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A COMPARISON OF THE SETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION OF SOMALI REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH A SPECIAL ATTENTION TO FEMALES

Master's Thesis

Rukiya Yusuf Osman

Asst. Prof. Dr. Filiz Tutku AYDIN BEZİKOĞLU

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Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Filiz Tutku AYDIN BEZİKOĞLU

ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate the settlement and adaptation of Somali refugees in Ethiopia and the UK since 1991. Through comparative and historical case studies of Somali refugees in both countries, we investigate the reasons for poor settlement practices and insufficient level of adaptation. While Ethiopia follows a compassionate policy of open borders and settlement of many refugees, the economic and legal-political limitations of the Ethiopian state mostly account for the protracted non-integration of refugees. Despite spending long periods in Ethiopia, we argue that refugees struggle to settle and adapt due to living in camps, social exclusion, and their inability to integrate into local cultures and economies. Comparatively, resettled and “legal” refugees in the UK do not suffer from “bare life” issues and can reach education and employment. However, the rising New Right, racist, and anti-immigrant movements severely limit their adaptation through creating a situation of insecurity and discrimination. However, the British state does not even aim to settle a larger portion of “illegal” or “irregular migrants," who are also, in fact, refugees escaping war and poverty. The thesis specifically focuses on female refugees, who are the least integrated and incur significant costs during the migration and settlement process due to violence, family breakdown, and social norms, as well as the absence of gender-specific policies that prioritize their security, reproductive health, and dignity.

Keywords: Somali refugees, settlement, adaptation, female refugees, Ethiopia, UK

ETİYOPYA VE BİRLEŞİK KRALLIK'TA SOMALİLİ MÜLTECİLERİN YERLEŞİMİ VE ADAPTASYON KADINLARA ÖZEL BİR DİKKATLE KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Rukiya Yusuf Osman
yüksek lisans Siyaset Bilimi
Danışman: Asst. Prof. Dr. Filiz Tutku AYDIN BEZİKOĞLU

Özet

Bu çalışma, 1991'den bu yana Etiyopya ve Birleşik Krallık'taki Somalili mültecilerin yerleşim ve adaptasyonunu araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Her iki ülkedeki Somalili mültecilerin karşılaştırmalı ve tarihsel vaka çalışmaları aracılığıyla, zayıf yerleşim uygulamalarının ve yetersiz adaptasyon düzeyinin nedenlerini araştırıyoruz. Etiyopya açık sınırlar ve birçok mültecinin yerleştirilmesi konusunda şefkatli bir politika izlerken, Etiyopya devletinin ekonomik ve yasal-politik sınırlamaları çoğunlukla mültecilerin uzun süreli olarak uyum sağlayamamasını açıklamaktadır. Etiyopya'da uzun süre kalmalarına rağmen, mültecilerin kamplarda yaşamaları, sosyal dışlanma ve yerel kültür ve ekonomilere entegre olamamaları nedeniyle yerleşmekte ve uyum sağlamakta zorlandıklarını iddia ediyoruz. Karşılaştırmalı olarak, Birleşik Krallık'ta yeniden yerleştirilen ve "yasal" mülteciler "teme hayatta kalma " sorunlarından muzdarip değiller ve eğitim ve istihdama ulaşabiliyorlar. Ancak yükselen Yeni Sağ, ırkçı ve göçmen karşıtı hareketler, güvensizlik ve ayrımcılık durumu yaratarak adaptasyonlarını ciddi şekilde sınırlamaktadır. Ancak İngiliz devleti, aslında savaştan ve yoksulluktan kaçan mülteciler olan "yasadışı" veya "düzensiz göçmenlerin" daha büyük bir bölümünü yerleştirmeyi zaten hedeflememektedir. Bu tez, en az entegre olan ve şiddet, aile parçalanması ve sosyal normlar nedeniyle göç ve yerleşim sürecinde önemli maliyetlere maruz kalan kadın mültecilere ve onların güvenliğini, üreme sağlığını önceliklendiren toplumsal cinsiyete özgü politikaların yokluğuna özel olarak odaklanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somalili Mülteciler, kadın mülteciler, mültecilerin yerleştirilmesi, adaptasyon, Etiyopya, Birleşik Krallık

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARRA Administration for Refugee & Returnee Affairs

CAT Classical Assimilation Theory

CICT Comparative Integration Context Theory

CRRF Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework

EAL English as an Additional Language

ECHR European Convention on Human Rights

EU European Union

GBV Gender-Based Violence

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

IDP Internally Displaced People

ILR Indefinite Leave to Remain

INGO International Non-governmental Organization

IOM International Organization for Migration

IPV Intimate Partner Violence

IRC International Rescue Committee

IRO International Refugee Organization

NHS National Health Service

NRC Norwegian Refugee Council

OAU Organization of African Unity

OCP Out of Camp Policy

ONS Office for National Statistics

PSI Population Service International

PTSD Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

SAT Segmented Assimilation Theory

SNM National Movement

SCMS Supply Chain Management

SGBV Sexual and gender-based violence

UK United Kingdom

UKRS United Kingdom Resettlement Scheme

UNHCR United Nations Humanitarian Refugee

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

USC United Somali Congress

WFP World Food Program

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INTRODUCTION

Thirty years after decolonization, Somalia fragmented into pieces, with clans withdrawing into their territories for security and warlords vying for power and resources. These violent clashes among militia leaders and a severe drought in the country forced people to flee to safer areas. In 1992, the international media brought attention to Somalia by presenting images of its starving population and the horrific violence between competing warlords and their drug-crazed troops for control of a collapsed state (Gardner et al., 2004, p. 1). Political instability, civil war, drought, and famine, which have displaced thousands, have made Somalia one of the world's most significant disasters over the past thirty years. Approximately 3.8 million individuals are internally displaced, while about 6.7 million individuals face significant challenges to secure enough food (UNHCR, May 23, 2023).

Somalia has witnessed one of the largest IDP populations globally, with a significant number of people leaving the country in the aftermath of the crisis. Most of these exiles sought refuge in neighboring countries and beyond. This mass migration has contributed to the formation of a borderless Somali diaspora, with countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, and Yemen, as well as regions further afield, including Europe and the United States. Thousands of Somali refugees have crossed borders to Ethiopia in search of security. Among the affected populations, women and children face unique challenges and vulnerabilities in their search for refuge. Once settled in a host country, refugees typically have three potential paths forward: integration into the host country, returning to their hometown if the condition stabilizes, or resettlement into safe third countries, often in Europe. The UK has the largest number of Somali refugees, with 176,000 individuals.

Despite the concentration of refugees in developing and underdeveloped countries such as Ethiopia—where 84% of refugees reside—the challenges of settlement and integration in these regions remain underexplored in academic literature. Fitzgerald and Arar (2018) argue:

“Sociologists can achieve significant theoretical insights by directing their attention to integration within the Global South.... The integration of refugees in the Global South exemplifies the experiences of the majority of the world's refugees, a factor that theories of integration should consider for broader applicability. Even when focusing exclusively on

resettled refugees or asylum seekers, many of these individuals have spent extended periods in countries near to their countries of origin.... (Fitzegeral and Arar, 2018, p. 399-400).

Few studies have compared the issues of settlement and integration of refugees between Southern and Northern countries, and refugee literature overgeneralizes the Northern experience to the global South. While populist leaders frequently construct refugees as a threat to Northern welfare states and advocate for their deportation, the reality is that they often live in prolonged limbo, marked by helplessness and non-integration, in Southern countries. While irregular migrants and asylum seekers in the North may face similar challenges to South-to-South refugees, limited resources and ongoing instability in host countries hinder their integration in the South.

Among the other two options available to refugees, return is mostly not possible as insecurity continues, and resettlement to Western countries is still almost 1 percent. This underscores the ineffectiveness of the current migration governance system, which necessitates a redefined approach involving both Northern and Southern countries. Only INGOs or international organizations should conduct refugee governance globally. Therefore, we should no longer view the refugee issue as a problem exclusive to the South. Arar and Fitzgerald suggest that

The discussion of refugee integration in the Global South highlights the reciprocal, albeit unequal, dynamics within the global system involving primary refugee-hosting nations and donor countries responsible for refugee resettlement. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UNHCR regulate and assist the movement of refugees, while Human rights laws and supranational governance limit the autonomy of significant refugee-receiving nations (Arar 2017). Adopting a relational perspective enhances scholars' understanding of global policies, state interests, and refugee experiences." (FitzGerald and Arar 2018, p. 399-400).

This study aims to gain theoretical leverage by comparing the settlement and integration processes of Somali refugees in their first host country, Ethiopia, and their country of resettlement, the UK. It focuses on the late wave of refugees, which began in the 1990s and continues to this day, with a special focus on female refugees. In terms of case selection, we found few Northern-Southern comparisons in the literature, and even fewer comparisons between UK and Ethiopian policies, particularly with regard to Somali refugees. We hope to

fill this gap. We will pay special attention to the situation of female Somali refugees, as their problems vary significantly from those of male refugees. In the following sections, we will describe the “case of Somali refugees in Ethiopia since 1991” and the “case of Somali refugees in the UK since the 1990s” and how we aim to contribute to the literature.

1.1 Research Question:

Having these considerations in mind, we will try to answer the following research questions:

- How well do Somali refugees, particularly females, settle and adapt in Ethiopia and the UK, and how can we compare their processes?
- How can we describe and understand the integration policies towards Somali refugees in Ethiopia and the UK, particularly towards females?
- What are the reasons for the low level of integration among female refugees in Ethiopia and the UK?

1.2 Thesis statement/ argument:

We aim to contribute to a model of integration to understand the processes of settlement and integration of Somali female refugees. Refugees in both Ethiopia and the United Kingdom face serious challenges in settlement and adaptation. There are two distinct categories of refugees in the UK. While a small number of resettled and “legal” Somali refugees in the UK could more readily attain education and employment opportunities, they have serious difficulties in housing, safety, discrimination, and obtaining civil and human rights. The UK state lacks the motivation to settle, let alone integrate, Somali "illegals," "irregular migrants," or asylum seekers. In summary, the majority of UK refugee policy ironically focuses on not accepting refugees or limiting their numbers, despite the state's numerous international commitments.

Although Ethiopia is compassionate and follows an open-border policy, the state does not have the capacity to provide necessary means, such as education and employment, for successful settlement. While the contribution of Northern donors and the organizational

capacity of INGOs are important, they are still far below the amount required to respond to such a huge and ongoing migration crisis.

In both countries, the least integrated group is females, as they were not likely to be selected to receive refugee status; their safety and security are endangered during moves and refugee camps, and they were exploited both by existing gender-discriminating cultural practices and new vulnerabilities that emerge with the disempowerment of men, the breakup of families, the breakdown of radious social norms, and increased conditions of poverty during escape from war and violence. Women's lives, reproductive health, and human dignities are at stake both in Ethiopia and even in the UK. Concerns about making a living, such as education and employment, are even further out of reach for female refugees.

1.3 Methods:

This study undertakes two empirical case studies in which the researcher pays attention to the details of the context and reconstructs reality by evaluating historical and contemporary secondary resources and documentary evidence. In addition, the study aims to compare these cases, which host two of the most prominent refugee populations in the world, Somali refugees in Ethiopia and the UK, with special attention to female refugees in a structured-focused comparative design. Alexander L. George (1979) proposed the "structured, focused comparison" method to address the increasing interest in systematic applications of qualitative methods for deriving empirical generalizations (Eckstein, 1975). This method identifies a set of theoretically grounded critical variables and subsequently analyzes their variations across multiple detailed qualitative case studies to draw systematic conclusions. The structured, focused comparison method is admirably systematic and analytic and explores many interacting factors within in-depth case studies.

We concentrate on the most recent wave of refugees, primarily from 2009 onwards, as previous waves were believed to have dispersed (van Hear, New Diasporas). We consider that earlier refugee waves to Ethiopia and the UK may have struggled with integration rather than adaptation, resulting in the formation of a Somali diaspora.

For historical analysis, the study examines the history of Somali immigration waves and displacement. In terms of documentary analysis, the refugee international law and Ethiopian and UK refugee legislation framework, practices toward refugees, and data concerning

resettlement and adaptation were examined. However, data on refugee education, employment, and maternity proved to be obtainable in Ethiopia, and the government was reluctant to provide them. This study presents the latest publicly available data on the refugee population. In conclusion, we examined secondary sources, media, UNHCR data, and government reports related to the topic.

Ragin and Becker (1992) have powerfully argued that making a claim about what kind of case a set of facts and interpretations constitutes is a theoretical act (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 1727). Below, we will explain the cases:

1.4 The Case of Somali Refugees in Ethiopia (1991-2023)

Ethiopia is one of the countries that receives the most refugees in Africa. The country has a history of hosting refugees and adopted an open-door policy toward refugees and asylum seekers. The Somali Civil War and the displacement of thousands of Somalis have a close connection to Ethiopia's Somali refugee settlements. The figure shows the number of refugees that Ethiopia is hosting from neighboring countries and regions, including South Sudanese, Eritrean, Somali, Yemeni, and Sudanese refugees and IDPs in Ethiopia. Ethiopia’s commitment to refugee protection is evident in the number of refugees it hosts from neighboring countries and regions. This includes refugees from South Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Yemen, and Sudan, as well as internally displaced persons (IDPs) within Ethiopia itself. Ethiopia currently accommodates over 823,000 refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2023) in addition to 4.2 million internally displaced people (IDPs) who have been displaced due to minor conflicts and tensions in various regions of the country, as well as ongoing violence in northern Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2023). The figure underscores Ethiopia's significant humanitarian efforts in providing shelter to individuals escaping conflict and persecution.

Table 1: Number of refugees and displaced people in Ethiopia

Country of Origin	IDPs
Ethiopia	3,459,881
South Sudan	419,304
Somalia	311,512
Eritrea	170,631
Sudan	52,595
Yemen	6,636
Others	2,503
Total	4,423,062

Source: UNHCR 31 Dec 2023

Ethiopia's open-door policy has allowed refugees to settle within designated camps in the Somali region of Ethiopia (Jijiga and Dolo Ado), arguing that these would ensure their safety and well-being and where they could receive humanitarian assistance. The refugees settled in nine camps built mostly along clan lines in the Somali region of Ethiopia, and a small number chose to settle in nearby settlements (Hammond, 2011, p. 58).

In terms of state policies, Ethiopia has vowed to implement various measures to support the settlement and adaptation of refugees, including providing access to basic services such as education, healthcare, and livelihood opportunities. However, a small number of scholars who have studied the Somali refugees in Ethiopia contend that the treatment of Somali refugees in Ethiopia, as governed by Ethiopian and international law, is inadequate. Markos, for instance, underscores the challenges faced by Ethiopia in accommodating a sizable refugee population and the corresponding restrictions imposed on their rights (Markos, 1997, p. 4). Unfortunately, the examination of Somali refugees in Kenya is more comprehensive, whereas our aim is to add to the limited literature on Somali refugees in Ethiopia. Among female Somali refugees in Ethiopia, medical, legal, and anthropological research exists. The issue has received very little sociological and political science research.

A recent report from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) highlighted the presence of women and girls, who make up 48% of the refugee population. In the context of conflict, women and child refugees are particularly vulnerable, often forced to

flee when their male counterparts are absent due to warfare or have succumbed to its consequences. Conflict disrupts social systems, making women refugees particularly vulnerable to violence. While camps lead to enforced idleness and helplessness, they also introduce new forms of gender oppression as old social norms collapse during migration. Refugee life camps pose a threat to women's security and safety due to the uncontrolled continuation of these practices, as well as the unaccompanied women and children resulting from family breakdown during civil war and migration.

Female refugees face violence during their journey to safety. Beswick (2001) argued that female refugees, when seeking refuge in neighboring countries, often encounter similarly traumatic experiences marked by violence, including rape, beatings, and murder. This is particularly evident in the shared challenges faced by female Ethiopians, Somalis, and Sudanese within the refugee camps in Kenya, encompassing issues such as education, healthcare, and employment, as well as exposure to violence, rape, suicide, and discrimination (Beswick, 2007, p. 14). Similar to this, Western countries neglect the gendered aspects of refugee problems, viewing refugees as homogenous ethnic bundles and ignoring intersectionality—that is, the ways in which the clan, gender, and class properties of refugees contribute to a variety of issues and problems.

1.5 Somali Refugees in the UK

Somalis in the UK represent a minority of the country. They are one of the largest Muslim communities in the United Kingdom. Somali immigration began during the British colonial period in Somaliland in the 19th century. The largest waves of Somali immigrants began in the 20th century, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. When the civil war broke out in Somalia, many people ran to neighboring countries for refuge. One of the western countries that granted resettlement to many Somalis was the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, Somali immigrants are scattered throughout many cities, but they have centered their population mainly in London, Birmingham, and Manchester. Somalis continued to arrive in increasing numbers throughout the 20th century, most of whom fled civil unrest and conflicts in their country. Somalis in the UK represent part of the multicultural identity of the country. They are one of the largest Muslim communities in the United Kingdom.

The 2021 census estimated the population of Somalis in the United Kingdom (UK) to be 176,645 individuals, with 53.9% of women and 46.1% of men identifying as Somali nationals or ethnics. 43.5% of those identifying as Somali were born in England, while 43.1% were born in Somalia. (Office for National Statistics (ONS), Census 2021). The statistics show that those born in Somalia are more likely to have no educational qualifications; however, the Somalis who were born in the UK mostly have a significant number of students pursuing higher education degrees in various fields. Some Somali individuals have found employment in the transportation, retail, and health care sectors, including roles such as nurses and support staff (Day & White, 2010, p. 24). Others have been successful in entrepreneurship, particularly in the food industry, with restaurants and catering businesses.

Table 2: Somali populations by state in the UK

Country	Population
England	109,875
Wales	66,770
Northern Ireland	735
Scotland	1,591

Source: Office for National Statistics 2021

Somali immigrants took various routes to Great Britain. Thousands of Somalis have moved to the UK from other European countries like the Netherlands. Their primary move was to find a better career opportunity for themselves and their children in the UK. They felt constrained in the Netherlands because they expected greater employment and career opportunities. Due to reduced tolerance toward other cultures and religions, Dutch Somalis left the Netherlands and moved to the UK, wanting their children to grow up in a country that views Islam negatively (Van Liempt, 2011, p. 263). Additionally, some Somalis come to the UK for family reunion purposes, seeking to be closer to relatives who have already settled there.

1.6 Special focus on female refugees:

There is incomparably more research on the settlement and adaptation of Somali refugees in the UK compared to other refugee populations. However, as previously stated, only a small portion of this research is comparative, and even less of it is a South-North comparison.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report highlights that only 61% of refugee children receive primary education, with a significantly lower percentage among girls. The absence of formal education can contribute to the continuation of poverty cycles and restrict the range of alternatives available to female refugees.

According to the UNHCR, refugee girls are just half as likely as refugee boys to attend school, and the gender gap widens as people age (UNHCR, 2018). It is even more difficult for refugee females to access education because they face additional obstacles, such as early marriage and pregnancy. More than half of the Syrian girls surveyed in Lebanon for Plan International research stated that early marriage was a significant impediment to education (Plan International, 2019). These barriers not only limit refugee girls' access to education but also perpetuate a cycle of poverty and inequality.

Lack of career options is a serious issue for female refugees. Numerous female immigrants encounter prejudice because of their gender, refugee status, and lack of professional experience. People often expect women to prioritize domestic duties over professional goals, thereby reducing their chances of financial independence. The absence of career opportunities for female immigrants restricts their financial ability. Additionally, the UNHCR underscores existing disparities between theoretical knowledge and practical implementation and advocates for innovative approaches to ensure the protection and empowerment of refugee women.

1.7 Limits of the thesis

In Ethiopia, conducting interviews with government officials, members of INGOs, and refugees in camp administrations is generally not an easy task. Ethiopia has largely authoritarian practices regarding research; therefore, interviews could create risk for the

researcher and the interviewees. This thesis highlights that camps, whether for researchers or refugees, do not provide complete safety for females, thereby precluding the possibility of conducting interviews. However, the researcher visited a few camps for general observation. In order to compensate for this weakness, we preferred comparative historical and documentary research. Despite the potential for subjectivity, the researcher's Ethiopian-Somali identity actually enhances their understanding of the cultural context of Somali refugees.

