction by Boege, Brown, and Clements (2009) of the concept of hybrid political orders comes in handy. While Western state models often foresee clear-cut divisions between public and private, state and non-state,[25] thinking in terms of hybridity embeds a new perspective where different authority structures, sets of rules, and claims to power co-exist, overlap, and intertwine.[26] These socio-political organizations have their roots in both non-state societal structures, such as clan and tribal dynamics, and introduced state structures, thus overcoming the privileged position that is often prescribed to the state as the only agent providing order.[27] This is clear in Somalia where camp committees, appointed by the Government and selected by the community, interact with clan elders in the resolution of disputes. What is still left unclear are the following points: (1) to what extent camp committees are treated and considered as formal government structures or rather local customary order providers, that are simply recognised by formal authorities; (2) how the committee's mandate

[25] Kraushaar, Mareen, and Lambach. 2009. *Hybrid Political Orders: The Added Value of a New Concept*. Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

[26] Boege, Volker, M. Anne Brown, and Kevin P. Clements. 2009. "Hybrid Political Orders, Not Fragile States." *Peace Review* 21(1).

[27] Kraushaar, Mareen, and Lambach. 2009. *Hybrid Political Orders: The Added Value of a New Concept*. Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

and activities relate to the role of clan elders; (3) what are the process through which committee members are chosen by the community, and whether such processes are indeed inclusive.

3.6 WOMEN-SPECIFIC VULNERABILITIES

Female interviewees often declared that women face eviction from their own husbands. In Gribble, many of the *super logos* have been signed by women specifically to protect them from eviction from their husbands. One interviewee in Gribble whose *super logo* of their household was signed by her husband declared that she fears rejection and eviction from him. If this happens, "he is the owner and no one will help me. I can only address this to his family because I am the mother of his children." On the contrary, the head of Tawakal's committee denied a higher risk of eviction for women at the hands of private owners, saying that "the owner only cares about receiving the rent and money, not about gender." She confirmed that women are constantly evicted from their husbands.

Lack of protection from eviction for women without a husband was also recorded. One interviewee in Tawakal explained how she was evicted from her house after her husband died, explaining that "Nobody protected me because I am a woman." The head of Tawakal's committee explained that "Women, when they are alone, they are vulnerable for everything." She mentioned that sometimes private owners refuse to negotiate with women and ask to talk to someone responsible for them.

Three women in Tawakal mentioned not being able to run as members of the camp committee, because of lack of time and energy, as they need to take care of family and kids. However, they mentioned that the committee has an equal number of men and women and they said that they feel represented by the committee.

3.6.1 Attention points

Overall, the data collection exercise suffered from poor representation of vulnerable categories. While the exercise was successful in making sure that male and female respondents were interviewed in separate settings, limited time and space could be allowed to delve deeper into discrimination dynamics towards women and to reach respondents affected by different – and sometimes intersectional – layers of vulnerability, i.e. minority groups, persons with disabilities, youth, pregnant women, single women, etc.

3.7 RESPONDENTS' FEEDBACK ON GRIBBLE SITE

Most interviewees have invested in their house in Gribble, by expanding it, painting it, building walls around it, and building water tanks. Interviewees in Gribble 2 pointed out that they would like to expand their house, but it is too tiring and expensive to transport equipment and materials from the city. One of them mentioned that if they were provided with equipment by international agencies, they would be happy to expand their house.

