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# **Crossing the Gulf of Aden: A Case Study of the Refugee and Migrant Flow from Yemen to Puntland, Somalia**

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**Declaration**

I, Farhia Aden, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

## **Abstract**

Since 2015, there has been a Saudi-led coalition displacing Yemenis within the country and across international borders. Qualitative research was conducted on this case study of Yemeni refugees who migrated across the Gulf of Aden into Puntland, Somalia. The purpose of this research is to explore migration determinants of the migrants on that particular migration flow. The rationale for this study emanates from the research objective to increasing understanding of migration factors and flows of a contemporary refugee crisis contributes to knowledge on migration. Primary Data for this research was collected from in-depth interviewing from a purposefully selected sample of Yemeni migrants. Subsequently, the data assessed using micro, meso and macro level of analysis to understand the main migration determinants. Findings from the research indicate that interactions of local-level factors influence people's migration decisions and strategies in combination with a range of political, economic and social factors and process that ultimately shape migration outcome, flow, and destination.

*In memory of Emaan*

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## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

EASO	European Asylum Support Office
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
HDI	Human Development Index
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MMTF	Mixed Migration Task  Force
NDC	National Dialogue Conference
ONARS	Office National d'Assistance aux Réfugiés et Sinistrés
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



# Map of Gulf of Aden



Source : <http://ontheworldmap.com/oceans-and-seas/gulf-of-aden/>

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## 1.0 Introduction

One of the world's greatest humanitarian disasters has been unfolding in Yemen that continues till this day. Since March 2015, the Saudi-led international coalition has been launching airstrikes targeting the armed Houthi group, escalating to a full-armed conflict. As the conflict enters its fourth year, millions of Yemeni civilians are affected as they bear the brunt of the crisis. The violence of the war has exacerbated an already severe humanitarian crisis from pre-existing conditions of poverty. The air strikes have threatened the impending food crisis contributing to the staggering amount of malnourishment and death rate.

According to UNHRC (2018), as of February 2018, 190, 352 people in Yemen have fled to neighboring countries. Over half that number of people have fled to the Horn of Africa specifically, Djibouti and Somalia. Large-scale movements of Yemenis across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden into the horn of Africa, a region known for poverty, instability, and conflict are taking place now for the first time in history (Frouew and Akumo, 2016).

Media attention on the conflict in Yemen has been almost non-existent, often termed the "forgotten war" for lack of coverage (Elayah et al., 2017). The limited media coverage generally, draws attention on the war and how it is a struggle of power between terrorism and regional actors (Elayah et al., 2017). A study that was conducted that researched the coverage of Saudi-Yemeni war by European media for two years (March 2015 – March 2017) have concluded that coverage on the war is framed as a sectarian conflict with "no urgency in showing peace-keeping or enforcement efforts to stop the killing of Yemenis" (Elayah et al., 2017). The civilians, who are impacted by the war, have not received much attention and have also been forgotten in the same sense. The migration flows in this case, to the global south is one that has received no attention in the discussions around migration. Migration is generally depicted as movement from the global south towards the west and Europe. Migration in the media, academia and public discourse is generally presented as an issue that impacts the global north, straining their societies and state resources. This paper seeks to explore the phenomenon of migration within this case study of Yemen migrants. Migration being the phenomenon of moving cross-border as a collective action, arising out of social, economic and political change that affects both communities of receiving and sending of migrants. The purpose of this study is to understand the drivers of migration for the Yemeni people fleeing Yemen to seek refuge in the horn of Africa. We aim to generate knowledge

that would inform new sights on the migration phenomenon in the Middle Eastern and horn of Africa region.

Movement of migrants, asylum seekers into the Horn of Africa, is atypical not to mention limited in research in that area. Generally, narratives on refugee flows in academia, politics and the media focuses on global south to global north flows. While migration on the continent of Africa is studied, it is often displacement within the continent itself or migration outflows to Europe/ Middle East. This study stands out as it examines the migration drivers of refugees and migrants from Yemen to Somalia. Somalia is known to be one of the most dangerous countries in the world with a long history of civil war, famine, extreme poverty and terrorism (Fergusson, 2013). The harsh conditions that are attributed to Somalia are similar to the ones in Yemen; thus it is interesting to research the flow of migrants from one dangerous situation to region to another.

## **1.1 Rationale and Significance**

The rationale for this study emanates from the researchers' desire to explore factors that influence migration flows. Movement across borders has shaped states and societies since the beginning of time, in recent years it gained defining centrality to domestic and international politics (Castles and Miller, 2009). As International Migration has multiplied in numbers, and become increasingly diverse and rapid, academic interest in the phenomenon has increased. In an increasingly globalized world, more people are crossing borders in hopes of fleeing persecution, violence or conflict to gain a better life economically. The movement of people internationally has posed challenges for the international community for its link to political salience, as a polarizing and political issue, in all parts of the world. Increasing understanding of migration factors and flows of a contemporary refugee crisis contributes to knowledge on migration. Specifically, increasing knowledge on unconventional refugee flows between two of the world's most dangerous, weak, unstable countries will in hopes prove that a global refugee crisis impacts Africa - much more than we are accustomed to hearing in the news. Research from this case study has the potential to raise awareness of the ongoing refugee crisis in Yemen as well as provide a different narrative for Somalia, a country that receives refugees, not just export refugees.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

The purpose of this research is to explore drivers of migrations of migrants out of Yemen and into Puntland.

### **1.2.1 Research Questions**

To shed light on the research objectives, the following research questions will be addressed:

*What are the main drivers of migration from Yemen to Puntland, Somalia since 2015?*

#### Sub research Question

How has the international community responded to conflict in Yemen?

How has their response to the conflict in Yemen influenced the main drivers of migration and or further displacement?

## **1.3 Outline of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized into several chapters. The first chapter introduces the purpose of the study and the research objectives. After the scope of the study is introduced, the background chapter is presented. Understanding the historical and political context of the Yemen refugee crisis serves to contextualize the data for discussion in the analysis. Following the background section, is a chapter on theory and conceptual framework on migration. The theories are presented and structured based on whether they are micro, meso or macro analysis of migration. The pros and cons of each of the level of analysis of migration are explored as well. Lastly, the section also serves to link theories to existing studies on migration to be critiqued in a broader context of the study.

The next section of the thesis is dedicated to explaining the methodology and qualitative research approach. The specific procedures used in conducting the study are linked to the study's purpose and research objectives. Through each subsection, research design, data collection methods, analysis and issues of trustworthiness, the reader will be able to get a sense of the choices taken including the limitations of methodological choices — subsequently the paper transitions to the findings of the study. The findings and analysis chapter are displayed in subsections corresponding to the research questions they answer. The role of individual choices in migration is explored, following the influence of structural factors, networks, and systems. A multi-level analysis of migration determinants are

examined in relation to the research questions. The final chapter concludes with reflections of the study from the researcher and recommendations for further research in the area to be explored.

## **2 Background of Yemen**

The Republic of Yemen formed in 1990 after the unification of Yemen Arab Republic and the People's democratic republic of Yemen. The Yemen Arabic Republic also recognized as "North Yemen," was led by Ali Abdullah Saleh while his counterpart Ali Salim al-Beidh from the People's democratic republic of Yemen known as "South Yemen" collaborated to form a unity agreement to what we know now as just "Yemen." After many failed attempts of a unification of the states in the '70s and '80s, a new Constitution was agreed upon in 1990 for what was to pave Yemen to be a unified democratic state (Phillips, 2011).

In its current state, the Yemeni state is riddled with issues on different fronts all at once. "It is facing a series of deepening economic and political challenges, including declining oil and water reserves, budget shortfalls, civil conflict, a burgeoning civil protest movement, foreign military intervention, pervasive poverty and an increasingly aggressive jihadi movement" (Phillips, 2011). The harsh conditions and extreme poverty that Yemen has faced over the last few decades have prevented neighbouring countries from including Yemen into the Gulf Cooperation Council, despite the geographical location, similar cultural and language ties and economy based on oil. Yemen's lack of membership of the council has led to an acceleration of impoverishment as it cannot compete with trade deals with the neighbouring companies (Phillips, 2011). Lack of investments and financings from trading do not allow it a fair chance of lifting itself out of poverty. Yemen is one of the poorest countries in the Arab region, ranking 178 out of 189 on the Human Development Index, a measure of life expectancy, education, and standard of living, a slight increase from 0.399 to 0.452, an increase of 13.3 percent since its unification in 1990 (UNDP, 2018).

Yemen's central location in the Arab peninsula and natural resources such as oil are strengths regarding the potential to be a global trading partner. These assets however as confident as they seem, are also deemed detrimental and consequential as it can further escalate tensions and conflicts. In term of geographical location, Yemen is strategically bordered by maritime highways that connect rich Arab countries to Europe in addition to East Africa (Hansen, 2012). Its relative close location to east Africa is significant as migration trends between the two continents are consistent due to its long history of conflict and

poverty. Yemen is a unique situation not only geographically but noticeably crosscutting regional, religious, tribal and class divisions factor in the “fragility” of the state.

## **2.1 Yemen as a migration hub**

Yemen not long ago was a major hub of accepting refugees from countries in East Africa. After the collapse of the state in Somalia and the start of civil war in 1991, there has been a mass migration to Yemen for those escaping hardships of conflict, war, drought, famine, and persecution (Betts, 2013). Since the early 1990s, the country has had to deal with a substantial influx of refugees from the Horn of Africa, in particular, Somalia who have continued to seek asylum in a country plagued by its political crisis. "Forced and economic migration is connected in Yemen, as the country plays a strategic role in the management of migratory and trafficking flows between the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula" (Thoillet, 2014 p.2048).

In the most recent times, the main reasons Somalis have emigrated to Yemen is not tied to state failure and typical reasons for refugee flow. According to the Mixed Migration Task Force (MMTF) that was conducted in December 2011 has revealed that the primary reason Somalis have continued to migrate to Yemen was lack of economic opportunities (50 percent) followed by insecurity (39 percent) (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat 2012)” (Betts, 2013, p. 162).

In its prime location just across the Gulf of Aden, Yemen has hosted an estimated of 117 107 people from the horn of Africa in 2016 as well as being a transit country on the way to the Middle East and Europe (Horwood and Frouws, 2018). This route is known to be treacherous and where many have died, is still a pathway for mixed migration (Betts, 2013). There are many reported drownings and the "smuggling networks used are crossed at the narrowest points of the choppy and shark-infested Gulf of Aden, often on insecure and rickety boats" with many other added risks (Betts, 2013, p. 160). With these significant risk that has caused a high number of deaths, Yemen has remained a popular route and destination for a few reasons. One reason is that it is the most accessible direct route from major Somali ports such as Bosaso in addition to the presence of a sizeable Somali Diaspora community present in Yemen.

Somalis as refugees have been received and processed on a prima facie basis in Yemen. Prima facie involves accepting refugees at the point of entry without documentation. Once they arrive, they are processed and registered by UNHCR in collaboration with the



National Committee for Refugee Affairs (ONARS). A small percentage of refugees, usually extremely vulnerable persons inhabit the camps must integrate into urban areas and integrate locally, with limited assistance (Betts, 2013). "Of the 130,000 Somalis assisted by UNHCR in the country, only around 14,000 lived in the al-Kharaz camp, Yemen's main camp. "The majority live in urban areas in Sana'a and around the al-Basteen district in Aden, where they have freedom of movement and a degree of self-sufficiency" (Betts, 2013, p. 160). They rely on their own networks and make their way into informal economies. Yemen's initiatives and policies when it comes to Somali refugees have been generally open encouraging integration with Somali migrants within Yemen (Betts, 2013). It is the only country in the Arabian Peninsula to sign the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol however they do not have any formal refugee law (Betts, 2013). Nevertheless, Yemen's actions and policies for refugees have been very accommodating for Somalis. (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

## **2.2 Arab Spring 2011 leading up to the Civil War of 2015**

Following the uprisings that took place in Tunisia and Egypt, the youth of Yemen became mobilized in what began as the Yemeni stages of the Arab Spring. The goal of the spring was to "unite the people's wishes for a restructuring of the dominant system in Yemen in all its aspects: corruption, nepotism, tribalism, ..." (Elayah et al., 2011, p. 1). Initially, it started with a demand for jobs, improvement of living conditions and the rejection of the government's proposals to modify the constitution (Fattah, 2011). A bottom-up approach was taken, as Yemenis united to challenge the dominant power structures that exist. As the momentum rose the following chants circulated "'Yesterday, Tunisia, today Egypt, tomorrow Yemen,' 'Revolution of Yemen, from Sanaa to Aden' and the slogan of the Arab spring 'Ash-Shab yurid isqat an-nizam' (the people want to bring down the regime)" (Fattah, 2011, p. 81). What began as a peaceful protest shifted dramatically on the night of March 18, when 52 demonstrators were gunned down by a rooftop sniper.

