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Rural Displacement and Its Implications on Livelihoods and Food Insecurity: The Case of Inter-Riverine Communities in Somalia

Alinor Abdi Osman¹ and Gumataw Kifle Abebe^{2,*} 

¹ Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences, American University of Beirut, Riad El Solh, P.O. Box 11-0236, Beirut 1107-2020, Lebanon

² Department of Business and Social Sciences, Faculty of Agriculture, Dalhousie University, Truro, NS B2N 5E3, Canada

* Correspondence: gumataw.abebe@dal.ca

Abstract: This study investigates the phenomenon of forced displacement in Somalia over the past few decades and its implications for the livelihoods and food security of IDP communities. Employing a mixed-method approach, the study draws on various theories to interpret the complex dynamics underlying forced displacement and the subsequent loss of livelihoods. The findings reveal that the drivers of displacement have exhibited variation across different periods, encompassing conflicts, droughts, food scarcity, and political intricacies. Notably, the displacement experienced by inter-riverine communities primarily stems from weak institutions, intensified resource competition, disputes over fertile agricultural land, and conflict and food scarcity. This displacement has resulted in a rapid increase in urban populations and socio-economic crises. Primary data substantiates the severe socio-economic challenges faced by displaced individuals. Such historical perspectives and empirical evidence allow policymakers and stakeholders to better comprehend the multifaceted challenges confronting Somalia. The study underscores the agricultural implications of forced displacement, emphasizing the importance of targeted interventions to revitalize agricultural systems, resolve land disputes, facilitate access to vital resources, and enhance the livelihood conditions of affected communities within Somalia and in similar contexts elsewhere.

Keywords: displacement; food insecurity; rising urbanization; conflicts; power dynamics



Citation: Osman, A.A.; Abebe, G.K. Rural Displacement and Its Implications on Livelihoods and Food Insecurity: The Case of Inter-Riverine Communities in Somalia. *Agriculture* **2023**, *13*, 1444. <https://doi.org/10.3390/agriculture13071444>

Academic Editor: Cornelia Flora

Received: 27 June 2023

Revised: 18 July 2023

Accepted: 20 July 2023

Published: 21 July 2023



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1. Introduction

Displacement trends worldwide have been on the rise due to various challenges such as climate change, insecurity, and conflict [1,2]. This global increase in population displacement has had a significant impact on the global food system. The United Nations reports that approximately 30% of the world's population, mainly from developing countries, is currently experiencing food insecurity [3]. The situation has been further exacerbated by events like the COVID-19 pandemic and the Ukraine war [4–6]. Mass migration caused by conflicts is a major contributing factor to these challenges. When people are forced to abandon their agricultural lands, it disrupts food production and often leads to famine [7]. Governments are grappling with the enormous challenge posed by massive migration triggered by food shortages and conflicts. These challenges underscore the urgent need for comprehensive measures to address the intertwined issues of displacement, food shortage, and conflict. By implementing effective strategies to mitigate the causes of displacement, such as addressing the root causes of conflicts, improving food production systems, and promoting sustainable development, governments and international organizations can work toward alleviating the suffering of displaced populations and creating a more secure and equitable future for all.

Migration can occur as internal displacement for internally displaced persons (IDPs) or external displacement for refugees seeking asylum. IDPs are individuals who are forced

to leave their homes due to human-made or natural disasters, human rights violations, violence, or armed conflicts, without crossing internationally recognized borders [8]. Although suffering in similar conditions to refugees, IDPs are not granted the same special status and specific rights under international law. IDPs face greater vulnerability and often experience an acute scarcity of essential services such as education, healthcare, clothing, shelter, and food. Many IDPs are trapped in war zones and become human shields for conflicting parties, residing in camps located in rural areas or on the outskirts of cities [8].

Africa experiences a significant daily displacement rate, with forced IDP approximately accounting for 75% [9]. In 2017, over 2.7 million Africans fled their homes due to conflicts, with the DRC alone accounting for 997,000 IDPs and the Central African Republic accounting for 206,000 displaced persons [10]. Conflict accounts for at least 75% of population displacement in Africa, affecting countries such as Ethiopia, South Sudan, Central African Republic, Somalia, DRC, Sudan, and Nigeria the most. The data on IDPs in Africa highlight the direct threat population displacement poses to political, social, and economic stability and development. While some displaced populations reside in refugee camps, the majority live in makeshift cities and host communities in neighboring countries [11]. Eliminating the challenge of displacement requires a comprehensive plan of action based on a thorough analysis of the causes, challenges, and solutions associated with IDPs in the region [10].

Somalia, located in East Africa, has been heavily affected by IDPs. Bordered by the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti, the country has a population of around 12.7 million, with over 60 percent under the age of 25 [12]. Prolonged instability and insecurity have prevented the provision of crucial social services such as employment opportunities, education, and healthcare. Previously, the majority of Somalia's population resided in rural areas, with approximately 80% engaged in pastoralism, agriculture, or agro-pastoralism, while the remaining population was predominantly urban [13]. However, mounting pressures on rural livelihoods, leading to increased poverty and migration to cities, have fueled rapid urbanization in Somalia [14,15]. This trend is particularly evident in cities like Mogadishu and other urban centers across the country. The swift urbanization observed in Somalia is largely driven by the influx of displaced individuals, often concentrated in camps, which is a common pattern in other conflict-affected nations [16]. Consequently, population displacement is dramatically transforming Somalia's urban landscape and contributing to its rapid urbanization [17]. The relocation of a significant number of IDPs from rural regions to major cities is driven by the pressing need for shelter, protection, and humanitarian aid [18]. Droughts, floods, inadequate or absent health services, and a highly volatile security situation have resulted in an alarmingly low level of food availability [19,20]. These challenges severely limit the opportunities for rural populations to sustain their existence, compelling them to leave their rural areas and seek refuge in urban areas as IDPs.

The primary objective of this study is to explore the phenomenon of rural displacement in Somalia and its implications for agriculture and rural livelihoods, with a specific emphasis on the inter-riverine communities. By conducting this research, we aim to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical context, power dynamics, and current vulnerabilities faced by IDPs originating from rural areas. Moreover, we seek to explore the coping mechanisms employed by these individuals in the face of adversity. Through a thorough examination of the multifaceted factors contributing to displacement, our study intends to shed light on the significant deterioration of livelihood resources within agro-pastoral communities and the consequent increase in poverty levels.