All interviewees in Gribble emphasised the need for better transportation and better roads connecting the site to the city. Many cited the need for a health center, a better lighting system to improve security at night, improved access to water, availability of more shops, and a market. This is consistent with what emerged also from the IOM – Shelter Unit's last assessment, which underlines that one of the main obstacles in Gribble is the distance of the site from the town – where facilities, services, and job opportunities are found – the state of the roads that are unpaved and not maintained, and the lack of affordable means of transportation.[28]

Respondents from Gribble 2 complained about the differences in treatment between the beneficiaries of the first round of relocation in Gribble 1 and the second round of relocation. They stated that they were grateful for having been selected for relocation in the first place, but they also raised doubts about the reasons why previous beneficiaries were allocated bigger houses and provided with food aid provisions for six months after relocation. They pointed out that a 1-room house is too small, considering the sizes of families relocating from Gribble. This creates problems of privacy, with parents sleeping in the same room with their children or husbands sleeping outside the house granting space at night to the rest of the family. Respondents also clarified that, even if they wanted to expand the house themselves, they face difficulties in affording buying the materials in the city and transporting it to the site.

The head of Tawakal's camp committee expressed her criticism towards Gribble. She thinks that Gribble has no facilities and services and is too far away, especially considering that most IDPs work as casual labourers in Bosaso city. At the same time, she recognised that written land agreements in Tawakal would not improve the situation of the camp, because (1) there is not enough space left empty, (2) everything is privately owned, and (3) there are plans for investments. She explained that her community found a new piece of land and is seeking help to construct it. At the end of the interview, she showed that the community has raised money to buy a piece of land next to the main road, connecting Bosaso to Mogadishu). They would like to buy it and seek help from the government and the UN to construct on top of it, similar to what they are doing in Gribble. They have no intention to liaise directly with private owners, but they want to involve the government to receive a written agreement. She asks to keep this a secret because she does not want other camps to know.

A few Gribble respondents recommended including also host community members and IDPs from other sites in the next round of relocation to Gribble. They recognised that, very often, host community members are also living in very poor conditions, – *"I can support myself while many host community members are living in IDP sites due to poverty."* They also stated that the host community should be included to improve social interaction – "*When IDPs get house, they become automatically host community. So we need to have the host community come here to increase social cohesion, otherwise, we*

[28] IOM, CRAterre. (2023). Assessment of Local Habitat in Bosaso, Bari Province, Puntland, Somalia.

will be abandoned here. There are many communities that are poor like us. We need to share [these privileges] because we are also sharing the livelihood [opportunities that Bosaso offers]."

3.7.1 Attention points

Overall, respondents in Gribble are satisfied with the relocation site, showing that for some of them, the perception of tenure security in the medium-to-long term is preferred over employment and livelihood opportunities lacking in the site. This is not always the case in the IDP sites of Tawakal and 100Bush, as expressed by the head of Tawakal's camp committee who expressed her community's lack of interest in the Gribble site due to its lack of connection to the city, services, and wider opportunities.

Saameynta should take them into account and attempt to adjust its planning and interventions in the area according to respondents' priorities and needs. Most of the priorities raised by respondents have already been shared during the community consultations that Saameynta carried out in August 2023, stemming from Bosaso Community Action Plan,[29] namely (1) the construction of a health centre with complete water and sanitation infrastructures, (2) the construction of three feeder roads within the settlement, (3) the installation of solar lights in the site.

Saameynta should take into account the tensions that can arise with the provision of different services and housing typologies during relocation processes. The level of satisfaction with the site was different between beneficiaries of relocation in the first phase, who were provided with bigger houses and allegedly food provision, and beneficiaries of the second phase, who received a smaller house and no food aid. During the interviews, solidarity mechanisms and a great sense of community in Gribble emerged from respondents' accounts: most of the comments on the differential treatment that beneficiaries received were raised to provide feedback on what could be done better in future relocation rounds, rather than with a conflictual and competing approach. However, questions were asked on the reasons that led UN agencies to adopt different measures in the different relocation rounds, showing a lack of accountability and transparency on behalf of relocating actors toward beneficiaries and local communities.

Solidarity narratives were also expressed towards host community members. Saameynta should take into account the points raised by respondents in Gribble on the need to include vulnerable host community members in relocation processes. This might be crucial to avoid the tendency of humanitarian and development interventions to create or deepen hierarchies of humanity, by providing preferential access to aid and services to a specific group and excluding others that face similar vulnerabilities. Finally, the inclusion of the host community in relocation processes is also deemed as a positive measure to avoid the social marginalisation of Gribble residents – who find

[29] IOM. (2023). Bosaso District Community Action Plan.

themselves already spatially marginalised due to the position of the site – and improve social cohesion, one of Saameynta's areas of intervention.