1.8 Plan of the thesis

In Chapter 2, we will provide a historical overview of the protracted situation of Somali refugees, followed by a presentation of recent migration cases to Ethiopia and the UK. In chapter 3, we conduct a literature review of existing research on both cases and theoretical literature on refugee settlement and integration. Next, we suggest a framework that describes both the level of integration and reasons for a low level of integration. In chapter 4, we will demonstrate through our case study the problems of settlement and adaptation of refugees and reasons for inadequacies in Ethiopia, with special attention to females. In Chapter 5, we will draw comparisons between the two cases and offer suggestions for enhancing the lives of female refugees.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Ethiopia borders Somalia to the west, Djibouti to the northwest, the Indian Ocean to the east, the Gulf of Aden to the north, and Kenya to the southwest. Notably, Somalia boasts the longest coastline in all of Africa. The Horn of Africa's colonial history began in the nineteenth century with the division of Somali territory into five parts: French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and British Somaliland. Britain granted several Somali territories to Ethiopia and Kenya. These divisions were the results of the European colonial powers asserting control over the region. Today, Somalia still faces political instability and territorial disputes as a result of this division.

The French and Italians attempted to control significant regions of the African continent. In 1887, Britain established a protectorate in the area. The following year, Britain and France reached a bilateral agreement that defined the territories under their control. Italy also pursued its colonial ambitions, establishing a small protectorate in 1889 and later annexing regions of Kenya in 1925. Expanding further, Italy took control of the Somali regions bordering Ethiopia, known as the Ogaden, in 1936. Similarly, France controlled French Somaliland, also known as Djibouti, until it gained independence in 1977 and declared itself a sovereign state.

Following Italy's defeat in World War II, British rule over all these territories led to their collective designation as Somalia. However, this new entity did not include certain Somali regions that Ethiopia and Kenya had previously annexed. These exclusions have led to ongoing conflicts and territorial disputes that persist to this day.

The annexation of Somali regions to Kenya and Ethiopia caused significant tensions and territorial disputes between these two countries. These ongoing conflicts have persisted over the years, with Somalia seeking to regain control of these territories through diplomatic negotiations and armed resistance. The ongoing wars have had profound effects on the stability and development of the region, hindering efforts for peace and cooperation among these nations.

Throughout its history, the Somali state has experienced various political systems, each with distinct differences and influences on its internal political environment. The colonial era

played a crucial role in shaping the country's political culture, with the tribe playing a significant role in shaping the country's identity and governance. The tribe's preservation of tribal identity and confidence in it led to tribal distinctions across various Somali territories. During the colonial era, the tribe persevered, yet it faced weakness and marginalization due to the dominance of colonialism over central authority.

The colonial experience had lasting repercussions for Somalia, impacting the unity of ethnic groups and influencing the formation of political entities in the Horn of Africa. The legacy of these colonial systems continues to shape Somalia's political landscape and internal dynamics. Siyad Barre strategically used clan identity as a tool to implement a divide-and-rule strategy during his government from 1969 to 1990. People commonly attribute the emergence of the damaging phenomenon of clannism, which has plagued Somalia since 1990, to the aforementioned regime. This has significantly impeded the prospects of achieving peace and collaboration within the country (Menkhaus, 2003, p. 2).

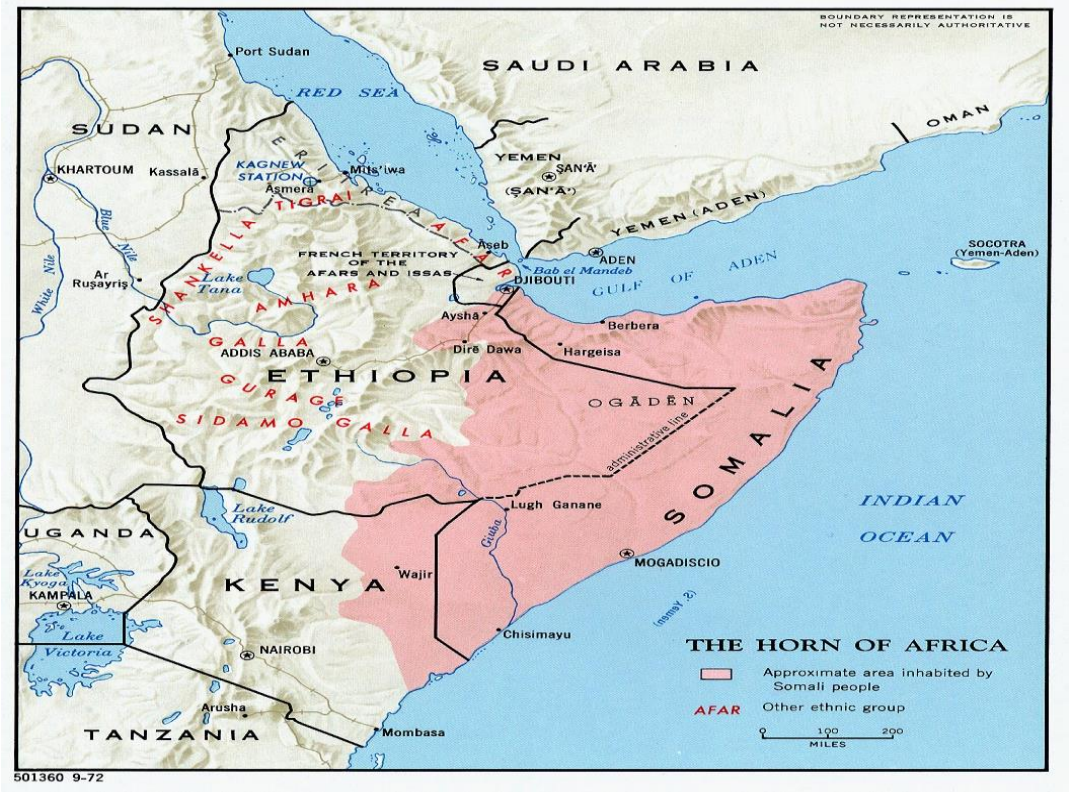
Former colonies of Italian Somalia and British Somalia joined forces to form the Somali Republic in 1960, with Adan Abdallah serving as its first president. President Adan Abdullah won two terms after the country adopted a democratic multiparty system. Somalia thrived under a successful democratic government until the end of 1969, when corrupt elections and a military coup d'état occurred. Tragically, after President Adan Abdallah's assassination in 1969, the military, under the command of General Mohamed Siad Barre, took control and ruled Somalia for more than two decades.

In 1970, Barre declared Somalia a socialist state with the aim of transforming the pastoral society into a modern nation-state. His ideology aimed to modernize the nation, but it encountered opposition from diverse ideologies such as capitalist, socialist, and Islamic factions, all of which contributed to the shaping of Somalia's political landscape.

Barre's socialist policies included nationalizing industries, implementing land reforms, and providing free education and healthcare to the population. However, his authoritarian rule and suppression of political dissent led to widespread discontent and opposition within the country. Throughout Somalia's history, one significant factor influencing national politics since independence has been irredentist efforts to reunite the "lost" Somali lands (Bradbury, 1994, p. 65). Another significant event contributing to the dispersal of the Somalis was the Ethiopian-Somali war of 1977–78. In order to reclaim territories and populations that a

colonial treaty had detached from the Somali state, Siad Barre initiated a military incursion into the Ogaden area of Ethiopia. However, Somalia suffered a significant defeat when the Soviet Union altered its allegiance and provided support to Ethiopia during the conflict. In 1988, Ethiopia and Somalia reached a peace accord, but tensions flared when the Somali National Movement (SNM) opposed Barre's dictatorship, leading to a civil war.

The Somali National Movement (SNM) launched a military operation in the country's northwest region in May 1988, which marked the beginning of Somalia's disintegration. Many regard the government's response to the Isaaq clan in the northwest region as a genocidal campaign. This led to the displacement of approximately half a million refugees who sought sanctuary in Ethiopia. Western donors provided aid, leading to the emergence of numerous other liberation fronts rooted in clan affiliations. In January 1991, the United Somali Congress (USC) successfully ousted the dictatorship in Mogadishu. However, enduring clan rivalries and limited political vision within the various military organizations operating in the country hindered efforts to establish a government of national unity.



2.1. History of exile and immigration of Somali refugees to neighboring countries and oversees

The 19th century saw the beginning of one of the earliest waves of Somali migration, when nomadic Somali herders moved south in search of grazing grounds. Enhanced accessibility to resources and economic prospects were the primary reasons for this migratory phenomenon. Consequently, Somali communities have successfully established their presence in several regions of Africa, thereby producing diaspora communities across the continent.

Ibrahim et al. stated that Somalis' dispersal occurred in several waves (Haji-Abdi, 2013, p. 43). The initial wave began during the European colonization of the Horn of Africa, during which many Somali men worked with British navy ships and subsequently settled in port cities in Britain. These early Somali migrants faced numerous obstacles to their integration, including language barriers and discrimination. However, their resilience and determination allowed them to establish vibrant Somali communities in these new cities, creating a sense of belonging and support for future generations.

After decolonization, Somalia has experienced multiple instances of migration and relocation due to its political instability, civil conflict, and environmental calamities. After the establishment of the Union of Islamic Courts and the rise of al-Shabaab, there have been two peaks in the migration of Somalis inside Africa: one in the late 1980s and early 1990s and another in the 2000s (Ibrahim et al., 2020). More than 300,000 people sought refuge in neighboring countries already in the 1980s. This conflict forced many to become refugees, fleeing to Ethiopia and Djibouti (Haji-Abdi, 2013, p. 44).

The third wave of Somali dispersal occurred when the Somali government collapsed, plunging the nation into severe violence and political instability. Military campaigns in 1991 resulted in a scorched earth policy, devastating Somali infrastructure and causing a surge in internal and external refugee migrations. The civil war ultimately displaced over 1 million people, both within the country and externally. Many fled to countries nearby, like Kenya and Ethiopia, while others looked for refuge in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe. The displacement of such a large number of people had a profound impact on the social fabric and economy of Somalia.

Kenya, Ethiopia, Yemen, and Uganda have emerged as primary host countries for Somali refugees. According to the UNHCR, Uganda houses the largest number of refugees in

Africa, with approximately 70,020 Somali refugees (UNHCR, 2023). Host country governments in Africa, such as South Africa, Kenya, and Tanzania, have implemented immigration policies directed at Somali migrants (Ibrahim et al., 2020). The burden of hosting refugees strained the resources and infrastructure of neighboring countries, leading to additional challenges in providing adequate support and services to both the displaced population and their host communities. The civil war in Somalia also exacerbated the already fragile humanitarian situation in the region, with widespread famine and a lack of basic necessities. International aid organizations struggled to provide assistance to the growing number of displaced people, further straining resources in neighboring countries.

Refugees in these African host countries often face challenges such as restricted freedom of movement and limited work opportunities. Despite these difficulties, refugees in Uganda have access to farmland and social connections that enable them to engage in trade and establish businesses, setting an encouraging example for other nations to follow (Hammond, 2014, p. 12). This access to farmland and social connections not only helps refugees in Uganda become self-reliant but also contributes to the host country's economic development. Additionally, the Ugandan government has implemented progressive policies that support refugee integration and provide them with basic services, such as education and healthcare, further enhancing their ability to rebuild their lives.

A factor that draws refugees to Uganda is the provision of assistance without suspicion or excessive interrogation. The individuals in question are provided with housing, access to cost-free educational opportunities for their offspring, the ability to engage in employment, and the opportunity to cultivate a small plot of land for agricultural purposes. Uganda has emerged as the most favorable and compassionate host country for Somali refugees, as well as several other refugees from African and Arab nations (Abdillahi, 2018, p. 32).

Yemen emerged as an additional destination for Somali refugees because of its proximity to Somalia via maritime routes. Before the attainment of independence by Somalia, a historical connection has consistently existed between the Somali and Yemeni populations. Given the historical context of British control over both countries, the movement and business interactions between them have consistently exhibited positive dynamics.

During the period when both countries were under British control, the Somali and Yemeni populations established a historical connection. This shared history has fostered a

positive relationship, leading to increased movement and business interactions between the two countries. As a result, Yemen became an attractive destination for Somali refugees seeking safety and opportunities for a better life. The civil war in Somalia led to a significant increase in the number of boats crossing into Yemen. In just one year, from 1991 to 1992, Yemen's refugee population more than doubled, with 30,000 to 60,000 people seeking refuge in the country. Unfortunately, this marked the beginning of a tragic tale where thousands of people lost their lives by drowning or falling prey to unscrupulous smugglers (Hammond, 2014, p. 4).

Presently, Yemen is home to approximately 63,803 Somali refugees; however, their lives have become even more challenging because of the civil war in Yemen since 2015. Most Somali refugees have sought shelter in Aden and Sanaa. However, the ongoing conflict has disrupted the delivery of humanitarian aid and essential services, putting many refugees at risk of violence and displacement. For both locals and Somali refugees, the Yemeni civil conflict has resulted in worsening living circumstances and restricted access to needs including food, water, and medical treatment. Additionally, the conflict has created a power vacuum that has allowed extremist groups to thrive, further exacerbating the security situation in the country.

Kenya has accommodated the largest number of Somali refugees since the 1990s. Before March 1991, approximately 30,000 refugees had found sanctuary in Kenya. However, in less than a year, this figure shot up to about 300,000. Concerns about internal security prompted Kenyan authorities to set up camps for refugees near the Somali border and along the coast (Hammond, 2014, p. 5).

In 1991, refugees fled the civil conflict in Somalia and arrived in Kenya, where they established the first camp known as Dadaab. Emergency conditions persisted in the camps until 1993, with widespread hunger and outbreaks of diseases such as measles and cholera, which claimed the lives of many already weakened refugees (Hammond, 2014, p. 5)

2.1.1 Somali Refugee Wave Beginning in 2009

In 2009, a significant influx of migrants occurred, with over 130,000 people escaping drought and starvation in southern Somalia and seeking refuge in Kenya (UNHCR Kenya, 2011). The Kenyan government has largely taken a passive approach to providing aid to

refugees, relying on intergovernmental and humanitarian organizations to manage the situation. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has taken the lead in assisting Kenya in addressing the challenges posed by the refugee crisis (Aronson, 2011, p. 2).

Dadaab, the largest refugee camp in Kenya, has a troubling history of insecurity, including reports of banditry, sexual assault, and attacks on humanitarian workers and refugees (Kenya's Repatriation Program and the Impact on Somali Refugees, n. d.). Overall conditions for refugees in the camps and across Kenya have deteriorated significantly in recent years. Remarkably, until 2006 Kenya lacked state legislation specifically addressing refugee affairs, despite being a signatory to various international conventions, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention and the UN Conventions of 1951 and 1969 (Lindley, 2011, p. 20). This legal gap has left refugees vulnerable to mistreatment inconsistent with internationally recognized protection norms.

The state's interest in addressing refugee issues, particularly those related to protection and essential services like health and education, remains inadequate, despite an increase in the number of refugees under the Kenyan government's protection program (Kenya's Repatriation Program and the Impact on Somali Refugees, n. d.). The insecurity of camps in Kenya has been criticized; specifically, Dadaab and Kakuma have been plagued by it since their inception, drawing global attention due to reports of sexual violence and rape, as highlighted in a Human Rights Watch report by Aronson (2011). Osman also stated that the two largest refugee camps in Kenya are facing overcrowding and safety concerns, with no comprehensive plan in place to accommodate the expected relocation of tens of thousands of people (Kenya's Repatriation Program and the Impact on Somali Refugees, n. d.). The lack of a comprehensive plan to address the overcrowding and safety concerns in Dadaab and Kakuma is particularly concerning, as it puts the already vulnerable refugee population at even greater risk.

Al-Shabaab, a Somali extremist organization, has targeted Kenya in recent years due to the deployment of its military forces in Somalia. According to DW (2017), the Kenyan government has levied allegations against the Dadaab camp, asserting that it serves as a training facility and sanctuary for terrorist organizations (Kenya's Repatriation Program and the Impact on Somali Refugees, n. d.). Consequently, the government declared its intention to close the camp and repatriate the refugees to Somalia.

This decision has sparked controversy and raised concerns among human rights organizations and refugee advocates. Human rights organizations and refugee advocates argued that closing the camp and repatriating the refugees could jeopardize their lives, given the ongoing violence and instability in Somalia. In addition, there are concerns about the feasibility of repatriation, as many of the refugees have been living in Dadaab for years and have established their lives there. Nevertheless, the Kenyan government has been unable to provide any substantiating proof for its assertions, resulting in the dismissal of its proposal by the High Court of Kenya. Following the government's declaration, a portion of the Somali refugee population made a voluntary decision to return to their home country. However, a significant number of individuals who lacked financial resources remained in the camp.

These individuals face numerous challenges, including limited access to basic necessities such as food, clean water, and health care. In addition, the prolonged stay in the camp has led to a loss of hope for a better future, as they are unable to work or pursue educational opportunities.

According to the latest data from the UNHCR, there are currently 324,130 registered Somali refugees and asylum seekers living in camps in Kenya (UNHCR, Kenya, 2023). In 2015, Kenya initiated a voluntary repatriation program for Somali refugees. The program assisted refugees who wanted to return to Somalia. However, due to ongoing conflict and insecurity in Somalia, many refugees have chosen to remain in camps in Kenya (UNHCR, Kenya, 2015).

The context of Somali refugees in Kenya also explores the issue of repatriation and local integration. A previous study assessed the challenges of voluntary repatriation and the prospects of local integration for Somali refugees in Kenya (Peter et al., 2020). The study posited that pursuing all available options concurrently would yield optimal results, as no single refugee solution is adequate (Peter et al., 2020, p. 121).

Table 3: Somali refugee population in the neighboring countries

Host Country	Somali Refugee Population, 31 December 2023
Ethiopia	311,512
Kenya	290,635
Yemen	45,769
Uganda	51,845
Total	699,761

Source: UNHCR, December 31, 2023

2.1.2 Somali Refugees in Europe

Since the onset of the civil war, numerous individuals have fled the country, seeking refuge in neighboring nations such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti, and Yemen. Others have resettled in European countries or undertaken perilous sea crossings to escape instability and conflict. Many Somali individuals have also emigrated for education or employment opportunities abroad. Significant numbers of Somali immigrants and refugees are present in Europe. According to Eurostat, as of 2020, approximately 1.3 million Somali immigrants and refugees reside in various European countries. This population has sought refuge in Europe because of factors such as political instability, economic opportunities, and family reunification. The Somali diaspora has also traveled to countries including Australia, the United States, and Canada (Armandaru & Kurnia, 2022, p. 368).

In the states such as Columbus, Ohio, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, there are significant populations of Somali refugees and immigrants in the United States.

Somali refugees face significant challenges during resettlement in new countries, including social exclusion, unemployment, discrimination, and racism (Betancourt et al., 2015, p. 2). These diaspora communities have faced numerous challenges in adapting to their new environments, including language barriers, discrimination, and cultural assimilation. Despite these obstacles, they have managed to preserve their Somali identity through various means, such as maintaining strong ties with their homeland, organizing cultural events and celebrations, and passing down traditions to younger generations. In addition, the formation of

new networks and communities has not only provided support and solidarity but also allowed for the exchange of ideas and resources that contribute to the development of a borderless community.

Abdi (2015) conducted a study on the Somali diaspora, emphasizing the significant influence a crisis-ridden state has on its citizens. She emphasizes that when a country faces turmoil, its people inevitably bear the brunt of the consequences (Abdi, 2015, p. 31). This study delves into the experiences of the Somali diaspora, including refugees and immigrants who departed their homeland in search of a new life, shedding light on the transformations that have occurred across borders.

Abdi argues that the Somali diaspora has not only experienced physical displacement but also a profound transformation of their cultural and religious identities. Through interviews and personal narratives, she reveals how the diaspora has navigated the challenges of assimilation while striving to maintain their Somali heritage. In addition, Abdi explores how these individuals have formed new networks and communities, creating a borderless Muslim identity that transcends national boundaries.

The table shows the Somali immigrants in Europe, where the most populated is the United Kingdom.

Table 4: Somali population in Europe

Country	Population
UK	176,000
Sweden	70,170
Norway	43,465
Netherlands	39,465
Germany	38,675

2.1.3 Somali Labor Migration

Apart from refugees, Somali people also engaged in labor migration. According to Haji-Abdi's research in 2014, Somali labor migration outside the country occurred in three distinct waves (Haji-Abdi, 2014, p. 4). The first wave involved people migrating to the Arabian Gulf for religious, employment, and business purposes. The second wave consisted of those emigrating to the West for educational and professional advancement. The third wave

included migration to various parts of the globe as a result of civil conflict and political pressures.

These migratory waves have profoundly impacted the Somali diaspora, shaping their lives and influencing their assimilation into new countries.

The varied experiences and paths of Somali migrants worldwide are a result of the opportunities and challenges that each wave of migration brought with it. These diaspora communities have played a crucial role in supporting their fellow Somalis back home through remittances and providing a network of support for those seeking refuge or economic stability abroad.