The findings of this study will have significant implications for agriculture and rural livelihoods not only in Somalia, but also in similar contexts globally. Understanding the drivers and consequences of rural displacement can inform the development of targeted policies and interventions aimed at addressing the root causes of displacement and supporting the resilience of rural communities. By addressing issues such as resource competition and inadequate access to services, interventions can enhance agricultural productivity,

food security, and rural development. Food security refers to the availability, access, and utilization of sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet the dietary needs and preferences of individuals and communities [21,22]. Moreover, this study will contribute to a broader understanding of forced urbanization and its impact on rural communities, as well as shedding light on the dynamics of the absence of a functioning state and the ways in which communities navigate to address the resulting institutional gaps. By examining the coping mechanisms and livelihood strategies of IDPs in urban areas, valuable insights can be gained into the challenges faced by displaced individuals in transitioning from rural to urban environments. These insights can inform the design of comprehensive support systems that address the specific needs of displaced populations, ensuring their integration into urban settings while also promoting sustainable rural development.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: a literature review on IDPs is presented next, followed by a description of the methodology. The fourth section presents the study's findings and discussion, and the final section concludes the paper, highlighting the implications of the research findings.

2. Review of Relevant Literature

2.1. Overview of Rural Displacement

Rural displacement is a complex issue influenced by various political, economic, social, and environmental factors, affecting millions of people annually. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre [23], there were 28 million new displacements worldwide, with several countries accounting for over a million new displacements each. Countries like Syria, Somalia, Iraq, and Yemen experienced successive displacements due to both disasters and conflicts. This contradicts the expectation that the end of the Cold War would decrease violence and forced migration [24]. Africa bears the highest burden of displaced individuals, with a disproportionate number of refugees and IDPs residing on the continent [25]. Despite comprising only 12% of the global population, Africa accounted for one-third of the world's 9.5 million refugees and half of the 25 million IDPs in 2005, and five out of the top ten refugee-producing countries worldwide are located in Africa, along with 9 out of the 24 countries hosting the largest IDP populations [25]. Somalia currently has an alarming number of internally displaced persons, with approximately 2.6 million Somalis living in protracted displacement, facing severe socio-economic challenges [26]. The country's history is marked by volatility and displacement, with Somalis being uprooted due to conflicts, disasters, and economic hardships since the 1970s [27]. Addressing the challenges faced by IDPs requires a comprehensive understanding of the root causes of displacement. The following section focuses on various theories that provide a holistic approach to tackle IDP issues and comprehend the intricate interconnectedness of forced displacement.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

The State Fragility and Institutional Theory, proposed by Grävingholt, Ziaja, and Kreighbaum [28], offers valuable insights into the internal displacement of individuals resulting from state fragility and institutional weaknesses. At its core, the theory emphasizes the role of political instability in driving population displacement. When governments are unable to ensure the safety and well-being of their citizens, people are often compelled to flee their homes. State fragility, as described by Grävingholt et al. [28], manifests as the state's inability to withstand shocks, prevent violence, and provide essential public services, such as healthcare, food, and education. Understanding the role of state fragility and institutional weaknesses in rural displacement is crucial for developing effective interventions.

The State Fragility and Institutional Theory holds significant relevance when examining the displacement crisis in Somalia, which highlights the profound impact of state institutions. Somalia, as a failed state, struggles to fulfill essential functions such as security provision, social and public services, and resilience against food insecurity and environmental shocks. Consequently, many Somalis are forced to leave their homes in search of safety and stability. However, several scholars have noted that limited statehood and

the absence of state monopoly and functioning institutions do not automatically equate to a lack of governance [29–32]. In this context, Risse [29] emphasizes the significance of legitimacy as a “license to govern” and the social acceptance of the governing authorities by local elites and communities in establishing effective governance within areas of limited statehood. In the present study, interviews and focus group discussions are employed as essential tools for comprehending the challenges posed by state fragility and exploring the informal mechanisms that emerge to fill the institutional void. Somalia’s situation as a failed state underscores the importance of understanding how governance and decision-making processes operate in the absence of strong formal institutions.

Also, the conflict theory, proposed by Guzi, Adserà, Pytliková, and Boix in 1990 [33], highlights conflict as the primary driver of internal displacement in affected areas. It emphasizes how political and social conflicts, along with violence, result in forced displacement and have significant implications for individuals, communities, and societies. In the context of food insecurity and rural livelihoods, the conflict theory underscores the impact of displacement on agricultural land and resources, exacerbating food insecurity and poverty. It emphasizes the importance of addressing the root causes of conflict and displacement, such as political and social inequality and marginalization, to protect the livelihoods of rural communities and promote stability and security. The relevance of the conflict theory becomes evident when examining the IDP displacement in Somalia during the conflict period from 1990 to 2020. Adserà et al. [33] explain that people’s decision to flee their areas is often driven by a perceived lack of safety and security. Insecurity arises from protests, strikes, killings, political instability, and ethnic conflicts, influencing the rate of movement. In Somalia, where over two million people have been displaced due to insecurity, the conflict theory holds significant relevance.

Lastly, the push and pull migration theory, first proposed by Ravenstein [34], provides a framework for understanding the factors influencing migration from one place to another. According to Ravenstein, migration is driven by “push processes” that force individuals to leave their origin regions due to adverse conditions such as conflict, heavy taxation, or oppressive laws. On the other hand, “pull factors” attract people to migrate, including better living conditions and economic opportunities in other areas [34]. Grigg [35] further explains that migration volume decreases with distance, and the movement of people occurs in stages, influenced by age, social class, and gender. In the context of Somalia, the push and pull migration theory offers valuable insights into the complex interplay of sociocultural, economic, environmental, and political factors that contribute to population displacement, particularly among the inter-riverine communities. By applying this theory, researchers can better understand why individuals choose to leave their rural homes in Somalia and seek refuge in IDP camps, major towns, or even neighboring countries such as Kenya, and identify the specific drivers of rural displacement and tailor interventions to address these factors effectively.

Combining these theories, we can comprehensively analyze the multifaceted dynamics of rural displacement and its implications for livelihood and food insecurity. By addressing the root causes of displacement, sustainable solutions can be devised to promote stability, security, and resilience within rural communities. Additionally, targeted interventions can be implemented to address the specific challenges faced by displaced populations, including the restoration of livelihoods, access to essential services, and the creation of economic opportunities.

3. Methodology

3.1. Study Context

Mogadishu has been selected due to its significant population of IDPs, particularly those originating from the inter-riverine regions in Middle Shebelle (Figure 1). As one of the oldest cities in East Africa, Mogadishu was founded by Arab and Indian merchants in the tenth century [36]. It is currently the most populous and largest city in Somalia, with a population exceeding two million. Over the years, Mogadishu has served as the

governmental center, attracting many rural Somalis as well as individuals from other urban areas. The population growth of Mogadishu gained momentum in the 1980s, driven by various factors. These factors included the country's overall population increase, the influx of Somali refugees from Ethiopia, and the displacement resulting from the Ogaden War with Ethiopia in 1977–1978. Additionally, there was a substantial migration of people from rural areas to the capital city, drawn by the concentration of wealth, employment opportunities, educational prospects, and essential services [37]. Within Mogadishu's total population of two million inhabitants, a significant portion are internally displaced [10], with the majority originating from the inter-riverine regions. It is noteworthy that more than 50 percent of the IDP population resides in three specific districts: Hodan, Wadajir, and Dharkenley [37]. These data highlight the concentration of IDPs in Mogadishu and emphasize the importance of studying the inter-riverine communities within this context.