3.8 DISPLACEMENT/LAND LINK

Most IDPs have been residing in Bosaso since the break-out of the Somali civil war in 1991. They often lived in many different IDP sites before moving to Tawakal, 100Bush, and Gribble. They often left their place of origin due to the war, but several also cited their willingness to look for better livelihood and employment opportunities. They chose Puntland because of the safety of the region as well as the employment opportunities there.

Some of the people interviewed came from Ethiopia. They left their place of origin to look for better employment opportunities and to escape violent conflicts. They spoke in similar terms to other respondents interviewed, who came from areas within Somalia, and often declared themselves as IDPs, underlining a lack of practical differentiation between who is an IDP and who is a refugee.

3.8.1 Tawakal and 100Bush

Many respondents expressed feeling like IDPs because they reside in IDP camps, – "*I am an IDP because I am here", "I am an IDP because I came here as an IDP and I am still [living] here."* According to many, being an IDP means being entitled to no rights and having no security over their land rights, i.e. being moved anytime and vulnerable to eviction.

Many declared that since they have been living in Bosaso and in the camp for so long, they feel like host community members, even if they live as IDPs, – *"I am an IDP although my mind has been adapted as the one of the host community, but my characteristics are the ones of IDP because I don't have shelter nor land," "I have been here for 30 years. I consider myself a host community, but you see my situation… I have no land and shelter so I am an IDP," "In my mind, I feel like a resident, but I wish to have a house, a sustainable environment, a property, and safety. Some residents from Tawakal have moved to Gribble. I feel they are like host community. Here we are waiting to be host community, to find land and property to feel part of the community."* One respondent also considered themselves a host community member, because of the support network she has built around her in the city of Bosaso, which can provide them with security, – "*I cannot define myself as an IDP, maybe I don't have a shelter, but I can walk. I have people here who can protect me and are our family. Other things, I will find them as a process."*

Many declared that to feel like a resident, they would need to have security over a piece of land. It was often unclear whether this meant ownership, allocation of a *super logo* in Gribble, or also a piece of land to rent with the guarantees of being protected from eviction. All the other needs, from access to services to availability of food, water, and employment, are considered secondary. Others refer to the need for broader forms of support, i.e. not only were, but also basic services and livelihood opportunities, education, and safety. Others speak of having the same rights as host community members and feeling that their voices are heard in the political arena too. The head of Tawakal's

committee specifically underlined that people in her camp are still IDPs because they are not recognised by the government: differently, people in Gribble are seen and heard, *"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."*

3.8.2 Gribble

Most of the respondents interviewed declared feeling like a member of the host community since when they moved to Gribble and received security over the land and property. Even if they have no access to livelihood or services, they feel safe over their land, which is considered they key element to becoming a host community member, – *"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."* Some pointed out that many host community members live in worse conditions than residents in Gribble, – *"I am not IDP now, I am [a] host community [member]. I am better than you [indicating enumerators], you are renting your house. A lot of host community members are worse than us, dying out of poverty, who have nothing."*

IDPs were often described as people trying to survive, after fleeing their homes. Some respondents declared that they were feeling like host community members before moving to Gribble because they have lived in Bosaso most of their lives and settled there. However, since moving to Gribble, they are also residents in their living conditions because they have safety over their land.

All interviewees declared that they were happy in Gribble and intended to stay.

3.8.3 LORA insights

The LORA survey also contained a question on respondents' perceptions of their displacement status. Specifically, interviewees were asked "*What is your household's displacement status in your current location?*" and asked to choose between the four answers, namely *Internally displaced person, Host community, Returnee from a place within Somalia, Returnee from abroad*. The following three tables provide insights and information on the perceived displacement status of the respondents in Gribble and Tawakal and 100Bush.