2.2. History of the exile and settlement of Somali refugees in Ethiopia and Great Britain

Somali refugee settlements in Ethiopia date back to the 1991 Somali Civil War, which led to the displacement of thousands of Somalis. Many of these refugees sought safety and shelter in neighboring countries, including Ethiopia (Peter et al., 2020, p. 120). The Somali refugees in Ethiopia reside in camps close to Jijiga, the Somali region of Ethiopia, and near the border between Somalia and Ethiopia.

Ethiopia hosts the third-largest number of refugees in Africa, sheltering over 942,792 refugees (UNHCR Ethiopia, 2023). The majority of refugees are from Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Yemen, and Sudan and have left their countries due to extended crises, famine, instability, forced military recruitment, and repression.

The first major wave of Somali refugees in Ethiopia arrived after the collapse of the government. Thousands of people have moved to Ethiopia since 1991, running away from civil war, humanitarian crises, and political instability. Owing to the effects of continued insecurity in Somalia, famine, and drought, the number of Somali refugees entering Ethiopia surged substantially. As of 1991, Ethiopia had registered a total of 628,526 refugees, with the majority originating from Somaliland and other northern regions of Somalia and escaping the early conflicts in their homeland. Nine camps, primarily organized according to clan affiliations, provided assistance to these refugees, while smaller groups chose to settle independently within local communities (UNHCR).

The second wave of Somali refugees came in 2006, after the Islamic Courts Union took control of most parts of Somalia, resulting in additional violence and displacement. Since April 2006, the UNHCR has documented a consistent flow of Somali refugees entering eastern Ethiopia. This has increased the overall number of new asylum seekers to approximately 23,000. In eastern Ethiopia, alongside the 4,000 recognized refugees and 7,000 individuals seeking asylum, there are also numerous Somalis residing in remote and challenging-to-reach border regions such as Dolo and Suftu in the southeastern part of Ethiopia (UNHCR). For these conflicting reasons, environmental crises have contributed to refugee issues.

In 2011, Somalia experienced massive droughts and famines, which led to a large number of people fleeing and searching for food and water. According to the UNHCR, more than 180,000 people cross the border with Ethiopia.

Ethiopia allows refugees to enter the region and provides them with some degree of protection. The Ethiopian government and the UNHCR have established several camps to resettle refugees across the country. Eight camps have been established in the Somali region of Ethiopia to support Somali refugees: three camps, located in Jijiga (Aw-bare, Sheder, and Kaebribeyah), have a population of 46,019, while five camps, located in Dollo Ado (Malkadida, Kobe, Buramino, Hilaweyn, and Bokolmayo), have a population of 205,087, with approximately 1,161 residents in Addis Ababa (UNHCR, 2023). The majority of Melkadida's inhabitants have resided there for over a decade. Jijiga's refugee population consists of both those who arrived between 2006 and 2008 and those who applied for asylum in Ethiopia in the early 1990s.

The continuous influx of refugees has overcrowded some camps, leaving them with limited housing, water, and sanitation facilities. Humanitarian organizations have provided food and other essential items to refugees. According to Human Rights Watch, conditions in camps have been "dire," with refugees confronting insufficient healthcare, poor cleanliness, and restricted educational possibilities. In order to create a range of programs that would address the social and economic needs of host communities and refugees, UNHCR Ethiopia collaborated with the Ethiopian government, various humanitarian organizations, development actors, donor agencies, and the commercial sector.

As previously mentioned, international organizations prioritize three long-term solutions to the refugee issue: resettlement, local integration, and voluntary repatriation. One of the three "durable solutions" to the refugee problem that international organizations prioritize is the resettlement of refugees in nations that show a willingness to accept them. Resettlement fulfills three significant roles: offering international protection in instances where fundamental human rights are at risk, ensuring a promising future for refugees, and fostering worldwide solidarity to mitigate the strain on initial host countries. Nevertheless, resettlement is not inherently a right but rather a measure that primarily serves individuals who are most in need. To qualify for resettlement, individuals must satisfy specific criteria and fall into specific submission categories. These categories include diverse situations, such as the need for legal and physical protection, support for those who survived of abuse and violence, medical needs, risks faced by women and girls, family reunification, challenges for children and adolescents, and the lack of feasible alternative durable solutions.

2.2.1 An overview of the history of immigrants and refugees in the UK

Several migration waves have influenced the historical narrative of immigrants in the UK, each playing a role in the socio-economic structure of the country. The early post-war period signified a notable transformation in the demographic landscape, especially with the influx of immigrants from Commonwealth nations, particularly the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean (Green, 2007, p. 4). Green emphasizes that from the 1950s to the 1970s, these groups constituted the core of the immigrant population. The British Nationality Act of 1948 was significant in that it created an inclusive definition of British citizenship that prioritized Commonwealth nationals, effectively marginalizing the citizenship issue in political discussions. The historical framework established the foundation for the current immigrant landscape, characterized by substantial inflows from various nationalities, especially after the EU enlargement in 2004.

As immigration patterns evolved, so too did the perceptions of national identity and equality among immigrant communities. Reid (2013) discusses the transformation of Britain into an 'immigrant-receiving society' over the past three decades—a shift that has elicited strong public reactions. The demographic changes, particularly the rapid growth of the South Asian population, have raised concerns about national identity and equality, as evidenced by

public polls indicating widespread apprehension regarding immigration levels (Reid, 2013, p. 19). Reid's analysis underscores the implications of these demographic shifts, revealing a complex interplay between immigration, public perception, and identity in contemporary Britain.

Recent years have seen increased scrutiny of the economic implications of immigration. Fingleton et al. (2020) examine the effects of immigration on local employment, positing that migrants significantly contribute to labor market efficiency by addressing regional labor shortages. Their results go against the common belief that immigration doesn't have much of an effect on employment. This suggests that current research may not take into account important regional differences and the unique historical context of immigration in the UK (Fingleton et al., 2020, p. 15). The authors highlight the importance of addressing public concerns regarding immigration, especially considering the regional differences in attitudes toward immigrants and the economic advantages they provide.

2.2.2 History of Somali immigrants to the UK

The history of Somali immigrants in the UK dates back to the end of the 19th century, when immigrants were initially merchants, seamen, and students. Those Somali immigrants came from the British Somaliland protectorate during the British colonial period, which was of strategic importance to the British Empire, particularly in terms of maritime routes. British ports recruited Somali men from the British Somaliland Protectorate to work as seamen (Lewis, 1994, p. 185). During the colonial era, many Somalilanders traveled to the United Kingdom to further their education. These Somali immigrants became the first Somali community to settle in Cardiff, London, and Liverpool (Hammond, 2013, p. 1006).

Jordan (2008) conducted a study with Somali elderly men in the UK who resided in Wales and arrived there between 1937 and 1961. These men left their nation, which was then a British colony, with the intention of making some money and then going back home, but things rarely went as planned. Due to British immigration policies, Somali men began arriving in the UK 100 years before women did. They arrived as economic migrants, lacking the right to bring their families, as their labor was sought but not their families. They worked in heavy industries, such as ports, mines, and steel factories. Many suffered severe injuries as a result

of the harsh manual labor they performed (Jordan, 2008, p. 161). These Somali men faced challenges such as racism, discrimination, and religious persecution in the UK, but they persevered and established a community. Over time, their presence in the UK became more permanent as they began to settle. The first Somali women arrived in the 1970s with the granting of permissions for family reunions (Jordan, 2008, p. 174).

The dynamics of migration shifted significantly in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a result of the civil war in Somalia. This period saw a large influx of refugees and asylum seekers from Somalia, particularly from the northeastern and southern regions, as the state collapsed in 1991. This migration wave included a notable increase in female-headed households among the Somali community in the UK (Hammond, 2013, p. 1005). The Somali community in the UK has grown to become the largest and longest-established Somali diaspora in Europe as more individuals sought refuge and opportunities for a better living. The community has since become well integrated into British society, contributing to various sectors such as business, education, and health care. Despite facing challenges such as discrimination and cultural adjustment, the Somali diaspora in the UK continues to thrive and maintain strong ties to their homeland.

2.2.3 Refugees in International Law and Policies in Ethiopia and the UK

The Geneva Refugee Convention internationally acknowledged the refugee protection principle in 1951 (Kirişçi 2001). However, understanding and delivery of protection is complex and situation-specific.

Implemented in both countries and internationally, the refugee policy serves as the internationally standard law for refugee rights. This policy is based on the protection, rights, and settlement of refugees. The refugee situation in international agreements has changed significantly since the establishment of the International Refugee Law.

Article 1(A)(2) of the 1951 Convention defines a "refugee" as an individual who is "outside the country of his nationality because of events occurring before January 1, 1951, and caused by a legitimate fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a specific social group, or political beliefs and is unable or, because of such fear, is afraid to seek the protection of that nation; or who, lacking a nationality, is being ousted" (UNCHR, 2010, p. 14).

Another element of the 1951 Convention is the principle of non-refoulement, which prohibits returning refugees to countries where they have faced persecution and oppression. International refugee law is based on this well-accepted notion. The two most significant legislative documents on refugee protection are the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol. The convention outlines the rights and responsibilities of both nations and refugees. These documents affirm the right of refugees to seek asylum and protect them from returning to a place where their freedom or life is at risk. States must grant refugees access to fundamental rights like job opportunities, healthcare, and education.

International agreements that have changed the treatment of refugees have better protected their rights. " The Convention, in effect since 1954, remains vital to the protection efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and is the most widely ratified treaty concerning refugees." (Goodwin-Gill, 2008, P.1). Furthermore, the convention ensures access to protection, housing, citizenship, sustenance, employment, identification documents, and fundamental human rights. Goodwin-Gill (2008) contends that the Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees has greatly impacted global refugees. The Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees have greatly impacted global protection of refugees. The legal framework established by these instruments, including the definition of refugee rights and the obligations of states, has contributed to the development of a comprehensive framework for refugee protection. Additionally, Goodwin-Gill (2008) emphasized the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in providing guidance, supervising the application of the provisions, and promoting solutions for refugees in cooperation with states and other international organizations (Goodwin-Gill, 2008, p. 8).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) holds an important position in the Convention and Protocol Concerning the Status of Refugees. The UNHCR is in charge of ensuring that states follow the Convention and Protocol and of fighting for the rights of refugees everywhere. It provides essential support to states in developing and implementing national asylum systems, as well as assisting in the resettlement and repatriation of refugees. Additionally, the UNHCR works closely with states and other international organizations to address the root causes of displacement and find durable solutions for refugees. This includes advocating for peace, stability, and human rights in

countries of origin and supporting development initiatives that can help prevent future displacement. Through these efforts, the UNHCR strives to protect the rights and well-being of refugees and contribute to global peace and security.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Review of empirical literature refugee settlement and adaptation literature

The literature studies refugees in Northern countries within the framework of immigration studies, making little distinction between skilled and unskilled labor migration. Researchers study the refugees in the southern countries through the lens of moral humanitarianism, drawing heavily from the practical experiences of INGO workers and medical professionals. Generally, international relations studies, not migration studies or comparative politics, focus on the refugees from Southern countries. We will examine the empirical literature on refugees that addresses various material and non-material problems of settlement and adaptation of refugees. In addition, we will examine how policies and interventions affect refugee well-being and integration in host countries. Çelik states that "the literature on refugee immigration prioritizes the causes and political conditions of immigration over adaptation" (Çelik, 2021, p. 169; UNHCR 2013). Implicitly, this literature emphasizes refugee agency, response, and experiences and accepts that it is ultimately the responsibility of refugees to adapt.

Current research is frequently focused on policy implications but lack robust concepts (Hynie 2018). For example, consider the legal framework of the asylum system. Critics have pointed out that asylum systems complicate the integration process for refugees. In rural areas with limited facilities, asylum centers may detain or house asylum seekers (Bakker et al. 2016). Asylum seekers frequently experience prolonged periods of waiting for a determination or remain unnoticed until the denial of their claim. In Sweden, the longer prolonged the refugees' wait for a resolution about their case, the harder it is for them to find work.

Restrictive asylum policies in the UK have an influence on integration outcomes,, particularly regarding the UK government's propensity to grant temporary refugee status, which typically lasts for 5 years. These approaches leverage the psychological harm linked to prolonged delays in asylum determinations, thus perpetuating a condition of violent uncertainty for refugees (Grace et al. 2017). The rise in temporariness correlates with uncertainty, posing a particular challenge for spontaneous refugees. They are required to

reapply for status after 3–5 years, fulfill specific interim milestones, such as achieving language proficiency and maintaining a clean criminal record, and incur the expenses associated with a new application (Stewart and Mulvey, 2013, p. 1031). Conversely, resettlement refugees arrive with a pre-established case and typically obtain permanent status. Low-income individuals can access a range of welfare services, including housing and education, rather than struggling to maintain their status with minimal support over extended periods.

The state's planning of resettlement can be discriminatory for female refugees, as states consider the possible economic burden of female refugees with children when choosing candidates for resettlement. Pittaway and Bartolomei (2001) highlighted a prevailing preference in resettlement countries for households with a male leader, often overlooking single women with extensive families due to concerns about potential economic burdens on the host country (Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2001, p. 8).

Another policy relevant for Northern countries is family union. Phillimore et al. (2023), conducting a comprehensive scoping survey of scholarly and policy literature, stressed the need for comprehensive policies supporting family reunification. The authors recommend that policymakers and service providers recognize the distinctive needs and experiences of refugee women, who may encounter different challenges compared to male refugees. They advocate for addressing structural barriers that impede refugee women's access to employment and other resources. Economic policies for refugee settlement must address both economic and social factors for successful adaptation and integration. Zhu et al. (2023) investigated the economic impact of providing agricultural land to refugees. Their study demonstrated that allocating agricultural land significantly improved the welfare and self-reliance of refugees. Additionally, access to land not only enhanced economic well-being but also fostered a sense of belonging and stability within new communities. Tang and O'Brien (1990) explored the correlates of vocational success in the work adaptations of refugees. Their examination of the impact of status inconsistency on work performance highlighted the importance of understanding factors contributing to successful work adaptation among refugees. Tang and O'Brien's study highlights the significance of addressing status inconsistency and its impact on work performance, emphasizing the need for tailored support and interventions to enhance vocational success in refugee populations.

Additionally, limited access to healthcare for female refugees exposes them to health risks, making them more vulnerable to diseases (Rajaratnam & Azman, 2022). Such constraints on healthcare access can lead to higher rates of maternal mortality and childbirth complications, impacting not only the well-being of the women themselves but also having lasting consequences for their families and communities (Rajaratnam & Azman, 2022).

The state policies must encompass the treatment of psychological issues in settlement and adaptation in addition to solutions to economic problems. Marshall (1995) contends that whether occurring prior to, during, or after their escape, sexual abuse and exploitation are distressingly common occurrences for female refugees residing in or who have resided in camps. These traumatic incidents exacerbate the vulnerability and marginalization experienced by Somali female refugees. Siddiq et al. (2022) performed an integrated assessment of community-based mental health therapies for resettled refugees from Muslim-majority nations. Their findings indicated positive outcomes in terms of reducing traumatic stress and anxiety when interventions targeted culturally homogeneous refugee groups. McMichael et al. (2014) underscored the significance of longitudinal research in studying refugee settlements, emphasizing its potential to furnish an extensive comprehension of refugee experiences over time and contribute to the development of effective settlement strategies.

Hatoss and Huijser (2010) say education holds paramount importance in the resettlement process of Sudanese refugees in Australia, particularly for women. Perry and Mallozzi (2011) and Crea & McFarland (2015) highlight that female refugees face a major challenge of limited access to education. However, insufficient financial resources, prevailing cultural norms, and security concerns occasionally withhold educational prospects for immigrant females. Many female refugees experience interruptions or restrictions in their schooling, often due to factors such as early marriage, household responsibilities, or the necessity to contribute to their family's income. Cultural norms and societal expectations further exacerbate the gender gap in education, with a tendency to prioritize boys' education over girls. This educational gap contributes to stereotypes and perceptions of refugees as uneducated or illiterate (Perry & Mallozzi, 2011). Upon settling in Western countries, Somali refugees encounter additional challenges, as investigated in research looking at young Somali refugees' school experiences in Canada. This research underscores the importance of

understanding the pre-migration experiences of these students, including their time in refugee camps, to provide appropriate support and address their unique needs (Ayoub and Zhoi, 2016). Disruptions in educational opportunities, along with hardships, further compound these challenges. Refugee NGOs and community-based organizations play a crucial role in empowering female refugees by providing tailored support, resources, and services. Arts-based workshops and creative interventions have also proven effective in empowering refugee women and girls, offering them a platform for self-expression and agency (Skyrme & Hogan, 2023).

The literature on Third World countries highlights the significant challenges faced by refugee women, which include limited access to education and healthcare, gender-based violence, exploitation, and trafficking (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001, p. 27). The study highlights that women struggle to transition from a state of protecting their "bare lives" to a state of "making a life," which encompasses issues of emancipation, identity, education, and future plans within the context of Southern refugee experiences. Abdi (2007) conducted a study on Somali women refugees, exploring the profound impact of civil war and religious rights on their lives. She contends that the conditions in refugee camps did not provide better safety compared to the situations in which they had fled. In these circumstances, no woman, regardless of age, was secure, highlighting the critical vulnerability and need for protection among women (Abdi, 2007, p. 192). Schmiechen (2003) argues that refugee camps exhibit a disproportionate number of women compared to men, as conflicts or disappearances of males in the family result in women assuming increased risks and challenges. This gender disparity in refugee camps can lead to increased vulnerability for women, who may face heightened risks of exploitation and violence. Cultural norms and societal expectations that place blame on victims rather than perpetrators exacerbate the fear of social stigma (Schmiechen, 2003, p. 492).

Refugees' circumstances and cultural backgrounds influence the gender-based violence they face. Female refugees are at risk of facing gender-based violence, including assault and domestic abuse, sexual abuse, and human trafficking within refugee camps or host communities where they seek refuge or temporarily reside (Global Trends, Forced Displacement, 2019). Finding safe and secure shelter can be a significant challenge for women refugees. Overcrowding and inadequate lighting and security measures in many

refugee camps expose women and girls to violence (UNICEF). Researchers note that destination nations often view refugee women as second-class citizens, subjecting them to both physical and sexual abuse (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001). Beswick (2001) identified two primary factors contributing to attacks on female refugees. Firstly, there is a shift in the foundational dynamics between men and women within foreign refugee camps. Secondly, the efficacy of laws and norms from the refugees' home countries diminishes, fostering an environment where violence against women becomes more prevalent. The breakdown of legal and societal frameworks from their home country can contribute to an atmosphere conducive to violence, thereby rendering women who seek refuge in other countries more susceptible to victimization (Beswick, 2007, p. 2).

Gebreiyosus (2014) conducted a study of African women refugees in the Mai Ayni Refugee Camp in Northern Ethiopia. He argues that female refugees the camp encounter several types of gender-based violence, encompassing sexual violence, physical violence, and psychological violence. He indicates the fundamental causes of gender-based violence against female refugees in the camp, including laziness, economic dependency, physical insecurity, lack of awareness, disintegration of social and familial institutions, inadequate reporting, coordination, and legal enforcement procedures. Furthermore, men's perception of 'loss of authority' in the camp undermines their identification as superior to women (Gebreiyosus, 2014, p. 76). However, some women face violence from members of international organizations, government police officers, military soldiers, rebels, and other refugees. Consequently, they possess minimal control over their treatment (Schmiechen, 2003, p. 2). Marshall (1995) points out the absence of adequate protection and support mechanisms in refugee camps as a factor that heightens their susceptibility to such abuses, perpetuating a cycle of violence and hopelessness. In addition, limited access to resources and language barriers contribute to the underreporting of domestic violence among refugee women.

In addition to gender-based violence, Abdi notes that Somali women encounter, both within and outside their country, social, political, and economic setbacks stemming from conflict and ongoing chaos in specific regions. Elnakib et al. (2021) conducted a study in the Kobe refugee camp in Ethiopia, demonstrating the prevalence of early marriage among Somali refugees. The research asserts that displacement, conflict, and poverty are pivotal risk factors contributing to child marriage in this context. Limited income and resources render

female-headed households particularly susceptible to such practices. The study underscores the necessity for targeted interventions addressing child marriage in humanitarian settings, emphasizing the detrimental impact on the social and public health of young women and their offspring (Elnakib et al., 2021, p. 8).