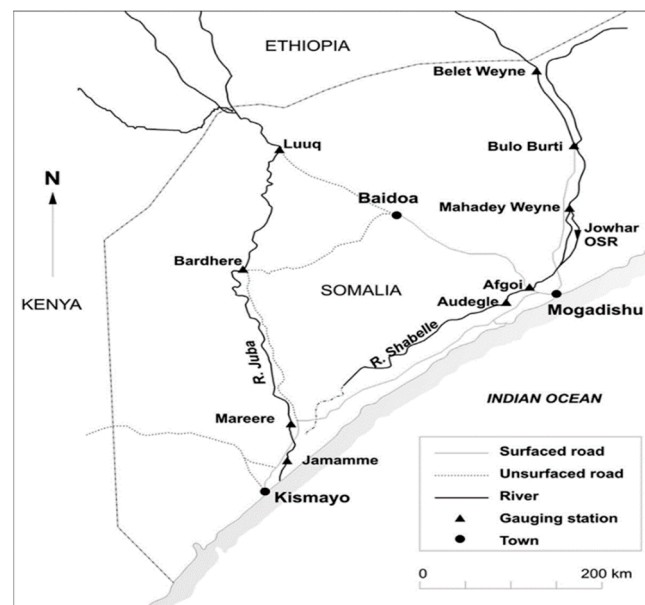


Figure 1. The study area.

3.2. Research Design

The study adopted a mixed-method approach to comprehensively investigate rural displacement and its implications for livelihoods and food insecurity. Secondary data sources were utilized to provide a historical context of events [38], while a qualitative research design was employed to delve into the drivers, patterns, challenges, and potential long-term solutions to displacement. This approach aimed to understand the current vulnerabilities, coping mechanisms, and livelihood strategies of IDPs, as well as their interpretations of the causes of displacement. As an interpretive study, it sought to generate rich insights and capture the subjective experiences of the participants. This comprehensive methodological approach facilitates a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding rural displacement and its multifaceted impact on livelihoods and food security.

The study employed qualitative data collection methods, FGDs, and key informant interviews, to gather comprehensive insights into rural displacement and its implications for livelihoods. The Research Ethics Board at the American University of Beirut granted approval for the study, and informed consent was obtained from all participants, ensuring their rights to confidentiality and anonymity were respected. A total of ten FGDs were conducted, each consisting of a diverse group of five participants, including elders, youth, and women who had been displaced from the inter-riverine areas to Mogadishu at different times. The composition of the FGDs ensured a range of perspectives on population displacement in the inter-riverine regions. A total of 50 individuals participated in the FGDs, representing various demographic groups (Table 1). The discussions were guided

by an open-ended discussion guide that facilitated natural conversation and allowed for follow-up questions (refer to the Appendix A). The first author, a native speaker of the local language, introduced the study and explained its purpose during the FGDs, which took place in service centers within the IDP camps for convenience and accessibility. In addition, interviews were conducted with two Mogadishu local government officials and three aid workers to gather firsthand information on the causes of IDPs and proposed long-term solutions. The FGDs and interviews were administered in person by the first author, ensuring effective communication and understanding.

Table 1. General description of the focus group participants.

Focus Groups (FG)	Characteristics	Age Category (Year)	Livelihood Activities	Education
FG1 to 3	Community elders	55 to 70	Farmers before displaced, currently unemployed	No formal education
FG4 to 5	Men, household heads	35 to 55	Most were farmers before displaced but currently work as porters, construction workers, and petty traders	No formal education
FG6 to 8	Women	30 to 55	Most engaged in manual labor and petty trading	No formal education
FG9 to 10	Youth	20 to 30	Some do manual labor; some go to schools, and some are unemployed	Some with no formal education and others with some primary level education

Note: All focus group participants were from low-income households, and none of them declared any political affiliation.

4. Research Findings and Discussion

4.1. Historical Patterns of Displacement in Somalia

4.1.1. Major Crises in Somalia and Their Causes and Consequences

Somalia has a rich and complex history characterized by various dynamics of displacement. Indigenous communities in the inter-riverine areas faced a series of hardships throughout history. Besteman [39] highlights that during the Italian colonial administration, Italian-owned plantations were established, leading to the dispossession of local farmers who were coerced into working as laborers. Prior to this, these communities had already experienced previous waves of invasion, land grabbing, and mistreatment by various actors. In the 1980s, land grabbing targeted the inter-riverine communities, with elites connected to the regime seizing extensive areas of irrigable land [40]. This resulted in the violent displacement of many farmers who were forced into a life of agricultural wage labor.

Somalia gained independence in 1960, but in 1969, Siad Barre staged a successful coup and became president. Barre ruled until 1991 when a civil war erupted between the rival clans of Diir, Darod, and Hawiye. In January 1991, rebels seized Mogadishu, plunging the country into anarchy. Barre's forces controlled the inter-riverine areas for a year, destroying infrastructure and halting agricultural production [41]. Militarily weak, the inter-riverine communities found themselves trapped between General Aideed's rebels in the north, Barre's forces in the southwest, and Morgan, Barre's son-in-law, in the south [42]. According to Natsios [42], the crimes inflicted upon the inter-riverine communities were as horrific as those against the Bosnian Muslims.

The collapse of the military regime in 1991 resulted in the breakdown of the state, plunging Somalia into a prolonged period of civil war and lawlessness. The early to mid-1990s marked a significant crisis in Somalia, leading to extensive displacement as Siyad Barre's regime clashed with rebel movements and resorted to counter-insurgency tactics [43]. During this period, southern Somalia witnessed one of the largest waves of conflict-induced internal displacement. Clan-based militias fought for control over resources, causing large-scale looting, displacement, and famine among marginalized communities. Following the defeat of Barre's military government, rival clan militias

engaged in a series of civil conflicts, aiming to control state institutions and seize land and natural resources [44]. These militias claimed to have liberated the inter-riverine areas from the previous regime's illegal occupation and had no intentions of returning the land to its pre-Barre owners [45]. In the absence of a functioning state, clans took on the responsibility of providing essential services such as social protection, justice, and physical security. However, this clan-based structure presented significant challenges for the inter-riverine communities, as they did not belong to prominent clan systems and therefore lacked the protection of influential warlords or other clan militias [46]. Additionally, Al-Shabaab's presence and attacks continue to pose significant security challenges, contributing to forced displacement within Somalia [47].

