



**THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE REASONS FOR SOMALI IMMIGRANTS PREFERENCE FOR LIVING
IN YEMEN RATHER THAN RETURNING TO SOMALIA**

Master Thesis

Muneer KAWEILH

International Relations

December 2023



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Prof. Dr. Muhittin ATAMAN**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Praise and gratitude the author delivers to One and Only God, Allah SWT, for His blessings and grace, so the author was able to complete all of the necessities of this master's thesis. With lack of vanity, the author realizes that there are several shortcomings in the process of finishing this thesis. the author knows that the study is subject to the academic criticism and thus accepts any academic editions that bring this study to more fruitful context in the future. During the process of this study, the author was guided and directed in a way that brought this study to this outcome and would like specifically to thank.

1. Prof. Dr. Muhittin Ataman, supervisor of this study for his continuous follow-up and guidance since the very beginning of the research process and kind comments that draw the wide boundaries of this study. Similarly, his patience and wisdom were with me during writing this thesis.
2. Mr. Yasir Okumuş for his guidance and help in identifying the elements of this study that allowed me to move forward.
3. Mrs. Esra ÇAYLAK for her help in identifying the elements of this study that allowed me to move forward.
4. My father, my mother, my brothers, my aunt, and my wife in Yemen who had been there for me with their support and prayers to get this job done.
5. Lecturers and all dear teachers as well as the staff in the university for their cooperation during my time at the university.
6. AL-AWN Foundation with its CEO Abdullah Bin Othman, and NAMA Foundation for their generous support of this scholarship and giving the chance for pursuing my Master and expose me to a different atmosphere and the UDEF for their follow up during the past years.
7. To the departed our brother Abdulaziz Bawazir, a member of the scholarship delegation from Yemen, rest in peace.

8. Ahmed Oseran, Omar Mashaabi, Ahmed JAWAS, and all other friends, high studies students and teachers from other departments who had been there since the first days of my study.



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information provided in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that I have quoted and referenced all material used in this thesis which is not part of the originality of this thesis. I also declare that this thesis has followed the writing rules of the Social Sciences University of Ankara.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AQAP	: Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
INTERSOS	: INTERSOS Humanitarian Aid Foundation
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
JMP	: Joint Meeting Parties
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
UNDP	: The United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	: The United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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ÖZET

Somali, 1991'lerden bu yana devam eden ve milyonlarca Somalilinin ülke içinde ve dışında zorla göç etmesine yol açan iç savaşıra tanık olmuştur. Coğrafi yakınlığı ve hükümetinin o dönem izlediği Somalili göçmenlere yönelik açık kapı politikası nedeniyle Yemen de Somali halkının istikrar veya geçiş arayışında göç ettiği ülkeler arasında bulunmaktadır. Bu tez, esas olarak, Somalili göçmenlerin, Yemen'in de çatışma bölgesi olmasına rağmen, Somali'ye geri dönmek yerine Yemen'in Hadramut vilayetindeki Mukalla kentinde kalmayı tercih etmelerine neden olan siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal faktörleri araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, özellikle Mukalla kentindeki Somalili göçmenler hakkında daha bilimsel ve metodolojik olarak odaklanmış araştırmaların temelini atarak, göç çalışmaları için yeni kapılar açan keşfedici bir niteliktedir. Bu çalışma, Somali göçmenlerinin Mukalla kentinde kalmayı tercih etmelerine neden olan faktörleri keşfetmek için bir araştırma metodolojisi olarak tematik analizi kullanmaktadır. Veriler, daha çok Mukalla kentindeki Somalili göçmenlerle yapılan görüşmeler yoluyla toplanmıştır. Katılımcıların yanıtları analiz edilmiş, siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal faktörlere göre kategorize edilmiş ve daha sonra çatışma teorisi merceğinden sunulmuştur. Bu tez, Somalililerin Yemen'in de bir çatışma bölgesi olmasına rağmen, Somali'deki çatışmadan kaçarak Yemen'e gitmelerinin arkasındaki nedenleri ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmanın metodolojisine göre yapılan analizde literatür taraması ile karşılaştırılan sonuçlar, Somalili göçmenlerin Mukalla'da kalmayı tercih etmelerinin arkasında birkaç temel faktör olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu faktörler sıralanacak olursa; siyasi açıdan, Mukalla'daki güvenlik istikrarı ile Somali'ye dönmeleri durumunda çatışma korkusu ve bu çatışmanın kurbanı olma endişesi, ekonomik açıdan, Mukalla'daki yaşam koşullarının Somali'ye göre nispeten daha iyi olması, uluslararası yardım ve iyi bir geçim imkânı sağlayan istihdam fırsatları, sosyal açıdan, Mukalla şehrinde sosyal istikrar, ırk ayrımcılığının olmaması, yerel toplumun saygılı ve hoşgörülü muamelesi ve iklim ve kültürde Somali ile bazı benzerlikler, göçmenlerin şehirde kalma tercihlerine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Mukalla'daki Somalili göçmenlerin durumunu daha derinlemesine incelemek ve yaşam koşullarına odaklanan gelecekteki araştırmalar için bir başlangıç noktası olarak kabul edilmektedir.

ABSTRACT

Somalia has witnessed several civil wars, leading to the forced migration of millions of Somalis at home and to other countries. Thanks to its geographical proximity and the open-door policy of its government toward Somali migrants, Yemen was among the states that Somalis migrated to for seeking stability or transit. This thesis primarily aims to explore political, economic, and social factors that made Somali migrants prefer staying in Mukalla city, Hadhramaut Governorate, Yemen, over going back to Somalia, although Yemen is also a conflict zone. Furthermore, this study is an exploratory research laying the groundwork for more scientifically and methodically focused studies on Somali migrants, especially in Mukalla city, and opens the door for further migration studies. Thematic analysis was employed as a research methodology to explore the desired results. Data were mainly collected through interviews with some Somali migrants living in Mukalla city. Their responses were analyzed, categorized into political, economic, and social factors, and then presented through the lens of conflict theory, in order to explore the reasons behind Somalis fleeing conflict in Somalia to Yemen, despite Yemen also being a conflict zone. Then, the findings are compared with the literature review in the analysis of the study according to the methodology used. The thesis concluded that Somali migrants prefer staying in Mukalla due to several factors. Politically, quest for security and stability, fear of conflict in Somalia upon return, and the apprehension of becoming victims of that conflict were counted. Economically, the relatively better living conditions in Mukalla compared to Somalia, international aid, and employment opportunities ensuring a decent livelihood were influential. Socially, social stability, which means a lack of racial discrimination observed in Mukalla city, respectful and tolerant treatment from the local community, and some climatic and cultural similarities with Somalia contribute to their preference for staying in the city. This study serves as a starting point for more in-depth examination of the situation of the Somali migrants in Mukalla and paves the way for future studies focusing on their living conditions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Migration phenomenon influences political, economic, and social factors of individuals and groups in societies. Factors influencing migration alter from one region to another. There are various kinds of migration such as brain drain, fleeing from war or conflict, seeking a better life, as well as forced migration as in the Somali case. People forced to migrate fleeing from famine, conflict between tribes, civil war and fear of being victims of these conflicts and seeking for stability.

This introduction chapter is divided into nine sections. The first section will discuss the study background of thesis which goes to mention the situation that causes the migration from Somalia to Yemen, the Yemeni crisis, and the situation in Mukalla city in particular. The second section will address the research question and hypotheses. Then the third section will present objective of the study, while theoretical framework will be in the fourth section, the fifth section will outline the basic concepts of the thesis, moreover, the sixth section will be the methodology of thesis, the seventh section will show how the data of the thesis has been collected, last but not least, limitation of the thesis it will be addressed as the eight section, and last section will show the outline of the study.

1.1. Study Background

Refugees and migrants leave Somalia, with a higher exodus from the southern central region. Puntland and Somaliland also witness significant movements of transit migration, as Ethiopians and various other ethnic groups pass from the Horn of Africa to Yemen. At present, the global count stands at 1.1 million Somali refugees and 0.5 million asylum seekers. The majority of these individuals find themselves in the Horn of Africa and Yemen. For the Somalian refugees, the primary hosting countries are Kenya, Ethiopia, and Yemen.

Migration trends can be attributed to a variety of factors, prominently including high unemployment rates and economic hardships. The education system has experienced imbalances due to privatization and inadequate regulation, pushing individuals to seek better opportunities abroad (IOM & AU, 2019). Additionally, peer pressure and well-established

smuggling networks further generate migration. Weak security measures and the overall lack of confidence in fragile state institutions add to the vulnerability that drives people to leave their homes and their countries (Moret, Baglioni, & Efionayi-Mäder, 2006).

Moreover, the involvement of tribal affiliations significantly shapes this migration pattern. Corruption within both the political and economic spheres exacerbates the situation (Valley, 1969). Spanning fifteen years, the exodus of Somali migrants from their homeland has been driven by a myriad of factors. These encompass civil conflicts, the breakdown of law and order, dire economic conditions, recurring periods of drought and famine, among others.

The community of Somali refugees and asylum seekers constitutes one of the largest migrant groups across various countries, contributing to the expansive Somali diaspora. While estimating the complete Somali population, both within the nation and beyond its borders, proves challenging, data from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in 2003 indicates that Somalia's population exceeded 10 million at that time. However, this statistical representation does not encompass all Somalis living abroad. The actual number is considerably higher due to processes like naturalization, undocumented residency arrangements, and pending asylum applications. These factors contribute to an underrepresentation of Somalis in the records maintained by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Wasuge, 2018).

Due to the eruption of the civil conflict in Somalia after the overthrow of President Siad Barre in 1991, there has been a discernible surge in the volume of Somali refugees pursuing sanctuary in Yemen (Regt, 2007). The documented tally of officially registered Somali refugees within Yemen surpasses 200,000 (Abdi, &, Kleist 2021). Nevertheless, the precise aggregate of Somali refugees who have sought shelter in Yemen since 1991 remains elusive owing to the existence of unrecorded individuals and those who have subsequently relocated to alternate nations.

For many Somali refugees, the principal avenue of entry into Yemen involves hazardous journeys on smuggler vessels, endangering their lives. These boats, constructed from wood, lack even the most basic sanitary amenities and are perpetually crammed with passengers. Significantly, these vessels are not granted access to Yemen's territorial waters, thus preventing direct shoreline arrival. Consequently, individuals on board are occasionally compelled to disembark in deep waters, frequently several miles distant from the coastline, leading to tragic instances of drowning. The survivors of these treacherous journeys who succeed in reaching Yemen often find themselves apprehended by the Yemeni law enforcement personnel. In 1992,

the Yemeni government made an official plea to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for assistance in managing the surge of Somali refugees (UNCHR, 1992).

The historical ties between Somalia and Yemen in terms of migration and interaction span back well before the collapse of the Somali state. This connection is deeply ingrained in the strong rapport shared by these two nations, stemming from their cultural and religious affinities. This affiliation has paved the way for Yemeni authorities and society to offer a warm reception to Somali refugees. Consequently, when the turmoil of the Somali civil war compelled numerous residents to abandon their homeland, the alternative of seeking sanctuary in Yemen emerged as the primary choice for the majority of uprooted individuals. Running parallel to this, the Yemeni government threw open its borders to asylum seekers by adopting an initial recognition approach for Somalis. This stance has endured since the inception of the conflict until the present day, despite authorities mulling over potential regulatory adjustments. In alignment with this policy, all individuals of Somali nationality are initially acknowledged as refugees based solely on their nationality (Moret et. al, 2006).

Numerous Somali migrants confront a notable obstacle in the form of not possessing an identification card, impeding their ability to reach crucial services such as healthcare, education, and job opportunities. The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that extend aid to refugees, backed by funding from UNHCR, becomes restricted to aiding individuals who hold valid identification cards. Regrettably, those individuals lacking this form of identification are unable to access services at subsidized rates (Regt, 2007).

Being a well-established host nation for displaced individuals and the only country within the Arabian Peninsula that has ratified the Refugee Convention alongside its Supplementary Protocol, Yemen provides asylum to the world's second largest Somali refugee community, comprising an estimated 250,000 people (UNHCR, 2019). Approaching 2021, the global count reached up to 836,300 individuals who identified as Somali refugees and asylum seekers. The majority of this population -nearly 80 percent, which amounts to over 650,000 individuals- found their haven in neighboring and regional nations. These host countries encompass Ethiopia, Kenya, Yemen, Djibouti, Uganda, and Sudan (UNHCR, 2022).

1.1.1. The Yemeni Crisis

The unrest in Yemen has persisted over an extended period. The recent intensification of the armed confrontation notably commenced in 2015, marked by confrontations between the Houthi rebels and the internationally recognized Yemeni administration. This circumstance has become intricately interwoven with diverse entities, encompassing factions seeking southern

independence, extremist groups, unaffiliated militias, and indigenous tribal groups. Conflicts of this nature, involving multiple stakeholders, frequently entail protracted negotiation processes, leading to prolonged periods of armed engagement due to the intricate dynamics at play (Moyer et al, 2019). Amidst the enduring conflict in Yemen and civilians grappling with dire life-endangering circumstances, the predicament of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants within the nation has markedly worsened (UNHCR, 2019). On the other hand, back to the history of Yemen which was two states until 1990, but before that, it should be mentioned that the south part had a long history of civil war due the collapse of Soviet Union, when the Democratic Republic of Yemen was one of the belonging states to that Soviet pole, which made the decision makers at that time went to Union with North part in May 1990, the Republic of Yemen was founded as a result of the merging of North Yemen (known as the Yemen Arab Republic) and South Yemen (recognized as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen), which one the most reasons of Union is to quite the civil war between elites in the South part in Yemen (Aden Al Ghad Web, 2023). Despite its formal designation as a multiparty democracy, the country was under the leadership of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who had governed the General People's Congress and North Yemen for a dozen years before the unification. The emergence of the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) coalition, encompassing six opposition factions including the Tribal Reform Party and the Yemeni Socialist Party, came as an unexpected development. Sentiments favoring southern secession have persisted since the reunification, causing many individuals from the southern region to perceive themselves as marginalized and excluded from Yemen's economic and political spheres.