Similarly, a qualitative study in Dollo Ado, specifically in the Melkadida refugee camp in Ethiopia, examined the negative impacts of child and forced marriage on health. This analysis revealed correlations between marital practices, intimate partner violence (IPV), and displacement-related issues among Somali refugees in Ethiopia (Sharma et al., 2020, p. 5). We identified conflicts and humanitarian crises as factors influencing decision-making regarding marriage and the risk of IPV for displaced populations. The study aimed to comprehend the intricate interactions leading to IPV and guide effective interventions. Notably, elements associated with displacement, such as awareness campaigns by NGOs and Ethiopian legislation, played a role in altering refugee marriage customs, resulting in a decrease in forced and underage marriages. Despite heightened risks of non-partner sexual violence and economic challenges, worsening economic conditions led to a decline in polygamy (Sharma et al., 2020, p. 8). Conflicted areas and displaced communities saw an increase in child marriage. Many female refugees became victims of forced marriage due to family financial circumstances, and families forced their daughters into early marriage. Child marriage can negatively impact girls' development, education, and career opportunities, leading to early pregnancies, social isolation, and domestic violence.

Another problem for female refugees in both Northern and Southern contexts is discrimination. Discrimination persists alongside family separation issues, with a lack of protection exacerbating the situation. Consequently, these factors make female refugees more financially dependent and prone to exploitation, dehumanization, and prejudice. A study focused on Somali adolescent refugees and found that social identity factors like acculturation and gender influence the link between discrimination and poorer mental health outcomes (Ellis et al., 2010).

Gebreiyosus (2014) suggests that humanitarian organizations and Governments can tackle gender-based violence in refugee camps through systematic follow-up measures in cases of gender-based violence, coordinating through health officers, UNHCR, and legal experts, ensuring ensuring that female refugees are informed of their legal rights and take

appropriate precautions prior to the occurrence of violence, establishing women's desks in police stations, providing treatment and support to victims of gender-based violence, and investigating the fundamental factors contributing to gender-based violence (Gebreiyosus, 2014, p. 75).

3.2 Review of Theoretical Literature on Refugee Settlement and Adaptation

Before reviewing the literature, we need to define the terms "settlement," "adaptation," and "integration." People viewed assimilation as a contradiction to human rights and multiculturalism, replacing it with integration, which recognizes everyone's right to learn their mother tongue and develop their ancestral culture. There is no universally accepted academic definition of integration, but it remains a dominant term in the field. In recent times, scholars have contended that integration presents challenges due to persistent politicization, the inclination of studies to emphasize practical outcomes, alongside a concentration on empirical research, particularly regarding specific determinants and outcomes (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2015; Spencer and Cooper 2006). "The EU definition states, 'Integration constitutes a dynamic, reciprocal process of mutual accommodation among all immigrants and residents' (EESC 2004; Brown and Bean 2006). Integration refers to the interaction with the host society and the subsequent social change resulting from immigration. This involves the adaptation of individuals or groups to the social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of a new society while also maintaining aspects of their original identity (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017, p. 179). In this sense, acculturation is a two-way process that involves both the immigrant population and the host society. This requires mutual understanding, compromise, and adaptation from both groups.

In this paper, we will not use the term assimilation, we will utilize the term adaptation to denote the same process and will use the terms integration, adaptation, and incorporation interchangeably, despite Schinkel's (2018)' argument that there is little difference between the use of integration and assimilation in the literature. In Sputter countries, settlements pose a significant challenge. Typically, settlement refers to the process of obtaining a migration status in the host country. However, irregular migrants in Northern countries and most refugees in Southern countries are considered "temporary." As a result, their settlement process may take more than ten years, and even then, they may not settle.

Theories of assimilation and integration primarily stem from studies involving immigrants and their children who came to the US to work. There are four approaches: classical assimilation theory, new assimilation theory, segmented assimilation theory, and comparative integration context theory. In the 1970s, researchers created the classical assimilation theory (CAT) and the new assimilation theory (NAT) to address issues with the CAT. The NAT excluded refugees in its model. Portes and Zhou (1993) developed the Segmented Assimilation Theory (SAT). It challenged previous assimilation theories that solely focused on second-generation immigrants. European scholars have formulated the Comparative Integration Context Theory (CICT), which examines how the European context affects the integration of the second generation. However, they rarely discuss refugees and their adaptation to the Global South. Most studies have considered immigrants and refugees as two different groups. The rise of nation-states and the collapse of empires correlate with the rise of refugees. These states created enemies within their borders, who fled abroad to survive. States created the term "refugee" as a bureaucratic label for political reasons. People perceive immigrants as economic migrants and refugees as political migrants. International relations, not sociology, primarily addresses the refugee issue (McKeown et al. 2016).

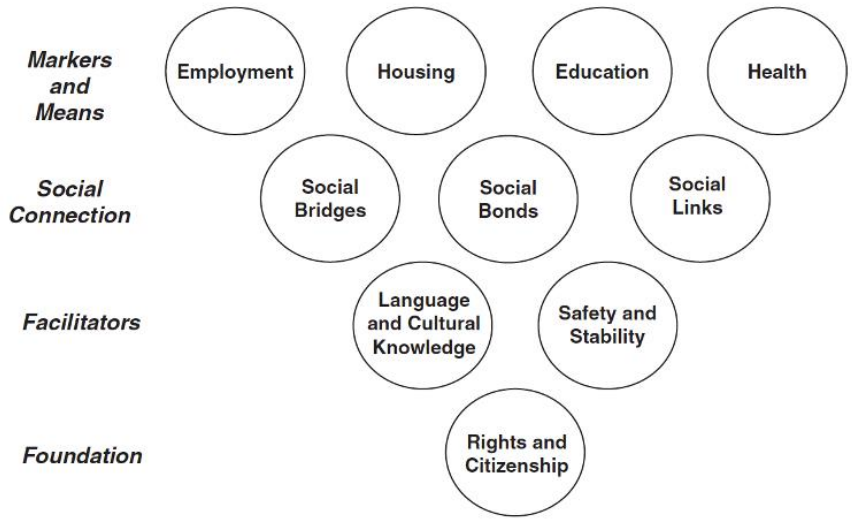
People come to a new country for economic reasons, whereas refugees come because of war. These different ideas about how long immigrants and refugees stay in their new countries have led to much research on how they adapt and help refugees. The depoliticization of refugee studies has arguably made it more difficult question the ethical consensus. Refugee protection consists of humanitarian and legal safeguards, advancing the field of refugee studies toward international law and relations. Çelik says that the focus of refugee studies is on humanitarian issues, so there is less attention on social, political, and economic factors that affect how refugees adapt to their new societies. Refugee studies focuses on the present, avoids politics, and prioritizes humanitarian concerns. However, the recent magnitude and duration of refugee movements have posed a challenge to this.

However, refugees are frequently not the consequence of transitory local conflicts.These changes often stem from long-term violent shifts in global power relations. For instance, the displacement of Palestinian and Afghan refugees has spanned over 50 years. These new factors allow refugees to stay in host societies, and sociologists are starting to study them. Researchers have conducted additional studies on the integration of refugees (refer to Krahn

et al. 2000; Yu et al. 2007; Bevelander and Pendakur 2014; Platts-Fowler and Robinson 2015; Teutsch 2017).

Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) established the refugee integration indicators framework for the UK Home Office, which has been widely adopted in Europe (Valenta and Bunar 2010), North America (Eby et al. 2011), Australia (Spaaij 2012), and China (Chen and Wang 2015) to assess integration outcomes, highlighting both individual and communal achievements of refugees. This framework delineates several integration domains: achievement and access in employment, housing, education, and health sectors; assumptions and practices concerning citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and among community groups; and structural barriers to such connection associated with language, culture, and the local environment (Ager and Strang 2008: 166). (Phillimore, 2020, p. 3) This model aims for policymakers and organizations to support refugees in becoming self-sufficient and contributing members of society (Ager and Strang, 2008). (see Figure 1).

Figure 2: Fields of integration

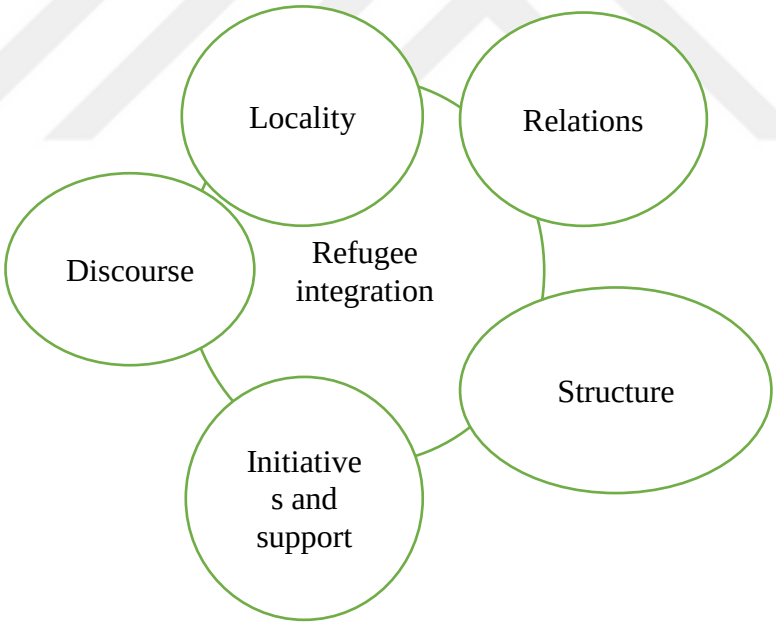


Source: Ager and Strang (2008) understanding integration: A conceptual framework

However, refugee and immigrant adaptation differ. The theory fails to consider the social, political, or economic context that integrates individuals or groups (Phillimore, 2020,

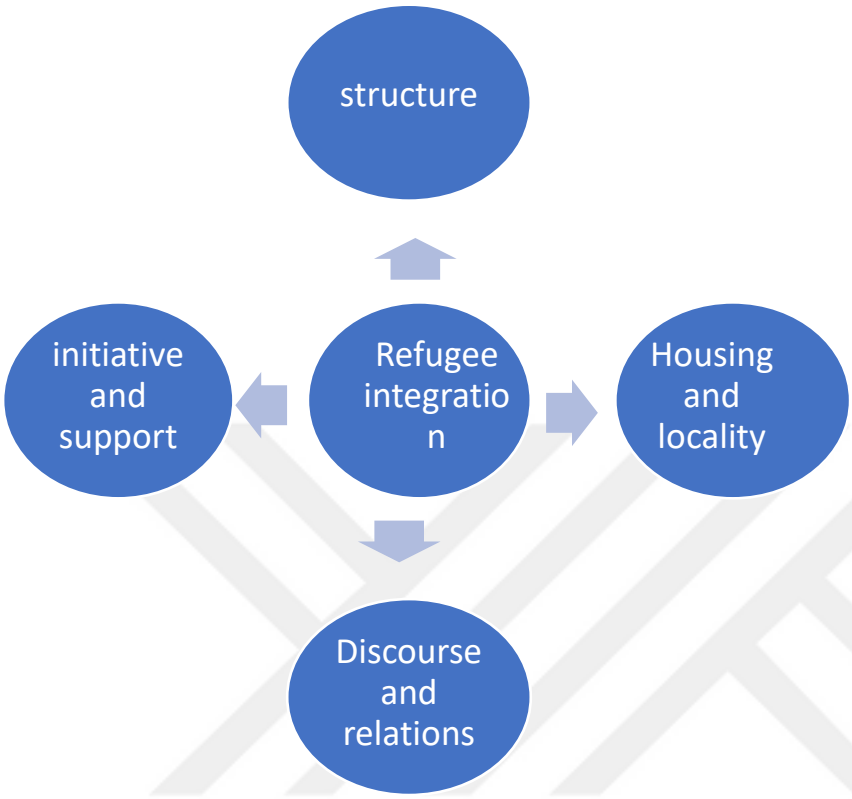
p. 6). Despite being a policy framework, it lacks political substance. This does not facilitate a systematic examination of the role of receiving societies in supporting and contextualizing integration (Phillimore 2021). While refugee initiatives and resilience are crucial, they may overburden individual refugees with excessive responsibility for settlement and adaptation. Phillimore outlines five domains of integration (see Figure 2) by combining Ager and Strang's (2008) domains approach with the idea of opportunity structures. He does this by putting together findings from previous research. These consist of locality, discourse regarding refugees, refugees' relations with host society, structure (legal framework and structural barriers and opportunities), and initiatives and support (programs and civil society initiatives). Figure 2 shows Phillimore's new model.

Figure 3: Refugee-Integration-Opportunity-Structures (Phillimore)



Although Phillimore primarily discusses refugees in Northern countries, we will revise these domains to be applicable in a Southern-Northern universal context, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Model of Refugee Integration



3.2.1 Structure

Structure stands for structural barriers and opportunities, as well as the legal framework for immigrant integration. Both migrant rights, status, and means and modes of settlement, such as employment, education, language learning, and cultural orientation, play a role in providing opportunities or removing barriers. In this model, we do not regard employment as a migrant's responsibility but focus on state employment policies for refugees. The same principles apply to housing, education, health, social bridge-forming, safety and stability, language training and cultural orientation, legal infrastructure, migrant status, and pathways to citizenship.

3.2.2. Locality and Housing

Under the heading of locality, we will delve into the processes of temporary and permanent accommodation, as well as local integration. The effectiveness of refugee settlements depends on factors such as coordination among stakeholders, funding availability, and the political will to support displaced populations.

Refugee settlement approaches vary in terms of support for self-reliance, governance structures, the temporary or permanent nature of shelters, freedom of movement, mode of assistance, and mode of governance (Idris, 2017, p. 3).

One approach to “temporary” refugee accommodation is founding camps. Turner (2016) stated that refugee camps are exceptional spaces created to manage populations that disrupt the national order. Despite their spatial and temporal boundaries, camps remain connected to their surrounding communities. (Turner, 2016, p. 142) challenges the notion of camps as purely temporary solutions, highlighting how they can become quasi-permanent and create a sense of uncertainty for both administrators and residents. Exploring the social dimensions of refugee camps, he emphasizing the impact of camp life on refugees' identities and social interactions. He underlines the complexities of refugee camps as spaces that not only affect the lives of those placed in them but also reflect broader issues of governance, humanitarianism, and social dynamics. This indeterminate temporariness creates a sense of limbo for refugees, where time seems to halt inside the camp while life continues outside (Turner, 2016, p. 142).

Hynman (1997) indicated that refugee camps are often more institutional than community-oriented, which can hinder the establishment of traditional community-based support systems. This institutionalization can impact the governance structures within the camps and limit refugees' autonomy and self-management. The involvement of organizations such as UNHCR and NGOs can influence power dynamics, decision-making processes, and resource allocation within the camps, potentially restricting refugees' agency and control over their lives (Hynman, 1997, p. 1). Hynman also highlights the gender implications of camp governance and the importance of promoting inclusive and participatory approaches that empower refugees, particularly women, to shape their futures within the camp setting (Hynman, 1997, p. 6).

Some settlements may focus on providing short-term aid and facilitating the eventual return of refugees to their home countries, while others aim to integrate refugees into the host community for long-term resettlement. Crisp (2004) discussed local settlement and integration as a sustainable resolution to refugee issues. He defines local integration as an approach that results in a sustainable resolution for refugees. It involves refugees becoming a part of the host community and society, with the potential to acquire citizenship in the country of

asylum. On the other hand, local settlement is a method of managing massive refugee flows (Crisp, 2004, p. 2). It focuses on providing temporary shelter, basic services, and protection for refugees within the host country's borders. The primary strategy for managing the mass refugee movement is local settlement. It involves providing refugees with land and resources to establish new settlements and engage in economic activities (Crisp, 2004, p. 3). This approach aims to promote self-reliance and decrease dependence on external aid. Settlement is different than local integration. Refugee local integration is a long-term process that goes beyond mere physical presence in a new country. It involves building relationships, acquiring language skills, finding employment, and engaging with the local culture to establish a sense of stability and belonging.

Local settlement does not involve the same level of integration in society as resettlement does. These domains provide a comprehensive framework for understanding and promoting the successful integration of refugees into the hosting communities.

3.2.3 Discourses and Relations

Under this heading, we will delve into the discourses surrounding refugees, their perception by the host society, and their interactions with it. Refugees perceive their racial and ethno-religious makeup, culture, and social networks as traits that determine their fit or not. However, we will argue that host-societal discourses and perceptions, along with refugee agency and dynamic social networks, in fact construct refugee identities. We will inquire how the process of settlement might establish a new sense of belonging in the new environment.

Social links support refugees in establishing links with organizations that can facilitate access to services, support, and opportunities for empowerment. For example, partnerships with local governments and international organizations can help refugees gain access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. By effectively connecting refugees to the resources and support systems available in their new environment, we can enhance the overall integration process (Binkert et al., 2021, p. 21).

Last, refugee social bridges refer to the relationships that connect different social groups, fostering interactions and exchanges between refugees and the host community. These bridges

can lead to increased cultural exchange, empathy, and collaboration, ultimately breaking down barriers and promoting social cohesion. Overall, social bridges play a crucial role in facilitating the integration of Somali refugees into their new communities (Jaji and Muhumad, 2023, p. 85). These connections help refugees navigate unfamiliar systems and access necessary services, ultimately promoting their well-being and successful integration.

3.2.4 Initiatives and Support

This section will examine various programs and support systems developed by the government and NGOs/INGOs. We regard migration as a matter of governance in which governments, host societies, INGOs, and refugees participate. Migration governance involves a complex interplay of policies, practices, and actors that shape the experiences of refugees in host countries.

Schiller, M. (2018) defines governance as an empirical occurrence and an analytical notion that involves the interaction and interrelationship of multiple autonomous but interdependent actors (Schiller, 2018, p. 2). Governance encompasses informal coalitions and formalized structural arrangements, such as partnerships, among state and non-state actors. The governance of refugee settlement and integration in the Third World necessitates robust collaboration between governments and INGOs, with funding from Northern states. Furthermore, the governance of migration involves both the migrants themselves and the host societies. For instance, unofficial programs in Ethiopia have assisted with the economic and social integration of Somali refugees into their new towns. They engage in business operations in neighborhood marketplaces, turning into clients and entrepreneurs. Many Somali refugees now consider these solutions—initiated by the host communities and refugees themselves—to be their lifeline, offering an alternative to Ethiopia's harsh encampment policy (Muhumed and Jaji, 2023, p. 83).

CHAPTER 4

A CASE STUDY OF SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION OF SOMALI FEMALE REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA (1991-2023)

This chapter examines refugee integration and the opportunities faced by Somali female refugees in Ethiopia from 1991 to 2023. We will analyze the modes of settlement and adaptation of Somali refugees through the four areas developed in the theoretical framework in Figure 3: structure, discourses and relations, perceptions, and initiatives and support.

4.1. Structure

Refugee integration in Ethiopia faces challenges despite recent efforts to revise refugee policies and integrate refugees into national systems. Muhumad and Jaji (2023) argued that the successful integration of refugees ultimately benefits both individuals and the host country as a whole. The ethnic similarities between the refugees and the host communities have facilitated this integration. However, legal integration is a challenge in the region. Muhumad and Jaji (2023) also highlighted the importance of addressing legal barriers and providing documentation for Somali refugees to fully integrate into Ethiopian society. This includes ensuring access to fundamental rights and services, including education and healthcare, which can further enhance their integration process. Additionally, creating opportunities for economic empowerment and job training can facilitate their successful integration into society.

Legal *Framework:*

The major convention that regulates refugees is the Geneva Convention, Relating to the Status of Refugees *(1951)*. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol are the most significant international legal instruments concerning refugee protection. The Convention signifies a refugee as an individual who has escaped their country of origin due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a specific social group, or political opinion. The Convention establishes the principle of non-refoulement, which forbids the return of refugees to a country that poses a threat to their life or freedom (UNHCR, 2010).

The first relevant legal framework for refugee settlement in Ethiopia was the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on Refugees (1969). The treaty aims to deter disruptive tendencies among migrants and stresses a humanitarian approach to resolving refugee issues. Additionally, it seeks to guarantee that refugees are not the target of discrimination because of their nationality, color, religion, political convictions, or membership in a particular social group. The convention also specifies procedures for cooperative efforts with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, voluntary repatriation, and dispute resolution (AOU Article V). Numerous international human rights treaties and resolutions aim to protect women and children during war and migration, such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325; the General Assembly Resolution 3318 (XXIX) adopted the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (1974); the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UNHCR developed policies on women refugees (UNHCR Policy on Refugee Women), which integrates the resources and needs of refugee women into programs. The Gender Equality Strategy 2018–2020 acknowledges the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and girls and calls for their participation in peace and security processes, as stated in Guidelines for the Protection of Women (1991). The High Commissioner's Five Commitments to Refugee Women, the UNHCR's effort to make age, gender, and diversity more important, the Executive Committee's Conclusion on Women at Risk, and the recent release of the UNHCR Handbook on the Protection of Women and Girls are some of the things that have made a big difference. These include more gender-sensitive decisions about refugee status, easier registration, more girls going to school, and easier access to reproductive health services. (Buscher, 2010, p. 7) The education of refugee children in host countries is also covered by Article 22(1) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which states, "The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education." (UNHCR, 2010, p. 24).