The absence of a functioning state left inter-riverine communities vulnerable to attacks and asset seizures by more powerful clans, as they lacked strong protectors and were excluded from major clan systems. Prior to May 1992, fighting and drought were the primary causes of displacement, but after 1992, food scarcity emerged as the main driver [48]. This historical evidence highlights the magnitude of the displacement crisis and the dire humanitarian situation faced by the Somali population.

The Somalia crisis since 1990 has been fueled by communal competition over valuable resources, particularly land, including pastures, wells, arable land, and urban areas [14]. Land grabbing contributed to the initial civil war, and ongoing land disputes continue to escalate tensions, leading to armed clashes and further displacements. Political elites directly benefit from land grabs, especially when their clan gains control over lucrative ports, airstrips, or commercial routes. Control over land holds immense significance in Somalia, driving the political elite to protect and advance their clan's territorial claims. Powerbrokers, local communities, and subnational and national governments rely on militias to pursue their interests, including acquiring power, controlling local economies, and responding to insecurity, vulnerability, and disputes [49]. The concentration of power among a few elites and their control over limited resources, such as agricultural land, intensifies conflict and drives people to flee rural areas. The inter-riverine areas of southern Somalia, which have a history of forced removals and exploitative relations with dominant political and military groups, bear the brunt of displacement.

During the ensuing chaos, several strongmen belonging to bigger clans took advantage of the situation and established themselves as warlords, mobilizing clan people to contest control of key resources: markets, ports, water points, roadblocks, state property, private property in urban centers, and the fertile agricultural lands between the Juba and Shebelle rivers [43]. Most of those who fell victim to this invasion were communities in the inter-riverine regions, whose lands were forcibly confiscated by armed groups. While some of these communities remained on their lands as sharecroppers or forced laborers, many were displaced [43].

Following the turbulent period of the early to mid-1990s, Somalia entered a relatively quieter phase from 1996 to 2005 [43]. This period was characterized by a more favorable security environment, with pockets of relative stability emerging in South-central Somalia, particularly where major clans formed functioning coalitions [50]. In the north, autonomous administrations in Somaliland and Puntland contributed to stability [43]. As a result, there was a decline in the number of IDPs and refugees during this period. Historical data indicate a decrease in the figures of Somali refugees from 638,000 in 1996 to 395,000 in 2005, and the number of IDPs to approximately 400,000 by 2005 [51]. This decline in displacement can be attributed to the improved security situation and the establishment of relatively stable governance structures in certain regions.

From 2006 to 2012, Somalia experienced a resurgence of large-scale internal and external displacement, marking the third major period of crisis. This period of displacement was driven by the interplay of factors such as the transformation of the protracted civil war within the context of the global war on terror and the challenges posed by recurring droughts [43]. The Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) began establishing control over southern Somalia in 2004. In 2005–2006, backed by Mogadishu's business

community and leveraging neighborhood networks of Sharia courts, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) emerged as a significant political force [43]. This clash for power between the Courts and the TFG led to a collision course.

In 2006, Ethiopian troops intervened with the support of the United States to assist the TFG, displacing the Courts from Mogadishu and other urban areas. This power vacuum allowed the rise of Al-Shabab, the most radical faction of the Courts, which became the strongest resistance force against the TFG, Ethiopian forces, and African Union troops [20]. By 2009, the number of IDPs surged to 1.5 million, reaching its highest level, while around 680,000 Somali refugees sought refuge in neighboring countries and beyond. Yemen hosted approximately 161,000 refugees, Ethiopia sheltered 59,000, and Kenya hosted 310,000 [51]. Toward the end of 2010 and early 2011, a combination of factors, including soaring global food prices and severe droughts, exacerbated an already dire situation. Although these factors alone could have caused significant hardship, they would not have resulted in the catastrophic famine that occurred. However, the underlying vulnerabilities caused by long-term displacement, reduced asset base, and other compounding factors amplified the impact of the drought and price hikes, setting the stage for the devastating famine in 2011 [20].

In recent times, rural displacement in Somalia has undergone a significant surge, primarily driven by the devastating impact of natural disasters such as droughts and floods on crops and livestock, thereby depriving communities of their means of livelihood. This crisis has deep historical roots, with communal competition over valuable resources, particularly land, being a fundamental cause of the ongoing Somali conflict since 1990 [14].

Understanding the dynamics of land ownership and resource competition is essential to fully comprehend the complex situation in Somalia. The struggle for land goes beyond resource access; it involves gaining territorial control to exert political influence. Violence has become a means for powerful actors to access markets, engage in trade, and participate in decision-making processes. The inter-riverine area, encompassing fertile agricultural land and situated between the Shabelle River, Juba River, Ethiopian border, and the Indian Ocean, has become a focal point for competition among these influential actors [41]. This region, known as Somalia's breadbasket, plays a vital role in the country's agricultural productivity.

Overall, the historical context, power dynamics, and competition over land and resources in Somalia have contributed to the escalation of conflict, rural displacement, and the subsequent challenges faced by the inter-riverine communities. Understanding these underlying factors is crucial for developing effective strategies to address the root causes of displacement, promote peace, and support sustainable rural livelihoods in Somalia. It is crucial to recognize that the competition for natural resources, particularly land, is a significant driving force behind the conflicts in Somalia, an aspect that analysts often overlook. Clashes among Somali clans over resources like water, livestock, and grazing were common even before the country's independence [52]. Historical claims to land and resources by different clans continue to shape present-day political debates in Somalia [53].

4.1.2. Clan Dynamics and Social Relations in Somalia

To comprehend the political, economic, and environmental conditions that contribute to internal displacements and losses of livelihoods, it is crucial to examine the role of clans and kinships in Somali society [24].

Clans and kinships play a crucial role in Somali society and are key to understanding its political constitution and social contract, as highlighted by Gundel [54]. In Somali society, responsibilities, duties, rights, and liabilities are perceived collectively rather than individually, due to the dependence on kinship lineage for security and protection. Gundel [54] emphasizes that the clan remains collectively responsible for the actions of its members, and the rights of women and children are considered in the context of maintaining the strength of male-based clans.

Luling [55] explains that Somalis generally have a “segmentary” descent system whereby all genealogical lines converge at the top. This system is most prevalent among nomadic pastoralists in the northern two-thirds of Somali territory and their urbanized counterparts. In the agricultural regions of southern Somalia, particularly the inter-riverine area between the Juba and Shebelle rivers, political alliances are based on geographical proximity rather than strict genealogy.

Contrary to the misconception of ethnic homogeneity, Somalia is composed of various ethnic groups and languages [42,54]. The perceived majority consists of the nomadic-pastoralist clans (Darood, Hawiye, Dir, and Isaaq), whose language, Af-Maxaa-tiri, became the official language after independence. Another significant group is the sedentary agro-pastoralist population known as Digil-Mirifle or Rahanweyn, residing in the inter-riverine area. Gundel [54] highlights that these communities speak Af-Maay-tiri, a distinct language from Af-Maxaa-tiri. The myth of Somali homogeneity has contributed to the rise of nomadic clans to political dominance and their appropriation of resources from less warlike agro-pastoral groups in and around the inter-riverine region.