The year 1994 witnessed escalating tensions between political factions in the northern and southern sectors of Yemen, resulting in a concise episode of civil conflict (Peaceful Unity to the Outbreak of Conflict, 2023). This conflict swiftly tilted in favor of the northern faction. The aftermath saw the dispersion of the southern secessionist figures, enforced retirements for military personnel, and a reshuffling of assets in the southern domain, encompassing the redistribution of land.

In the northern province of Saada, members of the Ansar Allah Movement, commonly known as the Houthi movement challenged Saleh's rule (BBC News, 2017). The Zaidis, a Shia Muslim group, had ruled North Yemen for decades before being overthrown in the 1962 revolution. The Believing Youth Movement emerged as a response to perceived backwardness in the region. In 2004, President Saleh dispatched government forces to apprehend the leader of the movement, Hussein al-Houthi. This sparked a series of clashes in Saada. Although Hussein was killed in 2004, the Houthi movement continued under the leadership of his brother

Abdulmalek al-Houthi. They continued to oppose the Yemeni government for another six years. In response, President Saleh employed forceful tactics to suppress the rebellion, which included tactics causing collateral damage to civilians. A ceasefire was eventually reached between the Houthi movement and the government in 2010 (Al-Jazeera, 2010). However, the underlying grievances of the conflict remained unaddressed.

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula emerged as a result of a merger between Al-Qaeda organizations in Saudi Arabia and Yemen in early 2009, after the Saudi authorities tightened their pursuit of the organization's members inside Saudi territory, which led them to seek refuge in Yemeni territory, taking advantage of the deteriorating security situation in the country and the state of war against the Houthis. In the north and the movement's demand for secession in the south. In the early 2000s, AQAP targeted the Western interests in the country, including the attack on the USS Cole in Aden's harbor in 2000, resulting in death of 17 people. Al-Qaeda's activities in Yemen have shifted significantly towards targeting individuals from Western countries. Notable incidents include the attack on the US Embassy in Sanaa in September 2008 killed 16 people. Moreover, Al-Qaeda in Yemen organized another operation by kidnapping American photojournalist Luke Somers in 2014. He was killed during a joint Yemeni-American military operation in Shabwa Governorate in southern Yemen, with the aim of liberating him. According to the sources, the same operation resulted in the killing of 11 Al-Qaeda members (Al-Jazeera, 2014).

The Arab Spring (the Arab insurgencies and revolutions) of 2011 provided an opportunity for various groups and grievances to converge their opposition against the government. In Sanaa, student and activist-led protests escalated following the leadership changes in Tunisia and Egypt. Later on, these protests spread across Yemen, backed by the Joint Meeting Parties, the Houthi movement, and the Southern secessionist movement. A turning point occurred on March 18 when the government forces opened fire on protesters, resulted in dozens of casualties. This incident led to collective resignations within the ruling party, including around 20 deputies and General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar, often described as the "second most powerful man in the country," who used his influence to protect the protesters (Moyer et al, 2019).

Several months later, President Saleh agreed to a deal brokered by the Gulf Cooperation Council, transferring power to Vice President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi (Sana'a Center For Strategic Studies, 2020). This deal also involved power-sharing arrangements among the General People's Congress and the Joint Meeting Parties. As part of this agreement, the National Dialogue Conference was initiated to engage protesting factions in shaping a new social contract (Moyer et al, 2019). Despite the ongoing negotiations, Yemenis continued to

face challenges such as food insecurity, electricity disruptions, and the persistent threat of violence.

By 2012, Saleh was no longer in power and had aligned himself with the Houthi movement, providing funding to their elite military units. The civil war began when the Houthis, with Saleh's supports, took control of Sanaa in the fall of 2014, followed by the capture of the presidential palace in January of the next year (Moyer et al, 2019). As a result of this takeover, Hadi resigned and fled to Aden; however, he later reasserted his authority. In March 2015, considering the Houthis' close ties to Iran, Saudi Arabia tried to balance the Iranian influence in the country and initiated a large-scale airstrike against the Houthi targets to support President Hadi (Wilson-Smith, 2019).

Throughout the conflict, all parties (domestic and regional) contributed to the destruction of the Yemeni civilians. The conflict's impact extended to essential water infrastructure and food production systems. The blockade imposed in 2017 and the closure of ports hindered food imports, humanitarian access, and aid deliveries to those in need (Moyer et al, 2019). Meanwhile, the wartime economy evolved with the collapse of traditional economic systems. Though many Yemenis suffered, the imposition of taxes on goods at inspection points and the clandestine economy yielded limited profits (Moyer et al, 2019).

The United Nations worked with the warring parties to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict. In December 2018, they facilitated a peace agreement between the Houthis and the government in Sweden, known as the Stockholm Agreement. This agreement encompassed prisoner exchanges and an agreement to withdraw the two parts of the conflict the Houthis and the government military, from the Red Sea trade route including the strategic coastal city of Hodeidah (United Nations, 2018). This withdrawal was crucial for importing food and humanitarian aid. However, the implementation of the agreement faced delays due to disagreements, and hostilities persisted across the country (Moyer et al, 2019).

Despite the ongoing negotiations and the National Dialogue Conference, Yemenis continued to face challenges including food insecurity, electricity outages, and the persistent threat of violence. The National Dialogue Conference aimed to involve protesting factions in shaping a new social contract, lasting nearly a year (Sharp, 2021). Since mid-2014, fighting has erupted in Yemen between the Houthi forces and the coalition of groups nominally loyal to the government of the former President Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi (Wilson-Smith, 2019). A large-scale war broke out in March 2015, when an international coalition led by Saudi Arabia and backed by many countries including the United States, the United Kingdom and France, began launching air strikes against the Houthi forces. "What little international policy attention the

region has received has focused largely on Western support for the coalition and the burgeoning humanitarian crisis and looming famine affecting most of Yemen's 29 million residents" (Wilson-Smith, 2019). However, analysis of the humanitarian and geopolitical implications of the civil war often ignores Yemen's role as the center of one of the world's busiest mixed migration routes, which links Africa, Asia and Europe.

In fact, Yemen is rarely the focus of discussion on the dynamics of international migration, although the country saw more irregular sea crossings in 2018 than all routes across the Mediterranean combined. Migration to and through Yemen primarily occurs along various routes, driven by negative attractions in the region, with the ongoing civil war in Yemen significantly impacting those on the move. Recent migration trends in Yemen have important implications for a broader understanding of mixed migration, challenging many logical assumptions about the factors and conditions that drive mixed flows of people fleeing persecution, seeking better lives and opportunities, or victims of trafficking (Wilson-Smith, 2019).

The conflict has exacerbated the risks faced by migrants on the eastern route, along with the increasingly hostile policies towards migrants espoused by regional actors. These policies, in conjunction with the complex multi-directional flows created as a result of the war, pose greater challenges to organizations seeking to monitor and support migrants in Yemen. However, the outbreak of fighting in 2010 and 2015 between Saudi and Houthis coincided with temporary reduction in arrivals by sea to Yemen, expectations that the war could deter migration were largely confusing. Instead, large-scale conflict and simultaneous breakdown in law and order were attractions, leading to record levels of migration (Wilson-Smith, 2019). Moreover, according to Theories of International Migration made by Massey (1993), that "declining risk networks" also make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification. When migrant networks are well-developed, they put a destination job within easy reach of most community members and make emigration a reliable and secure of income (Massey et. al, 1993).

In conclusion, Yemen has been suffering from war, hunger, poverty and the threat of famine for more than six years as a result of the ongoing war between the internationally recognized legitimate government and the Houthi movement. As a result, the number of needy and poor has increased, leaving millions behind on the brink of poverty. In addition to these problems, Yemen is facing a large wave of Somali immigrants who preferred to live in Yemen rather than returning to their country.



Figure 1: Map of Yemen

Source: Google.com/maps, <https://rb.gy/x1t2ha>.

1.1.2. The Situation in Mukalla

Mukalla, a city located in the Hadhramaut Governorate of Yemen, has been influenced by a complex and volatile political situation in recent years. This situation has been shaped by a combination of regional conflicts, internal power struggles, and the broader challenges facing Yemen as a whole. The political landscape in Mukalla has been greatly impacted by the ongoing civil war in Yemen between the Houthi rebels, who control the northern part of the country, and the internationally recognized government led by the former President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi. While Mukalla is geographically distant from the epicenter of the conflict, its strategic location along the Arabian Sea has made it a focal point for various actors vying for influence in the region.

In 2015, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) took advantage of the power vacuum created by the civil war to capture Mukalla. This further complicated the political dynamics in the city. AQAP's control over Mukalla was marked by its attempt to establish a parallel governance structure, exploiting the grievances of marginalized communities and exploiting the lack of effective state institutions (Faisal & Al-Batati, 2018). However, in 2016, with the support of the Saudi-led coalition, forces loyal to President Hadi managed to drive

AQAP out of Mukalla. This marked a turning point in the city's political situation. Subsequently, efforts were made to restore a semblance of stability, with a focus on rebuilding infrastructure, restoring public services, and establishing security (Jazeera, 2016).

The political situation in Mukalla remains fragile, as it is embedded in the broader context of Yemen's civil war and regional rivalries. The city has witnessed occasional clashes and security incidents between the government forces, local militias, and remnants of extremist groups (Hanna, Bohl, & Moyer, 2021). Additionally, socio-economic challenges persist, including poverty, unemployment, and lack of basic services, which have the potential to exacerbate existing tensions.

International actors, including the neighboring Gulf countries and international organizations, have attempted to mediate and provide humanitarian assistance in Mukalla. However, the underlying political divisions and competition for resources continue to impede the city's progress towards stability (Karakir, 2018).

From 2016 up to now in 2023, there has been a noticeable improvement in the security situation in Mukalla, primarily due to the government's successful efforts in regaining control of the city (Sana'a Center For Strategic Studies, 2021). This has led to an influx of displaced individuals who are seeking refuge from the ongoing conflict in Yemen. Many of these displaced individuals have been relocating from their hometowns to Mukalla, particularly to the coastal areas and the interior region known as al-Wadi, which is part of the Hadhramaut governorate.

The improved security conditions in Mukalla have provided a relatively safer environment for those affected by the conflict. The government's control over the city has allowed for increased stability, which has in turn attracted displaced populations and Somali immigrants looking for a haven away from the turmoil of the war. Mukalla's status as a coastal city not only offers the promise of security but also the potential for access to basic necessities and resources that might be scarce in other conflict-affected areas.

Furthermore, the interior region of al-Wadi has also become a destination for displaced individuals and Somali immigrants. This inland area provides an alternative refuge for those seeking safety, away from the coastal areas. The combination of improved security in Mukalla and the perceived safety of al-Wadi has contributed to the trend of people moving from their towns and villages to these relatively more stable locations within the Hadhramaut Governorate.



Figure 2: Location of Mukalla City According to Somalia

Source: Google.com/ maps, <https://rb.gy/u0r22e>.

1.2. Research Question and Hypotheses

Based on what have been aforementioned above, this thesis has one concise question, which is “Considering Yemen as a war zone, why Somali immigrants prefer living in Hadhramaut Governorate in Mukalla city over going back to Somalia?”. Based on Braun and Clarke (2006) approach of thematic analysis borrowed from the discipline of psychology, the researcher is going to utilize this approach to figure out the answer from political, economic and social factors that make the Somalis immigrants settled in Mukalla city. According to Braun and Clarke, there are some steps that should be done, which referred to (Braun & Clarke in Howarth, 2022). Those steps considered as the process of the analysis in conformity with Braun and Clarke, to approve the factors that leads the Somali immigrants prefer staying in Mukalla.

By hypothesizing that, the sustained presence of Somali migrants in Mukalla city, despite ongoing conflict in Yemen, can be mainly attributed to the prolonged state of warfare in Somalia. This study aims to explore and analyze the factors behind the continued residence of Somalis in Mukalla city, Yemen, considering the persistent conflict in Yemen, akin to the protracted state of warfare in their home country, Somalia. The hypothesis posits that the shared experience of the prolonged conflict serves as a determining factor influencing the decision of Somalis to remain in Mukalla, despite the challenging conditions. The research will investigate political, economic, and social aspects that contribute to this phenomenon, aiming to provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics of forced migration from war zones and move to other conflict zones.

1.3. Objective of the Thesis

The main purpose of this thesis is to clarify the factors of residence of the Somali immigrants in Hadhramaut Governorate in Mukalla city, considering that Yemen is a war zone. The study will present and benefit from Braun & Clarke's thematic analysis approach (Clarke, 2022) by examining the answers of Somali immigrant participants. This approach will be accurately applied to those settled in Hadhramaut Governorate by studying and extracting political, economic, and social factors from their answers.

This research aims to provide a scientific and practical contribution to the field of migration studies, using the thematic analysis of the Somali immigrants in Hadhramaut Governorate in Mukalla city from political, social, and economic factors. This study sheds light on addressing the factors that make the Somali immigrants stay in the city of Mukalla. This study aims to enrich the understanding of Somalis in Mukalla, their situation in general, and how they see Mukalla from the political perspective and economic activities as well as their social life as immigrants who live in that city. Ultimately, the study will present its findings by employing a hypothesis testing to verify the presence of the factors through interviews conducted by the researcher with Somalis residing in the city of Mukalla.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

From the theoretical perspective of the migration field, the era spanning from 1960 to 1980 is frequently regarded as a period marked by clashes among contrasting theories of migration, with each vying for dominance. On one side, there were micro-individual theories emphasizing economic logic and the concept of balance, while on the other, macro-structural

theories revolved around the demand for migrant labor driven by shifts in the global capitalist economy (Piché, 2013). However, starting from the 1990s, these theoretical disputes lost relevance due to empirical research that demonstrated how each theory illuminates a facet of the migration process, with some being more applicable to specific regions or historical eras.