Table 9 shows the displacement status of all interviewees in Tawakal and 100Bush. Perceived IDPs represent the majority of the survey, followed by a small number of returnees and an even smaller amount of perceived host community members. The values are consistent with the findings of the qualitative data collection, whereby people in Tawakal and 100Bush perceive still themselves as IDPs.

Displacement status of respondents in Tawakal/100Bush		
Status	**%**	**#**
IDP	98.29%	344
HC	0.27%	1
Returnees	01.43%	5
Total: 350 surveys		

Table 9: LORA insights on perceived displacement status in Tawakal and 100Bush

Table 10 shows values on the perceived displacement status of relocated people in Gribble. Interestingly, they seem to contradict what was discovered during the qualitative data collection, reporting high percentages of respondents feeling like IDPs, namely 94.24%. The number of HC members following self-declaration methodologies drops to 4.09%.

Displacement status of respondents in Gribble		
Status	%	#
IDP	94.24%	507
HC	4.09%	22
Returnees	1.67%	9
Total: 538 surveys		

Table 10: LORA insights on perceived displacement status in Gribble

3.8.4 Attention points

All respondents in Gribble declared feeling integrated, as a host community member during the qualitative data collection. However, the opposite was registered during the quantitative LORA survey. For Tawakal and 100Bush, the findings of both exercises look consistent.

Perception of displacement status in Bosaso varies greatly from the internationally recognised definition of Internally Displaced Persons as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border."[30] Many of the elements of the definition were not cited in interviewees' accounts or explanations for their status as displaced: (1) the concept of forced mobility due to a specific limited set of reasons, namely conflict, violence, disasters, and human rights violations was often disregarded by many interviewees who left their place of origin looking for better livelihood and employment opportunities, to follow their family member, etc. and who self-identified as IDPs; (2) the spatial need to move within the borders of Somalia to fall under the category of IDPs was also not present in interviewees' accounts, as many of them originally came from abroad – mainly Ethiopia – and would self-identify as IDPs; (3) sometimes, the concept of mobility altogether was absent as many self-identified or recognised IDPs are born in the IDP sites visited. Mostly, being an IDP is rather associated with the spatial concept of living in IDP sites in some specific conditions. Finally, the label does not always seem to indicate a feeling of estrangement or outsiderness, as many IDPs have been residing in Bosaso for decades and do consider themselves integrated, at least socially.

[30] Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. For more information, visit OHCHR International Standards, available on https://www.ohchr.org/en/ohchr_homepage (last access: 31 August 2023)

Tenure security was mentioned consistently as a key element to exit displacement. However, it is unclear what respondents often mean by "getting a piece of land," whether it was obtaining ownership, thus being able to buy land; being provided with a *super logo* by the government; or being able to rent land with guarantees and security from eviction. Clarifying these elements would allow the Saameynta project to consider tenure security interventions, going beyond relocation.

4 NEXT STEPS

4.1 FOR THE SAAMEYNTA PROJECT

Saameynta should work on clarifying what the land rights of Gribble residents, enshrined in the *super logo* provided by local authorities, are. This can happen through exchanges of information and consultations with other development actors who have worked on the relocation site in the past (UNHCR and NRC), as well as local authorities. This issue is key considering that most of Saameynta's activities take place in Gribble and rely on the concept of "tenure security" provided to beneficiaries through a land title deed. Understanding which type of tenure and what rights are enshrined in such documentation is thus essential.

Other issues require better clarification, such as the tendency of local authorities to deny the recognition of the IDP status to IDP newcomers who settle in Tawakal and 100Bush on the land emptied following relocation, considering that with IDP status comes benefits and allocation of services and aid. It is not clear whether IDPs are aware of this dynamic.