The struggle for control over limited and increasingly scarce resources, particularly land and water, is a major factor in the Somali conflict [41]. Mukhtar [41] notes that this competition has led to violent clashes between clan families, primarily the Darood and Hawiye, for economic and political dominance in the inter-riverine region. The historical marginalization and exclusion of inter-riverine communities from state power and resources have contributed to their vulnerability.

The marginalized status of southern farmers and agro-pastoralists has been reinforced by language, racial constructions, and occupation. Besteman [39] argues that since the 1970s, a substantial portion of the southern population has been marginalized by national governments. The Somali Youth League, predominantly composed of Darood and Hawiye clan members, dominated the political landscape, further marginalizing the inter-riverine communities and discriminating against them in education and state employment. The denigration of the Af-Maay dialect spoken by the inter-riverine communities occurred when “standard Somali” was given official status as the language of the state.

It is not only the Rahanweyn clans that inhabit the inter-riverine areas; there are also other minority clans, including the Bantus, who have faced marginalization. Gundel highlights that the Bantus reside mainly in the southern agricultural areas under different names such as Makane, Shiidle, Reer Shabelle, Gosha, or Mushunguli. The nomadic clans aim to assimilate these minority groups for their benefit, particularly for cultivating fertile lands. However, due to perceived differences, many nomadic clans marginalized the Bantus, leading to attacks against them with impunity [54].

In sum, clan dynamics in Somalia have had significant implications for rural displacement and the loss of livelihoods. The reliance on kinship lineage for security and protection has perpetuated a collective perception of responsibilities, rights, and liabilities. This has created a system where clan affiliation plays a crucial role in accessing resources and opportunities. The interplay of clan-based power struggles and competition for limited resources, particularly land and water, has fueled violent conflicts between different clans, notably the Darood and Hawiye. The appropriation of resources by dominant nomadic clans and the marginalization of minority groups have further deepened the divisions and contributed to ongoing displacements and losses of livelihoods of marginalized communities.

4.2. Empirical Evidence

4.2.1. Impacts of Displacement on Livelihoods

Forced displacements in Somalia have had devastating consequences for households, resulting in the severance of their livelihoods [56]. Approximately 2.6 million Somalis are enduring protracted displacement, and facing significant socio-economic challenges [26]. The civil war in Somalia inflicted extensive damage on agricultural products and farms, with far-reaching implications for the survival of the citizens. Inter-riverine communities became targets of armed clan militias, who sought to seize their cultivated land and grain

stores [45]. The loss of livelihoods is a critical outcome of forced displacement, particularly for those Somalis who heavily rely on pastoralism and agro-pastoralism [57].

In their quest to escape conflict and recurrent natural disasters such as droughts and floods, IDPs often seek refuge in Mogadishu. The profound impacts of displacement are keenly felt by IDP elders, who possess firsthand experience of the challenges they encounter. This became evident during the focus group discussions conducted with IDP elders, where their voices reverberated with the profound consequences of being uprooted from their homes and communities. Reflecting the unpredictable nature of their circumstances, one participant in a focus group discussion lamented, “Our situation is unpredictable as we don’t have a fixed source of livelihood. I’m too old now and can’t work, but my wife provides for our family by doing laundry and other menial tasks for well-to-do families. This is not reliable. We sometimes get food and sometimes stay without food for days. Life here is very difficult” (FGD, 2021). The participants vividly painted a picture of the hardships and uncertainties they face in meeting their basic needs, particularly regarding food. The inconsistent nature of their income leads to periods of having enough food, but there are also prolonged periods when they must endure days without it, highlighting the severe food insecurity and the challenges of accessing sufficient nutrition on a regular basis. The absence of a stable livelihood source, reliance on sporadic and low-paying tasks, and the constant struggle to secure enough food underscores the harsh circumstances they confront daily. The participants emphasized the urgent need for interventions and support to improve the livelihoods and food security of these vulnerable populations in Somalia. Their testimonies shed light on the pressing issues at hand and call for concerted efforts to address the plight of IDPs, ensuring they have access to sustainable livelihood opportunities and adequate food resources.

A participant vividly recalled the displacement experience stemming from clan conflicts during the civil war, stating, “I can’t remember the exact day, but it was 1992 when we were caught in the middle of two fighting clan militias allied with both Siad Barre and the rebels. Both militias were aggressive, killing our people and pillaging our crops, livestock, and other properties. We had packed what we could carry on our shoulders and fled the area. At first, we went to Baidoa, but we couldn’t get any assistance as our kids and the elderly were starving, so we trekked from Baidoa to Mogadishu in search of food aid and safety” (FGD, 2021). This personal testimony serves as a powerful reminder of the human toll of conflict and the urgent need for humanitarian assistance, protection, and support for those affected by displacement. It emphasizes the importance of addressing the root causes of conflict and working toward lasting peace and stability in Somalia, while providing immediate aid to those in need.

Additional participants in different focus group discussions shared personal stories of losing vital assets such as agricultural land crucial for grazing and crop cultivation, as well as their cattle, goats, and sheep. The profound impact of such losses is powerfully conveyed in the account of one participant who stated, “My brother and I lost the land we inherited from our father when the Somali government decided to expropriate all lands in Lower Shabelle region. We had no power to resist, so we had given up everything and started working on the same land we owned as laborers. But in 1991, when the government collapsed, we had to leave the area. We fled to Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya and returned in 2000 when we resided in this IDP camp in Mogadishu” (FGD, 2021). This narrative sheds light on the devastating consequences of land expropriation, which resulted in the loss of ancestral property and forced the participant and their family into a life of labor on their former land. The account underscores the far-reaching effects of political instability and the dismantling of governance structures, which often lead to the dispossession and displacement of communities. It highlights the disruption of generational ties to the land and the challenges faced by individuals who are forced to relinquish their livelihoods and adapt to uncertain and precarious living conditions.

Similarly, another participant recounted a traumatic experience of forced displacement, sharing, “It is still vivid in my memories. About 50 armed men launched a dawn attack on

our village and told everyone to come out of their homes. We were shocked and terrified and did not know what else to do other than following their orders. The men told us to vacate our houses and leave our lands. In a single day, 30 families including mine left the area and headed toward Marka first, where we lived for two years, and then we trekked to Mogadishu" (FGD, 2021). Such personal narratives provide crucial insights into the lived experiences of forcibly displaced individuals, shedding light on their immense challenges, including the loss of homes and lands, and the disruption of social and community ties.