The Refugee Proclamation No. 1110/2019 has brought about significant changes in Ethiopia’s refugee policy, promoting expanded rights, access to employment, and educational opportunities for refugees. Ethiopia’s refugee proclamation and related directives provide a legal basis for refugees to access employment opportunities. Following the 2019

proclamation, refugees in Ethiopia gained access to a number of services that they were not previously able to, such as birth and death registration. Before this, the lack of birth certificates prevented refugees from registering their children for school. The National Refugee Proclamation No. 1110/2019 governs the legal recognition and documentation of refugees in Ethiopia, adhering to international refugee law principles that grant them specific rights and protections. Although refugees in Ethiopia do not automatically acquire citizenship, they may apply for the opportunities that the government provides through established legal procedures if they meet the eligibility criteria outlined in Ethiopian nationality laws (Seifu, 2020, p. 42).

However, there are substantive and procedural restrictions that may limit the employment options available to refugees, particularly those without specialized skills (Assefa, p. 49, 2020). These restrictions can hinder the self-reliance and integration of refugees into Ethiopian society, ultimately impacting their ability to rebuild their lives.

Furthermore, refugees integrating in Ethiopia were not granted equal rights, with some, such as Eritrean refugees, having access to work, while others were not allowed to do so. Ethiopia's refugee proclamation granted them the social services. However, "The 2019 new refugee law aims for a durable solution of local integration, but the lack of additional laws has led to slow implementation, causing many refugees, including Somalis, to lack work permits and national plans, limiting their access to services" (Jaji and Muhumed, 2023, p. 79).

In addition to international law, domestic refugee law in Ethiopia has emerged to protect the refugees. The Refugee Proclamation of 2019 in Ethiopia grants refugees the right to work, moving away from the previous strict encampment policy to reduce barriers to economic activities for refugees, promoting self-reliance, and reducing dependency on humanitarian aid. However, actual implementation faces challenges due to economic limitations in hosting areas, the need for broader systemic support to create job opportunities, restrictions on work permits, and limited opportunities for formal employment.

The proclamation of 2019 in Ethiopia also addressed access to education for refugees, ensuring that all refugee children have the opportunity to attend school and receive a quality education. To enable refugees to create better futures for themselves and their families, this program is essential, breaking the cycle of poverty and dependency.

A policy innovation is the Out-of-Camp Policy, which also aims to provide refugees with the freedom to seek employment outside of camps, but practical barriers hinder their ability to secure jobs (Muhumed, 2022, p. 19, unpublished article).

In 2021, Tekleselassie carried out a study on Somali and Tigrayan refugees participating in a program known as technical vocational and educational training (TVET). The program is educational training for vulnerable groups, particularly refugees and internally displaced persons. The report highlights that the TVET system in Ethiopia is not adequately inclusive or effective in addressing the needs of refugees and internally displaced persons. The study shows that female refugees, in particular, face lower employment prospects compared to their male counterparts. For instance, among the 2019 graduates, there were significantly more job openings for men (69%) than for women (35%), indicating a need for targeted support for women in the transition from training to employment (Tekleselassie, 2021, p. 27).

The government of Ethiopia, in collaboration with international organizations like UNHCR, works to provide educational opportunities for refugee children. Ethiopia has made efforts to improve refugee access to education through initiatives such as the Education Strategy for Refugee Children (2018-2020). This strategy aims to enhance the quality of education for refugee children and increase their enrollment rates in schools. Additionally, the government has allowed refugees to access formal education in public schools and has partnered with organizations like UNHCR to support educational programs for refugees. However, limited education resources and overcrowded classrooms can negatively impact the quality of education. 35 percent of school-age refugee children do not attend school, and those who do frequently encounter significant obstacles such as language barriers, insufficient specialized support, and restricted financial resources (Cardarelli, 2018). Due to the unavailability of high schools in the countryside where refugee camps are located, refugees face challenges, and most of them find it difficult to continue their secondary education in Ethiopia. UNHCR Ethiopia, 2024, reports that 54% of school-age refugee children remain unenrolled.

The government and humanitarian agencies have the right to provide healthcare services to refugees. Partnerships with organizations like UNHCR and the World Health Organization support the refugees' access to healthcare in Ethiopia. The UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations that serve the refugees with specific needs provide the basic levels of assistance.

They extend particular needs, including healthcare services to those with disabilities, separate and unaccompanied children, older people, survivors of gender-based violence, and victims of sexual exploitation and abuse. Refugee challenges in healthcare access in Ethiopia include limited coverage under existing health insurance schemes, inadequate access to certain healthcare services, and the need for sustainable financing mechanisms to support refugee healthcare costs. The Refugee Policy Review Framework from 2020 highlights these challenges on page 12. Furthermore, due to the severe health effects of the drought, the Somali region is facing health issues including food insecurity, increased malnutrition among children, and high population movement. In addition to hosting refugees, the Dollo Zone is grappling with a measles and cholera outbreak (WHO, 2023).

Ortiz-Echevarria et al. (2017) conducted a study on the health and well-being of very young adolescents in the Kobe refugee camp, which hosts Somali refugees in Ethiopia. The challenges that impact the health outcomes of young female refugees include early marriage, pregnancy risks, and limited access to education (Ortiz-Echevarria et al., 2017, p. 41).

Female genital mutilation, or cutting, is one of the health issues or harmful practices that affect female health, and it is practiced among Somali refugees. A survey conducted by the government of Somalia in 2020 indicated that 99.2% of women and girls aged 15-49 have experienced some form of female genital mutilation (FGM). Female genital mutilation, or female genital cutting, is a cultural practice involving the cutting or removal of parts of the female genitalia for non-medical purposes (WHO). Some parts of Africa, the Middle East, and some countries in Asia practice FGM/C. The World Health Organization estimates that between 100 and 140 million women and girls globally have experienced these procedures, putting an estimated 3 million girls in danger each year. Certain communities view FGM as a sign of virginity and purity, a symbol of personal hygiene, and a means of maintaining virginity. In Somalia, people perceive a woman with FGC as more marryable, attractive, pure, feminine, and clean. However, the health issues FGM women face are more severe and can threaten their lives (Talle, 2008). Furthermore, Mike & Deressa (2009) noted that the Somali refugee community in eastern Ethiopia continues to practice FGM, despite ongoing efforts to eradicate it. They discuss how FGM can lead to life-threatening health issues for most women and girls, including significant blood loss during and after the procedure, severe pain, menstrual issues, and painful sexual intercourse. Moreover, most of the women who have

undergone FGM are at risk during childbirth, including obstructed labor, which can lead to maternal and infant mortality (Mitike & Deressa, p. 5, 2009). Therefore, it is important to raise awareness and provide education about the risks of FGM. Additionally, we should implement legal measures to protect women and girls from harmful practices.

The impact of language and cultural knowledge in advocating for rights and reaching for services

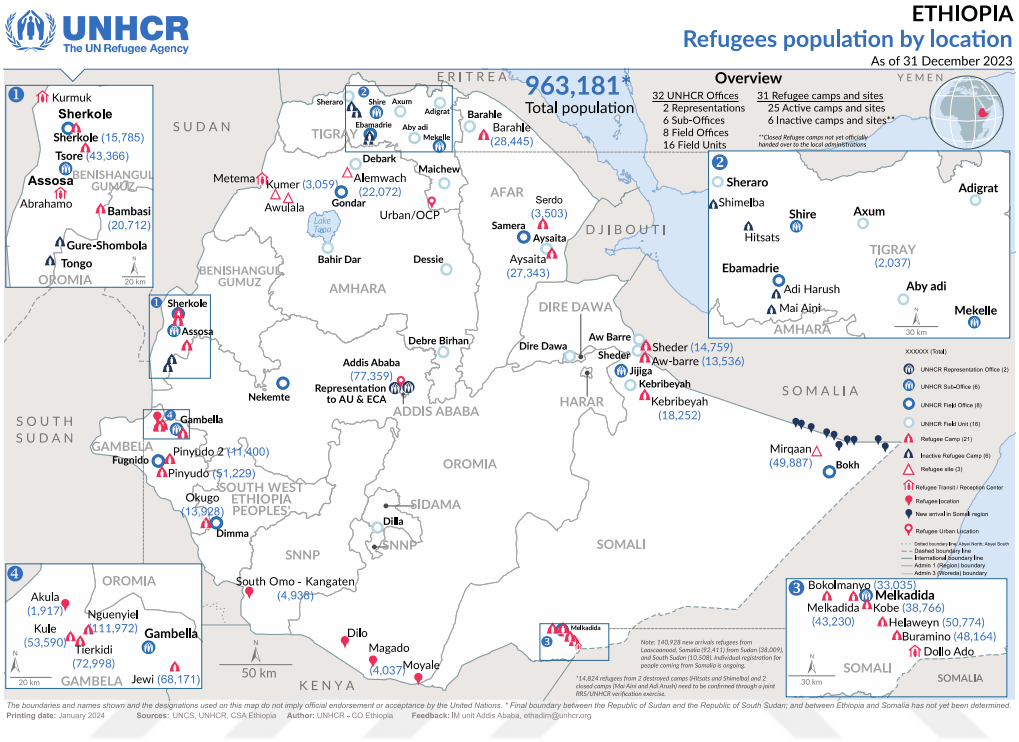
The Somali refugees in Ethiopia are familiar with the language and culture of the community, but cultural and tribal differences exist. The biggest challenges with which refugees struggle in a new environment are the language and culture of the new community. Refugees often need help to obtain legal status and documentation, which hinders their ability to access basic services and opportunities for local integration.

4.2. Housing and Locality

The situation of refugees in southern countries is prolonged, with an average stay of 20 years. The first wave of Somali refugees entered Ethiopia in 1991, followed by two major waves in 2006 and 2009, with some from the first wave continuing to live in camps. Refugee status in the South became increasingly permanent, and refugee camps symbolized protracted isolation, exclusion, and non-integration into society.

The government manages several camps near Ethiopia's borders for refugees under the Administration for Refugees and Returnee Affairs (ARRA). The organization serves as the primary government agency responsible for organizing and carrying out programs and policies pertaining to the integration and administration of refugees with UNHCR. The Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), which manages refugee camps in Ethiopia, is funded by UNHCR and NGO partners. It faces challenges within camps, including limited work opportunities and unchanged service provision (Muhumad and Jaji, 2023, p. 79). Problems that come with remote location, movement, and employment constraints slow down new camp openings for Somalis (Hammond, 2013, p. 67).

Figure 4: Number of registered refugee population in Ethiopia, Dec 31 2023. (Source: UNHCR dec 31 2023)



As of July 2020, the UNHCR had registered 39,286 individuals in three refugee camps in Jijiga, the Somali region of Ethiopia. The camps accommodate populations of 15,076, 12,136, and 12,074 refugees. The UNHCR Special Operations Joint is working to address the IDP crisis in the region. Efforts include increased awareness campaigns, training of healthcare professionals, and isolation facilities. During the first quarter of the year, there has been an increase in Somali refugees from Melkadida refugee camps, with the primary motivation being to reunite with their families (UNHCR).

Table 5. Somali Refugee camps in Ethiopia

Camps	Establishment	Population	Male	Female
Kebribeyah	1991	13,536	60.4	51.1
Awbarre	2007	14,759	47.3	52.6
shedder	2008	18,252	46.8	53.3
Melkadidah	2010	41,383	48.8	51.2
Buramino	2011	46,235	46.6	51.3
Hilaweyn	2011	48,226	47.6	51.2
Bokolmanyo	2009	31,300	47.6	51.3
Kobe	2011	37,943	48.8	51.3
Total		251,634		

Source: (UNHCR 31 Dec 2023)

Social bonds

Social bonds refer to strong ties and relationships within a community, particularly among individuals who share similar backgrounds, such as family, clan, or ethnic ties. Somali refugees are often placed in camps according to their clans of origin. By separating individuals from clans known to have historical rivalries, this practice aims to minimize conflicts. By grouping refugees from the same clan together, it helps maintain social cohesion and reduces the likelihood of violence within the camps (Markos, 1997, p. 374). Furthermore, this can also provide the refugees with emotional support, a sense of belonging, and a safety net during times of need. Kinship and clan affiliations often reinforce these bonds, assisting refugees in navigating challenges and upholding cultural practices (Jaji and Muhumad, 2023, p. 76). However, while bonding social capital is important for individual well-being, it can sometimes lead to social isolation from the host community if refugees primarily interact within their own networks (Binkert et al., 2021, p. 43). This can create barriers to integration and limit opportunities for refugees to engage with a broader society.

However, refugees are kept off networks of trade and communication in camps close to Dolo Ado, and social services and infrastructure are lacking in these camps. There have been efforts to increase refugee access to housing outside of camps through initiatives like the Out-of-Camp Policy, which allows refugees to choose their place of residence. Despite this policy, challenges exist in practice, limiting the opportunities for refugees to find suitable housing and integrate into local communities. The population of the Somali refugees registered in

camps is 259,979 (UNHCR 31 December 2023). Around 34,543 refugees are living in three camps in Jijiga, and 213,936 reside in the Dolo Ado camps, while 1,139 people live in Addis Ababa under Ethiopia's out-of-camp policy. The figure shows the numbers and locations of the Somali refugees in Ethiopia as of 31 December 2023. In urban areas like Jijiga, some refugees have self-settled.

4.3. Discourses and Relations

The presence of Somali refugees in eastern Ethiopia, where the local population shares ethnic and cultural ties, can create social links that foster integration. These connections can help refugees navigate the local context, access services, and build relationships with host communities, which may ease tensions and promote coexistence (Markos, 1997, p. 374). These links can help Somali refugees access resources, opportunities, and information outside of their immediate social circles, expanding their networks and helping refugees integrate into the social fabric of the host society (Jaji and Muhumad, 2023, p. 81).

Mena's (2018) study on Somali and Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa reveals that the integration of Somali refugees into the host community surpasses that of Eritrean refugees, primarily due to structural barriers and personal characteristics (Mena, 2018, p. 1360). The hosting community of Somali refugees in Ethiopia shares ties with the refugees in terms of ethnicity, language, culture, and beliefs, which makes it easier for the refugees to integrate with the host community. Somali refugees share ethnic similarities, historical ties, cultural traditions, and mutual identification with the Somali community in Ethiopia and Kenya. These shared aspects contribute to positive relations between refugees and hosts, facilitating economic and social integration.

Additionally, Somali refugees and host communities engage in mutual support, informal economic activities, intermarriages, and participation in local markets and associations. The shared material circumstances and cultural similarities create a sense of solidarity and mutual dependence between Somali refugees and the hosting communities in both countries (Muhumed and Jaji, 2023, p. 81).

However, clan identity cannot be totally helpful in refugee relations with host society. 60% of these refugees came from the less fortunate Digil-Rahanweyn clan, where opportunities for local integration or self-settlement are thus limited (Hammond, 2013, p. 68).

Compared to other clans residing in the Somali region of Ethiopia, the Digil-Rahanweyn clan may face challenges. These challenges may hinder the refugees' ability to rebuild their lives and establish sustainable livelihoods in the host community.

Still, refugees are more resilient in local and pastoral settings and more vulnerable in urban settings due to cultural differences and a lack of social networks. Cultural, language, and religious differences may impact Somali refugees settling in Ethiopia's urban or capital city, Addis Ababa. Cultural differences between refugees and the host population can affect social integration. Variations in culture and historical accounts between Somali refugees and host communities have negatively affected the socio-cultural integration process (Mena, 2018, p. 1380). Furthermore, language barriers can prevent communication and access to resources, making it challenging for Somali refugees to fully integrate into Ethiopian society. Additionally, differences in religious practices may also create tension and barriers to social cohesion between Somali refugees and the host population. Somali refugees and host communities in Addis Ababa may have distinct cultural practices, beliefs, values, and ways of life. These differences can lead to misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and challenges in communication and social interactions, hindering the process of socio-cultural integration (Mena, 2018, p. 1374). Moreover, the lack of access to education and employment opportunities for Somali refugees in Ethiopia further exacerbates their integration challenges. This can result in feelings of isolation and marginalization within the host community.

Haybano and Dryden-Peterson (p. 11., 2024) discuss the challenges faced by refugees in public schools, primarily due to language barriers, cultural differences, and a lack of representation of their identity markers within the educational system. The Addis Ababa study on Somali refugees highlights the tensions between the state's 'non-negotiables', such as public schools that use Amharic as the instruction language, and the expectations of Somali refugees, which encompass language, religion, and culture. Furthermore, the article emphasizes the importance of recognizing and addressing these challenges to promote mutual accommodation between refugee students and public schools. It suggests that the lack of cultural representation and the educational system’s assistance for Somali refugee students may cause feelings of cultural shock, unbelonging, and educational disengagement (Haybano and Dryden-Peterson, 2024, p. 14).

Refugees may experience discrimination and social exclusion, further complicating their efforts to establish a sense of belonging in their host country. Muhumed & Ahmed (2022) conducted an autoethnographic study in the Kebribeyah Somali refugee camp in Ethiopia, highlighting the educational inequality and social conflicts exist between resettled Somalis and native Somali-Ethiopians. The study emphasized that the education sector played a significant role in causing social conflicts and fostering hatred between the two communities (Muhumed & Ahmed, 2022).

These barriers can hinder their ability for societal participation fully and access essential services. A study conducted in the Kebribeyah refugee camp in Ethiopia discusses the difficulties refugees may face in culture and language differences and discusses the potential for misunderstandings and tensions between refugees and host communities due to cultural differences and language barriers. These differences can hinder communication, social integration, and mutual understanding, leading to social friction and conflict. Additionally, these barriers can isolate refugees (Muhumed & Ahmed, 2022, p. 10).

4.4. Initiatives and Support

Alongside UNHCR, several INGOs have been involved in Ethiopia, including the World Food Program (WFP), which is a food assistance branch of the United Nations that provides food aid and food security programs for refugees. Second, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) supports children's issues and promotes the rights and well-being of children, child protection, and education in Ethiopia. Similarly, Save the Children is another INGO active in Ethiopia that works for the improvement of children's lives and focuses on their protection, education, and health. To provide humanitarian assistance and support to communities facing crises around the world, the International Rescue Committee participates in Ethiopia.

Due to the escalated conflict in the northern Tigray region, Ethiopia is facing a refugee crisis. According to the International Rescue Committee's Emergency Watchlist, Ethiopia is the country most at risk of seeing its humanitarian problems deepen, after Afghanistan (IRC, 2022). Due to the escalating conflict in the Tigray, Amhara, and Afar regions, as well as the effects of climate change, many internally displaced people (IDPs) are currently experiencing hardship. On the other hand, Ethiopia hosted Sudanese refugees and 100,000 Somali refugees

fleeing from the civil war in Laasaanood, the southern part of Somalia, at the beginning of 2023 (UNHCR, 2023).

The majority of refugees are still needy and rely on food aid. The INGOs establish some programs that support refugees and the local community. For instance, the IKEA Foundation funded a project for five of the Dolo Ado refugee camps located in the Somali region of Ethiopia for seven years, where most of the Somali refugees are based. The Dolo Ado refugee camps are located in an isolated area near the borders of Ethiopia, Somalia to the northeast, Djibouti to the north, and Kenya to the southwest. This project encompassed the construction of a new market in Bokolmanyo, grants for microfinance and entrepreneurship, irrigation projects for agricultural cooperatives in Kobe and Melkadida, solar energy projects to connect energy, and the establishment of a new teacher-training college in Dollo Ado (Betts et al., 2019, p. 1). These initiatives not only provide essential resources and support for refugees but also contribute to the economic development and sustainability of the local community.

CARE International-Ethiopia, Save the Children, Cure International, International Rescue Committee (IRC), Islamic Relief (IR), Mercy Corps partner, Oxfam GB, and World Vision are among the active organizations assisting refugees and internally displaced persons and contributing to the humanitarian efforts in Ethiopia. Those organizations play a crucial role in promoting refugees' well-being and integration. They contribute to food security and livelihood, water and sanitation, and educational programs to help refugees and asylum seekers manage in their new environment.