Once these dynamics are clarified, it is essential to make sure that IDPs and beneficiaries are aware of what is the state of the art of their land rights and displacement status recognition. During the data collection, doubts and confusion were also common among respondents, with inconsistent answers on the land rights guaranteed by the *title deed* or the inheritance system, for instance. In this direction, it would be fundamental to make sure that local authorities, or Saameynta itself if needed, engage in transparent awareness-raising activities.

Saameynta should take them into account and attempt to adjust its planning and interventions in the area according to Gribble respondents' priorities and needs. Specifically, Gribble respondents, as well as local authorities, focused on the need to better connect the site with the town and on the preference for the construction of 2-room houses. Both priorities are key in ensuring livelihood opportunities for Gribble residents, access to services, cultural appropriateness in the construction and delivery of housing solutions, and improved housing situation. Finally, increasing the size of houses constructed would also guarantee the *de facto* enjoyment of some land rights, that are available *de jure* but practically impossible to realize. While every respondent in Gribble confirmed their formal right – and willingness – to sub-let the land and property, they also described how, in practice, this is not possible: the difficulty in reaching Gribble from the city, which makes it not attractive for outsiders, and the very limited size of houses constructed in Gribble 2 lead to a situation where the right to sub-let is only guaranteed on paper. Saameynta should take into account how *de facto* obstacles impair beneficiaries' land rights, and thus plan future interventions to facilitate sub-letting practices in Gribble.

Considering that Saameynta will be involved in the construction of 100 houses in Gribble and that IOM will be part of the relocation committee, the project needs to understand and assess the criteria that

have been applied in the past to better plan the upcoming relocation process. The project might take into account the points raised by respondents in Gribble on the need to include vulnerable host community members in relocation processes. This might be crucial to avoid the tendency of humanitarian and development interventions to create or deepen hierarchies of humanity, by providing preferential access to aid and services to a specific group and excluding others that face similar vulnerabilities. The inclusion of the host community in relocation processes could also improve the state of social marginalization of Gribble residents – who find themselves already spatially marginalised due to the position of the site – and improve social cohesion, one of Saameynta's areas of intervention. Quality checks should be maintained while relocation takes place to make sure that the beneficiaries selected truly respect the criteria.

Finally, it is fundamental to ensure self-accountability channels and measures for Saameynta partners – and, in general, the wider humanitarian-development community active in Somalia. During the data collection, questions were asked by interviewees on the reasons that led UN agencies to adopt different measures in the different relocation rounds, opt for one intervention rather than another, etc. This level of doubt and lack of awareness of the interventions from which relocated people are benefitting shows a clear accountability gap towards beneficiaries. Development and humanitarian projects like Saameynta are accountable to their donors, to which they have to reply for their actions. International donors are in turn accountable to their Parliament and constituents, whose money they spend and allocate. No one in this chain is usually accountable to beneficiaries, whose lives are truly and directly impacted by decisions taken elsewhere and sometimes with little transparency.[31] Exercises like the one conducted for this study are a clear example of how the development and humanitarian community can speak to beneficiaries, address their questions, and incorporate their answers into future planning. Projects like Saameynta can benefit from more systematic and institutionalised channels to improve transparency and accountability on behalf of relocating actors toward beneficiaries and local communities.

4.2 FOR THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

4.2.1 Content

This round of data collection suffered from a limited representation of vulnerable categories and limited time and space to better explore the situation of female respondents. Future rounds should dig deeper into the situation of the most vulnerable and discriminated groups and treat discrimination as intersectional.

[31] Eyben, Rosalind. 2007. "Labelling People for Aid." In *The Power of Labelling: How People Are Categorised and Why It Matters*, eds. Joy Moncrieffe and Rosalind Eyben. London; Sterling: Earthscan; International Institute of Development.