The aftermath of the massacre led to widespread national anger and demonstrations towards the Salah regime. Saleh's structure of governance, which was based on a complex, overlapping and competitive network of families, clans and tribes continued their fight; a struggle of power with the opposition forces that consisted of elites with military and tribal coalitions (Fattah, 2011). As the GCC were attempting to broker a deal for the transitions of Saleh out of government, and Salah had refused. The Hashid tribe declared support for the opposition which led to massive street fighting which included artillery mortar shelling in the

capital Sanaa (Fattah, 2011). Chaos ensued, resulting in Death and Saleh's injury. During this time the government had refused to negotiate a transferring of power and pursuing democratic elections. Instead what had taken place was a power-transfer agreement brokered by the GCC where power was transferred to then vice-president Abdraabbu Mansur Hadi (Phillips. 2011).

Although Salah was removed from power, a presidential election was held in Yemen on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2012, Hadi had won the presidency with no opponent. The outcome of the process and the new president ultimately was akin to the conditions before the Arab spring that of corruption in state authority. During this time the National Dialogue conference was taking place as part of the agreement between the UN and the GCC in efforts to reconcile the Yemeni crisis. The conference that concluded in January 2014, recommended that Yemen be transformed into a six-region federal system (Al Jazeera, 2014). The international response to the outcomes of the NDC was mostly positive as the European Union Foreign Affairs Council "has set an example in the region" for transitional phases (NDC. 2016). Leaders of the Houthis disputed and rejected the new system citing that it is unfair as it divided Yemen into poor and wealthy regions. Tensions rose between the polarizing north and south regions of Yemen post-NDC, what was supposed to a historical time for Yemen and unity (Elayah et al., 2018).

Houthi led protests began taking over, which led to the escalation that took place when they stormed Sanaa on September 21, 2014, causing the resignation of the Prime Minister Mohammed Basindawa. The Houthis had been supporters of Saleh who continued to push upwards capturing Aden after they took control of Sanaa. Saleh's alliance with the Houthis remained intact even after the UN Security Council had imposed sanctions on him along with rebel commanders for threatening the peace and stability of the country and obstructing the political process (Al Jazeera, 2017). A UN report in February 2015 had concluded that Saleh had "provided direct support" to the Houthis during the takeover of the capital with his son Ahmed Ali Saleh, former military commander to assist in some capacity (Finn, 2015). The United Nations brokered a deal after key government buildings were seized to form a "unified government" (Elayah et al., 2018). On January 2015 Houthi rebels took control of the presidential residence in an effort to disrupt the current government and demand changes. Rather than give in to the demands of the Houthis, Hadi and his ministers resigned.

Saudi Arabia led a coalition of air strikes to restore Hadi in government. The intervention named Operation Decisive storm took shape as a bombing brigade and had led to

naval blockades. In December of 2017, Saleh had formally broken ties with the Houthis, a step indicating he was open to talks with the Saudi-led Coalition (Al Jazeera, 2017). In his televised address he blamed the rebels for the country's crisis, calling on forces loyal to him to ignore orders from the Houthi leadership (Al Jazeera, 2017). Days later after publicizing his willingness for dialogue with the Saudi-led coalition, Saleh was killed in Sanaa. Houthi took credit for his death with a TV announcement of “the killing of the treacherous leader Ali Abdullah Saleh and his supporters.... after he and his men blockaded the roads and killed civilians in a clear collaboration with the enemy countries of the coalition” (Al Jazeera, 2017).

Yemen is a source of concern for Saudi Arabia, as supported by the words of the “founding father King Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud (1867-1953), is famously quoted as saying: ‘The good or evil for us will come from Yemen.’ (Fattah, 2011, p. 83). To prevent or at least reduce the threats emerging from its backyard, the Saudi Kingdom responded to the Houthi-Iran alliance that was supported by the former president Saleh. As the Houthis began to expand geographically, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and mercenaries they have hired, along with additional support from Bahrain, Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, and Morocco continue the military intervention (Elayah et al., 2017). The operation has caused civilian deaths and injuries, displacement and destruction.

It is important to know that the origins and characteristics of the Yemen conflict are debated in the literature. One familiar narrative is the essentialist view that focuses on local dynamics such as tribalism and sectarianism. While others claim it is mainly due to economic ties that are mainly influenced by neighboring countries — i.e. external actors. This paper is focused on drivers of migration from Yemeni which does include the Yemeni war. The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader insight into the political situation of Yemen and the region as they provide context to displacement determinants discussed later on.

### **3 Theoretical Framework**

While movements of people across borders is not new, what is distinctive is that in recent years is how International Migration has multiplied in numbers, and become increasingly diverse and rapid, in a global scope. International migration as a global phenomenon is central to domestic and international politics as it has considerable economic and social consequences. The effects of globalization are sternly linked to migration, in addition to other

international agenda interests such as poverty, human rights, and refugees and development. Research on Migration has drawn the attention of a host of disciplines, such as economics, sociology, human geography, politics, history, and international relations to name a few (Castles et al., 2014). Migration scholars discuss the typologies, factors, discuss challenges, history, and explanations of flow of migrants. It has become somewhat of a sub-discipline in its own right due to the abundance of literature, yet depending on the perspective there are differential explanations of disciplinary perspective viewed (O' Reilley, 2012). Often migration theories can be divided into macro and micro based on the level of analysis or divided based on the school of thought (Massey et al., 1993).

The theoretical debate on migration was considered polarized until the early 1980s, on one camp there are neo-classical views and on the other is historical-structuralist views (neo-Marxist, dependency, world systems (de Haas, 2010). Castles et al., (2014) have grouped migration theories into functionalist and 'historical-structuralist' paradigms where they see functionalism as a theory where society is a system inhabited by interdependent parts. There is an overlap between how functionalist and neoclassical theories are put into one category and historical structuralist is another. The theories to explain cross-border movement can also be analyzed and divided into three main groups: Macro, Meso and Micro theories. Macro theories emphasize the structural, objective circumstances that drive migration by either pushing from the country of origin pulling to the destination country. Another component worth looking closely too is meso factors that focus on linkages, networks between states or said origin and destination country. Analyzing meso factors in this way highlights the relationships between the two states explaining the discrepancies that macro factors. Finally, Micro theories look at factors influencing the individual choices for migrating, analyzing how individuals process and assess their decision to migrate.

Generally, all the theories offered on the causes of migration are not mutually exclusive in how they explain international migration but rather proliferate and interact in their approach of the migration processes and the phenomenon centered on that (Massey et al., 1993). It is vital to see migration as an *Intrinsic part* broader processes of development, globalization and social transformation (Castles et al., 2014). The purpose of this literature review is to provide a comprehensive overview of theoretical perspectives that explain migration processes from the country of origin and also what motivated migration of settlement to the destination country. The theories that will be reviewed will be presented and organized by their main level of analysis macro, micro and, meso.

### 3.1 Macro Approach to Explaining Migration

The 'laws of migration from Ravenstein (1885) were the first contribution to migration studies. Ravenstein claimed a fundamental cause of migration was economic and thus intractably related to development. The assumption is that migrants move from a low income to a higher income area and densely populated area to a sparsely populated area towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium (de Haas, 2007, p.11). This perspective is a common trait found in macro theories, as they look at broader structural factors that explain migration. These theoretical perspectives are often based on more extensive social theories that assume migration is based on structural causes. The analytical framework of Lee, as well as earlier contributors to migration studies from Ravenstein, have paved the way for the framework of the push-pull model (Massey et al., 1993).

The push-pull model is a familiar macro-theoretical concept in migration, economics, and geography. Lee (1966) was a pioneer in the formulation of the push-pull framework to examine the supply and demand perspective on migration (Massey et al., 1993). In his theory of Migration, he divides factors that determine the decision to migrate and the process of migration into four categories. Essentially the theory encompasses on positive and negative factors that are associated with the area of origin and area of destination, combined with personal factors and obstacles that determine the pushing and pulling force. The theory includes many predictions that migration is always selective, especially areas that have positive factors are first selected for migration and that pull factors lead to migration to urban areas rather than push factors.

The analytical framework of Lee, as well as earlier contributors to migration studies from Ravenstein, have paved the way for the framework of the push-pull model. Push factors refer to conditions that force people to migrate, examples include social, political and economic hardships (Castles et al., 2014). Whereas pull factors refer to the factors that attract people to migrate to a specific area, that can be conceptualized as comparative advantages to the push factors. Examples of pull factors are the demand for labour, availability of land, economic opportunities and political freedoms (Castles et, al, 2014 p.28). Combinations of push and pull factors would then determine the size and direction of flows (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). The theory of migration proposed by Lee shaped how migration is still conceptualized today. His work has an impact in a large area of migration literature since then. "The language developed by Lee-in describing the movement as influenced by *push*

*factors* and *pull factors*-has remained within the migration lexicon and is used by migration scholars."

The push-pull model framework expanded the theory by some scholars have also contested the reliability for a couple of reasons. The model assumes that migration will occur if the place is facing disadvantages the flow will go towards a place with less inequality. However, the criticism of this model is that it does not go into detail why certain areas have more migrants or explain the direction of migration. Finally, it has also been criticized for its inability to determine the dominant factors (de Haas, 2008).

### **3.1.1 Structural Drivers of Migration**

#### *Conflict and Insecurity*

Regarding forced migration, many studies emphasize that violence is a significant push factor. Conflict, in particular, is a crucial driver of migration, with a decisive impact on the magnitude of migration flows. "Forced migrants: are people come to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere, reasons including political or ethnic violence or persecution or environmental degradation" (Castles et al., 2014). A study conducted by Ibanez and Valez in (2008) in Columbia analyzed data in Colombian households from a survey for Internally Displaced Populations, to investigate what were the drivers of displacement. Their research concluded that "violence and security perceptions are the major determinants of displacement and are, thereby the key instrument in preventing displacement" (Ibanez and Valez, 2008). Davenport et al. (2003) found as well that levels of insecurity one feels are a prominent driver of displacement in a study consisted of data collected between 1964 and 1989 of 129 different countries. A common theme in the study was that most conflict and violent outbreaks that caused forced migration was a result of significant political change, such as transitioning into a democratic political system. A change in political systems or even change of party/person in power is attributed to causing instability and insecurity in a region that escalates into conflict.

Migrants settling into a relative "safe" country has also been studied as a determining factor for a destination choice. Research done by Crawley (2010) found that conflict was the most significant push factor for migrants seeking asylum in the UK. Determinants of forced migration such as conflict surfaced in a qualitative study of interviews. The data showed that migration to the UK was not planned per se or thought of in a rational choice but their decision ultimately to migrate there was to escape political conflict they have experienced.

Thus the study indicates that structural determinants significantly outweigh micro factors such as rational choice theory in explaining migration flows.

Socio-economic factors and political factors are often interrelated, and many studies do not distinguish which is the most dominant factor between the two or separate them. Often they are grouped together, for example, displacement is not only caused by violent outbreak but also by socio-economic variables as produced by the study of Engel & Ibanez (2007) on Colombian household's data. Their findings supported their argument that violent behavior had a substantially more tremendous impact on forced migration than variables such as the type of political institution or the size of the economy (Moore and Shellman, 2004). Similarly, Czaika and Kis-Katos (2009,) in their study forced migration in Aceh in Indonesia. Found that "when considering forced displacement, insecurity creates additional costs that modify the expected outcome and diminish the relevance of other socio-economic migration determinants" (p, 404).