It has to be considered that there are various theories of migration specialized in different research contexts, and they may not necessarily align with the scope of this study. Some of these theories will be reviewed and then endeavor to identify the most suitable theoretical framework to conceptually frame the research. Starting with one of the old theories in migration field which is the neoclassical economics. The macro version of this theoretical perspective illustrates that migration is caused by the wage differences between countries or geographical changes in labor supply and demand. The micro version of the neoclassical economics perspective discusses the choice of individuals to migrate to where skills are most efficiently used to maximize their profits and economic opportunities and achieve greater net returns. As summary of the two first theories, it can be said that these theories only discuss the economic interest of individuals and groups migrating to other countries, without mentioning other migration dynamics that do not fit into these theses so far.

The third theory that analyzes global economic structures and their impact on migration patterns is the world system theory in migration (Massey et al, 1993). It particularly focuses on economic and technological advanced regions. The theory suggests the availability of cheap labor and raw materials, which are often supplied to economically advanced regions, in less developed economic regions motivate migration to more developed economic regions. This theory indicates a significant influence of migration between economically advanced and less developed regions, where individuals seek better opportunities through migration to economically developed and advanced areas. Moreover, the theory underscores the existence of unequal relationships between less developed and more developed regions in terms of resources and economic development. The less developed regions heavily rely on the more developed regions, especially as individuals strive for better economic conditions in developed countries (Massey et al, 1993).

Concerning the global system and its role in migration, this theory is considered a response to the dynamics of the global system, where individuals move within or between different positions in the hierarchical global economic system. The theory acknowledges the existence of unequal relationships between less developed and more developed regions, emphasizing the dependence of the former on the latter. Individuals seek improved economic conditions in developed countries and thus contribute to migration patterns. Additionally, the

theory recognizes the significance of transnationalism in migration, as individuals and communities maintain relationships and activities across multiple countries and regions. In summary, this theory provides a comprehensive overview by focusing on the structural factors embedded in the global economic system that shape migration and its various patterns.

The fourth theory that tries to explain migration is the network theory (Massey et al, 1993). Apparently, this theory concludes that migrant networks, comprising interpersonal ties among migrants and former migrants such as kinship, friendship, and shared community origin, increase the likelihood of international movement. They do so by reducing the associated risks and costs while enhancing the expected net returns of migration. The theory also embraces the perspective that international migration is an individual or family decision-making process. Furthermore, it delineates some of the effects and consequences resulting from migration, such as the expansion over time, making migration more accessible as individuals interested in migration can undertake it more easily. Additionally, it could be specified some of the effects and outcomes associated with migration such as the expansion over time once migration commences. Individuals desiring migration can pursue it with relative ease as a result (Massey, 2015).

Moreover, according to this theory, the volume of migrant flows between countries is not tied to wage differentials or job availability; rather, it is a result of the reduction in costs and risks associated with migration (Massey, 2015). Consequently, migrant networks expand over time. Consequently, there is a selective flow of migrants from a social perspective, favoring communities or sending societies. The theory also highlights the difficulty for governments to control migration flows once initiated. However, the researcher contends that border control measures and the construction of physical barriers have indeed reduced migration. Finally, government policies on family reunification are identified as a primary way to build migrant networks, indirectly conflicting with the objectives of controlling migration flows.

It seems that all aforementioned theories are far from the context of this thesis, which particularly sheds light on the issue of migration from one conflict zone to another (Massey et al, 1993). In that case, during the in-depth search for a theory that could be suitable for the case that studied in this thesis, one that can be contextualized in terms of seeking stability or security, the researcher finds out the conflict theory of migration (Sirkeci, 2009) as an explanatory and suitable theory. The conflict theory of migration does not dismiss the efforts of the aforementioned theories above; rather, it reorganizes the perspective of these theories through the lens of conflict used to interpret the causes, formations, and trends of migration.

Considering what Sirkeci (2006) suggests that conflict is a significant factor in international migration because it leads to a lack of human security, this perspective does not always result in migration. According to Sirkeci, migration is considered as one of the strategic options for those who find themselves under the umbrella of human insecurity. In this context, the researcher sees that this theory aligns largely with the context of this thesis according to the term “environment of human insecurity” which the theory’s author divided into two sections. The first is material insecurity such as armed conflict, lack of job opportunities, deprivation, and infrastructure weakness. While the second is non-material insecurity includes discrimination, human rights violations, fear of persecution, and language barriers. Thus, these two environments expose individuals to choices in the environment of human insecurity, with two fundamental options. The first is the current situation, wherein the theory means adaptation and alignment with controlling groups in the area of conflict, while the second option is migration (Sirkeci, 2009).

The case study of this thesis, which is the migration of Somali migrants due to wars and conflicts in their homeland to various countries worldwide, including Yemen, which is also considered as an unstable country with a form of ongoing conflict and the worst humanitarian crisis. The focus of their staying is the city of Mukalla, which is deemed safer politically, more prosperous economically, and the people are perceived as neutral and peaceful socially compared to Somalia. Despite not being the safest or wealthiest city in the region, Somali migrants prefer to stay in Mukalla. Through this study, the researcher aims to find out the factors that lead to this preference among Somali immigrants and the factors influencing their preference for staying in the city over going back to Somalia.

1.5. Basic Concepts Used in the Thesis

Before delving into the theoretical framework and analysis of the research, there are several terms that need to be clarified, as follows.

The first basic term that is used in this thesis is migration, which is defined as a broad expression, not formally outlined in global legal frameworks, that captures the general public’s perception of an individual who relocates from their habitual dwelling, whether it’s within a nation or across international boundaries, either temporarily or permanently, and driven by various motives. This term encompasses multiple legally recognized groups of individuals, including migrant laborers; those whose movement is defined by legal standards, like trafficked migrants; as well as those whose identity or method of relocation lacks precise definition in international law, such as global scholars (IOM, 2023). It should be remembered that how far

back does the word migration go? It is firstly used in English in early 17th century, which was a Latin word meaning that “to move about” (Rosen & Young, 2017).

Overall, the migration could be defined as the process of people moving from one place to another, typically across international borders, with various motivations such as economic, social, political, or environmental factors. Similarly, migrant can be defined as an individual who departs from their typical living location, whether within a nation or across an international boundary, either temporarily or permanently, due to a range of motives.

The second basic term that is used in this thesis is forced migration. According to the common definition adopted by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), where coercion is considered a fundamental element in forced migration, the instances of coercion may vary based on natural or human-made reasons and may lead to movement within or outside a country's borders (Erdal, 2020). On the other hand, Mī (1997) defines migration as a sudden forced migration as a social phenomenon, resulting from the exodus of large numbers of individuals from their countries, fleeing adverse conditions that affect their physical and familial security. Forced migrations disrupt political, economic, and legal structures of the country or countries to which individuals escape. Mī (1997) also emphasizes that those who flee due to a variety of factors cannot be considered refugees according to internationally accepted definitions, nor should they be immediately labeled as economic migrants simply because they are impoverished.

Based on the delineated definitions, forced migration is contingent upon the imperative to depart, driven by diverse causative factors that exhibit variability across nations. These determinants encompass natural exigencies such as disasters -earthquakes and floods- and anthropogenic impetuses including warfare, inter-ethnic conflicts, religious convictions, or allegiance to specific ethnicities (Concern Worldwide US, 2019). Furthermore, economic instability within a nation contributes to the impetus for forced migration. Such factors may prompt forced migrations compelled by necessity, either confined within national boundaries or transcending international demarcations, carried out for the sake of human security, the fundamental right to life and the right for subsistence. In the contextual analysis of the Somali migrants in this thesis which will be discussed in depth in the next chapters, they typify the second classification of impetuses for forced migration, stemming from the protracted war and tribal strife in Somalia. These conditions precipitate the migration of Somalis to diverse locales, driven by the quest for stability and human security as individuals and groups.

The third basic term used in this thesis is asylum seekers. As it has mentioned in the UNHCR website, asylum seeker is described as someone who has applied for protection as a

refugee and is waiting to hear if they have been granted refugee status (Rosen & Young, 2017). Another definition of asylum seekers according to Amnesty (2016) that “An asylum seeker is a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn’t yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim. Seeking asylum is a human right. This means everyone should be allowed to enter another country to seek asylum” (Amnesty International, 2016).

The fourth basic term is two opposite directions of migration, namely emigration and immigration. Emigration refers to the action of leaving one’s home country with the intention to stay in another country for more than a year (European Commission, 2023). According to IOM (2023), immigration is the process of relocating to a foreign country that is not one’s nation of origin or usual living place, causing the destination country to essentially become their new habitual residence.

The researcher is going to use immigration and immigrant terms, due to the nature of the thesis, which is discussing those who are already living in a different country from their birthplace searching for a better life generally. Particularly, the researcher specifically mentions all of the definitions to illustrate the distinction between the definitions he will use in the thesis and left the rest out of the same specification.

Since there have been no previous studies discovered factors of staying of the Somali immigrants in Mukalla, it is preferable to conduct an exploratory study before starting a field study that may not align with the context of the study’s aim. This will assist in ensuring that the outcomes and objectives of the research remain on the right track. According to what has been aforementioned above, this thesis attempts to figure out the situation of the Somali immigrants who settled in Mukalla from political, economic, and social factors. The researcher tries to examine these factors by interviewing a sample of Somali immigrants who live in Mukalla and analyses their answers by using thematic analysis to answer the research question.

1.6. Methodology of the Study

The researcher in this thesis conducts an exploratory study relies on Braun and Clarke’s approach of thematic analysis to examine the preference of Somali immigrants who live in Mukalla. This thesis will utilize hypothesis testing based on the data collected from the Somali immigrants. It aims to address the research question “considering Yemen as a war zone, why Somali immigrants prefer living in Mukalla city of the Hadhramaut Governorate over going back to Somalia”. This will be achieved by conducting interviews with the Somali immigrants,

who are the target of the study. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the research question by tracking immigrants residing in Mukalla city and interviewing a sample of them.

A thematic analysis will be used, which is in agreement with Braun and Clarke (2006), a qualitative research method used to identify, analyze, and report patterns or themes within a dataset, such as transcripts, surveys, interview, or other textual or visual data. It is frequently used in various fields, including social sciences, psychology, healthcare and business. Therefore, if we want to use this method, there are some steps should be done. Those steps are as follows.

As the first step, data in this research can be identified as the responses of individuals who were interviewed to gain a deeper understanding. These responses are then categorized into meaningful codes, and these codes represent the answers of individuals based on what the researcher has adopted from the three main factors, i.e., political, economic, and social factors. This is done to understand why Somali immigrants prefer to stay in the city of Mukalla. These themes are broader categories representing recurring patterns or ideas in the data that have been identified and named in this thesis and are the main themes. Following this, the initial themes are reviewed and refined, and sometimes they are merged or split to reflect the complexity and subtle differences in the data.

The next step is the data extraction or the final report, where the researcher extracts relevant data excerpts that illustrate each theme and explains the themes while considering their significance to the research question or the aim of this thesis. Finally, the researcher is going to make a comprehensive analysis that presents the identified themes and to mention some excerpts from the codes. He discusses these implications within the context of the study as the called in accordance with (Clarke, 2022). As Clarke underlines, “writing up which is ultimately, you’re aiming to weave together your analytic narrative and compelling, vivid data extracts, to tell your reader a coherent and persuasive story about the dataset that addresses your research question” in a reflexive thematic process. Then, he discusses that with the literature review of this thesis to answer the research question of the study, as illustrated in Figure 3 (thematic analysis of the study).

Referred to Process of Analysis According to Braun and Clarke (2006), these are the steps have to be followed: “Firstly, familiarizing yourself with your data: Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas. Secondly, generating initial codes: Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code. Thirdly, searching for themes: Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme. Fourthly, reviewing

themes: Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis. Fifthly, defining and naming themes: Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme. Lastly, producing the report: The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis” (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As the second step, if we aim to collect data, there are six methods to address the research question as follows: interviews, direct observations, documents, physical artifacts, audio recordings, and participants’ observation (Yin in Robbani, 2022). The researcher in this thesis uses e-documents included websites and interviews with the Somali immigrants, and excluded the other ways due to the case study which is inappropriate due to limited time and hard access to official organizations, due to the scarcity of sources that talk about the subject. This study is one of the first studies that attempts to explore the factors that led the Somali immigrants prefer to stay in Yemen, particularly in Mukalla city. As there are no previous field studies in the same topic, covering the theoretical side and the field side in research and analyze that, which made the researcher prefer to use the approach instead of theories, in order to leave room for future studies to delve more into the secrets of the subject.

Finally, the researcher adopted the use of a case study approach, employing the thematic analysis methodology developed by Braun and Clarke and borrowed from psychology, to address the research question. The selection of this particular case was based on several considerations that underscore the importance of the study and justify why Somalian migrants, Yemen, Hadhramaut Governorate, and the city of Mukalla were specifically chosen.

Yemen, which is situated in the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula, bordered to the north by Saudi Arabia, to the south by the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden, facing Somalia across the Arabian Sea, to the east by Oman, and to the west by the Red Sea, is one of the understudied states by those who study migration movements. Yemen, which is geographically close to Somalia, with only a few kilometers separating them, is one of the main destinations of the Somali migrants. Additionally, Yemen opened its doors to the Somali migrants after the onset of the Somali Civil War in 1991. It seems that it is an interesting case to study Yemen, a country facing one of the most dramatic humanitarian crises in the world, as one of the destination countries of migrants.