This first phase of the study was successful in showing how land conflict resolution in Tawakal, 100Bush, and Gribble can be treated as a case of hybrid governance,[32] with the involvement and coordination of formal as well as informal actors. What is still left unclear are the following points which should be addressed in future phases of the study: (1) to what extent camp committees are treated and considered as formal government structures or rather local customary order providers, that are simply recognised by formal authorities; (2) how the committee's mandate and activities relate to the role of clan elders; (3) what are the process through which committee members are chosen by the community, and whether such processes are indeed inclusive.

The longitudinal study would benefit from the inclusion of host community members, and other IDP sites in Bosaso, in the research design. Very often, IDPs themselves referred to host community members as living in similar, if not worse conditions concerning their land, housing, and property rights. Addressing host community perceptions would also allow to understand whether some vulnerabilities recorded among IDPs reflect a more general trend in the city.

4.2.2 Practically

- Share findings of the research with other LAS partners, to cross-check results and lessons learned. Disseminate findings at the upcoming LAND-at-scale Conference in July 2024, which will be a further opportunity to exchange findings and best practices with a wider public made of practitioners, academics, experts, etc.
- Define when to carry out the second phase of qualitative data collection, and thus when to submit the second report. It is recommended to allow for the development of Saameynta interventions on the ground before a second data collection so that the second phase can better research and reflect on the project's impact.
- Define how qualitative data collection will be linked to and interact with the quantitative data collected by Saameynta for Monitoring and Evaluation purposes. Specifically, partners should understand whether the LORA survey should play a bigger role in future phases or whether the next rounds of qualitative data collection should be organised irrespective of the presence of quantitative data collected beforehand. Originally, the purpose of qualitative data was to clarify the gaps left and the questions raised by the LORA assessments. Eventually, in the context of this first phase of the study, the qualitative data was designed and collected separately, and LORA values were only used as supporting evidence. For the next phases of the study, partners should better define the relationship between quantitative and qualitative tools.
- Understand whether the second phase will also be informed by a mission on the ground. This first phase of data collection informing the report was carried out and monitored by the local

32 Kraushaar, Mareen, and Lambach. 2009. *Hybrid Political Orders: The Added Value of a New Concept*. Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

researcher and a member of the Saameynta team on the ground. This allowed for constant and thorough quality checks and assessments. Partners should assess the feasibility of organizing a second mission on the ground to allow for good-quality data collection in future rounds as well.

- This round of data collection suffered from a limited representation of vulnerable categories and limited time and space to better explore the situation of female respondents. If future rounds of data collection are to improve in this direction, it will be necessary to allocate more time to the mission and the data collection on the ground.

Citation: Cavallaro, M. (2024), *Saameynta Longitudinal Research Phase 1 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.

5 ANNEXES

Longitudinal study – phase 1

Gribble Questionnaire

Date	
Location	
Interviewer	
Information on participant(s) (age, gender)	

The following questions are open-ended, they only constitute a basis to support the conversations between researchers and respondents. Depending on the discussion, researchers are encouraged to explore certain aspects in particular, as relevant, or to ask additional questions. All respondents will remain anonymous.

Identification phase & consent

- Enumerator's introduction

Hello. My name 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 Gribble, where you live. 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 plan activities for development programs in Gribble and measure their impact. Importantly, this information will be used to help us better provide services, ensure accountability, and make our programs in Somalia better.

This interview should take about 90 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 Gribble and that you have benefited from relocation?

Access to land & property

1. How do people access land here in Gribble? *(EX: renting, buying property, inheritance – from private owners, local authorities, family, community, etc.)*
2. Do you face problems in accessing land here in Bosaso?
    a. Which ones? Why?
3. How did you access the land in Gribble?
4. Do people rent houses here?
    a. How does it work?
    b. Who are the tenants?
    c. Do they rent part of the houses or build new rooms?

Tenure security

5. How long have you been residing here?
6. 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?
7. What are your rights over your land? *(EX: subletting, renting, selling, etc.)*
    a. How long have you enjoyed these rights?
    b. Do you think your land rights are protected?
    c. How safe do you feel that your rights are protected?
    d. By whom? How?
    e. Has the situation improved since you moved to Gribble?