Out-of-camp policy:

Ethiopia has started developing a wide policy framework, legislative measures, and operational response systems to promote harmonious cohabitation, greater inclusivity, and the rights of refugees to realize their commitments. The Out of Camp Policy (OCP), legal residency, freedom of mobility, and participation in gainful employment are a few examples of interventions that aim to control behaviors related to the OCP and assist refugees in obtaining better protection and establishing quality livelihoods (Refugee Proclamation No. 409/2004). These interventions are crucial for ensuring that refugees can rebuild their lives and contribute to the host country’s economy. By providing legal residence, freedom of movement, and employment opportunities, the OCP not only protects the rights of refugees

but also facilitates their absorption into society, fostering a sense of belonging and self-sufficiency. In addition, the wide policy framework and legislative measures established by the government demonstrate its commitment to upholding international obligations and establishing an appropriate atmosphere for refugee protection and support.

The House of Representatives enacted a new proclamation regarding refugees in February 2019, known as the refugee proclamation. Fulfilling Ethiopia's international and regional duties is one of the primary objectives of the new refugee law system, according to the proclamation's preamble (Refugee proclamation no. 1110/2019).

The recent refugee proclamation reflects Ethiopia's dedication to aligning its policies with international standards and principles of refugee protection. It not only aims to fulfill the country's obligations but also strives to enhance the overall support and assistance provided to refugees, ensuring their well-being and integration into society. Similarly, Asabu (2018) posits concerns regarding Ethiopia's Out-of-Camp Policy, specifically its exclusive application to Eritrean refugees. This policy raises apprehensions about nationality-based discrimination and its potential incongruence with national, regional, and international principles endorsed by the country. Asabu emphasizes the policy's impact on the broader refugee community in Ethiopia, stressing the imperative to address potential ramifications for equality, fairness, and social cohesion within the refugee population. In 2010, Ethiopia revised its refugee policy to permit Eritrean refugees to reside outside camps through the implementation of the out-of-camp policy. The policy granted certain Eritrean refugees the opportunity to live in urban areas and regional cities under specific conditions, such as demonstrating self-sustainability without government or UNHCR assistance (Asabu, 2018, p. 4).

Refugee Rights Perspective: Adoption of CRRF

One of the first nations to adopt a comprehensive strategy for responding to refugees was Ethiopia in February 2017 (UNHCR). Ethiopia's intention to engage directly in the CRF was prompted by a collaborative mission from the World Bank and UNHCR to evaluate assistance for refugees and host communities as part of the IDA-18 Replenishment for Refugees. The government is currently developing the CRF strategy to implement the promises made during the Leaders' Summit on Refugees in New York (UNHCR).

Nigusei (2019) argues that Ethiopia has made significant progress in implementing the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) since its adoption in 2016. Ethiopia has introduced various programs and initiatives developed to enhance the well-being of refugees and promote self-reliance. The CRRF has transformed the refugee response framework in Ethiopia from a solely humanitarian perspective to a more comprehensive and sustainable one, emphasizing refugee self-reliance and inclusion.

However, Nigusei highlights challenges in the CRRF's implementation, including limited funding, inadequate infrastructure, and a lack of coordination among stakeholders. Nigusei advocates for a more comprehensive and sustainable approach to refugee response that addresses the root causes of displacement and fosters peace and stability in the region (Nigusei, 2019, p. 23).

Additionally, Nigusei (2019) observes that while the revised refugee law grants refugees freedom of movement, uncertainty persists regarding the interpretation of certain provisions, such as the arrangement of places or areas for refugees to live. This uncertainty raises questions about the potential continuation of elements of the encampment policy (Nigusei, 2019, p. 15). The paper highlights the complexity of the bureaucratic process for the right to work, noting that it poses a significant obstacle for refugees with limited education or those who have lost essential personal records (Nigusei, 2019, p. 16). Nigusei identified another impediment as the slowed momentum and absence of secondary legislation following the implementation of the revised refugee law, which hinders the practical application of the rights stipulated in the Proclamation (Nigusei, 2019, p. 13). Additionally, the author underscores the uneven dynamics of forced displacement among refugee groups in Ethiopia, emphasizing the need for gender-sensitive approaches to refugee support and empowerment to address challenges faced by female refugees (Nigusei, 2019, p. 19).

Woldetsadik et al. (2019) argue that Ethiopia's refugee policy has undergone a significant overhaul, transitioning from camp-based model of basic service provision to a more progressive and rights-oriented framework. This shift aims to provide refugees with expanded rights and opportunities, including the right to reside outside of camps, engage in gainful employment, and access socio-economic services (Woldetsadik et al., 2019, p. 8). The authors highlight the potential implications of these policy changes on the well-being and integration of refugees in the country while also acknowledging the challenges and

uncertainties that remain in terms of implementation and regulatory gaps. The authors argue that this significant overhaul has the potential to greatly improve the well-being and integration of refugees in the country. They emphasize the importance of addressing the challenges and uncertainties that may arise during the implementation process, such as ensuring access to adequate housing and employment opportunities for refugees residing outside of camps. Additionally, they suggest that closing regulatory gaps will be crucial to fully realizing the rights and opportunities afforded to refugees under this new model.

Woldetsadik et al. (p. 10, 2019) mention several key refugee policies in Ethiopia, including Refugee Proclamation No. 1110/2019. This represents a fundamental shift in Ethiopia's refugee policy, establishing a broader framework of rights and entitlements for refugees. The Refugee Proclamation No. 1110/2019 represents a fundamental shift in Ethiopia's refugee policy, allowing for a more comprehensive set of rights and benefits for refugees. Through providing them with access to jobs, healthcare, and education, this new policy acknowledges the significance of safeguarding refugees and employment opportunities. It also emphasizes the need for collaboration with international organizations and donor countries to ensure adequate resources are available to support these initiatives. Second, the national strategy on the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) seeks to implement global norms to massive migration waves and extended refugee crises, providing a methodical framework for the realization of rights and opportunities in a broader context (Woldetsadik et al., 2019, p. 6). These policies reflect Ethiopia's commitment to addressing refugees' multifaceted challenges based on international law and principles of equitable sharing of responsibility, with a focus on promoting refugees' well-being and integration into host communities.

In the past, Ethiopia's refugee policies involved housing refugees in camps, restricting their movements, and prohibiting them from leaving these camps. Only refugee documents were available, preventing refugees from obtaining marriage, death, or birth certificates, and from registering their children at schools. The new policy helps refugees with the legal documents and rights to get job opportunities and reside outside the camps. (Woldetsadik et al. p. 6, 2019) also highlight several refugee rights, including the right to reside outside of camps: Ethiopia's new policy framework allows select refugees to reside outside of camps, promoting their integration into host communities. Second, the Refugee Convention

guarantees refugees the right to participate in gainful employment, including wage-earning jobs, self-employment, and liberal professions. States are obligated to treat refugees as favorably as possible (Woldetsadik et al., 2019, p. 21). Third, the right to access socio-economic services: Ethiopia's new policy framework aims to provide refugees with expanded access to socio-economic services, promoting their self-reliiance and integration into host communities (Woldetsadik et al., p. 6, 2019). Furthermore, the right to freedom of movement and residence: The Refugee Convention recognizes refugees' right to freedom of movement and residence within the country, subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally (Woldetsadik et al., 2019, p. 5).

Overall, Woldetsadik et al. (2019) emphasize the importance of recognizing and implementing these rights to promote the well-being and integration of refugees in Ethiopia. Article 9(4) of the Ethiopian Constitution stipulates that Ethiopia's national legislation incorporates conventions at the regional and international levels to which it is a party. This implies that the norms set forth by international agreements must be considered in any governmental decision that affects Ethiopian refugees. The Constitution further stipulates that international norms shall serve as the foundation for any interpretation of the document's fundamental democratic and human rights. Therefore, it is crucial to ensure that any actions taken to address the refugee crisis in Ethiopia are in line with these international standards (Woldetsadik et al., 2019, p. 5).

The government of Ethiopia has made promises to broaden regulations for living outside of camps, issue work permits to refugees, improve the education of children, grant access to land, generate employment possibilities, permit long-term refugees to integrate locally, and bolster fundamental social services and rights. The government made these promises public after adopting the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and the New York Declaration. With the help of larger stakeholders, the CRRF seeks to improve responses to refugee crises and promote long-lasting solutions. UNHCR is collaborating with seven partners in Ethiopia, designated as a CRRF focal country in February 2017, to deliver high-quality sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) prevention and response services. Additionally, the government will coordinate with other ministries to explore integrating refugees into national initiatives of sexual and gender-based violence. These policies do not specifically target women and girls, but they are applicable to all

refugees. The collaboration between UNHCR and its partners in Ethiopia aims to ensure that all refugees, regardless of gender, have access to comprehensive SGBV prevention and response services. By involving multiple stakeholders, including the government and other ministries, the CRRF approach ensures a holistic and inclusive approach to addressing SGBV among refugees. This comprehensive strategy recognizes the importance of gender equality and the need to protect all individuals from sexual and gender-based violence within refugee populations.

Ethiopia has taken significant strides in operationalizing the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), notably by amending the 2004 refugee statute and introducing a new one in 2019. The absence of accompanying supplementary legislation has impeded the effective implementation of the new legislation, which emphasizes the long-term goal of local integration for refugees (Muhumad & Jaji, 2023, p. 5). While Ethiopia has recently demonstrated its commitment to refugee protection by revising policies and incorporating refugees into national systems, a notable proportion of Somali refugees continue to reside in camps without access to work permits. Moreover, the provision of services and their management have shown minimal improvement since the initiation of the CRRF (Muhumad & Jaji, 2023, p. 79).

Refugee Resettlement:

Refugee resettlement refers to the systematic relocation of individuals seeking shelter from their state of asylum to a different nation that has consented to their admission, ultimately leading to the conferral of permanent residency status (UNHCR). Resettlement programs often face challenges in terms of limited resources and capacity to accommodate the large number of refugees in need. Resettled individuals may face additional challenges in language and culture, necessitating additional support and resources to ensure their successful integration into their new host country.

Facilitating relocation efforts also led to the establishment of the International Refugee Organization (IRO), an intergovernmental entity. According to Article 2 of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) document, the provisions include repatriation, the process of identifying, registering, and categorizing individuals, as well as providing them with care,

assistance, legal and political protection, transportation, and resettlement in countries that are capable and willing to receive them (IRO, 1999, p. 285-286).

One of the three accepted long-term solutions for resolving the refugee crisis is resettlement, along with voluntary return and local integration (UNHCR, 2011, p. 28). Among the three durable options, there is no systematic ranking. However, during the initial stages of UNHCR, the most favored long-term alternatives among the refugee population were relocation and assimilation. Nevertheless, over time, there was a noticeable rise in the proportion of refugees who opted for voluntary repatriation (UNHCR, 2011, p. 30).

Refugee Return Policy:

Voluntary repatriation is the process through which refugees choose to return to their country of origin. The decision to return should be voluntary and well-informed, based on an evaluation of the security conditions in the area of return, in accordance with the UNHCR's human dignity concept. Ethiopia has no voluntary repatriation policy toward refugees; on the other hand, UNHCR doesn’t promote voluntary repatriation to Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, and Yemen (Humanitarian Action, 2024).

Conclusion

Integrating Somali female refugees in Ethiopia, however, has its own attractions and challenges. Despite recent policy reforms aimed at empowering refugees and facilitating their access to necessary services, challenges persist due to the presence of legal barriers and cultural and social factors. A multi-faceted strategy that addresses both the international requirements and the specific concerns of female refugees can approach these challenges effectively. By forging strong ties with the community and meeting their specific needs, these efforts will prevent Ethiopia from becoming a completely foreign country to Somali refugees, ultimately benefiting the host communities as well.

CHAPTER 5

A CASE STUDY OF THE SETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION OF SOMALI REFUGEES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

This chapter explores the Somali immigrants and refugees in the UK. The chapter also examines the integration policies for refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, focusing on housing, employment, health, and education. The United Kingdom hosts the largest Somali community in Europe, estimated at 500,000 individuals, predominantly located in London and Birmingham., and 176,645 who identify as Somali nationals or ethnics, which represents 0.3% of the overall population of England and Wales. According to the 2011 census, the Somali community numbered 98,939, constituting 0.2% of the total population of England and Wales; this marks a substantial increase of 75.8% in the 2021 census. In the 2021 census, 53.9% of women and 46.1% of men identified as Somali, respectively (Office for National Statistics (ONS), Census 2021).

The integration of refugees in the United Kingdom is a multidimensional encompassing several critical sectors, including education, employment, health, and housing. Each of these domains is essential in assessing the magnitude to which refugees can successfully integrate into British society and achieve socio-economic stability. We will examine the settlement and adaptation of Somali refugees through structure, housing, and locality; discourse and relations; initiatives; and support.

5.1. Structure:

Legal Framework:

Several key international treaties that establish legal protections and obligations for refugees serve as the foundation for the UK's refugee policies. The UK is a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and the 1967 Protocol. The UK adopted treaties such as the European Convention on Human Rights, the Dublin Regulation, the Convention Against Torture, and the Global Compact on Refugees. Additionally, the Global Compact on Refugees represents a contemporary effort to manage refugee flows through international cooperation. Together,

these treaties provide the framework for the UK's legal obligations to refugees and influence the development of its asylum and refugee policies. The Immigration Rules embed the principle of non-refoulement into UK domestic law, requiring the UK government to evaluate asylum claims in accordance with these international standards (Gibney, 2018). The UN General Assembly of 2018 is also relevant, as it increases the protection of refugees in the UK and aims to distribute responsibility for refugees more fairly among states, thereby relieving pressure on countries that host large numbers of refugees through its Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (Mayblin, 2019; Costello, 2016). The UK has established a range of legal protections designed to safeguard the security of immigrants. These include anti-discrimination laws include the Equality Act 2010, which forbids discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, and religion, and other protected characteristics. This act is crucial in providing immigrants with legal recourse in cases of discrimination in employment, housing, and public services (UK Government, 2023). Additionally, the Human Rights Act 1998 incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law, ensuring that immigrants have access to fundamental rights, such as the right to life, the prohibition of torture, and the right to a fair trial (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2023).

UK policy of tightening control on asylum seekers

A person seeking international protection is referred to as an asylum seeker. They may not have applied for asylum yet but plan to do so, or their application for refugee status or supplemental protection status has not yet been processed (UNHCR). The government legally defines integration policies, concentrating on individuals who have received refugee status. This has led to criticism from advocacy groups who argue that integration should begin at the point of arrival for asylum seekers rather than only after they receive refugee status (Phillips, 2006, p. 541).

The *UK refugee policy of the Immigration Act of 1993* has aimed to tighten controls on asylum seekers and was part of a broader trend of increasing scrutiny and regulation of the asylum process. Following the September 11 attacks, there was a significant increase in the securitization of borders and a shift in public perception regarding refugees. Policies enacted during this period often framed asylum seekers as potential security threats, leading to stricter

controls and a more negative portrayal of refugees in public discourse (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018, p. 352).

The *Asylum and Immigration Act 2004* is legislation that introduced measures to deter asylum claims and Included provisions that complicated asylum seekers' access to public funds and legal assistance, further tightening the asylum system (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018, p. 379).

In March 2021, the UK government unveiled its *New Plan for Immigration*, which focused on individuals traveling from France over the English Channel in tiny boats and sought to reform the nation's "broken" asylum system. The Nationality and Borders Act of 2022 strengthened criminal penalties for irregular entrance and penalized some refugees for their admission techniques. The Illegal Migration Act 2023 put more constraints on asylum applicants who illegally entered the UK. The Act eliminates rights for victims of modern slavery and human trafficking, such as the right to remain in the United Kingdom and mandates that the Home Secretary organize their transfer to "safe third countries." The UK Supreme Court's decision to declare the Rwanda transaction illegal led to the establishment of new laws and a treaty with Rwanda (Walsh & Jorgensen, 2024, p. 4). The new UK legislation seeks to prevent irregular entrance and strengthen border control measures to address the issue of human trafficking and modern slavery, but refugee policy restrictions are impacting human rights and creating challenges for those victims who are seeking safety and protection. It is crucial for the UK government to find a balance between border control measures and upholding the rights of vulnerable individuals in need of assistance.

International commitments, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), bind the UK to provide protection to individuals fleeing persecution. Under the UK's asylum system, individuals can apply for refugee status if they are unable to return to their native country because to a legitimate fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a specific social group, or political stance. Refugee status grants individuals the right to live and work in the UK for five years, following which they can apply for indefinite leave to remain (ILR). However, the process of applying for asylum can be lengthy, with many applicants facing significant delays in receiving decisions. According to the Home Office, by the end of 2022, more than 160,000 asylum seekers were waiting for a decision, with around 45% having waited for over six months. As

they remain in a state of uncertainty and limbo, these delays can profoundly affect the mental health and well-being of asylum seekers. The backlog in processing asylum claims has been a longstanding issue that continues to be a challenge for the UK immigration system.

The UK has established procedures for processing asylum claims, but the process can be lengthy and complex, leading to uncertainty for applicants. Once granted refugee status, individuals gain broader rights, including the right to work, access to public funds, and family reunification under specific circumstances (Migration Observatory, 2023). The UK has granted refugee status or humanitarian protection to many Somalis, enabling them to reside there.

Once granted refugee status, individuals can apply for ILR and, after an additional year, for British citizenship. However, refugees face significant challenges in their path to integration, including access to employment, education, and healthcare. The UK's approach to refugees is characterized by a tension between its legal obligations and domestic policy goals aimed at controlling immigration. While the UK continues to offer protection to refugees under international law, the increasing emphasis on deterring irregular migration and the restrictive measures introduced in recent legislation pose significant barriers to accessing asylum. The broader public discourse on immigration and its impact on national identity further complicates the debate, influencing both policy and public opinion about the treatment of refugees. Critics have criticized the UK's refugee policy for prioritizing border control over humanitarian concerns, which has led to worries about the erosion of asylum rights. There have also been instances of discrimination and mistreatment towards refugees and asylum seekers linked to the government's "hostile environment" policies.

Obtaining migration status and citizenship

Migrants, particularly those seeking refuge or asylum, face a complex system of regulations and bureaucratic hurdles that can significantly impact their ability to establish a stable life in the UK. The government defines integration policies legally, concentrating on individuals who have received refugee status. This has led to criticism from advocacy groups who argue that integration should begin at the point of arrival for asylum seekers rather than only after they receive refugee status (Philips, 2006, p. 541).

Stewart & Mulvey (2013) examine the implications of immigration and citizenship policy on refugees, emphasizing that the temporary nature of their status often undermines their ability to engage as active citizens. They argue that the UK government's five-year strategy for asylum and immigration is connected to long-term settlement to economic benefits, which inadvertently fosters a sense of temporariness among refugees. This temporariness is compounded by a climate of fear regarding immigration rule changes, which drives many refugees to seek British citizenship as a means of securing their legal status and alleviating feelings of uncertainty. The authors highlight that barriers to integration persist, including racism and enforced marginalization, which further complicate the refugees' pursuit of belonging within British society.

Similarly, Moreh et al. (2020) explore the role of British citizenship as a legal mechanism for integration, particularly in the context of intra-EU migrants following Brexit. Their analysis indicates that while the processes of legal integration have remained consistent with pre-Brexit practices, the sociolegal landscape has undergone significant transformation. The authors suggest that Brexit has introduced new dynamics that affect the integration of refugees, highlighting the differential impacts it has on various migrant populations. This shift underscores the importance of understanding how citizenship is not only a legal status but also a critical factor in the social and political inclusion of refugees.

Detention System

Moreover, the treatment of immigrants within the UK's immigration detention system has also raised significant human rights concerns. Reports of subpar living conditions, limited access to healthcare, and cases of abuse within detention centers highlight the risks faced by imprisoned immigrants (Bosworth, 2016). The indefinite nature of immigration detention in the UK, one of the only nations in Europe without a legislated maximum period for custody, further compounds the detainees' sense of insecurity (Detention Action, 2023). Demands for reform and increased scrutiny of the UK's immigration detention system have arisen due to these issues, with the aim of ensuring the protection and upholding of everyone's human rights, including immigrants. Advocates and legislators are striving to address these concerns and bring about substantial enhancements in the treatment of detained immigrants.

There are still a lot of obstacles to overcome, even though the UK has put in place laws and policies aimed at preserving immigrants' security and safety. Many immigrants experience a sense of insecurity as a result of the surge in hate crimes, the unfriendly immigration environment, and the weaknesses in the immigration detention system. A comprehensive strategy that supports immigrant populations' social integration and economic stability, while also bolstering legal protections, is necessary to effectively address these problems.

UK's Rwanda asylum policy

The UK's Rwanda asylum policy is facing legal challenges and criticism for potentially violating international human rights laws. The UK Supreme Court ruled the UK government's April 2022 announcement of sending irregularly entered asylum seekers to Rwanda unlawful (Walsh & Jorgensen, 2024). The Migration and Development Partnership (MEDP), a controversial government initiative, aims to address issues related to asylum seekers and illegal immigration. The policy suggests relocating of specific asylum seekers who illegally enter the UK to Rwanda for the processing of their asylum claims. If granted asylum, they would be allowed to settle in Rwanda rather than returning to the UK (Leyland, 2024, p. 2).