The researcher chooses Hadhramaut Governorate in Yemen due to its status as the largest governorate in terms of area, covering 36 percent of Yemen’s total area, equivalent to 193,000

square kilometers. It represents a region with relative stability in political, economic, and social aspects, enjoying a good level of security stability. Hadhramaut Governorate has not directly engaged in the conflict with the Houthi group that overthrew the internationally recognized Yemeni government in 2015. The capital of the governorate is the city of Mukalla, which is the third-largest city in Yemen only after Sana'a and Aden. Mukalla stands apart from political conflicts, reflecting the state's image in administrative operations and government executive applications, and its geographical proximity to Somalia.

In accordance with the aforementioned considerations, first of all, Yemen, specifically the capital of Hadhramaut Governorate, Mukalla city, is deemed a highly representative case for the study of forced migration among the Somalis, and their preference for living in this city. Mukalla is perceived as a city offering greater political stability, economic prosperity, social neutrality and peace compared to Somalia. Despite not being the safest or wealthiest city in the region, Somalis exhibit a preference for residing in Mukalla, reflecting a confluence of factors contributing to their stability and pursuit of security in the city.

Secondly, the case study allows for an in-depth analysis, affording a detailed exploration of the diverse dynamics experienced by Somali migrants in Mukalla. The city's centrality in Hadhramaut Governorate facilitates a thorough examination of local impacts, responses, and adaptive mechanisms related to Somali migrants' stability, providing quicker access to the Somali immigrants for detailed scrutiny. Thirdly, Yemen's appropriateness for the study of forced migration among Somali migrants is underscored by its long-standing humanitarian crisis and ongoing conflict, making it a pertinent context for understanding the broader dynamics of Somali migration to Yemen. The study acknowledges Mukalla as a non-ideal, but a pragmatic choice for Somalis within the Yemeni context, given its status as an important urban center in Hadhramaut, and the nature of its local population.

Fourthly, the chosen case study aligns with the broader research goals related to factors for forced migration of the Somali migrants, offering insights into the factors influencing Somali migrants to choose Mukalla as a destination over other areas. The specificity of the Yemeni context and Mukalla, in particular, contributes valuable perspectives and outcomes that determine the factors contributing to the Somali immigrants to stay in the city.

Finally, selecting Yemen, Hadhramaut Governorate, and Mukalla as the case study site is contingent upon alignment with research objectives, a commitment to in-depth exploration, and the potential for broader impacts and applications in this field. This choice facilitates a deeper understanding of the factors influencing the migration of a specific group from a conflict setting

to an economically and security-challenged region undergoing internal conflict and enduring a prolonged humanitarian crisis.

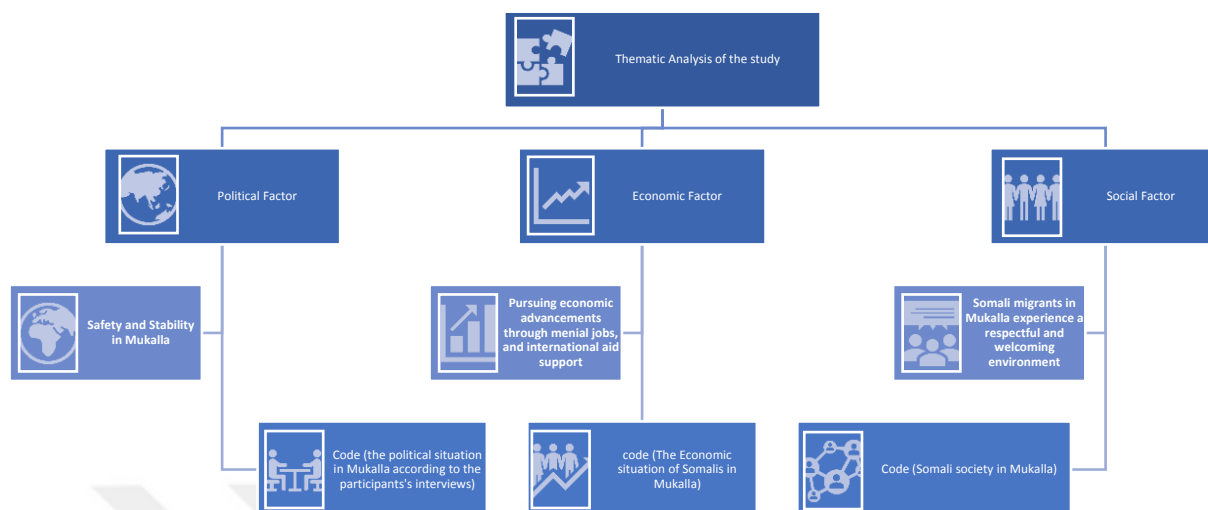


Figure 3: Thematic Analysis of the Study

Source: This figure made by the author.

1.7. Data Collection

The researcher uses a qualitative method, by using interviews that will boost the outcomes of the study and strengthen the final result. The most important part of the primary data was derived from interviews with some Somali immigrants living in Mukalla city. Due to the following reasons, the researcher follows an analytical method to write this study. First of all, taken the budget and time restrictions into consideration, the researcher met face to face with only 16 of the Somali migrants living in Mukalla city to accelerate the process of collecting and analyzing data as an essential part of the study. The researcher met with 10 of them via the Google Meet Application. Overall, all participants have participated in the interview were 26 Somali immigrants living in Mukalla, the age of participants were around 17- 42 years old, each interview took around 15- 23 minutes. The interviews were done after obtaining approval from the Ethics Committee of Social Science University of Ankara (See the approval in the Appendix I).

The researcher employed second hand and primary sources to gather information about Somali migrants residing in Mukalla by relying on personal interviews. This approach aimed to explore the factors that contributed to their preference for living in Mukalla city. In addition, the researcher conducted interviews with the concerned people to facilitate the obtaining information from participants. Taking into account that the researcher contacted with one of

employee of INTERSOS Humanitarian Aid Organization (INTERsos Foundation) which work with the Somali migrants in Mukalla to order to take information regarding the topic of the thesis. However, the quest was declined. Interviews are suitable for exploring individuals' understanding and perceptions about some specific issues in their lives, and collecting rich and detailed responses from them, especially in exploratory studies that were not preceded by field studies (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The interviews focused on explaining political, social, and economic factors influencing their decision to stay in the city.

The researcher tries to summarize all the interviews with the targeted people by asking them about political, economic and social factors that made them prefer staying in Yemen over returning to Somalia with the stability of the situation there, and the return of things to normal. Before addressing all the factors that he extracts from them, the researcher will code the participants' information as follows.

No	Code of participants	age	Sex	Year of coming to Yemen	Birth in Yemen	Type of interviews
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Figure 4: Information and Coding of Participants

Source: This figure made by author to explain the code of participants, here the explanation of the code (Participant. Number, Sex, Age, Type of interview).

The second most important primary data set were taken from the official documents of international organizations. The researcher used the official websites, most of which come from the United Nations organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or some others that is related to the same field, and also officials reports and research papers written in the same topic.

1.8. Limitation of the Thesis

Considering that the researcher had contacted one of the most important foundations working in the field of migration in Yemen called INTERSOS Humanitarian Aid Organization to request the information about the situation of Somali immigrants, unfortunately, they declined to share any information. This prompted the researcher to personally approach the immigrants for inquiries. The researcher managed to contact 16 Somali immigrants on the streets or in places where they commonly work, and the rest of them 10 participants via Google Meet application. However, collecting data has proven to be quite challenging.

In addition, this topic is being introduced for the first time in the field of scientific research in Yemen, particularly considering that it has not been previously addressed. Consequently, the researcher faced difficulties in gathering information and accessing the target individuals for the study, such as the Somali traders in Mukalla. Therefore, the researcher resorted to conduct interview with the working-class of Somali migrants in the city of Mukalla. This was also due to the constraints related to time and financial capacity, which made it challenging to bear the costs of travel and return, as well as to arrange interviews with the participants.

In the same context, the international organizations working in the field of migrants exist, but researcher mostly struggle to obtain direct information from them or schedule interviews with some of the experts within these organizations. Consequently, they rely primarily on the annual reports published on their official websites. Finally, the delay in ethical committee approval, which hindered the researcher from conducting the interviews earlier.

1.9. Outline of the Study

The structure of this dissertation is organized across four distinct chapters. The initial chapter functions as the introductory chapter. It sums up the background of the study by summarizing the general situation of Somali migrants, the Yemeni crisis, and the situation in the city of Mukalla. Then the research question, the importance of the study and the theoretical framework are explained. The theory differentiates the material and non-material factors or both that comes from the conflict theory, applies it to the case study of the thesis, which is the Somalis migrants flee from a conflict zone to another that is not the safest or wealthiest and staying there, which is extraordinarily interesting to discover it in this thesis. Then the chapter underlines the research question the study, data collection, limitation of the thesis, and an outline of the thesis structure.

The second chapter will briefly discuss the literature review of the previous studies on migration and forced migration, with specific emphasis on factors of the forced migration, the impact of wars on forced migration, the Somali migrants in Yemen and the war in Somalia, as well as the concentration of Somali migrants in the world, then the general situation of migrants in Yemen, and the living of the Somali immigrants in Mukalla.

The third chapter elaborates the reasons and factors that causes the preferences of the Somali immigrants living in Mukalla city. It will elaborate the main factors contributing to their preferences and decisions according to the Somali immigrants who live in Mukalla. In other words, this chapter is the outcome of the thematic analysis that the researcher has followed and mentioned the answers of the participants as a row data with no analysis or perceptions that

added of the researcher or compared to the literature review, just the clarifications of what have been deduced from the Somali immigrants and showing the political, economic, and social factors that shapes their choices to stay in Mukalla.

However, Chapter Four will analyze in detail the perceptions of Somali immigrants and preferences of living in Yemen particularly in Mukalla City, and explains the factors that caused the Somali migrants' preferences to migrate to Yemen and continuing live there rather than going back to Somalia, thorough many steps such as the security and stability of the City, their economic conditions, and lastly the social dimensions of being living in Mukalla City. The thesis will be concluded with a conclusion and a general evaluation of the research in the last chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: SOMALI MIGRANTS IN YEMEN

Migration stands as an enduring and intricate social phenomenon, embodying the relocation of individuals or collectives from one locale to another in pursuit of enhanced prospects or improved welfare. Noteworthy for its diversity and multifaceted origins, migration can stem from economic exigencies, political upheavals, climate fluctuations, or an aspiration for education and an elevated quality of life. It assumes a pivotal role in shaping the course of human history and fostering cultural interplay among societies. This chapter will first review the literature relevant to migration and forced migration. Secondly, some information on the background of migration will be given. The third section of the literature review then explores the main reasons for forced migration. Fourthly, this research will show the impact of wars on forced migration. Furthermore, the study will go in-depth to the Somali migrants in Yemen. After that, the researcher will turn to studies related to the Somalian Civil War. Fourthly, it will show the concentration of Somali migrants in the world. All this is in line with the research objective.

The chapter will begin by exploring migration and forced migration, taking an overview of migration and its history and forced migration, and then order will follow the idea from general to the concise issue related to the topic.

2.1. Migration and Forced Migration

Migration shaped our world, from the early first groups of people who migrated from the African continent, to the people who have been on the move. According to some figures, at least 258 million people went to other countries which are not their birth or origin (Blakemore, 2019). According to available figures, an astonishing 258 million people have chosen to make countries other than their birthplaces their new homes. This mass movement reflects a fundamental human pursuit for improved opportunities, better living conditions, and a chance at a more fulfilling life. It's a testament to the universal desire for progress and the adaptability inherent in human nature. In the contemporary context, this phenomenon has become increasingly complex, influenced by factors such as economic opportunities, political

instability, environmental changes, and social aspirations. People worldwide are compelled to seek out environments that promise not only economic prosperity but also safety, freedom, and the chance for personal and familial well-being.

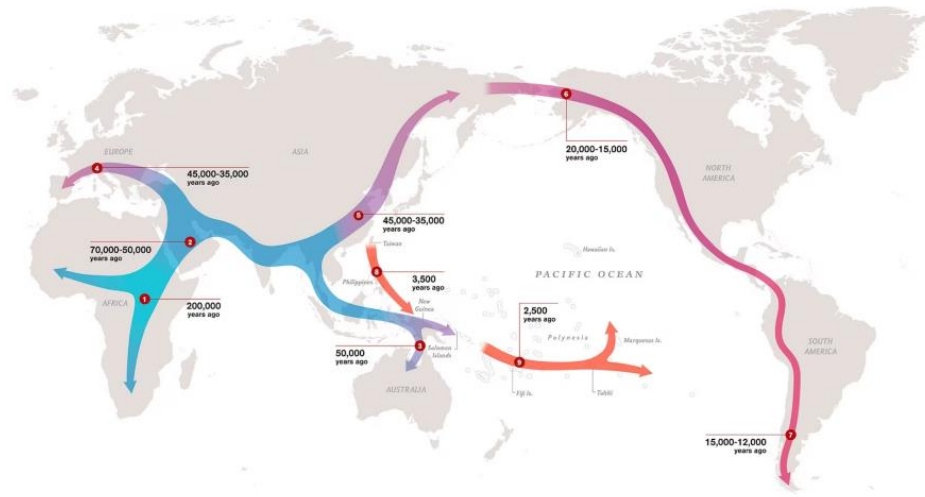


Figure 5: The Migration Paths of People Who Migrated from Africa

Source: National Geographic Website, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/migration>.