In general, forced displacement in Somalia has far-reaching implications for livelihoods, exacerbating food insecurity and economic hardships. The loss of agricultural land, livestock, and other essential assets disrupts the traditional livelihood strategies of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism, rendering displaced individuals highly vulnerable. A substantial proportion of IDPs experience moderate to high food consumption gaps, worsening food insecurity among affected populations. The loss of livelihoods and the limited opportunities for income generation further contribute to this dire situation. Moreover, IDPs often encounter barriers in accessing education and healthcare services, further exacerbating their vulnerability. Addressing the challenges faced by displaced populations necessitates comprehensive interventions that focus on conflict resolution, asset protection, livelihood restoration, and the establishment of durable solutions. These efforts should encompass various aspects such as agriculture, livestock rearing, and alternative income-generating opportunities. By addressing the root causes of displacement and supporting the restoration of livelihoods, it is possible to mitigate the impacts of displacement on vulnerable populations and promote their resilience and well-being. Given the complex interplay between displacement, livelihoods, and food security, a multifaceted approach is essential, encompassing both immediate relief and long-term solutions for sustainable livelihoods.

4.2.2. Survival Strategies of IDPs

The displacement experienced by IDPs in Somalia has compelled individuals to adapt to new family structures and unfamiliar living conditions. Tragically, many IDPs have suffered the loss of relatives, siblings, or parents during conflicts or civil war, resulting in fractured family units and heartbreaking separations from loved ones. This loss poses a significant challenge as IDPs must navigate the difficult process of integrating into new families or clans. A study emphasizes the harsh reality within IDP camps, where only a few families remain intact while the majority have experienced the loss of a relative or kin [58]. The loss of family ties further compounds the challenges faced by IDP children, who must adjust to new ways of living or even find themselves in unfriendly environments under the authority of unfamiliar families or clans. Several studies have also shown that wars and violence are the key factors that provoke traumatic experiences and deeply affect a society's collective memory, values, and sense of identity [59,60]. According to Alexander et al. [61], cultural trauma occurs when these events disrupt the fundamental beliefs, norms, and symbols that provide coherence and meaning to a community's identity. As evidenced in the FGD with the IDPs in the study, the traumatic experiences of fleeing conflict, losing their land, and being uprooted from familiar surroundings have had profound impact on the IDPs.

Education takes a backseat in the lives of Somali IDP children due to poverty and the disruptions caused by war or calamities. Many are unable to attend high school and are limited to primary-level education. Humanitarian aid provided to IDPs primarily focuses on shelter and basic needs, placing the burden of livelihood and food security on the shoulders of these individuals. Consequently, children are often compelled to contribute to the household income, further exacerbating the challenges they face. Orphaned children or those separated from their parents are particularly vulnerable, forced to rely solely on themselves to work and earn money for their basic needs. As a result, the struggle to balance work and education becomes overwhelming, leading many children to opt out of school entirely.

In their pursuit of stability and security, IDPs in Somalia encounter hostile living conditions. Seeking refuge in cities like Mogadishu, displaced individuals often face economic hardships. Many Somalis seek employment, often settling for poorly paid manual jobs. However, employment is challenging, with unfavorable working conditions, labor-intensive tasks, and high levels of discrimination. One respondent shared his experience, stating, “My friends and I go into the market early in the morning to work as porters. We offload vehicles and do anything that needs manpower. We sometimes get paid, and sometimes we don’t. Some men even use clan power to deny us our earned wages” (FGD, 2021). This personal account highlights the day-to-day challenges faced by IDPs, including the unpredictability of their income and the exploitation of clan power in denying wages. Such unfair practices exacerbate their difficulties, emphasizing the need to address issues of fair payment, labour rights, and social cohesion.

The limited land space available in IDP camps restricts agricultural activities and livestock rearing, further exacerbating the challenges faced by IDPs. Consequently, the majority of IDPs rely on humanitarian aid and relief supplies to sustain their livelihoods. The heavy dependence on pastoralism and agro-pastoralism makes displaced individuals particularly vulnerable, as these livelihood strategies rely on access to limited pastures and resources. Moreover, those who previously owned livestock are forced into barter trade for essential supplies to sustain their livelihoods. According to one participant, “The protracted conflict, famine, and unstable political environment in Somalia caused us to lose assets and brought about a huge food deficit that contributed to the loss of livelihoods. Like for me, I had to sell my cows and goats when they got very weak due to drought, constant stealing of livestock, and the battle for pastures” (FGD, 2021). The participant’s account reflects the wider systemic issues that affect displaced communities, including limited access to formal employment, exploitation, and the misuse of power. It underscores the urgent need for labour protections and fair employment practices related to the IDPs.

To cope with the loss of agricultural productivity, displaced individuals have had to find alternative means of sustaining themselves and their families. Small businesses have emerged as crucial survival strategies. Engaging in hawking fast foods and commonly used products has become a prevalent way to generate income. Individuals sell snacks, beverages, and everyday essentials to make a living, filling the gap left by the absence of traditional agricultural practices.

Additionally, the production and trade of charcoal have become significant economic activities in Somalia, despite their illegality. Many people resort to charcoal production to support their families. However, this illicit market raises environmental concerns and faces legal restrictions. The dependence on charcoal exacerbates deforestation and poses risks to the ecosystem. While these alternative survival strategies offer immediate economic relief, they may lack stability and sustainability in the long run.

The consequences of displacement and the destruction of livelihoods extend beyond economic struggles. The loss of agriculture and resulting famines further compound the challenges faced by Somalis. Desperation to sustain themselves drives some individuals to resort to begging, while others turn to petty crimes such as robbery and theft. One participant shared the following: “I am a widow. I lost my husband three months ago. He was the sole provider for our family. Life became more difficult after his death. To fend for our lives, my kids and I go every morning and ask people to help us. Good Samaritans help us with little money and food, but this is not enough oftentimes” (FGD, 2021). This woman’s account sheds light on the vulnerability and economic insecurity experienced by families that lost loved ones within the displacement context [62]. It underscores the urgent need for targeted support mechanisms that specifically address the unique challenges faced by widows and their families. These may include initiatives such as access to income-generating activities, all aimed at empowering widows to become self-sufficient and provide for their families. Begging not only strips individuals of their dignity, but also restricts their social interactions, perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

Amidst these immense struggles, some communities in Somalia receive support through NGOs and aid organizations. One aid worker interviewed stated, “We provide different kinds of aid to the IDP communities. When they arrive fresh and new to the settlement, we give them blankets and other non-food materials that help them make temporary shelters for themselves. We also provide free healthcare to them” (Interviews, 2021). These institutions play a critical role in providing various forms of aid, including cash assistance, to IDPs and other vulnerable families. Such support enables households to access food, prevents further displacement, and strengthens their capacity to recover and rebuild their livelihoods in the aftermath of crises [49]. These interventions are essential for addressing the immediate needs of IDPs and fostering long-term sustainable solutions that tackle the root causes of displacement, rebuild livelihoods, and promote economic development in Somalia. However, it is important to recognize that while these institutions play a critical role, their efforts alone are insufficient to address the complex needs of IDPs [63]. Further measures are needed to enhance the effectiveness and impact of aid [64]. This could involve expanding the scope of assistance to include comprehensive livelihood support, access to education and skills training, and long-term solutions for sustainable income generation. Strengthening partnerships between humanitarian organizations, local communities, and government institutions can help create a more holistic and coordinated approach to address the multifaceted challenges faced by IDPs. Additionally, there is a need to prioritize long-term initiatives that promote self-reliance and empower individuals and communities to rebuild their lives and achieve resilience in the face of displacement and crises.