This policy has sparked debate among politicians, activists, and humanitarian organizations due to concerns about the safety and well-being of asylum seekers being relocated to Rwanda. Parker & Cornell (2024) argue that the debate surrounding the UK Government's Rwanda policy reveals a complex interplay of discursive strategies used by politicians to both rationalize and oppose the policy. They added that the UK government and politicians create conflicting narratives about what "the people want." The government claims to represent public support for the Rwanda policy, while opposition politicians argue that this misrepresents the compassionate views of the public toward asylum seekers (Parker & Cornell, 2024, p. 14). Critics argue that this policy may violate international human rights standards and could potentially put vulnerable individuals at risk.

Employment

Employment is another critical component of refugee integration that not only ensures financial stability but also promotes social inclusion and a sense of purpose. However, the UK labor market faces challenges for refugees, with low employment rates and a mismatch between their qualifications and available jobs (Bloch, 2008, p. 21–36). Refugees frequently

encounter substantial obstacles to employment, such as the lack of acknowledgment of foreign qualifications, limited English proficiency, and discrimination within the labor market (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014, p.23).

Many refugees arrive with high education and experience but face barriers like language proficiency, lack of recognition, and discrimination. Restrictive government policies also hinder their integration (Bloch, 2008, p. 21–36). Many refugees end up in low-skilled, low-wage jobs that don't align with their previous experience or qualifications. Overcoming these barriers requires a comprehensive approach that includes language training, skill development, and the recognition of foreign qualifications.

The Somali population in England and Wales has lower employment rates and higher rates of economic inactivity compared to the general population. Only 34.1% of the Somali population holds employment, while 8.5% engage in self-employment. Unemployment rates are higher, with 10.3% reported as unemployed. A significant portion of the Somali population is economically inactive, with 47.1% being students. Among employed individuals, only 6.6% are in professional occupations, while 30.2% are in elementary and 20.3% are in process, plant, and machine operative occupations. Women are more economically inactive due to "looking after home or family." (ONS Census, 2021, p. 7). These findings indicate that the Somali population in England and Wales faces considerable challenges in terms of employment, with lower rates of employment and higher rates of economic inactivity and unemployment compared to the general population.

The women face significant barriers to employment, including uncertain legal status and discrimination in the labor market. Many Somali women arrive in the UK with educational qualifications, yet the UK does not recognize their skills from Somalia or other developing countries (Haji-Abdi, 2014, p. 59). They either work in low-status occupations that do not utilize their skills or qualifications, or they do not have permanent employment (Sales & Gregory, 1998, p. 19). On the other hand, the UK government and charity services are supporting female Somali immigrants to overcome the challenges they face in the UK.

Education

Education serves as a foundational element for refugee integration, particularly for children and young adults. The Somali population has a higher level of "Level 1

qualifications" than the general population, with 26.9% of those who identify as Somali having no qualifications. This disparity is particularly pronounced among females, with 29.7% reporting no qualifications compared to 23.3% of males. Despite similar educational attainment levels among younger Somalis, there are significant challenges in overall educational attainment, especially for older individuals and females (ONS Census, 2021, p. 10). The census reveals that Somali women, who primarily reside in households and take care of the house, have lower educational qualifications than other Somali women. This highlights the disparities in educational attainment among the Somali population compared to the general population, indicating a need for targeted interventions to address these gaps and support educational success within the community.

Educational institutions play a vital role in supporting young Somali migrants. Programs that focus on language acquisition, cultural orientation, and academic support can help bridge the gap for these young Somali students, enabling them to succeed in the UK education system. Factors such as high levels of economic inactivity, discrimination, and language barriers can hinder their educational attainment (Hammond, 2013, p. 1008).

In the UK, refugee children have the same rights to education as native students. However, they often encounter significant challenges, including language barriers, interrupted educational histories, and cultural differences that can impede their academic progress (Dryden-Peterson, 2015). The provision of English as an Additional Language (EAL) support, along with targeted educational interventions, is essential for addressing these challenges. Nevertheless, research highlights that refugee students are at risk of social exclusion and bullying, which can negatively impact their educational outcomes and overall well-being (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012).

To sum up, 29.7% of Somali female immigrants in the UK lack an educational qualification, making access to education through the UK government an opportunity. However, the majority of these immigrants are householders who take care of their homes, where they learn basic English from integration services or their children, who in turn act as interpreters for their parents.

Healthcare

Refugees indicate a higher prevalence of physical and mental health difficulties due to the trauma and hardships they endured before and during their displacement (Burnett & Peel, 2001). While the National Health Service (NHS) provides free healthcare to refugees, accessing these presents challenges stemming from language barriers, insufficient knowledge of the healthcare system, and cultural differences in health-seeking behaviors. Additionally, the psychological impact of displacement, that includs post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety, requires specialized mental health services, which are often underresourced and difficult for refugees to access (Kirmayer et al., 2011). Overall, refugees face numerous barriers in accessing healthcare services, both physical and mental, which can significantly impact their well-being. Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive approach that considers the distinct needs and experiences of displaced populations.

The Pollard et al. (2018) study reveals that Somali migrants in Sheffield face significant challenges in accessing healthcare due to cultural and linguistic differences. These barriers can lead to misunderstandings and exclusion from services. Health service institutions struggle to recognize and accommodate the diversity of Somali migrants, resulting in inadequate care and a perception of them as "hard to reach." The study also highlights the intersectionality of social, political, and economic factors, including low health literacy and limited English proficiency. The study calls for active interventions, including better training for healthcare professionals to provide culturally competent care (Pollard et al. 2018, p. 4).

In conclusion, despite the language and cultural barriers, many Somali refugees, particularly women and children, have access to the healthcare services provided by the UK government. On the other hand, Somali female refugees in Ethiopia often struggle to access quality health services, particularly for mothers and children.

Language and cultural knowledge.

Somali refugees face significant linguistic and cultural challenges upon arrival, which influence their ability to navigate everyday life, access public services, and integrate into British society. Due to their educational background, language barriers pose a significant challenge for Somali women refugees. Somali refugees often arrive with low levels of English language proficiency, particularly among older generations and those who come from rural

backgrounds or conflict-affected regions with minimal formal education (Griffiths, 2002, p. 68). The lack of language often results in miscommunication and misunderstandings during legal procedures that may impact their asylum (Akua-sakyiwah, 2017, p. 14). This linguistic barrier affects access to education, employment, healthcare, and other essential services.

5.2 Locality and housing

Housing integration is crucial for new migrants as it provides a sense of security, contributes to community relations, and facilitates independent living. Despite efforts, barriers such as provision gaps and lack of support persist (Philips, 2006, p. 539). The UK's Somali population has grown significantly, with a majority living in privately leased, socially rented, or rent-free housing. Overcrowding is a major issue, with 58.8% living in overcrowded situations. Both the general population and the Somali community have low rates of living in houses of multiple occupancy, with the Somali group having a slightly lower rate. Homelessness is a problem, with 48.2% of the population under 21 and many speaking Somali as their first language (ONS Census, 2021, p. 8).

Refugees face exacerbated housing challenges due to the scarcity of affordable housing and discrimination in the private rental market. Furthermore, inadequate housing conditions can have detrimental effects on refugees' physical and mental health, as well as their ability to integrate into society (Carter & Osborne, 2009). Meeting the housing needs of refugees necessitates a thorough approach that takes into account not only affordability but also the quality and suitability of housing. Providing support services to help refugees navigate the housing market and access resources for stable housing can be crucial in promoting their well-being and effective integration into their new communities.

The UK has implemented a policy known as compulsory dispersal since 2000. The aim of this policy is to disperse asylum seekers throughout the UK and deter them from settling in London and the South East. The dispersal policy has made UK cities more diverse. More refugees are now residing in the dispersed areas. However, dispersed asylum seekers continue to relocate more frequently than other new refugees. Many things affect refugees' decisions to stay or move on from dispersal locations. These include their local communities, employment, education, life goals, housing, where they were dispersed, racism, and health. Different nationality groups have different experiences. Homelessness, insufficient employment

opportunities, restricted housing availability, or inadequate job training may prompt onward migration, potentially facilitating integration. Such factors may result in instability and suboptimal integration outcomes. Refugees may choose to migrate further or remain in their current location after dispersal; however, neither choice necessarily facilitates optimal integration. (Stewart and Schafer, 2015, p. 6)

Dispersal policy

The Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 established a dispersal policy that allocates asylum seekers to various regions of the UK for accommodation. In April 2000, the policy came into effect, aiming to prevent overpopulation in major cities such as London and the Southeast, and to disperse asylum seekers in need of accommodation throughout the country. Asylum seekers are unable to choose where to live while they await the decision on their asylum claim. Instead, the Home Office, local authorities, and third-party contractors tasked with securing private rental accommodation, negotiate the housing of asylum seekers (Walsh & Jorgensen, 2024).

The National Asylum Support Service (NASS) manages dispersal to provide accommodation and financial aid to asylum seekers (Zetter et al., 2005, p. 17). Critics have pointed out that this dispersal policy isolates asylum seekers from established communities and support networks, thereby hindering their integration into society. Additionally, a lack of input from asylum seekers themselves in the housing process can lead to placements in inadequate or unsuitable accommodations.

Although the goal of a dispersal strategy is to preserve local ties and services, Stewart and Shaffer (2015) stated that frequent relocation of refugees during the asylum process may lead to instability. The study conducted interviews with numerous individuals who had terminated their accommodations prior to receiving asylum. Multiple temporary addresses are a common cause of homelessness, hindering access to mainstream assistance, the job market, and permanent housing in the UK (Stewart & Shaffer, 2015, p. 64).

5.3 Discourses and Relations

The UK government describes refugee integration as the process by which refugees are enabled to achieve their potential within British society, contribute to the community, access

public services, and fully engage in the rights and responsibilities shared with other UK citizens, the process of integration occurs" (Home Office, 2006).

Some have observed a shift towards more aggressive civic integration policies that could potentially undermine the rights and identities of migrants, a trend they refer to as 'illiberal liberalism.' (Adamson et al., P. 847, 2011). The latter suggests the adoption of policies that run counter to the fundamental principles of liberalism. These policies often prioritize national security and cultural cohesion over individual rights and freedoms, leading to increased social tensions and discrimination.

Hate Crimes and Backlash Toward Immigrants

The physical safety of immigrants in the UK is a growing concern, particularly in light of the rising hate crime statistics. Acts of violence and harassment disproportionately target immigrants, especially those from visible minority groups. The UK Home Office reported that in 2022, there were over 100,000 hate crimes recorded in England and Wales, with race and ethnicity being the most common motivations (UK Home Office, 2023). The fear of such attacks can lead to heightened anxiety and a reduced sense of safety among immigrant communities.

Critics have accused post-9/11 policies of contributing to the stigmatization of refugees and perpetuating harmful stereotypes. The focus on security concerns has also overshadowed the humanitarian aspect of providing refuge to those fleeing persecution and violence.

One of the most pressing issues is the rise in hate crimes, particularly subsequent to the 2016 Brexit referendum, there was an increase in xenophobic incidents. According to the UK Home Office, hate crimes have been steadily increasing, with a significant proportion of these crimes targeting immigrants and minority communities (UK Home Office, 2023). This not only violates their basic human rights but also creates a climate of fear and insecurity within these communities. It is imperative for the UK government to take concrete actions to address and prevent hate crimes against immigrants in order to uphold their rights and ensure their safety and well-being.

Refugees experience a range of negative reactions, such as political rhetoric, xenophobia, discrimination, fear of violence, and poor mental health in the UK (Phillimore,

2020, p. 8). These encounters may complicate their integration process and heighten their feelings of unease. Their fear of violence may hinder their mental health and social connections.

The backlash against Somali refugees in the UK can manifest in various forms, influenced by social, political, and economic factors. Somali refugees often face racial discrimination and xenophobia. Negative stereotypes about Somali communities can perpetuate prejudice and hostility, affecting their integration and acceptance in society. Since the majority of Somali refugees are Muslims, they face heightened levels of Islamophobia, just like other Muslim communities in the UK. This can result in verbal and physical attacks, as well as discrimination in various aspects of life, including employment, housing, and access to services.

Political discourse can heighten anti-refugee sentiment and amplify public anxieties. Relationships between refugees and their host communities might also differ; some may find welcoming settings, while others may encounter strong antagonism (Phillimore, 2020, p. 8). Political discourse surrounding immigration and asylum influences public attitudes toward Somali refugees. Politicians who adopt anti-immigrant rhetoric can legitimize negative sentiments and foster an environment where hostility toward refugees is more socially acceptable. Economics is another challenge that refugees face; many Somali refugees have severe financial difficulties, such as high rates of underemployment and unemployment. These economic challenges may exacerbate their marginalization, leading to financial instability and restricting their access to necessary services (Hammond, 2013, p. 1008).

In conclusion, Somali refugees in the UK experience a variety of negative reactions, such as xenophobia, discrimination, economic hardship, unfavorable media representations, social exclusion, and mental health problems. These elements may seriously impair their assimilation and general standard of living in their new nation.

These measures include checks on immigration status for public services, which can lead to discrimination and fear among refugees and asylum seekers. Public opinion and political rhetoric sometimes prioritize border control over humanitarian concerns, influencing the UK's approach to refugees. We can develop more effective integration policies and practices by considering the role of opportunity structures within the host society. By customizing measures and acknowledging the influence of elements such as housing prices,

civil society engagement, and attitudes toward immigration, policymakers can better assist refugee integration (Phillimore, 2020, p. 1). By focusing on compassion and human rights, the UK can better uphold its international obligations and provide a safe haven for those in need.

Diasporic Identities

They facilitate integration into British society while enabling migrants to preserve their cultural identity and support their communities both locally and transnationally. Somali refugees in the UK have developed a resilient system of social connections, primarily built through family ties, religious institutions, and community organizations. These networks facilitate the settlement process by offering housing, financial aid, and employment opportunities. Religious institutions, particularly mosques, play a central role in fostering social connections within the Somali community, providing practical support and language classes. Clan lines or regional identities can fragment community organizations, despite the Somali community's resilience in the face of systemic challenges. Challenges to broader integration include language barriers, educational deficits, discrimination, and the dual marginalization of Muslims in the UK.

Language retention can also present challenges for younger Somalis. While second-generation refugees often grow up speaking Somali at home, their proficiency in the language may diminish over time as they increasingly use English in educational and social contexts (Jones, 2021, p. 301). This generational language gap can create tensions within families, as younger members may struggle to fully communicate with their elders or to engage with traditional Somali cultural practices.

The Somali immigrant women in the UK navigate a complex landscape of transnational and identity in which they build a dynamic understanding of their own Somaliness. Competing influences alter the significance of familiar parts of national, cultural, and religious identity, which they use as deliberate signifiers of identity. Indicators of belonging, including language, dress, and religion, acquire new and heightened significance within the altered context. (Hopkins, 2017, p. 1).

Many Somali refugees, especially older generations, retain strong ties to Somali cultural practices, including clan-based social structures, religious traditions, and family values (Harris, 2004, p. 133). The 2021 census revealed that 74% can speak English very well.

21.8% "cannot speak English well" and 4.2% "cannot speak English" among those identified as Somali, where Somali males were more likely to speak English very well, 83.1%, than females, 68.1% (ONS, 2021 census).

Moreover, many Somali parents may struggle to engage with the UK education system related to linguistic obstacles and insufficient understanding of British educational standards and expectations (Change Institute, 2009, p. 29). This may limit their ability to assist their children's educational development and participation in school activities. However, community organizations have played a crucial role in bridging this gap by providing educational support, such as homework clubs and language classes, tailored specifically to Somali children and their families (Lindley, 2007, p. 582). Cultural beliefs and practices significantly influence their perceptions of GBV and their willingness to seek help, indicating a need for culturally sensitive approaches in service provision (Adebayo et al., 2023). In addition, language barriers and limited access to culturally appropriate services further exacerbate the challenges encountered by Somali families in addressing issues such as gender-based violence. Therefore, it is essential for service providers to collaborate with community organizations to ensure that support services are accessible and tailored to the unique needs of Somali families.

The lack of English proficiency not only impedes practical aspects of integration but also contributes to social isolation, as it restricts opportunities for interaction with non-Somali communities. Moreover, some studies suggest that younger Somali refugees, especially those who were born or raised in the UK, tend to develop stronger English language skills through schooling, although they may experience a degree of cultural dislocation as a result of navigating between Somali and British cultural norms (Bigelow, 2010, p. 20). Despite these challenges, Somali refugees generally maintain a strong connection to their native language, which plays an essential role in preserving cultural identity within the diaspora. Somali language retention is particularly important within family and community contexts, where it serves as the primary means of communication between generations (Kahin, 2016, p. 145).

Somali immigrants in particular often rely on these social bonds to navigate the challenges of resettlement in a new country, such as finding employment, housing, and accessing healthcare services. The social bonds offer emotional support and foster a sense of

belonging, helping refugees cope with the challenges of displacement and adaptation (Phillimore, 2020, p. 3).

In conclusion, social bridges, social bonds, and social links are interconnected elements that play a significant role in the lives of Somali refugees in the UK.

5.4 Initiatives and support

Social integration plays a critical role in the safety and security of immigrants. Successful integration can mitigate the risks of social isolation, economic marginalization, and exposure to violence. The UK government has implemented various integration strategies, such as the *Integrated Communities Strategy*, which aims to promote social cohesion by addressing barriers to integration, including language skills, employment opportunities, and social participation (Ministry of Housing, Communities, and Local Government, 2019).

However, critics frequently contest the effectiveness of these approaches. According to critics, hostile immigration environments—where stringent immigration laws and unfavorable public debate on immigration foster a culture of fear and insecurity among immigrant populations—can jeopardize integration initiatives (Kirkwood, McNeill, & Stevenson, 2015). The UK government implemented the "hostile environment" strategy in 2012 to create significant barriers for individuals lacking legal status to continue residing in the country. Critics have criticized this policy for leading to wrongful detentions, deportations, and the denial of basic services to immigrants, thereby exacerbating their insecurity (Yeo, 2018). Furthermore, research has shown that hostile immigration environments can also contribute to social exclusion and discrimination against immigrant communities, further marginalizing them within society. These negative impacts can hinder the integration and well-being of immigrants, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of immigration policies aimed at promoting social cohesion and inclusion.

Additionally, the UK government has implemented policies such as the Detained Fast Track system, which aimed to process asylum claims quickly but faced criticism for not allowing enough time for proper legal representation. These policies have been controversial and have raised concerns about the treatment of Somali refugees in the UK. The Act also introduced the concept of "designated countries of origin," which fast-tracked asylum claims

from certain countries deemed safe. These measures have been criticized for potentially denying protection to those in genuine need. The treatment of Somali refugees under these policies has sparked debates about the obligations of the United Kingdom under international refugee law.

The UK has implemented "hostile environment" policies aimed at deterring illegal immigration. These policies have created barriers for refugees and asylum seekers in accessing services, leading to criticism from human rights organizations. Advocacy groups emphasize the significant of offering support and resources to asylum seekers from the moment they arrive in the UK. They argue that early integration efforts can lead to better outcomes for both refugees and the communities they settle in. They contend that effectively addressing the global refugee crisis requires a more welcoming and inclusive approach.

The process of resettlement

To resettle the refugees, the UK operates three primary resettlement schemes: the UK Resettlement Scheme (UKRS), which focuses on resettling refugees identified by the UNHCR who are in vulnerable situations. Second, the Community Sponsorship Scheme enables community groups to sponsor and support refugees, offering them housing and integration assistance. Third is the Mandate Resettlement Scheme, that resettles recognized refugees with close family ties members in the UK.

The UK's resettlement policies prioritize refugees with specific protection needs, including those surviving violence or torture. They provide welfare benefits, work rights, and English language tuition. The UK collaborates with the UNHCR to identify refugees and align selection with global humanitarian needs. The policies aim to provide safe pathways for refugees. These policies reflect the UK's commitment to international refugee protection and the integration of resettled individuals into society (UK refugee resettlement policy guidance, August 2021 p. 3).

The UK government's Gateway Protection Programme, initiated in 2004, has facilitated the resettlement of 418 Somali refugees from 2010 to 2012 (Sim et al., 2014). The UK's restriction policy had led many Somalis to forcibly return home. The UK's restrictive policy towards Somali refugees has been a point of contention, as it has resulted in many facing the

risk of forced return to their home country. This has raised concerns about the protection of vulnerable individuals seeking asylum in the UK.