In the 1990s, international migration also played a role that impacted state relations, including the main issues of high politics such as war and peace. International migration shifted from low-level attention and local governance to the realm of international policies, influencing countries' decisions. For instance, human mobility is integral to the globalization trend, as it is intricately linked to international trade and capital flows, which are fundamental pillars closely associated with economic development. Furthermore, international migration also constitutes an economic development relied upon by the global economy in the long term (Hollifield, 2023).

In the past three years, there have been significant transformations in the field of international migration due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which has altered the interactions between countries and the mobility of people. This pandemic has greatly tested the capabilities of systems, nations, and societies to withstand challenges, leading to increased complexities and measures for international travel. A total of 108,000 international travel restrictions were imposed directly in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the rate of international travel between countries decreased from 4.5 billion passengers in 2019 to only 1.8 billion passengers, reflecting the travel restrictions related to the pandemic (Rica & Salvador, 2022).

Conflicts also play a substantial role in migration, displacement, and the fear of loss of life. Contemporary examples of millions of people fleeing their countries include the conflicts

in Syria, the Central African Republic, Yemen, and the South Sudan. Economic and political instability such as in Afghanistan is another significant driver of migration. Additionally, natural disasters and climate change in various parts of the world such as in India, the Philippines and China are considered some of the major causes of forced migration (Rica & Salvador, 2022).

It should be considered that millions of individuals are currently in motion, seeking refuge from issues such as hunger, political turmoil, deprivation and the negative impact of climate change. The year 2022 witnessed an alarming surge in the number of individuals compelled to migrate, surpassing 108.4 million (UNCHR, 2022). This group comprises refugees, asylum seekers, and those internally displaced due to various circumstances. Among them are around 7 million individuals who were forcibly displaced from Venezuela, along with an additional 8 million Ukrainians who found themselves in this situation due to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. It is crucial to bear in mind nations like Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, whose populations are not officially recognized by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as forcibly displaced, particularly due to climate-related factors. While the UNHCR focuses on counting those displaced by conflict and oppression, various monitoring centers suggest that nearly 40.5 million people were forcibly displaced globally in 2020 due to natural disasters across 149 countries (Rica & Salvador, 2022).

2.1.1. Background of Migration

Early humans are believed to have moved into Asia by crossing a narrow passage between the Horn of Africa and what is now Yemen, or by traveling through the Sinai Peninsula. After extending their presence to Southeast Asia. Early humans are assumed to have journeyed to Australia, which was connected to New Guinea through a land bridge, and subsequently to Europe, followed by the Americas (Blakemore, 2019).

Human beings around the world always moved to find out something new such as new opportunities or escape from poverty or war and conflicts. The movements could take various shapes that make people migrate to find work, or as a brain drain, or as family migration that members follow their breadwinner all these shapes could be described as a fundamental economic or social and political shapes of migration that shape the world, either they seeking a better life or work, or safe place to find a way to live better than their homelands (Miller, 2009). Moreover, the number of international migrants for the last 50 years increased to almost 281 million people living in other than their countries of birth up to 2020. Due to the impact of COVID-19 the estimated numbers of migrants were reduced to two million (Rica & Salvador,

2022). Similarly, diseases and food shortages associated with disasters have led to a significant decrease in the population of both rural and urban areas (McNeill, 2008). However, the migration from Africa has been doubled since 2010 among all areas in the world, meaning that the share of the African migrants around 11 million in Europe, 5 million in the Middle East, and more than 3 million in Northern America (Relief Web, 2023).

Migration to Africa remains scarce, 14 percent of the African countries had not updated the number of international migrants back to the 2000. The new data from the recent survey studies provide varied insights into migration intentions among individuals living in Africa. The data derived from the recent polling conducted by Gallup and Afrobarometer suggests that a significant number of individuals are contemplating migration from Africa (Ashmore, Jussim, & Wilder, 2001). For instance, a recent survey conducted by Afrobarometer in 35 African countries in 2018 indicates that, on average, one-third of the participants have “thought about emigrating,” especially among the youth and educated individuals. However, a detailed analysis of data from these surveys and those conducted by Gallup clarifies that only a relatively small proportion of individuals are planning or preparing to migrate. For instance, only 1.3 percent of adults worldwide had plans to permanently move to another country within the last 12 months in 2015 (Harouna & Nyambe, 2019). Less than 10 percent of those expressing a desire to migrate between 2010 and 2015 indicated plans to move within the next 12 months. Nevertheless, according to Gallup data analyzed by the International Organization for Migration, the number of adults planning to migrate has increased, especially in West Africa, where the figure rose by 7 percent between 2010 and 2015. In West Africa, 10.3 million people in 2015 indicated their intentions to migrate within the next 12 months, but only 2.7 million took any preparations towards this step (IOM & AU, 2020). And that what lead us to question the factors that cause migration.

2.1.2. Main Reasons of Forced Migration

There are many reasons of forced migration, which can be categorize as political, economic, social, ethnic, and religious. For instance, political and social factors because of one’s religious or ethnicity could push those ones to leave their country. Furthermore, economic factors, those people who are looking for new opportunities in the wealthy countries, just migrate to boost their families’ economic condition, as well as the environment changes such as earthquakes, floods and hurricanes can drive people to leave their countries. Particularly the people of the environment migration will increase up to 25 million by the year 2050 (EU Parliament, 2020).

On the other hand, the global environmental landscape faces a significant challenge in the form of drought, a natural phenomenon characterized by prolonged water shortages. The implications of drought extend beyond environmental concerns, impacting economies and the well-being of communities. As some sources assume that there are five categories of forced migration which made millions of people flee from their countries, labeled as drought, hunger, flooding, economic circumstances, and war and conflict (Concern Worldwide US, 2019).

The researcher will try to intricate the relationship between drought and migration, exploring the multifaceted impacts and challenges individuals and communities grapple with due to this phenomenon and it will be discussed in this section. To begin with the first cause of forced migration which is drought, it could be better if it is divided into some steps as follows, starting with drought's impact on water resources. Extreme weather conditions, coupled with elevated temperatures, contribute to the evaporation of water and a reduction in water flow within rivers and lakes (Fioret & Nagabhatla, 2021). Consequently, this triggers a severe scarcity of fresh water, adversely affecting essential water resources for both agricultural purposes and human consumption. In regions heavily reliant on agriculture, drought emerges as a primary catalyst for economic downturns and diminishing employment opportunities, prompting residents to seek alternative locales for livelihood.

Secondly, drought's influence on food security and insufficient water availability hampers agricultural productivity, resulting in a shortage of food supplies. This deficiency profoundly affects the food security of impacted populations, leading to undernourishment and outbreaks of diseases related to malnutrition. The mounting pressure on individuals and families forces them to contemplate migration towards areas where opportunities for food procurement and improved quality of life abound (Fioret & Nagabhatla, 2021).

Thirdly, in rural communities in the grip of drought, the ramifications of drought are particularly severe in rural areas heavily dependent on agriculture. The decline in crop production and loss of livestock erode the traditional means of subsistence for rural populations. Living conditions deteriorate and the opportunities to lead a dignified life diminish. Migration becomes an unavoidable recourse for overcoming economic and social challenges, as residents seek refuge in urban areas or other regions offering broader prospects for living and working (Terry & Rai, 2023). Fourthly, the nexus of drought and migration is that drought-induced migration is a complex phenomenon, influenced by a confluence of environmental, economic, and social factors. The degradation of natural resources, coupled with economic hardships in agriculture-centric regions, prompts individuals and families to seek alternative environments.

The search for better livelihoods and improved living conditions acts as a driving force behind migration patterns (Hermans & McLeman, 2021).

Fifthly, challenges faced by migrants during migration, while offering the prospect of escaping the harsh impacts of drought, bring forth its own set of challenges. Displaced individuals often encounter difficulties in integrating into new communities, accessing essential services, and securing sustainable employment. Moreover, the strain on urban infrastructure due to an influx of migrants can exacerbate existing socio-economic issues (Bendandi, 2020). Finally, policy responses to drought-induced migration and effective policies are crucial to addressing the complex interplay of drought and migration. Governments and international organizations must invest in sustainable water management practices, agricultural resilience, and community development initiatives to mitigate the adverse effects of drought (Aouinti, 2022). Additionally, comprehensive migration policies should be devised, focusing on the protection and integration of forced migrants, ensuring their access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities.

In general, drought stands as a formidable challenge with far-reaching consequences, prominently shaping migration patterns worldwide. As individuals grapple with economic and social hardships induced by water scarcity, migration emerges as a pragmatic response to seek improved livelihoods. Recognizing the intricate relationship between drought and migration underscores the urgency of adopting holistic policies that address environmental sustainability, economic resilience, and the well-being of communities. In doing so, the global community can navigate the challenges posed by drought-induced migration, fostering a future where individuals can thrive despite the adversity wrought by environmental changes.

The second factor of forced migration, which is considered as one of the biggest challenges in world, is hunger (Concern Worldwide US, 2019). Its impact on the economic and social stability when people cannot work effectively and efficiently; that means seeking for better life elsewhere out of their effected area. The repercussions of food scarcity extend beyond domestic relocation, exerting a substantial influence on international migration. This compels inhabitants to abandon rural regions and gravitate towards urban centers, seeking enhanced life prospects. For some, the quest for sustenance propels them beyond national boundaries in pursuit of locations offering nourishment and sustenance (Laborde et al, 2017).

The third factor of forced migration which is flooding. Migration resulting from floods represents a formidable challenge, compelling individuals to abandon their residences in pursuit of safety and an improved quality of life. Floods rank among the most perilous natural disasters, influencing both humans and the environment and giving rise to extensive losses that jeopardize

the stability of the affected communities (Dun, 2011). The ramifications extend to infrastructure and societal routines, disrupting the normal course of daily life. The devastation wrought by floods complicates the lives of those affected, with agriculture bearing a significant brunt as large swaths of farmland succumb to the deluge.

Consequently, farmers may contemplate relocating to urban centers or more resilient areas. Regarding the nexus between floods and migration, data from the International Organization for Migration underscores the magnitude of the issue, with millions displaced annually due to disasters. The previous year saw a record high of 32.6 million internally displaced individuals, with disasters such as floods in Pakistan and Typhoon Noru in the Philippines contributing to this alarming statistic (IOM, 2023). Economic conditions stand out as one of the primary forced migration factors compelling individuals and groups to make migration decisions. This impact is reflected in the job opportunities sought by those intending to migrate outside their home countries. The challenging economic circumstances they face drive the search for better employment opportunities, exacerbated by elevated unemployment rates and political corruption in the home country. This renders migration a necessary choice to enhance their financial situation. Additionally, brain drain is a prominent aspect of economic conditions, given the factors motivating individuals to seek a better life and rights in the destinations they seeking for (Dadush & Niebuhr, 2016).

Fourth, in the same context, one of the fundamental factors of forced migration is regional conflicts. For instance, 75 percent of Rohingya people in Myanmar fled to neighboring Bangladesh mainly due to the crisis that ends up with ethnic cleansing (Concern Worldwide, US, 2019). Similarly, as world witness that, over 14 million people were forced to flee from Syria as a result of the civil war (UNCHR, 2023) as well as drought, hunger, flood, and economic hardships. As a result of the Somali crisis, the number of refugees in 2020 recorded 17.843 and 17.656 asylum seekers concentrated in Ethiopia (61 percent) and Yemen (37 percent) (Integral Human Development, 2021). Moreover, in 2023, due to some clashes in Laascaanood caused around 150.000 displaced people and nearly 100.000 refugees, most of which are women and children escaped to Ethiopia (The UN Refugee Agency, 2023).

In addition, many scholars cited by Adhikari (2012) such as Hakovirta (1986), Stanley (1987), Clark (1989), Zolberg, Suhrke, and Aguayo (1989), Schmeidl (1995, 1997, 1998), Gibney, Apodaca, and Mccann (1996), Weiner (1996), Apodaca (1998), Cohen and Deng (1998a, b), Davenport et al. (2003) and Moore & Shellman (2004, 2006) mention that most of the research agreed that the lack of freedom and rule of law are also among the main factors of migration particularly in the states that do not respect human rights as well as the physical

factors of migration such as terrain or physical infrastructure playing role in people's decisions to migrate.

2.1.3. The Impact of Wars on Forced Migration

The insecurity experienced by refugees and internally displaced individuals goes beyond the perils of warfare. It encompasses the lack of access to the essentials such as food, healthcare, housing, employment, clean water, and sanitation. Additionally, it involves the loss of their sense of community and homes. In conflict regions like Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, the Philippines, Libya, and Syria, more than 38 million people have been uprooted, either within their own countries or abroad, and are enduring extremely inadequate living conditions. This is a very cautious estimate, and the number could potentially reach as high as 49-60 million (Brown University, 2023).

According to Adhikari (2012), all kind of threats such as war in general cause forced migration, which make people to make a difficult decision of whether or not to leave their homes. As well Crippa et al (2022) also add that among the factors contributing to migration, especially conflicts and the non-economic factors associated with conflicts such as discrimination, inadequate healthcare, war, compulsory military service, natural disasters, and famine.

We have a real and current example in the form of the Russian-Ukrainian War, which has led to nearly three million Ukrainian migrants moving to Poland from February 24 until the end of April 2022 (Duszczyk & Kaczmarczyk, 2022). Another ongoing example is the fight in the Gaza Strip between the Palestinian resistance (Hamas) and the Israeli occupation forces. The latest heavy and continuous bombardments of Gaza has according to Al-Jazeera channel (2023) resulted nearly 1,700,000 displaced individuals, with 830,000 of them residing in the UNRWA camps, since October 7th of the war between Israeli Military and Palestinian resistance (Relief Web, 2023).

2.2. The Somali Migrants in Yemen

In this section, I will summarize the living conditions in Somalia and its impact of migration. Mainly due to the Somali civil war, millions of people left the country for many regional and non-regional countries. Somali migrants dispersed all over the world. One of the most critical destinations of the Somali migrants is Yemen.