Types and levels of conflict and violence have also been known to influence migration journeys. For example, Schmeidl (1997) concluded in a study over a twenty year periods (1971-199) that civil wars fought without foreign military interventions push fewer people to apply for asylum abroad than do civil wars fought with foreign military intervention (EASO, 2016). This study is in particular interest to the case study of Yemen refugees in the research due to the involvement of the Saudi-led coalition. Furthermore, Schmeidl (1997) also suggests that conflict and insecurity trump economic woes as a determinant of migration flow.

### *Socio-Economic Means*

Migration is not just a reaction to difficult conditions from the origin country but can also be motivated by the search for better opportunities and lifestyles known as pull factors. A common emerging reason for international migration is the actual and expected wage differentials (Bauer and Zimmerman, 1994), as well as the differences in living standards in between the community of origin and destination (Borjas, 1994), has proven to a significant factor in migration theories. Within structural studies of migration, migration is to at least some extent forced or involuntary due to larger structural factors at play. Cohen (1987) argues that that "individual decision to migrate is made within structural limits of the capitalist system and must contend with forces such as immigration restrictions and regulations, opportunities for employment and housing, and transportation costs" (EASO, 2016 p. 14). In this regard, factors that are outside the control of the individual have a heavy

influence on migration that "pushes" out of the country of origin to migration.

Historical/structuralist theories tend to emphasize global structural demands such as capitalism and globalization, and minimizing personal motivations on migration.

In many of the literature and studies reviewed political and economic variables are grouped together. The overarching theme has been that it is hard to distinguish if the most impactful factor is either one or the other but a combination of both. Dowty (1987) provides an example of how refugees in Ethiopia who were classed as economic migrants were also fleeing due to political pressures and war that cascaded into famine. In this example, many factors are influencing the refugees' decision to migrate. He states "in such circumstances the distinction between "economic" and "political" refugees are meaningless (p. 236). A Recent study on irregular migration flows to Europe from Cummings et al., (2015) have also claimed that determinants of migration to Europe were a combination of political instability, conflict, and economic hardships. Thus, concluding that it is pointless in distinguishing migrants according to forced or economic migrants. A review of sociological theories pertaining to international migration and the case of refugees conducted by Anthony H. Richmond (1988) has also come up with the same conclusion that it is inappropriate to have an absolute clear distinction between economic and socio-political determinants; rather a multivariate approach is necessary.

#### *Critique of Macro factors and push and pull model*

The Push and Pull model assumes that migration will occur if the place is facing disadvantages the flow will go towards a place with less inequality — however, the criticism of this model its absence of detailing why certain areas have more migrants or explain the direction of migration. Secondly, it has also been criticized for its inability to determine the dominant factors (de Haas, 2008). Also, a significant critique of push-pull and generally neoclassical theories is the lack of human agency; there is no attention to their ability to make choices despite the conditions. "They portray human beings as socially isolated individuals who passively and uniformly react to external factors, while people's aspiration and capability to migrate depend on factors such age, gender, knowledge, social contacts, preferences and perceptions of the outside world" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 31). Furthermore, macro theories are criticized for assuming that migrants automatically respond to structural conditions, regardless of personal aptitudes (EASO, 2016)



### **3.2 Micro Approach to Explaining Migration**

The Micro approach takes into account a particular value system of an individual and expectations immigrant. Micro theories are centered on understanding factors based on individual choices to migrate. micro approaches have a built in assumption- individuals are capable of making rational choices. The premise of rational choice assumption is grounded in agency, the ability to weigh the cost and benefit analysis of choosing to migrate. Essentially, Micro theories explain how individual decisions to migrate affect macro-level determinants.

Neoclassical theories on migration offer wage differentials as the primary motivation for migration. Studies dating back to 1954 conducted by Lewis and other scholars who have explained migration with neoclassical economics argue migrants will rationally decide to migrate to an area if there is a significant income increase. Thus if there is an economic opportunity in the destination country, and lack thereof in the origin country, this in fact will impact whether or not migration occurs. Neoclassical economics has strongly shaped public thinking with its simple and completing explanation of international migration, resulting in the adaptation by governments in how they handle their immigration policies (Massey et al., 1993 p. 433). Similar to the neoclassical economic theory is the Human capital theory, which also considers the cost-benefit calculation of migration with the addition of socio-demographic characteristics (Bauer and Zimmerman. 1990).

The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) has been developed recently with the purpose of challenging the assumptions and conclusions of Neo-classical Theory. This theory developed by Stark (1991) focuses on challenging individual choices from the micro level and meso units such as families and households (Massey et al., 1993). NELM approaches migration by incorporating rational decision making within the context of households and families to "collectively maximize incomes, but also minimize risks" (Massey et al., 1993). In other words, it is a more complex approach of cost-benefit analysis that neoclassical microeconomic theory centered on just the individual rational actor. NELM states that family members can contribute to the income by minimizing risks of job insecurity by assigning roles in both the origin and destination country (Massey et al., 1993). An example of minimizing risks between families and households between the origin and destination country is through remittances. The emphasis of remittances as a part of a mutually beneficial arrangement between the migrant and the migrant family is a significant part of NELM. Through considering pooled resources of labour and income in the format of

remittances, it becomes an alternative to focusing on only wage differentials as the only factor for migration (Lukas and Stark, 1985).

Often microeconomic theories are criticized for giving too much agency and free will on migrants and ignoring external social factors that influence migration. Neoclassical theories, in particular, emphasize economic matters and exclude the social, cultural and political dimensions of migration. Prakash (2009) argues that the weakness of neoclassical theories is too entrenched in economic thus, leaving other crucial aspects that influence international migration.

Migration can also be explained from an individual perspective based on assumptions that people flee when they feel their security is at risk. In a study conducted by Moore and Shellman (2004) found that individuals evaluate the magnitude of threat in their decision-making process when it comes to migration, after identifying key drivers of forced migration of data among a sample of countries between the years of 1952-1995. The study concluded, the level of threat and its impact increased with the number of people who were willing to migrate. Therefore, if an individual is anticipating threat or has experienced loss from violence, the changes of migration are significantly higher. In contrast to a macro analysis of violence, the microanalysis of violence and conflict is concerned with rational choice theory.

### **3.3 Meso Approach to Explaining Migration**

The literature that has been reviewed thus far focus on macro and micro factors that influence migration. Meso factors are often cited as the middle ground between macro and micro. For instance, it rejects macro focus on structural constraints of just push and pull factors instead of focusing on the linkages and systems between said origin and destination to explain migration. The conditions between the receiving and sending country are said to have a dynamic relationship centralized translational social spaces.

*“Transnational social spaces are combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places. These spaces denote social processes, not static notions of ties and positions”.* (Faist, 1998 p. 8)

Thinking of transnational social spaces highlight how the concepts of social networks and social capital provide the bridging link between macro-level and micro level theories of international migration (Faist, 1998). Specifically the “triadic relationships between groups

and institutions in the host state, the sending state and the minority group-migrants/and or refugee groups.” (Faist, 1998, 9).

Social ties is a crucial concept when discussing translational social spaces. Studies have shown that social ties defined as a “continuing series of interpersonal transactions to which participants attach shared interests, obligations, expectations, and norms” are influential factors in international migration. The interpersonal ties or transactions referred to connect migrants in origin and destination countries, are a significant part of migrant networks (Massey et al., 1993). Arango (2000) defines migration network as a “*set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants with relatives, friend or fellow countrymen at home who convey information, provide financial backups and facilitate employment opportunities and accommodation in various supportive ways*” (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016 p.24). A migrant network is also conceptualized as

*"a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin." (Massey et al., 1993. p. 448).*

Presence of migrant networks increases the likelihood of international movement for migrants as it lowers costs and risks of movement while simultaneously increasing net returns to migration through interpersonal ties (Massey et al., 1993). Expansions of networks cause additional movements as "migration follows migration" concluded by Davenport et al. (2003). The perpetuation of migration in waves is associated with the reduction of costs, and social cost after hearing about other successful migrants who have already made the journey. Prior to that Yap (1977) has also suggested "*Destination contacts have a positive effect on migration to a specific area, when contacts are measured by the presence of parents in the city,... by potential ethnic contacts,... by language similarity between areas... or by the stock of persons in the destination who had migrated earlier from the home area.*" (Bodavarsson and Van den Berg, 2013, p. 37).

Migrant networks, kinship reduce the cost of securing jobs, housing allowing for easier integration into the destination country. “In addition to the normal costs of travel and searching for work are the costs of learning and adapting to a new culture, the costs of acquiring appropriate documentation, and, if acquiring legal papers is impossible, of evading arrest and deportation.” (Massey et al, p. 460). High costs and barriers to migration can, in turn, be reduced because of meso factors associated with networks and systems. Common language, information, and perception of the future and livelihoods and integration also play a role in explaining migration trends.

Geographic proximity between origin and destination countries appear to significantly migrants' destination choices in a number of studies as well. (eg. Neumayer, 2005). In particular, Gibney et al. (1996) has also concluded refugees choose to go to a 'safe' country close to their country of origin. These studies provide support for migration that exists within the same regions and scoring on HDI. The distance between the origin and destination country is referred to linkages in the migration system theory. Migration systems are focused on linkages between states; thus migration is assumed to occur within a group of states linked by economic, political and cultural ties in addition to migration flows. According to the migration systems theory, migration is more likely to occur between countries that have linkages comprising of historical, cultural, linguistic, economical ties (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, the Migration Systems theory is a theoretical model that incorporates many of the factors above. Fawcett and Arnold (1987) in their conceptualization of migration system theories have asserted the link between micro-level factors such as kinship and social ties and macro-level factors such as the economy and political factors. This theory is unique in its attempt of emphasizing family relationships over structural factors in determining migration.

The destination of migration is an essential factor in where migrants can flee to or settle. In an increasingly securitized world, migration is challenging; the chances of asylum consist of a long, riveting process that is akin to winning a lottery. A study by Collyer (2005) on Algerian asylum seekers in the UK found that the value of social capital is dependent upon other facets such as policy restrictiveness. Restrictive immigration policies intervene with migration even if social, interpersonal ties exist and are sturdy. (EASO, 2016) Thus due to physical, legal and financial barriers, migrants are left with no choice but to seek refuge in a country where they have a higher chance of seeking asylum (Moore and Shellman, 2004). Overall these studies support the roles of networks help shape choices of destination among potential migrants.

Theories that see the importance of factors outside the "macro" push and pull factors reject the simplicity of focusing on only structural factors from either the origin or destination. Instead, they claim the strength is from building on the structural factors between the sending and receiving country using systems and networks. However, there is an assumption with network theory that social capital and cost reduction of labour and housing can only come from other people. With the rise of technology, communication and access to information are much easier and can serve the same purposes networks such as securing a house or job. A review by de Haas (2010) has further suggested that network and migration

systems theory migration to explain the initial movements of persons do not result in large migrant networks or systems. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier structural factors such as policies on immigration or refugee law can undermine migration flows. In this regard, the role of systems and networks should be examined within a socio-political policy context in which they are embedded.

To summarize, migration is a complex phenomenon that can be explained in multiple ways and is best approached from a multi-faceted approach. "At present, there is no single theory widely accepted by social scientists to account for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration throughout the world, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries" (Massey et al., 1988, p. 17). By conducting this literature review, the researcher is not only informed of the many migration theories that exist but has also developed a conceptual framework that will be utilized in the analysis of this study. The review of the fragmented theories can be read as strength in the diversity of approaches, in order to comprehend the phenomenon that is international migration. As Castles, et al., (2014, p. 318) have stated, "The migratory process needs to be understood in its totality as a complex system of social interactions with a wider range of institutional structures and informal networks in sending, transit and receiving countries, and at the international level." The conceptual framework revised will be engaged in understanding migration determinants for Yemeni refugees within the context of the civil war of 2015 of the sending country and the policies, networks of the destination country while still considering the rational decision making of the migrant.