8. Have you invested in improving your land/house? *(EX: expanding the house, renting the property, building on the land, etc.)*
    a. How? In what way?
9. 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?
10. Have you faced eviction in the past?
    a. Why?
    b. Who helped you?

Land conflict resolution

11. 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.)*
12. What are the actors that you would go to to solve a conflict over land? (*EX: local authorities, clan elders, community representatives, etc.*)
    a. Who do you trust the most? Why?
    b. Who do you not trust? Why?
13. What is the process to solve a conflict over land?

Displacement Status

14. Where do you come from?
    a. Why did you leave your place of origin?
    b. Why did you come here?
15. What is your status here?
    a. Why?
    b. What does the category IDP mean for you?
    c. Who is an IDP? And who is not an IDP?
    d. If you are an IDP, what do you need to stop being an IDP?
    e. Do you think that after your relocation to Gribble, you are an IDP? Why? Why not? Does this title deed make a difference?
16. Are you happy that you moved here?
    a. Do you intend to stay?

Rights to lost land

17. Before coming here, where were you living?
18. Do you still have rights over land/property outside of Bosaso?
19. Do you know what happened to the land/property you left to come here?

Longitudinal study – phase 1

Tawakal/100Bush Questionnaire

Date	
Location	
Interviewer	
Information on participant(s) (age, gender)	

The following questions are open-ended, they only constitute a basis to support the conversations between researchers and respondents. Depending on the discussion, researchers are encouraged to explore certain aspects in particular, as relevant, or to ask additional questions. All respondents will remain anonymous.

Identification phase & consent

- Enumerator's introduction

Hello. My name 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 Tawakal and 100Bush, where you live. 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 plan activities for development programs in Bosaso and measure their impact. Importantly, this information will be used to help us better provide services, ensure accountability, and make our programs in Bosaso better.

This interview should take about 90 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. What is your displacement status?
7. Can you confirm that you live in Tawakal or 100Bush?

Access to land & property

20. How do people access land here in Tawakal/100Bush? *(EX: renting, buying property, inheritance – from private owners, local authorities, family, community, etc.)*
21. How do people access housing here in Tawakal/100Bush? *(EX: renting, buying property, inheritance – from private owners, local authorities, family, community, etc)*
22. Do you face problems in accessing land here?
    a. Which ones? Why?
23. Do you face problems in accessing property?
    a. Which ones? Why?
24. How did you access the land in Tawakal/100Bush?
25. How did you access the property in Tawakal/100Bush?

Tenure security

26. How long have you been residing here?
27. 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?
28. What are your rights over your land? *(EX: subletting, renting, selling, etc.)*
    a. How long have you enjoyed these rights?
    b. Do you think your land rights are protected?
    c. How safe do you feel that your rights are protected?
    d. By whom? How?
29. Have you invested in improving your land/house? *(EX: expanding the house, renting the property, building on the land, etc.)*
    a. How? In what way?

30. 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?
31. Have you faced eviction in the past?
    a. Why?
    b. Who helped you?

Land conflict resolution

32. 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.)*
33. What are the actors that you would go to to solve a conflict over land? (*EX: local authorities, clan elders, community representatives, etc.*)
    a. Who do you trust the most? Why?
    b. Who do you not trust? Why?
34. What is the process to solve a conflict over land?

Displacement Status

35. Where do you come from?
    a. Why did you leave your place of origin?
    b. Why did you come here?
    c. How long have you lived here?
36. What is your status here?
    a. Why?
    b. What does the category IDP mean for you?
    c. Who is an IDP? And who is not an IDP?
    d. If you are an IDP, what do you need to stop being an IDP? Would owning a piece of land make a difference?
37. Are you happy here?
    a. Do you intend to stay here?

Rights to lost land

38. Before coming here, where were you living?
39. Do you still have rights over land/property outside of Bosaso?
40. Do you know what happened to the land/property you left to come here?