Table 2 presents a summary of the key findings from the FGD, highlighting the impact of forced displacement on IDPs.

Table 2. Summary of responses from focus group discussions.

FGD Questions	FGD Response Summary
What is your major source of livelihood?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock: Mainly agro-pastoralism among communities living in lower Juba, lower Shabelle in southern Somalia, eastern Gedo, western Hiran, Bakol, Bay. • Agriculture: Mainly subsistence farming, particularly among communities living in lower Juba and lower Shabelle. However, agriculture is mainly rain-fed, making this livelihood highly vulnerable to climatic hazards. • Local trade: Engaging in small-scale trading activities. • Fishing: Mainly in Shebelle and Juba River, with no fish farming practices such as using ponds. • Agro-pastoralism: A livelihood based on a mix of agriculture and livestock production. • Earn wages: Limited number of participants mentioned earning wages as their source of livelihood. • These responses reflect the diverse livelihood strategies pursued by the FGD participants, highlighting the importance of livestock, agriculture, trade, fishing, and wage labor in their communities.
How has displacement affected your livelihood activities so far?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of family ties due to fleeing or migration. • Clan profiling and even deaths resulting from conflicts and violence. • Experience of depression and stress due to the traumatic nature of displacement. • Famine caused by the destruction of farmlands and the stealing of livestock, leading to food scarcity and insecurity. • Incidents of assault, particularly affecting women within the displaced communities.
What are your current livelihood activities?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaging in trade, such as selling charcoal, food products, and farm products. • Livestock rearing as a source of income and sustenance. • Subsistence agriculture, where individuals cultivate crops for their own consumption. • Involvement in manual labor, including construction work, fetching water for others, and domestic labor. • Dependence on humanitarian aid for basic necessities and support.

Table 2. Cont.

FGD Questions	FGD Response Summary
What are the main of the causes of your displacement?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict and violence in ancestral land areas: Many participants attributed their displacement to the consequences of conflict and violence in their ancestral lands. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Political, socio-economic, and historical injustices: Participants highlighted the impacts of past political regimes and the resulting injustices that have contributed to their displacement. o Security concerns: The participants emphasized that security concerns, such as ongoing conflicts and insecurity in their regions, have forced them to flee their homes. o Clan politics and profiling: The dynamics of clan politics play a significant role in displacement, with participants sharing instances where minority clans are targeted by dominant clans during conflicts. This targeting often results in the loss of belongings, including valuable agricultural land in the Middle and Lower Jubba regions. o Disproportionate impact on minority clans: The experiences shared by the participants indicate that a majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) belong to minority clans, highlighting the vulnerability and disproportionate impact faced by these communities during conflicts and displacement. • Participants highlighted the loss of their ancestral land as a significant factor contributing to their displacement. This loss of land has disrupted their livelihoods and uprooted them from their communities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o One participant in an FGD recounted how they were pushed out of their ancestral land in Bakool and Bay regions during the 1990s. This displacement has had profound consequences for their lives and livelihoods. o Another participant shared his experience of being pushed out of the Shabelle River valley, despite being natives of the region. • Natural disaster or environmental factors, such as frequent flooding and prolonged droughts. • Food insecurity
How did you use your land before displacement?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming: Many participants reported engaging in farming as their primary use of the land. • Rearing livestock: Participants mentioned raising various animals as a significant part of their livelihoods. • Traditional fishing: For those who lived along rivers, traditional fishing was a prevalent activity. This involved relying on the river's resources for sustenance and sometimes for trade.
How did you cope after displacement/what were your coping mechanisms?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-adjustment: Many participants mentioned that they had to adapt and make self-adjustments to the new living conditions. • Seeking alternative means of income: Displaced individuals actively sought alternative sources of income to sustain themselves and their families. This included engaging in petty trade, informal businesses, or taking up labor-intensive tasks to earn a livelihood. • Help from camp leaders: Some participants mentioned receiving assistance and support from camp leaders or community leaders within the displacement camps. • Social cohesion: Participants highlighted the importance of social cohesion and community support in their coping mechanisms. They relied on the solidarity and cooperation within their displaced communities, pooling resources and helping each other to meet their basic needs. • Income protection from international bodies: Several participants mentioned receiving assistance and income support from international organizations and humanitarian bodies such as UNHRC (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), UKAid (United Kingdom's International Development), and USAID (United States Agency for International Development).
Why did you seek shelter in alternative areas or camps as IDPs?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal safety: Many participants expressed that their primary motivation for seeking shelter in alternative areas or camps was to ensure their personal safety. They fled their original locations due to conflict, violence, or threats to their lives, and sought refuge in places where they perceived a higher level of security. • Family safety: Participants also cited the safety and well-being of their families as a major factor in seeking shelter as IDPs. They made the difficult decision to relocate to protect their loved ones from harm and create a safer environment for them. • Seeking livelihood opportunities: Some participants mentioned that they sought shelter in alternative areas or camps in search of livelihood opportunities. They hoped to find better economic prospects, access to resources, or employment options that could support their families and improve their financial situation. • Seeking to improve living conditions: Another reason mentioned by participants was the desire to improve their overall living conditions. They sought shelter in areas or camps that offered better access to basic services such as healthcare, education, water, and sanitation facilities, in the hope of achieving a higher quality of life for themselves and their families.

Finally, forced displacement not only impacts food security and livelihoods, but also undermines food sovereignty. Food sovereignty goes beyond food security and emphasizes the rights of individuals, nations, or unions of states to define their own

agricultural and food policies without external constraints [65]. It promotes local autonomy, prioritizes indigenous production, and safeguards small-scale farmers from the adverse impacts of neoliberal trade policies. The concept of food sovereignty, developed by “Via Campesina” and brought into the public debate at the World Food Summit in 1996, offers an alternative framework to neoliberal globalization. It represents the right of individuals and communities to determine their own food and agriculture systems, prioritizing local and national economies, ecological sustainability, and the empowerment of small-scale producers [66]. In the context of this study, the discussion on food sovereignty is crucial as it highlights the loss experienced by peasants forced to abandon their farmland due to conflict, resulting in a diminished ability to engage in agricultural activities and prioritize local production.