#### **4 Methodology**

This chapter is dedicated to research methodology and discussions on the rationale for approaches that were taken in this study. In order to answer the main research questions, the researcher is required to deliberately consider the following areas: philosophical position, research design, description of the sample, methods of data collection, analysis of data, ethical considerations and limitations. The information in this chapter is intended to justify the methodological choices made and their implications in understanding the processes of migration, decision making, and actors subjective understandings, intersubjective meanings, shared norms, and socio-political factors for Yemeni migrants in Puntland.

In recent years, qualitative research has been gaining traction in migration studies, for its ability to enhance understanding of deeper mechanisms and processes by linking structural

features with ideological constructions and their functions (Iosidfies, 2011). Qualitative research methods are exemplary in explaining the social aspects of migration which include decision making, identity, the role of social networks, socio-political determinants, etc. of the dynamic migratory experience. Contrary to variable-oriented quantitative research, qualitative methods are case and process-oriented, focusing on holistic and depth understanding of actor's meanings, representations, practices, actions, experiences and relations (Iosifides, 2011, p. 25, quoted in (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The Understandings of an actor's experiences is linked to the research objectives of this study thus, demonstrating qualitative methods is required to enhance understanding the social world through interpretations, a requirement for the intent of the research question.

#### **4.1 Research design**

In social research methods “there should be congruence between the object of study, the assumptions about society and the conceptions of how knowledge is possible, and one’s choice of design and method...” (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 150). The design, of the research, provides the framework in guiding the approaches for method and analysis will take place (Bryman, 2016). The rationale for using the case study was the purpose of the research is to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p. 13).

"A case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in the process rather than outcomes in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. Insights gleaned from case studies can directly influence policy, practice, and future research." (Merriam, 1998, 19) as quoted in (Bloomberg and Vople, 2008, 80). Considering the purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of the migratory process for a specific case ongoing refugee crisis, the research in itself is contributing to current and future work understandings of migratory process. Yemen’s refugee crisis is a unique case study in exploring migration determinants as the migratory destination is an unconventional one.

#### **4.2 Case Study**

The research objective is centered on a single case study of Yemeni migrants fleeing the civil war of 2015. The onset of civil war had cascaded to becoming the world's worst humanitarian crisis, displaced thousands and furthering destabilizing and straining neighbouring countries.

According to UNHCR: refugees, returnees and migrants fleeing Yemen are moving towards East and Horn of Africa, particularly Djibouti and Somalia. Those who migrated to the horn of Africa have done so by sea primary across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden (Frouws and Akumu, 2016). On the basis of this information, field work was mainly conducted in Bosaso, a port city located in the region of Puntland in Somalia. This location receives the second most of Yemeni migrants after Djibouti since the onset of the civil war that ensued. Research was also conducted in Qardo, a smaller city several hours from Bosaso, still in Puntland Region where Yemeni migrants have resettled and created a community. Humanitarian organizations such as UHNCR, IOM have invested foreign aid and money to support camps who are accepting refugees from Yemen. Investment in foreign aid in Puntland's reception of refugees is linked to the sub research question in how the international community has been responding to the refugee crisis since 2015.

At the height of the Yemeni civil war, UNHCR and IOM led Inter-Agency Task Force on the Yemen situation was set up as a response to the needs of those fleeing in Yemeni in Somalia in April 2015. Field level Yemen task forces were formed and co-led with UNHCR in coordination with Somali Government authorities based on pre-existing structures of Somalia Mixed Migration Task Force (MMTF). These ports were located in both in Bosasso, Puntland and another one existed in Berbera, Somaliland. In Puntland, the MMTF was governed by Puntland Ministry of Interior, Local Government and Development co-chaired by IOM and UNHCR. Other stakeholders included DRC, OCHA and other stakeholders. Puntland is ahead of the other states in Somalia regarding capacity and resource for managing migration flows, this is mainly due to the increased pressure due to the active point of departure in Bosaso and its relatively stable institutions (REF, 2017).

“A case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence-documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations.” (Yin, 1998, p 8), therefore obtaining primary data was a priority in this research. The choice of Puntland, as the location for fieldwork, was primarily based on the accessibility to primary data as a researcher. Due to my familial networks in that region, I was able to gain contact with key stakeholders in the Puntland Migration Task Force and conduct fieldwork. It was my intention to gain primary data from those who have fled from Yemen and document their experiences. Through the utilization of in-depth interviews, key informants, observation, focus groups data it gives the participants of the research agency in conceptualizing their reality. Furthermore, it would contribute to filling the knowledge gap that exists on the Yemeni refugee crisis and Somalia's response in turn.

The Yemeni crisis and responses have taken a back seat regarding media coverage as well as policymakers attention (Al Jazeera, 2017). Thus this case not only sheds on this the ongoing humanitarian crises, but it also challenges the publicized notion of the "global refugee crisis" that affects mostly European/ western countries. Poor, unstable African countries take on a massive burden of refugees from neighboring countries; such as Somalia has done for Yemen since 2015 (data of incoming refugees are further explored in Chapter Five). This case studies unique attempt at exploring interactions between micro, meso and macro level factors to understand the complexity of the Yemeni refugees' migration process can also be extrapolated for further research in migration studies.

### **4.3 Data Collection**

#### **4.3.1 Sampling of Primary Data**

Sampling technique strategies employed in this research, adhered strictly to the *intensive*<sup>1</sup> case study method paradigm. The reasoning of using that paradigm was because the research objectives are primarily situated on a single case, consisting of a single unit of analysis. Qualitative researches often favour a single unit of analysis as it allows the research to focus on depth rather than on breadth, emphasizing detail, multidimensionality, and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Generally, in case studies, the unit of analysis are selected primarily through purposive sampling method (Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling is the most common method of qualitative research as it tends to explore social processes and dig deeper into the phenomena that are studied rather than make general observations that cannot often be interpreted (Bryman, 2016). In this research study, purposive sampling was utilized to collect data from respondents who have experienced migration, the phenomenon the research question is centered around. Participants who can enrich the study with in-depth information were selected under this sampling technique (Patton, 1990). Research participants were carefully selected based on the following criteria: migrants and stakeholders residing in the area, who can offer in detail their interpretations, meanings, and beliefs regarding various phenomena related to the migration to Puntland from Yemen since 2015. A crucial aspect of choosing research participants was their ability to recount their experiences surrounding

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to the Intensive research design adopted by Critical Realist methodology (Sayer, 1992)



migration within socio-cultural contexts, practices, and actions to explain the causality of factors embedded as a result of the empirical event that took place-migration.

The sample size consisted of 25 participants to be interviewed face-face in Puntland. Among the twenty-five, twenty-three were Yemeni refugees who have relocated to Puntland, Somalia since 2015. The first two participants of the research were known contacted by the researcher prior to arrival for fieldwork. Their role was essential in fieldwork, as the researcher relied on them lead them to other targeted participants relevant to the research questions. As the researcher is not a local, targeting participants through snowballing method was employed to reach the numbers needed for sample size due to the limitation of time and resources. The contacts who yielded other participants transitioned into key informants, for their assistance in directing us to an area called Haaful-Arab which literally means (the Arab neighborhood). Haaful-Arab is a segregated community in the busy metropolitan city of Bosaso that is mostly inhabited by Yemeni migrants that we were able to access due to the snowballing method. In addition to yielding more participants, the key informants were extremely helpful throughout field work by vouching for me as a researcher who intends no harm while reinforcing the academic purposes of the research. Since, the researcher is Somali, gaining access to participants was not impossible, however, because they are considered diaspora they are still considered an outsider thus, key informants who act as a liaison between the researcher and the participants was highly beneficial in this instance.

Among the sample of 25, two participants were Somalis representing authorities and stakeholders in migrant management initiative. One of the informants was an employee of UNHCR who was responsive for overseeing. The other was an employee of Puntland's IOM migration task force in the Department of Interior. These informants were selected and crucial in getting an insight into the impact of the Yemeni crisis on refugees and their integration and resettlement into Somalia. They interact with refugees on the front lines as well as in institutional level through policies and liaison with UN and other non-profit organizations.

### **4.3.2 In-Depth Interviewing**

The main methods in collecting data in the study were done through in-depth semi-structured interviews. "In-depth interviewing within realist research designs can generate data that, through theoretical description and abstraction, can serve as pointers to a deeper generative mechanism and the interaction between contingent factors with underlying enduring

structures and powers at different levels of reality” (Iosifides, 2011, p. 179). Primarily, data obtained from in-depth interviews not only serve to interpret the experiences of the interviewees and how they understand the world, but it also provides us with insight on the explanatory powers and social reality. In-depth interviewing method for obtaining primary data was selected for the reasons above and its potential to capture a person’s perspective of an event or experience.

The conscious choice of combining in-depth interview and semi-structured interview was the flexibility semi-structured interviews had in allowing the participant to ‘take the lead’ in the flow of dialogue. The true strength of semi-structured interview is grounded in its ability for flexibility for information to emerge that would not have surfaced if a rigid interview guide was followed. In this study, the interview guide was prepared well in advance of the fieldwork using the research questions as the framework to develop the questions. The interview guide consisted of a series of open-ended questions that enable the researcher the flexibility to allow new directions to emerge during the interview. The usage of an interview guide is “crucial as that the questioning allows interviewers to clean research participants’ perspectives on their social world” (Bryman, 2016, p. 469). The questions in the interview guide were formulated in an order that resembled a natural flowing dialogue to capture the experiences of the experiences and related thoughts on migration while collecting the interviewers’ details (Name, age, nationality, hometown, gender, background, etc.) to provide context responses collected.

The purpose of the research study was explicitly explained clearly and presented in the language of the participants choosing from the following choices Somali, English, Arabic. Instructions and explanations were explained in great detail before the interviews, in accordance with research ethics. The research process involves enlisting voluntary cooperation, and it is a basic premise that participants are informed about the study's purpose (Bryman, 2016). Thus, informed consent remained a priority throughout the study. The measures taken by myself and the research assistant to ensure the process was transparent to the research participants and ability to speak local language made the interview possible and allowed the participants to trust us and provide detailed information in the nature of the easy-flowing semi-structured interviews conducted.

Almost all of the individual interviews were conducted at the interviewees’ homes as to not only make them feel more comfortable but to also observe them in their natural surroundings. The interviews were done by a combination of one-one, as well as a few focus

groups, or group interviews. Group interviews were conducted for households and couples who resided and arrived to Puntland together, for convenience

### **4.3.3 Recording, Transcription and Translation**

The interviews were recorded using Voice Memos, a standard iPhone application that used to make quick, short and long recordings. Using a smartphone like an iPhone was useful in data collection as it can store information such as voice recordings as well as function as a digital camera that can be uploaded. Considering the iPhone is equipped with a two-step password protection (code and thumbprint) allowing myself solely to access information stored on there. The audio and transcript files were stored under anonymous names and automatically synced to online dropbox, allowing two advantages; first for instant backup and second it enabled remote deletion if the device was to be stolen or lost. The ease of use and familiarity of using my personal phone software allows the researcher to focus less on the implementation of technology and more on the respondent; allowing the building trust and rapport crucial in interviews (Oppenheim, 1998). Despite the use of an iPhone not being regarded as a 'serious' research tool, usually associated with social use, it was a reliable tool for fieldwork interviews. A study done on using mobile devices such as the iPhone and iPad has deemed it a valuable tool, as it allows the researcher to store and manipulate data, more effectively via Dropbox, and thereby reduce backup and confidentiality issues (Beddall-Hill et al., 2011).

The advantage of audio recording the interview was so that I was able to catch the whole conversation, replay it later for data analysis. The significance of tone, word choice and pauses is better captured in listening to an audio recording several times, in addition to the ability in using quotations in data analysis with words verbatim (Bryman, 2016). Prior to recording the interview, the researcher had gotten informed consent of recording for the purposes of this study only and explained to the interviewees that audio files would be anonymized, and kept safe. The same procedure was followed for any photographs that were taken as part of undertaking participant observation. All but one of the migrants responded were not fluent in English; the ministry officials were able to speak fluent English thus eliminating the task of having to translate the interviews.