2.2.1. The Somali Civil War

Somalia is a country located in the Horn of Africa, at northeast of the African continent. This country is famous for its ancient history and rich culture. It has civilizational history such as the Kingdom of Aksum. Although the Somali people speak the Somali language, the people and the state is influenced by different civilizations Especially the state and its people is influenced by the Arab, Islamic and Roman civilizations (Valley, 1969). Somalia has been an important territory throughout the history between the East and the West in terms of international trade. The majority of the Somali people live according to the principles and laws of Islam, which is the main religion of the Somali people.

Looking from political perspective, it is necessary to underline that Somalia won its political independence in from the colonial powers in 1960. A new state was established called the Somali Democratic Republic (Raphael Chijioke Njoku, 2014). Since the late 1970s, Somalia and the regions in the Horn of Africa where the Somali people live have experienced many constant conflicts. The roots of the ongoing civil war can be traced back to the Somali army's loss in the Ogaden War of 1977, which also marked the decline of the idea of a united Somali nation. As the conflict in Somalia has dragged on for a long time, the feeling of unity among its people has continued to erode, leading to a more divided Somalia, likely more fragmented than ever before in its history.

Before the international intervention, there was a folks of civil war between the Somalis such as war with the Majerrteen, the Issaq, the Ogaden, the Hawiye clans, and various wars that occurred in the past. According to Valley (1969), during these wars the international aid agencies was witnessing all of kind of the impact to the Somali people, and calling international community to intervene to quit the fighting between the different Somali factions (Africa Watch 1992 in Valley, 1969). Considering the Momodu (2016) prospective, that the situation of Somalia gets better in terms of political and economic factors, meaning that Somalia and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2013 reached an agreement for the voluntary return of refugees to Somalia, although the security issues have not been solved completely. According to the United Nations, there are still some security threats and links between political and security in Somalia. Therefore, the time is not ripe for the return of the Somali migrants.

Overall, there is stability in the situation in Somalia to some extent, which led to the government calling for the voluntary return of refugees to Somalia. However, Somalis cite a variety of reasons for migration to Yemen, encompassing economic opportunities, tribal

conflicts, poverty, hardships, and governmental clashes with the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization. Two predominant motivations underpin the majority of journeys from the African continent, namely a sense of responsibility towards their families and positive perceptions of migration. The motivations for embarking on such journeys are multifaceted. Economic opportunities often act as a significant driving force, as individuals seek improved financial prospects beyond the constraints of their home country. Tribal conflicts contribute to the decision to migrate, with individuals hoping to escape the strife that plagues their communities. Poverty and the accompanying hardships further propel individuals to seek a better life elsewhere (Osman, 2017). Additionally, the ongoing clashes between the government and the Al-Shabaab organization created an environment of insecurity and instability, prompting many to consider migration as a means of ensuring personal safety and the well-being of their families. The desire to break free from the cycle of violence and insecurity becomes a compelling factor for Somalis contemplating migration.

In a broader context, there are two overarching themes that drive migration from the Horn of Africa. The first revolves around a profound sense of responsibility towards one's family. Many migrants view their journey as a means of providing better opportunities and a safer environment for their loved ones. This commitment to familial well-being becomes a powerful motivator that transcends the challenges and uncertainties associated with migration. The second theme centers on the positive perceptions of migration. Despite the hardships and risks involved, many individuals hold optimistic views regarding the potential for a better life in a new destination. The prospect of accessing improved living conditions, economic stability, and educational opportunities propels individuals to undertake the arduous journey (de Regt, 2007).

Regarding the reasons why Somali migrants prefer the southern provinces of Yemen in general, and the Hadhramaut Governorate in particular, some Somali immigrants interviewed for this thesis provided several explanations. Among these reasons is the absence of discrimination or racism, and the greater security stability compared to other provinces. Additionally, the proximity of Hadhramaut Governorate to the Bosaso Port in Somalia plays a role in attracting Somalis to the city. Moreover, the presence of international organizations dedicated to migrants in general, and their access to assistance from these organizations, also contributes to their preference. In essence, the decision to migrate among Somali people is shaped by a complex interplay of economic, social, and security considerations. While challenges abound, the resilience and determination of individuals, driven by a sense of responsibility and optimism, underscore the transformative nature of migration in their pursuit of a brighter future.

2.2.2. The Concentration of Somali Migrants in the World

The order of the hosts countries goes from the near countries to Somalia up to the far ones, as its reported in the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (2021). Kenya has the large number of Somali refugees in different areas around the country with an estimated number of 313.000 Somali refugees in 2017. Moreover, according to the UN Refugee Agency (2023) “there are 714,390 Somali refugees and asylum seekers living in neighboring countries like Kenya (308,367), Ethiopia (276,412), Uganda (69,533) and Yemen (46,750). More than 35,600 refugees and asylum seekers live inside the country and nearly 3 million people are internally displaced across Somalia” (UN Refugee Agency, 2023). Even though Ethiopia and Yemen have a long history of receiving Somali migrants, these two countries have own political and economic crises.

The Somali diaspora in the world has continued to grow since the collapse of the state and the consolidation of civil war, which make Somali people leave their country to elsewhere to secure its safety. The large number of Somalis around the world particularly lives in the neighboring countries, and some of them have networks in the global powers such as the United States, the United Kingdom and many Western countries. In general there is around two million people living outside Somalia or as it's called Somali diaspora (Abdi, & Kleist, 2021). For instance, the United Kingdom, which has 176.645 people who identified as Somalis according to the census of 2021 (Kargbo & Steel, 2023).

According to 2015 estimates provided by the United Nations, while in the United States of America, has approximately 150,000 Somali immigrants, encompassing both refugees and non-refugees. All these people have established their residence in the country. Among the various states, Minnesota stands out as a noteworthy choice for the Somalis, surpassing all others. The query that naturally arises is: What prompts Somalis to favor Minnesota as their destination of choice? This demographic inclination can be ascribed to multiple determinants that distinguish Minnesota as the preferred hub for the Somali community. Minnesota has cultivated a reputation for its hospitable and inclusive ambiance, rendering it an appealing haven for immigrants, including the Somali population. The state prides itself on a longstanding commitment to embracing cultural diversity, fostering an environment that actively promotes the integration of diverse communities. Moreover, Minnesota boasts robust social services and support networks tailored to meet the specific needs of immigrants, serving as instrumental aids during the resettlement process for the Somalis.

Another pivotal determinant is the abundance of employment opportunities. Minnesota's economy, characterized by its diverse sectors spanning healthcare to technology, presents a spectrum of job prospects. Considerations of geography also play a pivotal role in this choice. The climatic conditions in Minnesota bear a relative similarity to those in Somalia, with some Somalis finding the cold winters more manageable compared to other American states with the more extreme weather conditions. The existence of a well-established Somali community in Minnesota further contributes to its allure. The presence of this community, marked by shared cultural and linguistic bonds, greatly facilitates the adaptation and integration process for newcomers. In conclusion, the preference for Minnesota among Somalis can be attributed to a combination of factors, including its reputation for inclusivity, well-developed support services, diverse employment opportunities, climatic compatibility, and the supportive ecosystem fostered by the existing Somali community (Almond, 2017).

In Sweden, a study conducted by Abdi Madar (2018) indicates that Somali immigrants residing in Sweden perceive communication impediments as a hindrance to enhanced social assimilation and connection with the local populace. Additionally, the Somali community encounter challenges related to cultural disparities, familial networks, and gender issues, all of which substantially impact their integration process. That shows us that there is a Somali community living in Sweden with some problems as any other immigrant community.

2.2.3. Somali Migrants in Yemen

Due to the domestic conflicts, economic challenges, drought and human rights violation that led to a huge figure of people from Africa fleeing to Yemen to find out a better livelihood and protection. In their pursuit of safety and a better life, these individuals choose to risk their lives and embark on perilous sea journeys to Yemen. At sea, a new chapter of suffering begins, as they are subjected to torture, extortion, and exploitation at the hands of human traffickers and smugglers. As these individuals arrive on the Yemeni shores, they endure drought, exhaustion, hunger, and thirst, with death looming over dozens of them each year. This is due to smugglers forcing them to jump into deep waters before reaching the Yemeni coast, out of fear of being intercepted by the Yemeni coast guard authorities and having their boats confiscated (Morris, 2010). Data collected according to the International Organization for Migration shows that in 2019 alone over 138.000 people crossed the Gulf of Aden to Yemen (Relief Web, 2020).

Yemen is the only country in the Arabian Peninsula region that signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. The UNHCR has on many occasions, expressed its gratitude

to the Yemeni government for the welcoming and sheltering of refugees (De Regt, 1970). At the same time, it calls upon the regional and international community to stand with Yemen in assisting it in fulfilling its international obligations. The Yemeni government and society have adopted a compassionate policy towards refugees, even as the numbers of refugees migrating from the Horn of Africa to the Yemeni coasts have reached record levels, especially in recent years. The number of refugees increase in spite of the challenging economic and political conditions that the country faces. Statistics indicate that there are currently more than 230,000 registered refugees in Yemen, the majority of whom are from Somalia (UNHCR, 2019). They have been flowing into the country mainly for the last two decades. The Yemeni people, known for their generosity and hospitality, continue to share their resources and provide shelter with refugees and asylum seekers while upholding human dignity, extending a helping hand to the vulnerable, the needy, and the oppressed (UNHCR, 2019).

The outbreak of a widespread civil war has added immeasurable risks to a country of migration transit already fraught with dangers. Migrants have faced direct attacks from the warring factions; in one instance in March 2017, a military vessel and helicopter belonging to the Saudi and United Emirates coalition fired upon a boat carrying approximately 140 Somali migrants off the western coast of Yemen, resulting in the death of at least 42 individuals (Wilson-Smith, 2019). Upon arrival in the country, migrants faced escalating logistical challenges in their journeys despite border enforcement breakdowns. For instance, in 2015, intense fighting around the major crossing points in Saada and Hajjah in the north of the country made the passage to Saudi Arabia difficult, partly due to human smugglers withdrawing from the area.

The conflict on both sides in Yemen has driven increasingly anti-immigration practices, perhaps due to the fears of migrant recruitment or exploitation by enemy forces. Since 2015, there has been an increase of anti-refugee developments in the country. Many reports indicate the detention of migrants of all nationalities, mistreatment of refugees, refusal of access to asylum procedures, and mass deportations by both the Houthi and the government-aligned forces (Wilson-Smith, 2019). This marks a departure from Yemen's traditional hospitable stance towards Somali refugees, let alone the precedential moves in the years preceding the war to recognize asylum seekers of other nationalities.

Additionally, non-governmental organizations working with migrants and asylum seekers in Yemen have faced difficulties in obtaining work permits, culminating in the termination of a long-term UNHCR project monitoring and assisting arrivals from the Horn of Africa in June 2017 (Wilson-Smith, 2019). Residents of remote coastal settlements move back and forth between Puntland and Hadhramaut relatively easily. Transportation is often free, although the

boat operators sometimes request a small fee. Presenting identification is helpful but not mandatory for movement. Several methods have been reported, including using a sailor ID issued by the Puntland Authority or claiming refugee status (for ID purposes). In the former case, IDs are relatively easily obtained from Bosaso, based on the same sailor ID used under the former administration of President Saeed Bare. They are delivered upon arrival in Mukalla, where a temporary ID is provided based on the required duration of stay. Obtaining a refugee ID is another option, but it is mostly a formal procedure, as individuals regularly return and demand a different refugee ID for entry into the country (Alexander, 2013).

Few of the above-mentioned systems are strictly enforced, and people regularly traveling back and forth claim that they can easily negotiate entry without any documents. While adhering closely to bureaucratic procedures in major ports like Mukalla and Bosaso, at smaller ports and docking areas, there is no need for documentation or inspection. Possession of a passport is the responsibility of the Somalis traveling to Yemen, as it may require the purchase of a visa. However, when the United Arab Emirates (UAE)'s recent intervention to Yemen, the UAE military forces attempted to tighten the borders on the Yemeni side by imposing the use of identity documents by the Somalis. But this was short-lived, seen by the Somali participants as another sign of the strong bond that they share with their Yemeni kin. There may also be operational elements to this regarding economic interests that play a role in maintaining trade and facilitating smooth movement to the best of their ability (Majid & Abdirahman, 2019).

Regarding the situation of the Somali refugees in the southern town in Yemen, they live a tough condition. For instance, according to the head of the Somali community in Mukalla, the Somali immigrants live under very harsh conditions, particularly women working as beggars, men working in menial jobs such as washing cars or as assistants to local fishermen. They have been struggling to survive under difficult conditions such as the lack of clean water, toilets and shelter in the refugee of Al-Ajaniya camp in Hadhramaut Governorate in Yemen (Tokcan & KaraI İlbay, 2023). The education of Somali refugees might be challenged as well. Although the Yemeni government recognizes Somalis as refugees, Somali immigrants cannot send their children to schools due to lack of money. In addition, they face problems with birth certificates, as indicated in some reports that some Somali students have been expelled from schools due to their parents not being able to provide their birth certificates (Relief Web, 2008).

Mixed Somali-Yemenis face a form of denigration and stigmatization through the use of the term “muwallad,” which means “mixed” in Arabic. According to one of the women interviewed, Somalis avoid revealing their identities to avoid discrimination or difficulties they may face in their lives. She chooses to reveal her identity based on the circumstances she finds herself in (Sana'a Center For Strategic Studies, 2022).