5. Conclusions

In this study, we have examined historical patterns and utilized primary data to understand the root causes of Somalia’s extensive displacement and losses of livelihoods over the past few decades, and their impact on the livelihood strategies of IDP communities and the rising urban populations.

The findings reveal the diverse drivers of displacement in Somalia, which have exhibited variations over different time periods. During the early to mid-1990s, clashes between Siyad Barre’s regime and rebel movements, coupled with counter-insurgency tactics, resulted in the collapse of the military regime and the onset of civil war. Fighting, drought, and food scarcity emerged as primary catalysts for displacement. Under Siad Barre’s rule, power and wealth were concentrated among a small group of government-affiliated elites. This concentration of power marginalized inter-riverine communities, and the Somali economy operated as a “rentier kleptocracy”. Well-connected elites, with clan affiliations to Siad Barre, profited from state farms, price control, and land grabs facilitated by land tenure liberalization in the 1980s. From 1996 to 2005, relative stability was observed in certain regions, leading to a decline in the number of IDPs and refugees. However, from 2006 to 2012, renewed large-scale displacement occurred due to the transformation of the civil war within the context of the global war on terror, combined with recurring droughts. Power struggles between the Somali Transitional Federal Government and the Islamic Courts Union, followed by the intervention of Ethiopian troops, further escalated the conflict and displacement. The consequences were significant, with a sharp increase in the number of IDPs and a substantial outflow of Somali refugees to neighboring countries. These distinct periods of crisis illustrate the complex and interconnected causes of displacement in Somalia, encompassing political instability, armed conflict, environmental challenges, and global dynamics.

Through the utilization of primary data, this study has explored rural displacement and land alienation among inter-riverine communities in Somalia, shedding light on the impact of displacement on the livelihood strategies of IDP communities in Mogadishu. Interviews and focus group discussions have confirmed the underlying factors driving people’s movement to urban areas in search of shelter and humanitarian assistance. The influx of displaced individuals, primarily caused by conflicts stemming from land disputes and frequent armed clashes, has created severe socio-economic crises, leading to the loss of livelihoods and pushing many into poverty, with some resorting to illegal activities.

The various theories discussed in this study have offered complementary perspectives to explain the dynamics of forced displacement and losses of livelihoods among IDPs in Mogadishu. The State Fragility and Institutional Theory highlights the power vacuum and lawlessness resulting from the breakdown of the state and prolonged civil war since 1991, leaving inter-riverine communities vulnerable to attacks and asset seizures by more powerful clans. The absence of robust institutions has allowed land grabbing, exploitation, and displacement to persist. Similarly, the conflict theory sheds light on how conflicts are fueled by resource competition and power dynamics in Somalia. Struggles for control over valuable resources, such as land, water, and urban areas, have intensified conflict and

compelled rural residents to flee. Lastly, the push and pull migration theory elucidates the contributing factors to internal and external displacement in Somalia, including the collapse of the state, civil war, armed clashes, food scarcity, droughts, and the presence of extremist groups like Al-Shabab.

By considering historical perspectives and empirical evidence, policymakers and stakeholders can gain a deeper understanding of the root causes of displacement, conflicts, and losses of livelihoods in Somalia, particularly in relation to the agricultural sector. This understanding holds significant implications for addressing the challenges faced by farmers and enhancing agricultural practices in the region. The findings highlight the adverse impact of conflicts and land disputes on rural communities, leading to the disruption of agricultural activities and losses of livelihoods. Policymakers can utilize these insights to design targeted interventions that prioritize the rebuilding and strengthening of agricultural systems. This can be achieved through measures such as land tenure reforms and the institutionalization of informal conflict resolution mechanisms. Additionally, ensuring access to crucial resources such as water and arable land should be a key consideration. The findings of this study have significant implications for shaping policies that address both the immediate needs of the affected population and work toward sustainable long-term solutions. These policies can focus on enhancing food security and promoting regional stability, not only within Somalia but also in other regions facing similar multifaceted challenges. By incorporating the lessons learned and recommendations proposed in this study, policymakers and stakeholders can forge a path toward sustainable development and the improvement of livelihood conditions for the affected communities.

Limitations of the study: While the present study has utilized historical perspectives, FGDs, and interviews to shed light on the impacts of displacement on rural livelihoods and socio-economic crises in Somalia, future research studies can build upon these foundations. Large-scale surveys, quantitative analyses, and longitudinal studies would contribute to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the challenges faced by IDPs, facilitating the development of targeted interventions and policies to address their needs and promote sustainable livelihoods in the context of forced displacement.

Author Contributions: A.A.O. gathered data and authored the first draft. G.K.A. guided research design and data collection and authored the final draft. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement: The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the American University of Beirut (AUB).

Data Availability Statement: Data are available upon request.

Acknowledgments: Data were collected as part of the first author's unpublished work at the American University of Beirut.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Appendix A

A. FGD guide

1. What is your major source of livelihood? (please describe in detail)
2. How has displacement affected your livelihood activities so far?
3. What are your current livelihood activities?
4. What are some of the causes of your displacement?
5. Are some of these causes, the reason why you've become IDP? (please elaborate)
6. How did you use your land before displacement? (only for those who had land or access to land before displacement)
7. What was your livelihood activity before losing land?
8. How did you cope before displacement/what were your coping mechanisms?

9. Why did you seek shelter in alternative areas or camps as IDPs?
 10. Do the camps offer you a safe haven? And what are your general experiences at the IDP camp?
 11. How do you cope at the camps or in your current place of settlement?
 12. How has displacement affected your household assets and living conditions?
- B. Interview questions for gatekeepers
1. How long have the IDPs have been living in this camp?
 2. What kind of services do you provide to the IDPs?
 3. How is your relationship with the IDPs?
 4. Do they deal with aid agencies directly or aid comes to them through you?
 5. Who gave the IDPs this plot of land to occupy?
 6. What are some of the main challenges IDPs face in this camp?
 7. Do you help them address conflict within the IDP communities?
 8. How is the security of the camp maintained?
 9. Are the IDPs independent for running the day-to-day issues of the camp?
- C. Interview questions for humanitarian organizations:
1. What are the major forces that displaced these people from their original residences?
 2. What kind of assistance do you provide with them?
 3. How often do you receive new arrivals?
 4. Do they talk about going back to their places of origin?
 5. What kind of support do you give to those who are willing to return to their places?
 6. Do humanitarian organizations get overburdened to provide assistance?
 7. How do you integrate new migrants and the host communities?
 8. What kind of obstacles do you encounter in your line of duties?
 9. Are humanitarian organizations prepared to respond to influx of new arrivals of IDPs?
 10. Do you think about the perception of the people toward to the support you provide?

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