Interviews were transcribed in English, post-fieldwork. Transcribing the interviews from Somali into English proved to be difficult when it came to choosing appropriate words to substantiate the responses expressed accurately fully. Luckily, I was able to rely on fluent English and Somali speakers to double check translation of Somali words to make sure the translation validated the experiences of the respondents and their experiences. Subsequently, the transcripts were coded and reduced, so that concepts emerged could be operationalized, and central themes come to surface.

#### **4.3.4 Secondary Data**

Secondary Data consists of data and information, ideas collected by someone other than the current researcher. Researchers utilize secondary data for assessing knowledge that already exists related to their research (Bryman, 2016). For the purpose of this study, secondary data was reviewed as part of the literature review in addition to providing the framework of this study. Due to circumstances of time constraints the fieldwork, collection of primary data preceded the collection of secondary data. Thus, upon return of field work an extensive amount of readings on of news articles, humanitarian reports, journal articles on theories of migration and the history of Yemen of Somalia. A portion of secondary data that included statistics and reports were retrieved from offices of IOM based in Puntland after interviewing migration officials.

Collecting multiple sources of secondary data and primary data was a deliberate strategy for triangulation purposes. Considering that critical realism prioritizes ontology over epistemology, the researcher has to be mindful of trustworthiness in all stages of the research methodology (Iosifides, 2011).

#### **4.4 Data Analysis**

Making sense of the vast amounts of data collected from the primary and secondary data is a challenge in social research. Reducing the volume of information, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework is essential to draw conclusions, hence the process of data analysis. Data analysis fundamentally focuses on the interpretations of the data to focus on underlying structures and mechanisms (Sobh and Perry, 2006). In that sense, the researcher begins coding and categorizing concepts and descriptions as they relate to the research questions. Color coding fragments of the interview into separate categories, so that concepts emerge to reconstruct a holistic and integrated explanation. Overall, "the researcher's approach is to come with a number of clusters, patterns, or themes that were

linked together, either similarly or divergently and that collectively described or analyzed the research arena” (Bloomberg and Voep, 2008, p.85). Central themes and concepts emerge from an intensive analysis that involves coding that ultimately guides the research in understanding meanings, representations, experiences and practices of the migrant experience-and relate to broader processes, relations, and structures. Finally, the data obtained advances to information that can be explored, reduced, analyzed, and theorized to become knowledge finally.

Through the data analysis, the researcher was aware of biases that can translate into the data analysis process. Acknowledging that data analysis choices are ultimately up to the discretion of the researcher, there is inherent bias embedded. As a researcher who has a very Eurocentric academic view on global issues such as migration can potentially frame my assumptions and perceptions in a biased way. Recognizing these limitations, as the researcher, the following measures were taken, by using the assistance of an individual who from the region to go over the coding schemes and categories. Researcher bias is a limitation in social research study; thus, acknowledging it and taking the necessary steps to reduce its impact is a way of addressing the issue.

#### **4.5 Challenges, Limitations, and Ethics**

Social research that involved refugee, migrants, asylum seekers, and Internally Displaced Persons explore difficult, dangerous and traumatizing experiences and mechanisms. Therefore, there are ethical issues that need to be considered for displaced persons or those who have fled conflict or persecution. As mentioned earlier consent was used in this research and its more than just asking for permission but, also encompasses *respect* for persons in a capacity that they are entirely, adequately informed about the purposes, methods, risks, and benefits of the research at hand and that it is voluntary (Mackenzie et al., 2007). Secondly, as a researcher, it is my responsibility to ‘*do no harm*’ and safeguard participants from any harm, coercion, and exploitation. That being said, it is a fundamental responsibility for the researcher for both informing and protecting respondents. Part of that is correcting any miscommunication or ideas alluding we were able to assist in asylum application to respective countries or speak on their behalf for humanitarian organizations.

There was an assumption on one of the days of my fieldwork where a migration official accompanied us to the temporary settlement camp. The temporary refugee settlement camp is where refugees are relocated after they arrive at the port to be processed, registered

and decisions are made in regards to their status. Since I was in the company of the ministry official who gave me a tour of the grounds, office and witnessed operations such as the handing out of refugee certificates from UNHCR it was easy to assume I was associated/have official influence. Later on, when we went to interview the refugees in their shelter informing the intent of the research before I began the questions. We were disrupted by what seemed like other people who earlier saw me on the tour, thus assuming I was associated with a humanitarian organization and began interrupting the ongoing interview to plead their case; their financial woes. The chaos that ensued grew as more and more people began surrounding myself and my research assistant after a rumour circulated that we were from a non-profit agency there to donate money, which was not the case. At that point, we chose to leave as the research was compromised in addition for our safety as fighting and shouting began to outbreak on the campgrounds. From this point, we avoided any interviewing of migrants in the company of any influential officials from the government or non-profits as well as continuously reiterated that we are in no way associated with any organizations, governmental or humanitarian, but rather strictly academic research purposes which has led to no complications taking place.

Anonymity and confidentiality are also integral aspects of research ethics. In addition to the informed consent, I had agreed to use the researchers' information strictly in this research without revealing their identities. Keeping my participants anonymous to reduce n possibility of harm or damage to the lives of the participants. Part of that was to acknowledge the power inequalities that exist between the researcher (me) and vulnerable migrants (research participants). Assumptions and biases will fundamentally influence social research by both the researcher and the research participants. One way to mitigate the effect is to take into account how the power relations between the research and participants-this is especially important when interviewing migrants who have probably experienced trauma and vulnerable. Power relations in qualitative migration research usually favour the researcher; thus the inequality that exists "have to be taken into account when researchers employ qualitative methods, because they may affect profoundly research relationships, data collection and data analysis" (Iosifides, 2011, p. 215).

Cautionary methods were taken to secure the storage of research related materials and data, as mentioned earlier. While collecting primary data from the respondents, there was no exchange for money at any point. Instead, key informants were gifted souvenirs like t-shirts with Canadian symbols as a token of our appreciation for their time and assistance.

## 4.6 Validity

Validity, reliability, and generalizability are three principles that are usually discussed and assessed by the researchers, in order to answer the critical question of ‘why we should rely upon the research outcome and how does it translate to the real world?’ In qualitative research, the combination of “validity (the degree to which something measures what it reports to measure) and reliability (the consistency with which its which it measures it over time)” is rather crucial in assessing under the subheading of trustworthiness (Bloomberg and Voepel, 2008).

The primary objective of validation in critical realism qualitative research is to show that actual events are capable of leading action to the outcome. Wynn and Williams (2012) have proposed five methodological principles for the evaluation of the capability of validity in research using the critical realism approach. Those principles are an explication of events, explication of structure and context, retrodution, empirical corroboration, and triangulation. This study employed the strategies outlined by Wynn and Williams (2012). In particular, applying triangulation was an objective conscious decision during the selection of sources and participants for research. Triangulation is accomplished by collecting information from a diverse range of individuals, data types, sources, and settings, using a variety of methods and techniques (Maxwell, 2012; Wynn and Williams, 2012). Secondly, retrodution, as mentioned earlier, was used in the data analysis. Retrodution "is a largely creative process for the researcher in which multiple explanations are proposed which describe a causal mechanism, set within a social structure, that must exist in order to produce the observed events." (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 800). Thus, different levels of analysis were employed micro, meso and macro to explain the mechanisms and experiences associated with migration. Qualitative investigate analysis at every level, allows researchers to pay special consideration to all of the dimensions (discursive and material) and the linkages on various public discourses available regarding migration (Iosifides, 2011). The research objective is to relate social relations from the data to the real, objective nature, and causal powers existing within the circumstances of this particular case study, Yemeni refugees in Puntland.

In Summary, this chapter provided a detailed account of the research methodology. Qualitative methodology was utilized to explore the drivers of migration for Yemeni refugees, thus also guiding the reader of the method choices throughout the chapter. The sample size consisted of 25 participants that were selected purposively through snowballing technique upon arrival in Puntland. Data collected from the respondents were done so through in-depth semi-structured interviews, group interviews, and participant observation. Secondary sources of data supplemented primary data, literature review and increased the validity through triangulation. The data was then reduced, coded and categorized as part of the data analysis, in turn, to conclude. The study intends to gain adequate knowledge regarding the linkages between an individuals' interpretations of their experiences and identities around migration and apply it within a broader structural and cultural reality (Iosifides, 2011). In turn, through the use of a research design methods chapter, the reader can consider the limitations and trustworthiness of the analysis of the data in the coming chapter.

## **5 Findings and Analysis**

This chapter is dedicated to analyzing, interpreting and synthesizing the findings of the study to answer the research questions. The purpose of this study is to explore migration drivers of Yemeni migrants from leaving Yemen to Puntland. Findings that will be analyzed in this chapter are based on the data that was collected within the critical realist qualitative framework that was discussed in chapter three. The chapter is organized by following analytical categories, as they relate to the research questions. In the first section, there is an overview of the profile of migrants that were interviewed. Each interviewee was asked questions of their family size, city of birth, occupation, and details of their life before migration to get a sense of what their lives were like before their journey from Yemen to Somalia. Profiling of the migrants provides context for individual choices and factors that play into their migration under microanalysis.

The second section of the chapter transitions to migration drivers. In this section, push and pull factors that emerged from the interviews are discussed. This section is an attempt of answering the research question directly as to what are the main drivers of migration from Yemen? are all reasons that will be explored in-depth in this section. Through analyzing the motivations from individuals and households that have fled their home country to seek refuge in Somalia, we get an understanding of significant factors. Migration drivers are



explored using multi-level of analysis mainly micro and meso based on primary data. After that, the factors are explained drawing on secondary literature to link the structural factors and their influence. The third section is dedicated to understanding the role of the international community and policies that have influenced migration in the case study.

## **5.1 Profile of Migrants**

The sample of research is composed of migrants from Yemen, Somali returnees from Yemen and non-migrants in Puntland. The data collected from interviews from key informants who have settled in Puntland following the 2015 violent breakout in Yemen have given insight on the dynamic profiles and experiences of the refugees. Only data from Yemeni migrants and migrant stakeholders in Puntland country were used in this analysis.

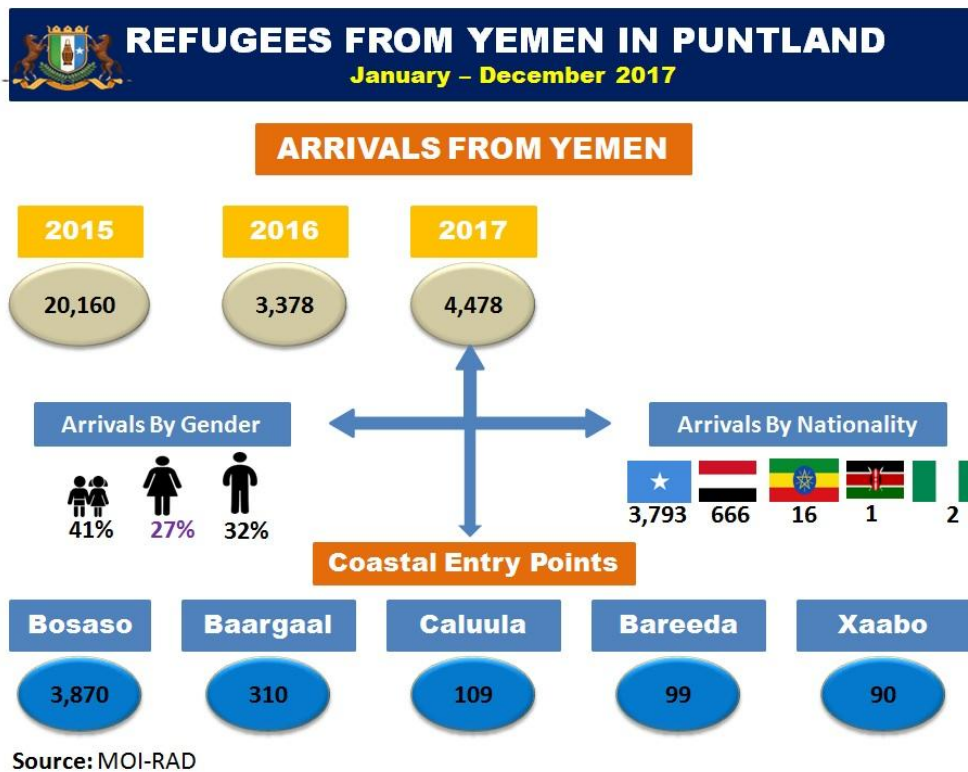
The migrants interviewed were all of Yemeni nationality, and aged from 17 to 60. They included young adults, single adults, families with children and seniors. Migrants who came alone compared their households had significantly different characteristics: reasons and context for their departure from Yemen were mostly based on strategies on behalf of achieving a better life for the family. They also presented different strategies and indications for socio-economic integration at the destination.