Social Integration Programs

Social integration supports refugees to become part of the host community and establish connections with the local communities; this helps refugees to adapt to the social, cultural, and economic norms of the new environments. During the settlement, refugees often face significant barriers to social integration, including language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination (Hammond, 2013). Those challenges can hinder their ability to connect with the broader community and participate fully in social life. However, with the right support and resources, Somali refugees can overcome these obstacles and become active members of society. Programs that focus on language acquisition, cultural orientation, and community engagement can greatly facilitate the social integration process for refugees. Refugees and the host community must work together, and the challenges and opportunities shaped by their unique experiences shape this process (Hammond, 2013, p. 1002).

Furthermore, Phillimore (2012) emphasizes the importance of a comprehensive, flexible, and community-oriented approach to refugee integration, highlighting the need for ongoing support and engagement from both refugees and host communities to achieve successful integration outcomes. This approach involves providing language classes, job training, and mental health support to help refugees navigate the challenges of resettlement.

Despite the existence of integration policies, many refugees, including Somalis, face significant challenges in accessing the resources and opportunities necessary for integration. These challenges include discrimination, economic barriers, and difficulties in navigating the bureaucratic landscape of the host country (Hammond, 2013, p. 1014).

Young Somalis often grapple with a complex identity, being Black, Muslim, and Somali, which can lead to feelings of exclusion both within the broader Muslim community and in wider British society. They frequently experience racism and Islamophobia, which exacerbates their struggles with identity. Emma Wallis from InfoMigrants (2018) provided a report that outlined the reasons behind the refugee struggle to integrate in the UK. She highlights that young Somalis face significant racial and religious discrimination. Stereotypes

and negative perceptions of Black Muslims in the UK often compound this discrimination, leading to social exclusion and marginalization.

The Somali community often finds itself socially isolated, with limited interaction with other communities. The report points out that this isolation is partly due to cultural differences but also to the lack of inclusive initiatives that facilitate integration. Language barriers and a lack of representation in the media and public life further hinder their integration. The report recommends implementing programs that promote cross-cultural understanding and dialogue, as well as increasing representation of the Somali community in mainstream media and public forums (Wallis, InfoMigrants, 2018). By addressing these barriers, the Somali community can begin to overcome social isolation and achieve greater integration within British society.

Conclusion

To sum up, the Somali community in the UK experiences difficulties such as discrimination, social isolation, or identity struggles. Despite these challenges, the Somali community maintains their vibrant relationships and culture. We should devise a well-designed and community-centered integration strategy that considers the community's language needs, fosters intercultural respect and understanding, and focuses on integrating Somali refugees into a new culture and society without losing their identity. If implemented properly, the UK stands to improve the inclusion of Somali refugees in their new surroundings, thus resulting in a more harmonious society.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

6.1. Comparison of Somali refugees in Ethiopia and the UK

When we consider Southern countries, the refugee experience becomes more diverse, necessitating the development of a model that encompasses all types of experiences, not just those from the North. In order to explain the full range of refugee experiences, we compare the two refugee-hosting countries according to our theoretical framework, which examines both the nature and causes of settlement, adaptation, and lack thereof through four aspects: structure, discourses and relations, housing and locality, and initiatives and support.

Structure

Ethiopia's and the UK's policies toward refugees reflect different approaches shaped by their unique contexts, historical backgrounds, and international obligations. For various reasons, both Ethiopia and the UK are unable to fulfill their international obligations. Ethiopia lacks the state capacity and economic means, while the UK struggles with political will due to strong populism.

The UK has a robust legal framework for both the protection and rights of refugees and the prevention of incoming asylum seekers, irregular migrants, and border control. These two principles in the UK legal framework contradict and prevent adaptation. The contradiction becomes most obvious in detention policy, which is legal but unjust and violates human rights. The legal framework in Ethiopia for refugee protection is relatively new and may contain several loopholes. Although the country's open border policy reveals a clearer understanding of the state's motivations, which are not limited to preventing migration. Moreover, this shows that Ethiopia assumes responsibility for the worldwide refugee crisis since a neighboring and partly kin state is in crisis.

UK policies of accepting resettled refugees, employment, and education demonstrate a neoliberal approach towards refugees. Not only are refugees strictly selected, but they are also seen as immigrants who can fill in needed working-class positions. There are not sufficient

programs to encourage language proficiency and the upward mobility of refugees. Selection of families with a male household leader shows discrimination against single women with children. Nevertheless, the selection process and stringent monitoring of refugees, along with the bureaucratic follow-up and swift processing of asylum seekers and detention centers, mitigate security risks. Yet, the treatment of refugees in detention centers not only compromises their safety and security but also violates their human rights.

Ethiopia's inability to select refugees poses a significant security risk to the country and its camps, as it allows numerous extremist groups to infiltrate the country. Because of the clan structure and multi-religious nature of Ethiopia and Somalia, the two countries are at risk of inter-ethnic clashes. Ethiopia aims to contain these dangers by establishing camps, especially those in Ethiopia’s Somali region, where ethnic brethren live. While camps play a significant role in enhancing the security of outer society, they can also pose significant risks, particularly for women. However, while NGOs deliver aid and provide some level of education through camps, they do not offer opportunities for employment, language acquisition, eventual self-sufficiency, or individuals' adaptation to society.

Housing and Locality

Illiberal measures include checks on the immigration status of public services, which can lead to discrimination and fear among refugees and asylum seekers. This can further isolate vulnerable populations and hinder their access to the necessary resources for integration and stability in their new communities. Refugees struggle to get access to school and language training without housing, which is a basic necessity (Stewart & Shaffer, 2015, p. 64). Additionally, a lack of affordable housing options can force refugees and asylum seekers into overcrowded and unsafe living conditions, exacerbating their vulnerability.

Despite refugees having no choice but to accept the dispersal policy, housing will have the most significant impact; most of them become homeless after receiving asylum. The National Asylum Support Service (NASS) in the UK, responsible for providing accommodation to asylum seekers, allows them to leave the hostel 28 days after the approval of their asylum. Furthermore, the lack of stable housing can impact refugee mental health and

their ability to integrate into their new communities. This also affects their access to education, employment opportunities, and social services, creating additional barriers to their successful integration and overall well-being.

Discourses and Relations

Public opinion and political rhetoric, which occasionally prioritize border control over humanitarian concerns, influence the UK's approach to refugees. (Phillimore, 2020, p. 1). By focusing on compassion and human rights, the UK can better uphold its international obligations and provide a safe haven for those in need.

Rising populism, racism, and anti-immigrant movements create a negative environment for refugee adaptation. Sponsorship mechanisms in this sense help develop the participation of civil society in the refugee settlement process. Ethiopia lacks a robust option for refugees, possibly due to the public's passivity and the historical tradition of accepting a large number of refugees, many of whom are themselves refugees in neighboring states. In times of economic downturn, people perceive refugees as less dangerous. In Ethiopia, locals, especially those from the same clan, support the adoption of refugees. Local people can benefit from refugee camps, humanitarian aid, and new projects such as the construction of water dams and agricultural dams. Local communities often engage in economic activities that arise from refugee aid projects. For instance, when refugees engage in small businesses or agricultural projects, local vendors and suppliers can benefit from increased demand for goods and services (Muhumed & Jaji, 2023, p. 84). One of the projects has been mentioned above, like the Ikea Foundation project. The Jarrar Valley Water Supply, a UNHCR water and electricity project, provides 1.3 million liters of water per day to 51,000 people, including 16,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2010). This was an important project that benefited the refugees and the local community. The International Rescue Committee also opened one of the largest water systems for two camps, Bokolmayo and Kobe, in Dolo Ado (IRC, 2013).

Initiatives *and Support*

UK programs generally aim to stop or slow down refugees and asylum seekers while aiming for the speedy integration of settled refugees, emphasizing civic nationalism instead of

multicultural citizenship. The UK does not follow a policy of supporting Somali diasporic culture and identity, and this causes second- and third-generation Somali youth to feel excluded and not adapt. While the UK's national welfare programs and NGOs' initiatives to assist individuals in need are beneficial to refugees residing there, the UK does not assume responsibility for global events, particularly the global refugee crisis. Additionally, the UK's refugee policy exhibits both illiberal and neoliberal characteristics. It is illiberal in its restrictive measures and lack of support for asylum seekers while also reflecting neoliberal tendencies through market-oriented approaches and the privatization of services (Day & White, 2002, p. 25).

Meanwhile, Ethiopia's out-of-camp policy shows that the state is now more motivated to accept refugees' permanence and aims to integrate them by making them self-sufficient and contributing to the local economy. The positive aspects of refugee policy are seeking to integrate refugees locally and providing liberty to refugees to choose their place of residence. The positive aspects of refugee policies include integrating refugees locally and providing them with liberty in selecting their place of residence. Ethiopia's main difficulty economically integrating refugees is its lack of economic resources to provide education, infrastructure, and jobs (Nigusie and Carver, 2019, p. 19). The UNHCR and other NGOs providing resources to the refugees and internally displaced people are still insufficient, and other countries must support Ethiopia in providing funds for refugees. INGOs also need to better coordinate their aid and use it more rationally, not to create aid dependency but to support education and job training. Ethiopia also follows a civil nationalist model rather than multicultural nationalism for refugees in cities and places where Ethiopian ethnicity is dominant. However, due to the de facto multiculturalism and pluralism of ethnic regions such as the Somali region of Ethiopia, refugees are able to maintain their social bodies and ancestral identities, which facilitates their adaptation.

Social networks facilitate the integration and adaptation of refugees into their new environments. By building connections with the local communities and others in similar situations, they can share resources and access important information about local services and employment opportunities. These platforms also provide emotional support and a sense of community during the challenges of resettlement. Geo-historical mobility from Somalia

shapes the social relationships of the Somali Diaspora community, facilitating their settlement in a host country, their networks within that country, and their connections with other Somalis globally (Haji-Abdi, 2014, p. 46). Identities such as clan affiliation, Somali nationality, Muslim religion, African heritage, and status as refugees or asylum seekers mediate their internal connections (Haji-Abdi, 2014, p. 65).

Hynie et al. (2011) argued that female newcomers who are immigrants or refugees face significant challenges in rebuilding their social networks in a new community, which in turn affects their access to social support and overall well-being. The study found that the majority of social support for female newcomers came from co-ethnic relationships. Despite their essential role in providing emotional and practical support, these networks often faced limitations in size and resources, potentially overwhelming them (Hynie et al., 2011, p. 42).

Due to the fragility of migration governance, refugees develop informal mechanisms of integration by creating businesses, working in agriculture, and selling in local markets using social networks (Muhumad and Jaji, 2023, p. 81). Somali refugees developed resilience, cultural, and language affinities through informal social networks. This helps them to navigate the challenges of a new environment and provides a sense of belonging. Even in camps, despite the disadvantages of exclusion and insecurity, these environments can foster new communities and provide essential support services, enabling them to engage in local economies and social life. Similarly, the Somali refugee population in the UK also develops resilience based on their social bonds and transnational networks with their homeland and world communities. This allows them to maintain their cultural identity and access resources to integrate into British society. By leveraging these connections, Somali refugees can overcome barriers and create a sense of belonging in their new homes.

Conclusion

Although only 16% of all refugees live in Northern countries (UNHCR 2017), the discipline of refugee studies primarily focuses on these refugees, making the knowledge it generates less generalizable. The literature generally neglects major refugee-receiving countries in the Global South, despite the fact that 84% of refugees live in developing countries (FitzGerald and Arar, 2018, p. 398). By conducting a comparative case study of

Somali refugees in Ethiopia and the UK, we can establish the following generalizations and conclusions. Further case comparisons involving more countries from the North and South are necessary to validate these conclusions.

European-based refugee regimes primarily concentrate on the cultural assimilation of refugees from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, while the vast majority of research on migration and refugees focuses on the issue of identity and integration. This issue seems less relevant for the overwhelming proportion of all refugees residing in Southern states, for Southern host societies do not create a systematic opposition to refugees despite serious security risks emanating from extremist groups organized among refugee groups that are not lesser than the cases in the Northern states, if not greater.

European-based refugee regimes are also ahistorical. Migration has played an important role in African human history for climatic reasons. Only recently, with the emergence of modern nation-states, has migration come under strict control. The South to South refugee experience has been an integral part of life in the developing world for the last century, if not longer. Unlike Northern states, such as the UK, which only recently turned into refugee-receiving states, Southern states, for the most part of their history, have continuously had IDPs and refugees from neighboring states due to a large number of civil and interstate wars and conflicts, environmental degradation, and low economic development, partly arising from large investments of Western capital in the resources of Third-World countries.

Focusing solely on Northern countries, where the refugee issue is a nuisance rather than a threat to state security, fails to fully appreciate the magnitude of the refugee phenomenon. It is important to consider the global impact of refugee settlement and adaptation, as well as the potential security implications for countries beyond the Northern regions. In the South, the institution of the state is fragile due to the influx of refugees, who move in large numbers and at a rapid pace. These refugee flows may overwhelm states, leading to the use of the word "crisis," a term not appropriate for Western states. In the South, refugees have the potential to jeopardize state security, instigate clan conflicts, frequently travel with terrorist networks, and potentially deplete already scarce food and water resources.

Because of the economic and political weaknesses of the state, migration governance is shared with international organizations and northern donors. Thus, in the southern countries, the refugee issue is a matter of governance rather than government. Collaboration

and support from various stakeholders are required to effectively manage the influx of refugees and address the root causes of migration.

Moreover, in the Southern context, most countries are forced to follow an open-border policy to adjacent communities that share ethnic or religious affinities with the received populations. Only recently, European countries had a similar experience with the Ukrainian war, albeit to a lesser extent. However, despite the anti-migration rhetoric of populist parties, European states managed to maintain a sense of control.

Northern countries also view refugee settlement and adaptation as an economic and political issue, and they generally take refugee safety for granted. However, in the Southern contexts, we cannot exclude the possibility that refugees in Southern host countries may experience further conflict, as happened in Yemen and Lebanon. If not for war, refugees in Southern contexts would also face economic difficulties. Refugees often immigrate to places where their economic, social, or cultural capital is significantly lower than their own. In Ethiopia, many ethnic Somalis register as refugees to receive aid. Refugees in southern states face a range of challenges, from basic life issues such as thinness, hunger, malnutrition, overcrowding, insufficient health services, and gender-based violence, to quality of life issues like difficulty accessing education, language instruction, employment, and lack of emancipation. Again, research on refugee integration has mostly focused on quality of life issues, as these are more pressing for refugees in Western countries.

Northern states typically have detention centers, which prioritize deportation over settlement. In the southern states, camps are the first step in settlement and adaptation. Camps are indispensable, as host states are not capable of protecting refugees from predators in the host society, such as gangs of bandits. In the situation of prolonged displacement, camps become places where new social relationships emerge and refugees assimilate into the host society.

However, as aid levels fluctuate, refugees may find themselves compelled to live in camps, either to return before the conflict concludes or to relocate to pastoral or urban centers, potentially transforming them into a precarious labor force. This brings us to another aspect of the refugee phenomenon in the South: the informality of solutions. Therefore, as refugees move out of camps and beyond the legal boundaries of refugee governmentality, they must solve their own problems and develop informal means of survival and income, such as

employment and education. Unlike many aid agencies, we cannot regard refugees as merely surviving, but they must have future plans. Researchers have not sufficiently explored the informal ways in which refugees live in the South. This case shows that western nation-states do not give space for the possibility of rampant immigration. We must generate observations from Ethiopia's methodology of incorporating refugees and navigating the complexities of uncertainty. The case indicates Ethiopia does not implement governance with the same severity towards refugees. This thesis contributed to exploring informal ways of integrating refugees.

In the Global South, there is the need for continued attention to guarantee migration legislation is implemented effectively and the refugees' rights and well-being are realized. International cooperation and collaboration among governments, NGOs, and other stakeholders is significant to implement these policies successfully. They argue that a comprehensive approach is required not only for addressing immediate needs but also for investing in long-term solutions for refugees' integration and self-reliance. The countries of the Global South must show sustained commitment and resources to ensure the success of these policies and improve the lives of refugees worldwide.

Ethiopia and the countries of the Global South must help refugees become self-reliant and contribute to the local economy. Female refugees face challenges such as higher unemployment rates, limited access to capital and resources, and limited access to vocational training programs. Cultural norms and gender roles restrict women's mobility and discourage them from seeking formal employment. The combination of low wages and lack of opportunities discourages female refugees from seeking formal work. Therefore, the policies that address female refugees to “make a life” going beyond “bare life” are required in the Global South.

Recommendations

Addressing the root causes of the refugee crisis, such as political instability, armed conflicts, and environmental degradation, is crucial for achieving lasting solutions. Markos came to the conclusion that there is still no final and effective solution to the refugee crisis. He pointed out that long-lasting solutions, international support, and addressing the causes of

the problem could make it easier for Ethiopia to take in Somali refugees (Markos, p. 14, 1997). Most importantly, addressing the refugee issue globally requires addressing peace and economic development in the South. Western countries must comprehend, invest in, and collaborate with Southern countries to either create refugees or facilitate their temporary integration. The education skills and economic capital refugees acquired through mobility could help them develop their home countries after they return. This was also influenced by earlier colonialism and the current neo-colonialism or neo-liberalism of Western countries.

Despite the policy frameworks and international laws, Somali female refugees are still facing many barriers to social, economic, and political inclusion. This study shows that comprehensive strategies that address these women's specific vulnerabilities and aspirations are necessary, recognizing their resilience and potential as change-makers. These findings demonstrate the importance of enhancing the control of Somali female refugees over their lives by supporting their access to education, which also improves their employability and connects them with better social services. By developing the capacities and skills of these women further, they could make a positive contribution to and be significant actors in peacebuilding in their hosting environment, improving social cohesion and advancing economic development within the region.

Protection, empowerment, and gender equality may serve as the three fundamental pillars of women's lives during displacement. Women require more specialized health care, are more vulnerable to violence and discrimination due to patriarchal norms, and are at a higher risk of being trafficked. They are less free as mothers, subject to double persecution, both with conditions of displacement and domestic and societal violence; more financially dependent; facing COVID challenges; facing social stigma for people reporting abuse; facing language barriers; facing an education gap between girls and boys; facing early marriage; facing inadequate lighting in refugee camps; facing early pregnancies; facing the risk of IPV; facing polygamy; and male partners are absent. Providing targeted support and resources for female refugees, including access to vocational training programs and microfinance opportunities, can assist them in overcoming these challenges. Additionally, promoting awareness and advocacy for gender equality within refugee communities can help shift cultural norms and create more opportunities for women to thrive economically (Muhumed, 2022).

Somali refugees must be provided legal status with a purview of citizenship, integrated into local communities, by providing health services, elementary and middle school compulsory education for females, and opportunities for small employment in the form of land plots for families. We must grant the rights of migrants to employment and mobility, address socioeconomic issues more effectively, and allocate resources from Western countries to bolster Ethiopia's economy. This will enable state services to effectively support the refugees, ensuring their stay in Ethiopia. Former colonial patrons such as Britain, France, Italy, and Russia must take the lead, given that the colonial past has resulted in numerous territorial disputes that need to be resolved for historical justice to occur. Aid should not be sporadic, and investment in localities where refugees seek integration is essential. Development aid must incorporate refugee aid. Development issues, clannism, the prevalence of political violence and conflict, and gender discrimination intertwine with refugee issues. Therefore, we need to tackle these issues alongside refugees. We must also remember that repatriation necessitates substantial financial support from international organizations, as well as from both the home and host states, and that involuntary repatriation could potentially lead to deportation.

The UN and international organizations like the African Union must actively address political and conflict issues to facilitate the repatriation of refugees. Similarly, Ethiopia and Kenya, having contributed to the current instability in Somalia, must provide compensation by integrating Somali refugees, even if only temporarily. Somali nationalism is a positive force for better care of refugees in places they have settled. Interestingly, Ethiopia or Kenya does not perceive these refugees as a threat to their national identities. Turkey, with a growing number of student migrants and a growing presence and foreign policy activism in the Horn of Africa, can contribute to the solution of refugee issues.

The African and Somali diaspora must play a significant role in addressing state-building and refugee production problems. Better integration of Somali communities and their generation of wealth is necessary to achieve this. The Somali diaspora must preserve their relationship with Somali culture. Somali networks have proved valuable in providing hope for the future of Somali refugees.

The Turkish model of refugee settlement in pastoral environments and vocational training could be helpful. Turkey, a developing country facing significant economic challenges, could offer Ethiopia valuable lessons. Governments in Kenya and Ethiopia must take an active approach to negotiating with aid agencies to provide more local input for internationally developed policies. We must also address conflicts with native Somali Ethiopians, which could stem from a lack of resources.

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