In the international context, Yemen and Somalia, which are considered as countries that threaten the world peace to some extent, are not countries that require direct intervention, but they are dangerous enough to not be ignored. While Yemen is considered a fragile state, Somalia, after more than two decades of the collapse the administrative system, is often described as a failed state. In the gaps between weak state institutions and even more pronounced gaps in their absence, shadow networks have room to thrive. Similar networks exist within Yemen and Somalia. Regional trade arms, human trafficking, and fuel smuggling are facilitated between the two countries. Naturally, the primary objective of such networks is the shallow financial gain. From the same context, the migration routes have thrived in the Gulf of Aden for decades, encouraged by Yemen's decision to grant refugee status to Somalis without delay in 1991, following the outbreak of the civil war in Somalia. The majority of Somalis flee from the violent conflict and food shortages in Mogadishu and its surrounding areas, and their presence in Yemen was accepted in accordance with the main principles of international agreements and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Healy & Hull, 2010).

To conclude, this chapter has briefly reviewed the conceptualization of migration and summarized the history of migration studies. Then the researcher tried to analyze the factors that makes people migrate around the world, following that with the one of the fundamental factors of migration which is war and conflict and their overall impact on migration. After that, it goes deeper into the purpose of the research, which is the Somalian civil war expressing the situation of the Somalian war and its impact that caused the Somali people to flee all over the world. Last but not least, the most regions that Somalis live in and their situation around the world was discussed briefly. Finally, the chapter review the situation of the Somali immigrants living in Yemen, thus trying to show what Somalis live in Yemen, what has been written in terms of their political, economy and social life according to the international organization.

Finally, the chapter review the situation of the Somali immigrants living in Yemen, thus trying to demonstrate what Somalis are experiencing in Yemen. The literature, mainly using the primary sources provided by the related international organizations, about their political, economic and social life in Yemen was reviewed.

All what has been mentioned earlier in literature review, will be discussed in the next chapter using the interviews conducted with the Somali immigrants living in the city of Mukalla, to see what aligns with the research question and what contradicts with it, in order to explore the factors that have led the Somali immigrants to prefer staying in Mukalla, regarding the reflection of the thematic analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

SOMALI IMMIGRANTS IN YEMEN: FACTORS INFLUENCING THEIR PREFERENCES TO RESIDE IN MUKALLA CITY

Based on the conducted interviews with the Somali immigrants in Yemen's Hadramout Governorate, specifically in the city of Mukalla, the researcher will utilize the thematic analysis, the methodological and theoretical framework following developed by Braun and Clarke, in order to figure out the answer to the research question. The researcher will first present the answers and then analyze them by underlining within the three factors (namely political, economic and social) explaining the analysis. The first factor is the political factor that is presented under the most explanatory sub theme, which is the political situation in the city of Mukalla according to their answers, which made the immigrants prefer to stay there. Then, the researcher follows up on each response to interpret them and briefly explain the political explanations behind the answers. The economic and social factors will also be analyzed from the same perspective. The thesis claims that all these factors will contribute to answer the research question.

The researcher tries to summarize and interprets all the interviews with the targeted people by asking them about political, economic, and social conditions that made them prefer staying in Mukalla city over returning to Somalia, where political and economic stability was relatively achieved overtime and the life returned to normal. Before mentioning and interpreting all the factors that the researcher deduces from them, the researcher will follow the coding system of the information of participants demonstrated in Figure 5.

To have an overview of the political, economic, and social factors analyzed in the thesis, here are some samples of the answers which I got from the participants. The rest of the answers will be excluded from the text due to the data saturation. From all interviews, the researcher will elaborate these answers and will convert them into data set according to the three main factors and sub-themes and the codes. Then, the researcher will analyze the answers received from the interviewed immigrants. Finally, these answers will be compared with the literature review. Finally, will show the result of the outcomes of the analysis and the comparison with literature review.

3.1. Political Factors That Shapes Preferences of Somali Immigrants

The researcher infers the political factors that led Somali immigrants to prefer staying in Mukalla, based on their responses in the interviews. The researcher then proceeds to analyze each interview model, in line with the research question. As the target audience here is the Somali immigrants, the researcher has opted to sample from the interviews. In addition, the answers will be analyzed together with the same context of the general political situation information mentioned in the research background. With that, the explanation will be mentioned in the sub-theme.

3.1.1. Safety and Stability in Mukalla

Under the code (The political situation in Mukalla according to the participants' interviews) as specified by the interviewed participants, here are some interpretations to understand their prescriptions of staying in Mukalla. Based on a participant's (P.1, M, 17, F) response, it can be inferred that he does not want to return to Somalia due to security reasons. This is evident from his fear of what might happen to him if he wanted to return, especially considering what he had heard from his father about the situation in Somalia. Therefore, the option of returning to Somalia was essentially ruled out. In the same context, although he struggles with his living conditions in Yemen, he still prefers staying in Yemen over his homeland. This preference was evident from the statements of other interviewed immigrants as well. In spite of some problems that they face in Yemen, it still remains better than Somalia because, in his own words, "we cannot guarantee our safety there due to conflicts between tribes and the risk of becoming victims" (Interview with P.1, M, 17, F).

For another interviewed immigrant (P.2, M, 40, F), it can be inferred that despite the relative stability in Somalia, there is a prevailing concern about his willingness to return. Therefore, he prefers to stay in Mukalla. His decision to stay is based on their actual experiences since his arrival, during which he has not faced any significant security threats, even though Al-Qaeda took control of Mukalla for almost a year. He made his decision to remain in Mukalla based on what he has lived through during those years, rather than what he has heard about the potential return of relative stability in Somalia. Hence, his decision to stay in Mukalla can be considered as a pragmatic one.

The third participant (P.10, M, 35, F) appears to no longer desire to return to Somalia primarily due to his age. Despite his dissatisfaction with what has been happening in Mukalla, from his perspective, the political situation is under control which means there is some extent

of safety and stability. That is why, he prefers to stay in Mukalla. He aims to secure the best possible rights and essential requirements while remaining in Mukalla. From his statement, it can be inferred that despite the overall political instability, he prefers to stay in Mukalla. He acknowledges the difficulties he faces in his daily life, but he still does not think of returning to Somalia.

3.1.2. Peaceful Nature of Mukalla City

According to participants, the nature of Mukalla City is characterized by peace, and the local community is welcoming to immigrants. Immigrants, including Somali participants, face minimal instances of racism, with some Somali participants noting that they have been residing in Mukalla for nearly two decades without encountering any social or political issues with local authorities. Despite economic challenges due to a lack of respectable job opportunities, participants express a preference for staying in Mukalla City compared to other Yemeni cities or even returning to Somalia, As well as due to the geographic location close to Mukalla City.

In comparison to the difficulties faced by their Somali counterparts in other Yemeni cities like Aden, participants suggest that staying in Mukalla is preferable, even considering the economic hardships. Additionally, participants highlight that Somalis in the city are generally dispersed across various neighborhoods, with no hindrance from local authorities to consolidate them in one place due to security concerns. Finally, one participant appeals to local authorities to address the economic situation, expressing frustration with the lack of change despite numerous interviews with researchers, authorities, and organizations. He emphasizes the need for his message to reach the relevant authorities to bring about meaningful improvements.

3.2. Economic Factors That Shapes Preferences of Somali Immigrants

Based on the diverse responses regarding the economic factors affecting Somali immigrants in Mukalla, key insights into their answers reveal prominent factors influencing the Somali immigrant community to prefer staying in the city.

3.2.1. Pursuing Economic Advancements through Menial Jobs, and International Aid Support

The second set of factors will be analyzed under the code, “The Economic Situation of Somalis in Mukalla.” From the responses of the participant (P. 24, M, 30, G), it can be observed that he has been facing economic challenges. He aspires to integrate more extensively into the

local community and improve his current economic situation, as revealed in the interview. He is characterized by working in simple jobs that barely cover his daily expenses. This tells that the Somali immigrants in Mukalla are not content with the standard of living they are enduring. They are striving to break out of this cycle by seeking greater acceptance and participation in the Hadhrami community and commercial activities. Furthermore, they are advocating for their inclusion in at least some business ventures with the Somali traders, considering that they share the same city and have previous collaborative experiences with the Yemeni merchants.

Another participant (P. 20, M, 26, G) attributes one of the main reasons for the deteriorating economic situation of the Somali immigrants is the reluctance of the Hadhrami people to integrate the Somalis into their commercial life. However, this is not indicative of discrimination or racism. In contrast, they consider the Hadhramis as good people as humans, according to the participant. The interview highlights a gap between the Somalis and the community they live in, especially in terms of economic integration. There seems to be a lack of acceptance, and the Somalis live somewhat isolated from the local community, engaged in work that does not directly overlap with the livelihoods of the local population.

From the interview of participant (P. 13, M, 40, F), it can be interpreted that the real factors for the political and economic stability in Mukalla city other than in different Yemeni cities are the climate and the local community's kindness in their interactions with the Somalis. The interview attributes the deterioration in economic conditions to the unstable period after 2011, which was the period of insurgency and revolution against former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The situation did not stabilize in Yemen as a whole after Saleh's overthrow. In addition, Al-Qaeda has controlled Mukalla for nearly a year during this unstable period. This suggests that Somalis are experiencing economic hardships, and without the intervention of international organizations providing relief and continuous support, their situation would be even more challenging.

Through the responses of participant (P. 22, F, 20, G), the difference between those born in Yemen and those who migrated from Somalia to Yemen can be considered significant. Those who migrated mainly perceive Yemen as a transit country to other regions of the world. At the same time, for some interviewed immigrants, Yemen is considered as a territory close to Somalia and thus offers the possibility of returning to Somalia when conditions improve in their homeland. Fundamentally, they do not consider the challenges they face in Yemen as much when compared to the difficulties they witnessed in Somalia. While those who were born and grew up in Yemen are seen differently as individuals regarding their daily lives with no discrimination and growing amongst the local society, when it comes to the economic life,

perceptions of the Yemenis differ according to the job opportunities in the country, particularly for women. Thus, the difference becomes apparent among the migrants, whether born in Yemen or those who migrated from Somalia due to conflictual environment. Each person's perception of the political, social, and economic conditions varies, providing insights into their perspectives on staying or returning to Somalia.

3.2.2. Comparative Economic Analysis: Mukalla City Outperforms Somalia according to Somali Immigrants

Regarding the economic situation in Mukalla City, it is essential to differentiate between Somali participants in the study, considering individuals born in Mukalla and others who migrated from Somalia to the city. In this section, the focus will be on those who migrated from Somalia to Mukalla, given their ability to comprehend changes and compare economic shifts in Mukalla with those in Somalia when they resided there before migrating to Yemen.

Firstly, Somali immigrants express that the economic situation in Mukalla is relatively better than in Somalia. While they engage in low-paying jobs, comparing them to their livelihoods in Somalia during civil wars and famines, their work in Yemen, such as car washing and manual labor, is considered less burdensome. Upon their arrival in Yemen, their way of life underwent significant changes. In Somalia, their livelihoods were primarily based on livestock farming and agriculture. However, in Yemen, they shifted to different occupations. Secondly, the nature of life in Mukalla differs from that in Somalia. Mukalla serves as the capital of Hadramout Governorate, offering numerous opportunities beyond daily-wage jobs. Humanitarian aid, local merchants' assistance, and contributions from Somali traders in the city provide additional support. Somali traders involved in livestock transportation from Somalia to Yemen or Saudi Arabia also contribute to helping Somali immigrants in Mukalla.

The participants express a preference for staying in Mukalla due to the diverse opportunities available and the proximity to supportive Somali traders. However, it's important to note that the support from Somali traders is typically extended to those with familial connections.

3.3. Social Factors That Shapes Preferences of Somali Immigrants

The researcher aims to extract as much information as possible concerning the social status of the Somali immigrants and their relationship with the local community, as well as the motivations that led the Somali immigrants prefer staying in Mukalla from a social perspective.

3.3.1. Somali Migrants in Mukalla Experience a Respectful and Welcoming Environment

Under the code (Somali Society in Mukalla), the participants respond such as participant (P. 26, M, 25, G), it is evident that the participants prefer to stay in Mukalla for social reasons that they have experienced during their residency in the city. They attribute these factors to the local population who treat them with kindness and respect. Additionally, the fact that they reside in various geographic areas within the city, based on available housing opportunities, indicates that they do not suffer from social segregation or discrimination. This answer provides a clear indication that immigrant individuals do not experience social discrimination or racism and live freely within the community, and that is why they prefer to stay in Mukalla city.

Some immigrants such as participant (P. 19, F, 28, G). She responded that she does not feel a significant difference living in Mukalla. She has pinpointed her challenges in this city to her incomplete mastery of the Arabic language, which hinders her from integrating more fully into the local community. Consequently, this indicates that the local community welcomes Somali immigrants and does not have any other motivations for their presence. However, some differences such as linguistic barriers prevent the Somali immigrant to full integrate with the Yemeni community.

Another participant (P. 25, M, 25, G) provided some insights about the social factors contributing to staying of Somali immigrants in Mukalla city. Considering his answer about the social factors of staying in Mukalla city, he compared the social stability in Mukalla city with other cities in Yemen. The answers tell us again that they prefer to stay in any city that can provide personal safety and social stability. Here, we can see what the Somali immigrants are looking for, regardless of the economic difficulties they face and the limited support from international organizations, as he mentioned. As long as the relative stability they observe in their lives continues, they prefer to stay in the city rather than returning to Somalia.

From a social perspective as well, it could also distinguish between those born in Yemen as children of Somali immigrants who were raised and grew up in the local community and those who migrated from Somalia to Yemen. For instance, participants born in Yemen express the absence of challenges in the city, noting that the local people are tolerant and cooperative and that there is no discrimination. On the other hand, those who migrated from Somalia to Yemen faced difficulties during their journey and at the Yemeni shores including exploitation, discrimination, and racism. However, upon reaching to Mukalla city, they experienced much better treatment, significantly surpassing the challenges encountered on the Yemeni shores.