About half of the migrants interviewed were born in Somalia but have immigrated to Yemen at the peak of civil war that occurred in Somalia. Somalis of this nature depending on whether or not they obtained Yemeni citizenship or not. Migrants who fled to Somalia from Yemen who did not have Yemeni citizenship were considered returnees.

The education level of the migrants tended to be low, only two of the migrants interviewed had attended post-secondary. The post-secondary educated migrants had been both enrolled in a program that was Islamic faith-centered, where Arabic was the main teaching program and were in their early twenties. Few families and households had children that were not enrolled in school when deciding to migrate. About half the children now receive primary education. As for employment, every household had at least one primary breadwinner, usually the patriarch. Overall, there was a consistency that before the escalation of bombing and chaos, they led a satisfactory life in their home and earned a living.

All of the migrants interviewed were living in Bosaso and Qardo at the time. Most have arrived in 2015 since the onset of the conflict except the migrants and/or returnees that were interviewed at the temporary camp the week they were interviewed. According to the table below provided by the Ministry of Integration of Puntland, the highest number of

migrants from Yemen was in 2015, which then declined significantly in 2016, and rose again slightly in 2017.



To establish a context of the migrants, personal information was gathered such as cities they lived in, family members, education level, and employment. These individual characteristics influence in contextualizing the individual's choices to migrate which will be explored further.

This information is also summarized as to highlight how migrants are agents of their lives — individual experiences and specific details from the migrants all factor in the course of their migration route leading up leaving Yemen and settling in Puntland, Somalia.

## 5.2 Conflict and Violence as a Driver for Migration

### 5.2.1 Conflict from a Rational Migrant Approach

War and violence appeared to be a consistent predominant factor in the interview in why migrants have decided to leave (Interview 1, 2018). A particular example of an interviewee has stated after the death of two of her daughters who were killed by bombing in Aden in 2015 was the defining moment to make her decision to leave (Interview 1, 2018). Throughout

our dialogue she expressed, she was concerned about her safety and her remaining family after the death of her daughters. "Honestly, till this day I am very traumatized by the loss of my children. I still have nightmares. I had no choice I had to leave, and I have only one remaining child I would not be able to live with myself if I stayed" (Interview 1, 2018). From this statement, it is evident that her decision to leave was based on conflict.

People choose to flee when they perceive themselves to be in danger because a family member, friend or acquaintance was the recent victim of government or dissent violence, anticipating they would meet the same fate should they stay put (Davenport, 2015). The underlying assumption is individuals would leave if their personal wellbeing was compromised. For example, the interviewee who lost her daughters from violence expressed that ensuring the safety of their loved ones had a significant bearing on their motivation to migrate (Interview 1, 2018; Interview 2, 2018). She perceives that their security is at risk in their country of origin, and expects her situation will improve when she reaches the destination (Davenport and Moore, 2003). For example, the death of a family member that was unintentional (was not affiliated with either state organized violence or dissident) influences the decisions of the individuals and households greatly. Even if an individual has not had a death in their immediate family, they will choose to flee as an anticipatory response based on the odds of becoming a victim to violence are significantly higher when the state and dissents are engaged in an armed struggle. Davenport et al. (2003) explain how agency and decisions need to be considered from an individual level based on the assumption that "people leave their homes when they feel that their personal security is threatened." Consequently, the perception of an anticipatory reaction of also becoming a victim to violence is conceptualized and therefore a decision to leave/migrate is a choice in the perception of threat.

Although, studies support that experiencing death or anticipating death influences a person's choice to leave. There are exceptions where people choose to stay behind under threatening situations such as bombing brigades. For instance, the interviewee who lost her daughters chose to migrate whereas, her husband and father of the children stayed behind. Actions to flee conflict and warzone would put her in a category as a forced migrant, as well as a victim to trauma and personal loss motivating her to migrate (Interview 1, 2018, Interview 2, 2018). However, the differences in between her and husband's choice to leave or stay highlights agency and discredits the "no choice but to leave" argument. The micro-level analysis assumes an individual is "intentional and take action with some purpose in mind"

(Davenport et al., 2003, p. 31). Thus it is crucial to examine motivations and decision making processes for migrants and refugees.

### **5.2.2 Foreign Military intervention as a Driver for Displacement**

The ongoing **civil war** is referred to directly or indirectly as a determinant for the migration in most interviews. While analyzing the data, violence in the form of armed struggles had impacted the migrant's lives in their home country. Whether the violence transpired directly or indirectly impacted them in some capacity. In the case of forced displacement, macro factors are more prominent than meso ones. Analysis of refugee-producing situations conducted by UNCHR has found that levels of displacement usually correspond to the level of violence in the country of origin (Boswell, 2002). Similarly, "the situations which most commonly give rise to large refugee movements and requests for asylum include external and civil wars, political unrest and revolution, terrorism, the expulsion of ethnic minorities, ethnoreligious and communal conflict...." (Richmond, 1988).

Within structural understanding of migration determinants, civil wars and other forms of violence associated as conflict and insecurity are critical drivers of migration. For instance, the data in this study have found that conflict and violence impacted their decision to leave. Similarly, a study conducted by Ibanez and Velez (2008) where violence events and perception of violence coupled with instability was a central determinant of forced displacement or migration out of conflict area in Columbia. In another study on forced migration by Schmeidl (1997) have indicated that "Civil wars with foreign military interventions are more important in producing large refugee populations and prolonged migrations than are civil wars without outside influence." In this instance, the study found that civil war was a push factor, however; there was particular emphasis on foreign military intervention. Foreign military intervention from Saudi Arabia coalitions in Yemen has become a catastrophe and escalates the internal conflicts that already existed in the country. In an Interview, a respondent had explained that although Yemen had existing turmoil that they have acclimated it was not until the bombing brigade had they considered their day-day life was unstable (Interview 9, 2018; Interview 2, 2018).

The deterioration of political conditions in Yemen has created a climate of instability and insurgency that has then led to an increase in migration across international borders into the Horn of Africa. Pathways which have a history of being predominately outward into Yemen are now bidirectional as a result of instability in Yemen. One interviewee stated

*“Before this war, Yemenis are not known to flee their country, we are satisfied living there. We love our country and had no trouble, I saw no violence, and so I was content. In fact, we were accepting refugees and taking care of them. We had no desire to leave our country until the airstrikes occurred”* (Interview 2, 2018). The comment made here draws our attention that Yemen has a history of being a migration hub for refugees, asylum seekers who are fleeing conflict and violence since the early 1990s as discussed in Chapter 2. As a result of the ongoing civil war, Yemen a country that was already considered fragile is deteriorating at a level that lacks capabilities a functioning state should have. The existence of a weak state is also attributed to the root cause of both violence and repression is the existence of a weak state. Weak states can be classified as a lack of sovereignty,-

*“In states with weak governance, in which the most fundamental institutions of government have collapsed and neither property rights nor the judiciary function, domestic remedy or resolution may simply be unavailable, and so movement across an international border may be the only means for people to access fundamental rights necessary for survival”* (Betts, 2013 p. 18).

Betts (2013, p. 19) has indicated that state fragility which equates to weak governance "is the most important underlying source of new drivers of cross-border displacement." Ultimately He argues that how the government reacts to threats and protects its citizens determines migration choices. Yemen is a weak state without a proper functioning government in the last few years is also considered a push factor, i.e., migration determinant for its citizens outside its border.

Schmeidl among other migrant scholars takes a structural approach in explaining forced migration, one that focuses on the unique characteristics of countries and societies in being responsible for migration (Moore and Shellman, 2004). In this case, a structural explaining of this displacement of Yemenis is considered an outcome of the foreign military intervention. The alternative approach contributed by Davenport and Moore (2003) conceptualize that migration is centered on individual rational choices the focal point being *choice*. That said, this study produces findings that support both of these approaches, the significance of individual choice and structural factors when it comes to conflict as a migration driver.

### **5.3 The Migrant as an Economic 'Rational Actor'**

A significant migration driver that surfaced in secondary literature and interviews was economic reasons. Under the scope of forced displacement, economic means is a persistent factor, however; it is usually intertwined with other variables such as conflict and instability. Primary findings throughout the interview were based on the aspirations of one ‘improving their standard of living’. Improving one’s standard of living was a push and a pull factor. The push factor is lack of opportunities explained in many of the interviewees explained their migratory process initiated as their economic means become exasperated either through loss of jobs, income (Interview, 2018). Whereas, for pull factors, is increased economic opportunity in the destination country in the form of relief assistance. Theories on economic migration suggest that poverty, unemployment, and low wages contribute to a harsh lifestyle that prompt people to search for advancement elsewhere (Massey et al., 1993).

Fundamentally, migrants are individual rational actors who have decided to migrate as a result of a cost-benefit calculation; seeking an opportunity where one expects a positive return, usually monetary (Massey et al., 1993). Essentially, migration serves as an investment in human capital, i.e., a scenario where there is a higher chance to gain than lose. Human capital theory is an elaboration of the neoclassical explanation of migration where socio-demographics characteristics are an essential determinant of migration at the micro-level (Bauer and Zimmerman, 1999). At the center of analysis is a rational individual who migrates with the goal of maximizing their benefits. Chances of gaining are strongly affected by human capital endowments skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labor market status, preferences and expectations (Kurekova, 2011). Characteristics listed above play a significant role in who gets to migrate and who is left behind in a micro-level analysis of migration determinants. Thus, questions in the interview guide were dedicated to collecting and understanding socio-economic information to determine if there is a typical pattern among the migrants (see appendix).

Among those who were interviewed, there was one income earner that tended to be the male, unskilled working class occupations as summarized in the start of this chapter. One father who fits the description of an unskilled labourer, worked as a taxi driver in Sana’a explained his family moved due to him no longer being able to provide. *“As a father and husband, it is my responsibility to feed my kids and wife. I was unable to do that in Aden, so we had to move” (Interview 5, 2018)*. The dire situation in Yemen has been called an ‘income famine’ by Lise Grande, the United Nations humanitarian coordinator for Yemen. She explains the lack of money civilians have to buy food is causing famine-like conditions displacing Yemenis (Walsh, 2018).

In all the group interviews, at least one interviewee (usually male) have stated that the future of their children and sustaining their lives influenced their decision to migrate from home. Considering one's households and family in the decision making to migrate internationally is considered a more complex approach offered by "new economics of migrations," developed by Stark (1991). The theory emphasizes households and larger units such as families, instead of individuals, to "collectively maximize incomes, but also minimize risks and to loosen constraints" (Massey et al., 1993, p. 436). Reasoning that emerged from the interviews for migrating among economic reasons were family responsibilities, related to the support and maintenance of the family. These responsibilities relate to both children, spouse, and the family of origin (parents, grandparents, brothers, and sisters, etc.). Maintenance of the family is a strong traditional, cultural and religious moral obligation that is upheld individuals of Arab/Somali and Islamic backgrounds. The moral obligation of the family maintenance is upheld even after migration as evidenced by Diaspora communities financially supporting families through *remittances*.

Remittances serve as a survival strategy for refugees as they begin to acclimate and adapt to their new surroundings. Among, the migrants interviewed, sending money to the family was a priority as their family members were not physically there (Interview 11, 2018; Interview 13, 2018). One of the interviews who was of Yemeni nationality explained that his wife and kids had moved to Mogadishu with her paternal family for support as he was having trouble finding work at the time. Since the wife was of Somali nationality, she was illegible for the aid that was intended for Yemeni nationality despite her marriage to a Yemeni. Thus, the husband stayed behind to continue getting financial aid and look for work to eventually send remittances to his wife and kids (Interview 13, 2018). Similarly, another interviewee explained how they feel responsible for not only their immediate but also the family members that have stayed behind. "My wife and kids moved here with me, but my parents and siblings remain in Aden. I send them a portion of the assistance I receive so that they can survive." (Interview, 2018). Remittances, for the interviewees, are an expectation for themselves and expected of them for the migrants who have left to seek economic opportunities. In that case, the decision to migrate is based on lack of opportunities and a prospect of opportunity in the destination.

Often time's migrants who flee to seek asylum or refugee status are aware of certain assurances they will be receiving during the process at the destination country. For example, Interviewees have expressed that upon their arrival in Puntland, and receiving their refugee certificate they are getting aid in the form of USD 100 monthly (Interview, 2018). In the

place of destination, refugees or IDPs frequently rely on assistance (cash and food vouchers) (Verme, 2017). The support aid, food stamps allow individuals and households to sustain themselves. However, even with the assistance, it comes with uncertainty at times as explained by an interviewee "The hardest thing about living here is one day we are eating (casal) honey and another day we are eating (basal) onions" (Interview, 6 2018). This is a Somali saying that is meant to rhyme and alludes to the uncertainty that comes with living off handouts you have no control over. There are times when one is able to eat well and other times where one is eating scraps. Thus, financial assurance reduces the anxiety of many of the interviewees as they were able to support themselves while also perpetuating dependency on services from the destination country.

The fundamental features sought out by the migrants, to escape from past individual and community histories, obtain opportunities is sometimes also conceptualized as lifestyle migration. Lifestyle migration is associated with individuals and households employing strategies post migration to re-negotiate work/life balance, improve quality of life of prior constraints (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). An example of an action to improve the quality of life is to generate income in the space they are occupying through opening a small business and taking entrepreneurial risks. One interviewee opened a restaurant in their community as there was a need for Yemeni cuisine as more migrants were settling in (Interview 6, 2018). Through business grants from UNHCR and Puntland Government, a business dream came to reality for the migrant for the first-time business owner instead of an employee (Interview 15, 2018). In this instance migration has enabled that individual to establish a way of living they feel is preferable to life before migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). The emphasis of starting a business, instead of the occupation from the origin country, i.e., working odd jobs and a cook at a restaurant in Aden demonstrates the reflection of individualized choices to improve their lives in comparison to their previous circumstance. Even more so, skills, expectations, and aspirations from their life before migration not only impacted the decision to migrate but also, aspired to changes to seek a 'better life' in the destination.

#### **5.4 Economic Structures and Processes as Drivers of Migration**

Economics as a migration factor can be explained from a macro perspective. The flow of people from Yemen to Puntland, have been attributed earlier as a decision to seek better economic opportunities. However, from a structural standpoint, the loss of jobs and income is also attributed to causes of geographical differences between the sending and receiving



countries in the supply of and demand of labour (Massey, 1993). In this regard, imbalance of wage differentials and labour supply as a predecessor of migration is supported by the neoclassical economic theory.

The push-pull framework of neoclassical economic theory in the macro-level context emphasizes the significance of markets, institutions and structures outside the individual's control that determines migration. Generally, within structural studies of migration, the growth of capitalism in developing countries is said to cause the displacement of poor residents to areas to meet increasing demands for cheap and exploitative labour (EASO, 2016). For the case study we are looking at, the findings have shown that migration was not primarily to look for work but rather a lack of options in their home country. Furthermore, the lack of economic means is a migration determinant that has pushed migrants out of Yemen.

The lack of work and more importantly income in Yemen has motivated migration for many of the migrants. However, economic means is heavily tied into the infrastructure of the country fragility. The crisis that emerged from politics has cascaded to institutions and lack of access to jobs, health care thus, detrimentally affecting the lives of civilians of already one of the poorest countries in the world ( ). As a result, it faces unique constraints in the extent of its poverty, the weakness of its institutions and the scarcity of its resources in light of the ongoing civil war. The Saudi-led blockades have hampered the import of basic commodities. "Imports are estimated to account for 80-90 percent of food, fuel, and medicines in the country. Yemen's main port, Hodeida, operates partially, and it is where the basis of life for 60 percent of the food-insecure population comes from" (Elayah et al., 2017 p. 2)

The blockade has had a detrimental impact on economic resilience in Yemen. In particular, the disruption from the blockade has resulted into the increases of prices of fuel and other goods due to increased demurrage charges on ships awaiting clearance, additional charges related to long and costly alternative import routes and speculation (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). The increased prices affected businesses that either collapsed production due to its enormous challenge in maintaining a steady import and supply chain that in turn also affects profit margins. For families, the effect of increased prices of essential commodities and lack of employment due to layoffs directly resulting from reduced business turnover has become an additional strain (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). One of the interviewees was working at a port in Mukallah, Aden as a shipping receiver who has lost his job as a result of the blockade. He explains "prior to Saudi blockade, I was working at the port and able to feed my family, and after I lost my job, prices for food and basic necessities went up. It was impossible to afford anything. I had become

reliant on charity for a while before we left” (Interview, 2018). The blockade had directly impacted this interviewee as his main source of income was reliant on his job as a shipping receiver. However, thousands of other civilians the blockade felt the impact transpired in other ways such as an increase in food insecurity do the loss of income sources (United Nations Development Programme. 2018). Shortage of aid supplies coupled with millions relying on relief assistance took a toll on the civilians living in Yemen. Overall, the lack of economic means is a push factor as it has reduced the ability of families and individuals to migrate as a strategy for survival.

## **5.5 Social Networks as a Means of Sustaining Migration Flows**

The choice of destination based on the presence of familial ties, support network, was emphasized by Yemeni migrants settling in Somalia. Individuals on behalf of their Households and families when interviewed expressed would be a more natural transition relocating to a country with a similar culture, religious background and support from existing Yemenis diaspora (Interview, 2018). The emphasis of families and their future demonstrates that the unit of analysis for social networks is beyond the individual but rather a domestic unit in social network based migration (Boyd, 1999). The significance of this unit in migration research shows that decision making for migration is not solely an individual decision but is influenced by the makeup, aspirations, and ties of the household as a whole.

Families as a unit represent a social group of kinship ties that have the potential to spread geographically as a result of migration. The interpersonal ties that connect migrants in origin and destination countries from migration are referred to as migrant networks (Massey et al., 1993). Presence of migrant networks increased the likelihood of international movement for migrants and viewed as advantageous as it lowers the costs and risks of movement while increasing the expected net returns to migration (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, social ties communicate information such as sources of assistance when settling into a new destination (Boyd, 1989).

Established networks at a destination country have a significant impact on migration routes and decisions. Many of the interviewees had known relatives or family members who had already lived in Somalia or moved there before them, that they had reached out to during and before their arrival. The significance of established networks had impacted the decision making of many household Yemeni interviewees as they explained their decision-making process — refugees who came months after in waves, after the first group, were more

inclined to take the journey knowing others who migrated there. The influx of migrants to a specific destination creates a "family and friends" effect that directly or indirectly facilitates more migrants to arrive and integrate to the same place (Massey, 1999). The growing number of migrants as a result of prior migration is attributed to social ties making the migration process a smoother transition.

Self-perpetuation movement of migration demonstrates the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement, causing additional movement, and in turn expanding the network and so forth (Massey et al., 1993). A study employed by Davenport et al. (2003) summed in their statistical analysis research "migration follows migration" they explain that relevant networks from prior migration impacted decisions of migrants as it decreased the cost of risks associated with moving to a new country.

The perpetuation of migration is catalyzed by conditions that reduce the obstacles of adaptation and integration. Similarities in culture, religion, and kinship are conveyed as a pull factor to the destination country. The effect of systems in place and networks can be classified as a feedback mechanism, continuing to perpetuate further flows of migration. Approaching migration from a systems perspective offers several advantages one being it challenges the idea that migration as a linear, straightforward process of A to B (Boyd, 1999). Secondly, it signifies interdependence and reciprocity (Boyd,). Examining migration as a dynamic flow within the context of other flows, of information, people, ideas, culture gives attention to both the sending and receiving countries of migration. In addition, it adds a linkage by illumination the connections between macro and micro approaches to understanding migration.

Migrant networks tend to decrease the economic, social and psychological costs of migration (De Haas, 2010). Social capital, in particular, the form of strong kinship and social bonds is an asset that excludes people at the same time. Migrants who lack access to migrant networks, social bonds face extreme obstacles in the destination country. Communities where social organization and trust are mainly based on kinship ties, tribal ties similar understanding in religion and culture are a considered a prime channel for gaining access to international migration. A majority of the interviewees have family and friends already established in Somalia and tribal networks (Interview, 2018).

Somalia is also a predominantly Islamic country, migrants who do not identify with the Islamic faith would most likely not migrate or be able to integrate to a Muslim sharia country for fear they will be targeted as infidels (non-believers). Religion in this instance is considered a significant factor in creating and maintaining migrant networks (de has, 2010).

In the study, all of the respondents from the study identified as a Muslim. An interview states “one of the reasons she was content with her living situation was she was living in a community with same religious values she was living in her origin country” (Interview, 2018). In this instance, religious values have made it an easier transition for the migrants settled whereas, if a migrant had a different region it would not be the case. Therefore, group membership and social capital acting as a bridgehead for certain group members simultaneously serve as ‘gatekeepers’ for outsiders (de Haas, 2010). The exclusion of certain people experience through the existence of networks implies how it acts as a double-edged sword. De Haas (2010) predicts that "more closed groups are and the higher the migration costs are, the higher the level of outsider exclusion will be" (p. 1603).

There is a strong implication from the data that Yemeni migrants with stronger social capitals were more inclined to facilitate migration than their counterparts back at home. However, the absence of these networks might not have made a significant impact on that choice entirely. About half of the respondents did not know anyone in Somalia before their journey (Interview, 2018). For those who did not know anyone they said they relied on themselves and created their own community. Those who did have social connections had access to informal assistance outside the realm of ‘refugee assistance they appreciated. Findings show that "social capital in the form of migrant networks can be a useful resource enabling people to migrate and, hence, potentially gain access to other (economic, human and cultural) capital. However, strong, social connections as such do not enable migration." (de Haas, 2010, p. 1603). Social ties though, which are considered factors that include the history of migration routes, colonial history existing diaspora in the community, similar cultural, religion all contribute to linkages that connect the origin and destination country. The linkages between the receiving and sending countries, increase the likelihood of migration occurring between the respective areas in a system. The linkages that connect the system is a fundamental paradigm in the migration systems theory. Migration Systems theory link families and communities over space through migration similar to the Migration Network Theory.

Factors such as migration networks and systems, in the literature have argued that meso-level theories are an important link between structural and individual levels of explanations for migration processes (Faist, 1997). Meso-level migration determinants operate at the level at the level of the networks, communities, and localities which are most relevant for the daily social interaction of migrants (de Haas, 2010, p. 1591). In migration studies, taking a particular emphasis on networks and social capital permits an understanding

of migration at a level beyond individual decisions by individual actors and socio-economic structural factors.

## **5.6 Why Puntland?**

Migration movements are quite politicized and governments and legislation in place to make it extremely difficult for migrants to cross borders and or seek asylum. The migratory movement of Yemeni migrants to the unstable Horn of Africa rather than neighbouring countries with functioning governments (Saudi Arabia and Oman) have to do with strict immigration policies.

During the course of data collection, Interview respondents were asked what some of the reasons why they chose Puntland as a place to settle were. Two main themes were reiterated one which was social and migratory networks which were discussed earlier the second one was the legal framework that made it easier to settle in Somalia instead of neighbouring Arab countries.

The government of Puntland's open refugee policy has made migrating to the state more appealing and lucrative. Refugees with Yemeni nationality are classified as migrants from "Countries in Chaos" as declared by the Minister of The government of Puntland Somalia. Puntland accepting refugees from Yemen on a prima face basis is considered a pull factor in directing the migration to this region. Prima face recognition means that all migrants from Yemen- "irrespective of the cause of their flight- have received the same standards of international protection" (Betts, 2010, p. 372). UNHCR defines prima facie approach as the "recognition by a state or UNHCR of refugee status on the basis of readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin, or in the case of stateless asylum seekers, their country of habitual residence" (UNHCR, 2018). Prima facie recognition protects all migrants regardless of whether they are persecuted or fleeing conflict and are still considered refugee under the 1951 refugee convention. The 1969 organization of African unity which was used to adopt the Puntland refugee protection law has been used to address the gap between 1951 Refugee Convention and the needs of migrants in an inclusive framework (Betts, 2010).

In article 4 of Puntland Refugee Protection Law.

1. *The minister may, if it is evident that a class of persons qualifies to be refugees under Article 3 of this Law, declare that a class of persons to be prima facie refugees or such other related declaration as prescribed by regulation.*

Whereas in article 3 is dedicating to the criteria of who is considered a refugee

1. *A person shall be regarded as a Refugee for the purpose of this Law if such a person-*

*a¶ Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it; or*

*b¶ B) Owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part of whole of his country of origin or nationality is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.*

Based on the criteria of what constitutes a refugee from the Refugee Law, Puntland has determined migrants from Yemen would be classified as such. Yemeni migrants are considered refugee and are processed under the guide of prima facie. "The aim of registration as part of applying a prima facie approach would be to capture sufficient information on the individuals and members of his/her family to determine in the beneficiary class" (UNHR, 2016). The decision from the authority of Puntland’s minister to adopt the approach for Yemeni refugees influences the decision for migrants to seek refuge in a country. The prima facie refugee approach eliminates barriers such as the requirement of documents of migrants fleeing.

The distinction of whether someone is a refugee or an asylum seeker is significant when the status is determined. Asylum seekers are not granted all of the services refugees are given. As seen in the table below

	Basic Services
--	----------------

	Primary Education	Health	Allowance	Food Stamp	Legal Aid
Refugees	X	X	X	X	X
Asylum Seekers	X	X			X

**Table 1: Basic services for refugees and asylum seekers provided by Puntland with support from UNHCR (adopted from RAD and IAD Puntland Introduction power point, 2018)**

Services outlined in the table above had influenced the destination to migrate to a country that would provide basic services needed to survive. Services such as an allowance and food stamp are especially enticing to the refugees from an economic standpoint as discussed earlier. "The Puntland Government acknowledges its primary responsibility to provide IDPs, with equitable access to durable solutions to their displacement"(article 18. 2017) In Puntland refugee protection. The government of Puntland Somalia uses the Puntland refugee protection law excerpt as a guideline for incoming refugees from Yemen and neighbouring conflict-ridden countries. The response to migrants from the Puntland government is a pull factor. National and international migration and immigration policies further constrain or encourage people's decisions to move or stay. Decision-making does not only involve the migrants but rather many others with whom they are connected thus, having broader implications and consequences than on the migrant alone (Kothari, 2000, p 9).

### **5.7 Yemeni Refugees Not Welcome?**

Neighbouring countries like Saudi Arabia have created conditions for Yemeni migrants extremely difficult. For instance, they are not recognizing Yemenis fleeing as refugees.

*"None of the Gulf States recognizes the right to asylum, allows residence without a job, recognizes a right of family reunification, guarantees legal access to housing, social benefits, or medical care, or grants migrants any right of appeal with respect to decisions about their status; all permit deportation at any time by administrative decree (Djib 1988). "* (Massey, 1999, p. 315-316).

Instead, Saudi Arabia has imposed stricter conditions by expelling 17,000 Yemeni migrant's back to war and misery in their homeland, deepening the crisis (Nehebay, 2018). Director of operations and emergencies of International Organization of Migration Mohamed Abdiker

has been advocating that Saudi Arabia alter their policies for Yemeni migrants considering the situation their country is in. He says the following “But our line is that you cannot return people to a country like Yemen, Particularly when you are bombing it your self” (Nehebay, 2018). The call for action to Saudi Arabia is to be held accountable for displacing thousands of Yemenis since the war in 2015 by waiving the policies in order to protect refugees and asylum seekers.

Other developed countries have also turned their back on refugees from Yemen. Considering that the United Nations has declared Yemen’s civil war the largest humanitarian crisis in the world the response from the international community has not acted accordingly. The lack of willingness by the EU, North America and GCC to intervene in the Yemen war for humanitarian issues or condemn the aggression has dubbed the war in Yemen as the forgotten war.

The response to the Yemen refugee crisis has been nonexistent from developed countries or as accommodating as it was for Syrian refugees (Elayah et al., 2017). Instead, countries such as Canada, UK, and the US have been selling weapons to Saudi Arabia that are being used in Yemen. Since the death of Jamal Khashoggi murder has been linked to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, there has been renewed attention to atrocities in Yemen. Humanitarian organizations and government officials are slowly challenging their governments in selling arms to Saudi Arabia (Harris et al., 2018). On October 30, 2018, the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had stated "It is time to end this conflict, replace conflict with compromise, and allow the Yemeni people to heal through peace and reconstruction" he also emphasized “subsequently, coalition airstrikes must cease in all populated areas in Yemen" (Harris et al., 2018). As discussed earlier the Saudi-led bombings have been a major cause of civilian death and destruction In Yemen in the three and half-year-old conflict In Yemen. The lack of international response to refugees from Yemen has pushed refugees to continue to be displaced within their own country or seek refuge in neighbouring unstable, developing countries such as Djibouti and Somalia. Barriers imposed on Yemeni migrants have made it impossible to migrate to certain countries and have made it easier to migrate to certain areas. Refugee laws and policies are a determining factor for migration for the migrants from Yemen.

This chapter presented the migration determinants of a sample of Yemeni migrants. In summary, the data analysis revealed various factors that motivated and pushed Yemenis to leave and pull towards Puntland, Somalia. Through discussions of findings and analysis, this



chapter was intended to offer an explanation of migration determinants and to answer the research question ultimately. What are the migration determinants for Yemeni migrants from 2015? How has the international community responded to the refugee crisis?

The challenge throughout data collection and analysis, which were not separate but rather interlocking phases of this research, was to make sense of large amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what data reveal given the purpose of the study (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008). Furthermore, the study employed strategies by Wynn and Williams (2012) as mentioned in chapter two throughout the processes by examining data analysis within three levels of analysis micro, meso, and macro. Triangulation of sources and continuously evaluating validity were conscious choices to limit potential research bias that often is a by-product of qualitative data. Additionally, engaging in critical reflection during all stages of research was an ongoing process to reduce the subjective nature of qualitative research. This chapter was ultimately an explanation of making sense of the migration determinants for Yemeni migrants in Puntland, Somalia as close to possible to the reality of events that took place.

## **6 Conclusion**

In recent times, international migration has become increasingly diverse and rapid, a global scope. Migration is best understood as a phenomenon arising out of social, economic and political change that affects both communities of receiving and sending of migrants. As the movement of people has become heavily politicized, this research aims to generate knowledge that would inform new insights on the migration between two countries that have a long history of poverty, conflict, and instability. The purpose of this study is to determine the main drivers of migration from a specific case study, that of the Yemeni migrants who have fled in 2015 to seek refuge in Puntland, Somalia. Increasing understandings of migration factors and flows of a contemporary refugee crisis that has been deemed 'forgotten' and the worst humanitarian crisis sheds light on unconventional refugee flows as well as contribute to knowledge.

This study had employed qualitative research methodology to investigate the main migration determinant for a sample of Yemeni migrants. Findings from primary data collected from fieldwork have concluded that conflict and violence was a driver of migration regarding influencing rational actors' decision making. The study had also found that foreign

intervention from the Saudi-led coalition had deeply impacted the livelihoods and economical means of the migrants. Loss of jobs, shortage of food, the increase in poverty are all consequences of the airstrikes and blockades. Deterioration of living conditions, conflict and instability, and lack of economic means are factors that have pushed Yemeni migrants to leave. In regards to motivations to leave, socio-economic means were determinants as a result of a cost-benefit analysis. Migrant households made migration decisions to minimize risk and seek a 'better life' for the collective unit. Migrants and their agency in decision making is situated in individual choice; however, it is also highly influenced by household aspirations and structural processes. Therefore it is essential to pay attention to both power structures and relations and the actor's agency, and the interactions between them.

Presence of social networks assured assistance and linkages between Yemen and Puntland was a pull factor for migrants who arrived as refugees. Similarities, in culture, religion, established networks and policies of a *Prima facie* had determined Puntland as a destination country for those who wanted to leave Yemen. Barriers in migration from neighbouring countries such as Saudi Arabia have limited the choices for where Yemeni migrants could seek asylum. Secondary data analysis has also concluded a lack of media coverage to the refugee crisis has impacted the international response to responding to the plight of Yemeni refugees. The study found that refugee policies either hindered migration flows for Yemenis or sustained flows-thus, legal policies are migration determinant that can impact the flow of migrants to a destination country.

The outcome of migration from a refugee is shaped by factors and connections from broad political economic structures to individual subjectivities. This thesis concluded that macro-contextual economic and political factors play a role in migration. Ultimately, it is the interactions of local-level factors influencing people's migration decisions and strategies in combination with a range of political, economic and social factors and process that ultimately shape migration outcomes within specific contexts (Collinson, 2009). In examining this case study, migration determinants have emerged after considering a micro, meso and macro level analysis. It is through this multi-level analysis one can gain a better understanding of the determinants and lived experiences of migrants and refugees.

The case study at hand was a complex one with limited prior research. As a researcher of this particular case study, I recommend further research into further determinants, one that examines the environment as a push factor. Further studies into how socio-economic and political factors are interrelated to the cholera outbreak in Yemen. Secondly, recommendations on further research on mixed migration patterns between Puntland and

Yemen. Despite the airstrikes occurring in Yemen, there have been observations from fieldwork of intention of Somalis towards Yemen in hopes of making it to the Middle East and beyond. Given the time and financial constraints, the researcher could not dive into these areas worth exploring at this time. Nevertheless, the information and data collected from the Yemeni migrants in this study can contribute to information on factors determining migration flow across the Gulf of Aden into Puntland, Somalia.

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## 8 Appendix

### 8.1 Interview Guide

#### Interview Guide

The interview responses will remain confidential, any audio recording will not be shared and will only be used for translation and transcription purposed in English. The Use of this research is for a thesis for Msc International Relations at NMBU. All proceedings in the interview will be ethical, anonymous and with informed consent.

Location

Date

Body language cues:

#### Identity

1. Name
2. Gender
3. Age and birthdate
4. Where were you born?
5. Single, married, divorced?

6. What is hometown, village, or city you from?
7. Nationality?
8. Tribe?

### **Background**

1. When did you arrive to Somalia?
2. Where are you living now?
3. How are you supporting yourself financially? Are you receiving any assistance?

### **Family and friends**

1. How many members in family?
2. Are there any family members you have lost?
3. Did they arrive with you?
4. Are they planning too?

### **Refugee status**

1. Who is involved in the conflict
2. What is your opinion?
3. How has this impacted you?
4. Do you plan on returning?
5. Do you feel safe here?
6. Have you adjusted?
7. What was the hardest part about leaving Yemen?
8. And living where you live know ?

### **Education, training and life before**

4. Did you work or go to school?
5. What is highest level education
6. What languages do you speak?

### **Final questions**

1. What do you think the future of Yemen is?
2. Do you keep up with the news?
3. How would you describe your current living situation?
4. What do you envision for your future?





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