3.3.2. Examining Non-Discriminatory Treatment: A Study of Local Interaction with Somali Immigrants

The social factor is considered one of the most crucial elements for the stability of immigrants in their destination. In Mukalla City, participants offer diverse responses influenced by individual circumstances. Some participants express living normal lives, seamlessly integrating into the local community without encountering notable racism. However, another participant expresses extreme discontent due to facing severe racist incidents, including his son being barred from attending Yemeni schools, which he views as a primary cause of the racism they experience. Other participants highlight the warm and tolerant nature of the local community in Mukalla. They describe it as welcoming, attributing the positive reception to geographical proximity, familial ties, and even intermarriage between Somalis and Yemenis in the city. The participants emphasize that the local people generally treat them generously and kindly, contrary to facing discrimination as migrants or engaging in low-status jobs, illustrating a contrary experience.

Another aspect raised by participants is the peaceful nature of the local community, avoiding conflicts and treating migrants normally. They note that Hadhrami society, by its nature, is peaceful and averse to problems. This contrasts with experiences in other cities where they faced racism or derogatory labels as migrants such as calling them servants. Therefore, the participants express a preference for living in Hadramout Governorate and specifically in Mukalla due to its marked peace, tolerance, and lack of racism toward immigrants, particularly Somalis. They attribute this positive environment to significant cultural and social interactions, including intermarriage, reflecting the participants' responses regarding the absence of racism in Mukalla.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERCEPTIONS OF MIGRATION PREFERENCES: IDENTIFYING FACTORS FOR SOMALI MIGRANTS TO STAY IN YEMEN

Regarding the steps of the thematic analysis approach, the researcher will integrate political, economic, and social factors and their analysis. All these factors will be analyzed according to İbrahim Sirkeci's conflict theory. The concept of human insecurity is divided into two main aspects of conflict, namely material insecurity and non-material human insecurity. These aspects of conflict cause forced migration, internal displacement within conflict-ridden regions, or adaptation and integration into the current situation of the conflict zone. Therefore, this section will elaborate on and detail the factors based on the two primary elements of the theory, exploring the outcomes accordingly.

Before establishing the analysis, it should be considered that Braun & Clarke (2019; 2021) along with Byrne (2022) point out a common drawback in utilizing the thematic analysis method, which is the insufficient elaboration on the data analysis process. This omission can expose research to substantial critique, particularly in terms of its validity, as it pertains to criteria outlined by Braun and Clark (2006) and Yardley (2000) for an effective thematic analysis. This study focuses on transparency and cohesiveness of the analysis of data. According to Byrne (2022), as opposed to practices typical of quantitative research that would see the researcher conduct and then write up the analysis, the write-up of qualitative research is very much interwoven into the entire process of the analysis. This will likely require a recursive approach to report writing, what he means here is that somehow writing the final report or the reflection analysis can be rewriting of what has been written in the themes, but it may include all parts of the analysis to answer the research question in its current form.

In this part, the researcher has thus far detailed his approach to data engagement and his methodology for constructing thematic elements to ensure thoroughness and transparency in determining the answer to the research question. Throughout history, human beings have consistently sought stability in life and preferred a life where they can interact, influence, and be influenced by their surroundings. Human migration to distant lands in search of a better life, compared to their previous circumstances, has been a recurring theme. This migration often

reflects a desire for improved political, social, or other innate aspects that human values. Life is a blend of political, social, economic, and cultural factors. When assessing a society, it is essential to consider the circumstances and factors that influence individuals and communities. This holds true for immigrants who have chosen to stay in a particular place in pursuit of a better life. Thanks to this in-depth analysis, the researcher will contribute to understanding the full picture of the Somali immigrants in Mukalla city and why they choose to stay rather than return to Somalia.

4.1. Political and Security Stability

Political and security stability stand as one of the fundamental prerequisites for migrants. Within a nuanced global landscape, the dynamics of migration are intricately interwoven with the conditions of political stability and security. The degree of political turbulence and insecurity within a region significantly shapes the choices made by individuals or families to depart from their residences in pursuit of more secure environments. The impact of political stability and security on migration encompasses various facets such as the political environment of the destination country, the secure environment, and the overall quality of life. An in-depth comprehension of these factors proves imperative for unraveling the migration dynamics observed among Somali migrants in the city of Mukalla. As the thematic analysis will be mentioned, it will be examined in detail in this section, as shown in Figure 4.

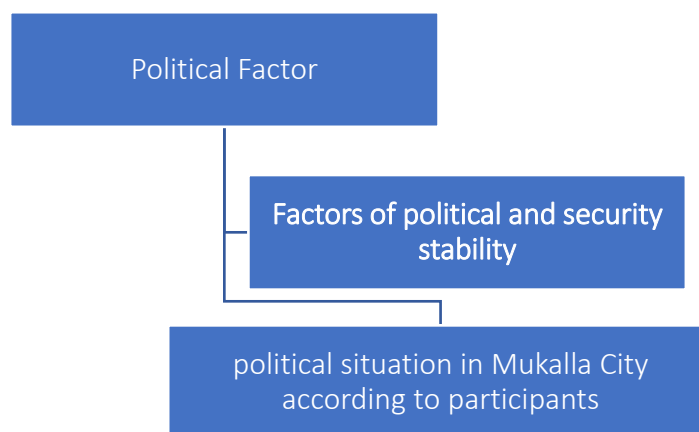


Figure 6: Political Factor

Source: This figure is made by the author.

Referring to the code political situation according to Somali participants in the interview, the researcher will interpret and discuss with the literature review and according to the main aspects of the conflict theory. The analysis will divide the answers of the participants in this section according to material and non-material environment of human insecurity.

4.1.1. Material and Non-Material Environment of Human Insecurity Regarding the Somalis Immigrants Security and Stability in Mukalla City.

The Somalis interviewed highlighted different reasons for choosing Mukalla city as their final destination for settlement. The most significant factor they seek is security, as they perceive, through their coexistence with the residents and authorities in the region, a relatively better safety and stability compared to the security situation in Somalia. Therefore, some prefer not to return to Somalia due to fears of tribal conflicts, constituting part of the material human insecurity according to the conflict theory's interpretation. Additionally, it is essential to consider the ages of the Somali migrant who were interviewed. The younger individuals are more inclined to pursue additional rights and the freedom to move between different cities, based on cards that should be issued by the Yemeni authorities. Conversely, the older Somali migrants in the same city simply desire stability and safety. In a similar context, a literature review supports this thinking, citing different ideas (Miller, 2009) that endorse this type of migration, aiming to find political stability. Somali immigrants as well indicate that Yemen, as a country, does not meet their requirements, and it could be said that Somalia does not meet their aspirations at all. This implies a material human insecurity as well, but the severity diminishes when compared to Yemen, leading them to choose to stay in the city.

Based on the information provided by the Somali immigrants in Mukalla, although they underlined that they hear about improvements in life in Somalia and the agreement between the government and the High Commissioner for Refugees regarding voluntary return to Somalia since 2013, they still prefer not to return to Somalia. One Somali immigrant informed us that regarding the situation in Mukalla, he has not faced any threats since his arrival to Yemen. Migrants also perceive political and security stability in Mukalla. However, recent security incidents in Mukalla since 2015 worsened the situation for the Somali immigrants, making their living conditions more difficult. However, despite not obtaining their full rights and demands, they continue to live in Mukalla. This implies that the political situation in Mukalla lags behind other cities from the perspective of the Somali immigrants. Although it does not fully meet their demands, it is still considered somewhat better than Somalia.

On the other hand, concerning the political situation in Mukalla in the context of refugees or migrants living there, it can be argued that the political situation in Mukalla is still in a developmental phase. This is an integral part of the broader context of the civil war in Yemen and regional rivalries, as noted by Karakır (2018). The city occasionally witnesses clashes and

security incidents between the government forces, local militias, and the remnants of extremist groups. Furthermore, social and economic challenges persist, including poverty, unemployment, and a lack of basic services, which may exacerbate existing tensions. Additionally, in recent years, Mukalla has been considered a stronghold of one of the most dangerous terrorist organizations, Al-Qaeda. Therefore, the return to political and security stability requires substantial time and concerted efforts from the Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, the primary influencers in the affairs of Mukalla (Faisal & Al-Batati 2018).

If we narrow down the perspectives based on the analysis of the lack of material human insecurity factor in Somalia, back to Sirkeci's conflict theory, we will compare the responses of participants in this study and the related literature review and. It can be concluded that the political situation in Mukalla, as perceived by the Somali immigrants, sometimes reflects their viewpoint that the city is merely a transit zone for migration to other parts of the world or a preferable option for stability as it remains. However, in terms of stability due to its safety, it is a better choice than returning to Somalia.

These responses are limited to the political factor. However, considering participants' responses regarding economic aspects and literature review findings, there is a considerable alignment or contradiction with viewpoints on staying in the city. This opens a new window for discussing their preferences for staying in Mukalla, which will be addressed in the next section. After presenting the responses and reviewing the literature on the political aspect from the researcher's perspective, here are the keywords summarizing participants' responses to answer the research question (shown in Figure 8). Consistent with the key words deduced from the participants' responses, their preference for staying in Mukalla results from the city's security stability. Conversely, the fear of returning to Somalia stems from ongoing tribal conflicts.

Safety in Mukalla	No security threats	have basic necessities
Fear of tribe conflict in Somalia	Stability in Mukalla	the situation is under control in Mukalla
Fear of being victim	tribe conflicts in Somalia	the security disturbances that occurred in Mukalla in recent years
Even Yemen does not meet my requirements, still better than Somalia	the security situation is much better than Somalia	No incentive to return to Somalia

Figure 7: Key Words of the Participants' Answers within the Factors of Political Security and Stability

Source: This figure is made by the author.

4.2. Economic Situation and Its Role in the Resilience of the Somali Migrants

The economic factor stands as a pivotal dynamic within the realm of migration. In this context, economic considerations emerge as a fundamental force influencing migration patterns. This dynamic reflects the intricate interplay between economic conditions and the decision-making processes of individuals or communities contemplating forced migration and seeking for stability and safety. The multifaceted nature of economic factors shapes the trajectories of migration, underscoring the profound impact that financial considerations can wield on the intricate tapestry of human mobility. According to the thematic analysis approach and themes divisions in the case study of the Somali migrants in Mukalla city, it can delve into the analysis of economic factors that contributed to the preference of Somali migrants to stay in Mukalla city (shown in Figure 9). As well as with the alignment of the material and non-material human insecurity aspects back to theoretical framework.

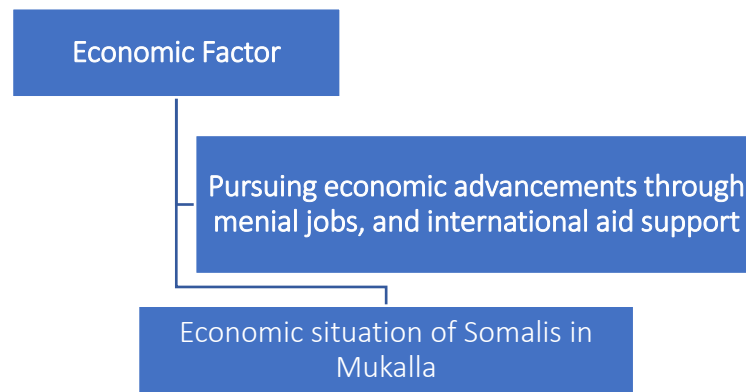


Figure 8: Economic Factor

Source: This figure is made by the author.

Regarding participants' responses concerning the economic situation in Mukalla, they perceive the city as better than other regions where the Somali migrants reside in Yemen. However, they encounter challenges as local traders do not accept their engagement in commerce. In the same context, Somali traders in Mukalla only accept fellow Somalis, if they share the same tribe or region, illustrating a non-material human insecurity according to the conflict theory. Despite facing difficulties in obtaining rights and experiencing hardships as refugees, some immigrants claim to receive aid from international organizations (Tokcan & KaraI İlbay, 2023). Economically interpreting this, it seems that Somali men are employed in unskilled jobs such as washing cars washing or helping local fishermen. Although participants express many economic challenges that they face in Mukalla, they are somewhat satisfied with the conditions in the city compared to the material and non-material human insecurity in Somalia.

From the researcher's perspective, the economic situation for the Somali migrants, following the conflict theory, doesn't meet their aspirations as refugees or migrants. They lack the right to work or integrate into the community, reflecting a non-material human insecurity, as per İbrahim Sirkeci's conflict theory. Nonetheless, staying in Mukalla remains a better option for them, although the voluntary return option is still open.

Another point is that the economic situation in the city itself is not robust and cohesive. Basic necessities like electricity and fuel face intermittent shortages, which increase the burden on residents who spend more on generators and fuel from the black market. The local council in the city somewhat neglects addressing the issue of Somali migrants working in car washes or roaming the streets. Sustainable solutions for their integration into society are lacking. A Yemeni institution called Al-Awn Foundation for Development in Mukalla attempted to

collaborate with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees on a rehabilitation program for young Somali refugees in Mukalla and Aden (Sharaf & Mustafa, 2023).

Ultimately, the Somali migrants share cultural similarities with the city's residents and share the same religion. Consequently, they prefer to stay due to limited options. Otherwise, why would one stay in a place unable to provide opportunities for livelihood unless they have other sources such as international organizations and simple jobs providing monthly assistance for survival. Moreover, the local authority does not verify their security or official status in the city, prompting them to prefer staying in Mukalla. After it has been showed the answers and the literature review of the economic stability and its role in the resilience of Somali migrants, then the researcher prospective interpret, here are the key words that summarized the answers of Somali immigrants towards the answer to the research question (shown in Figure 9).

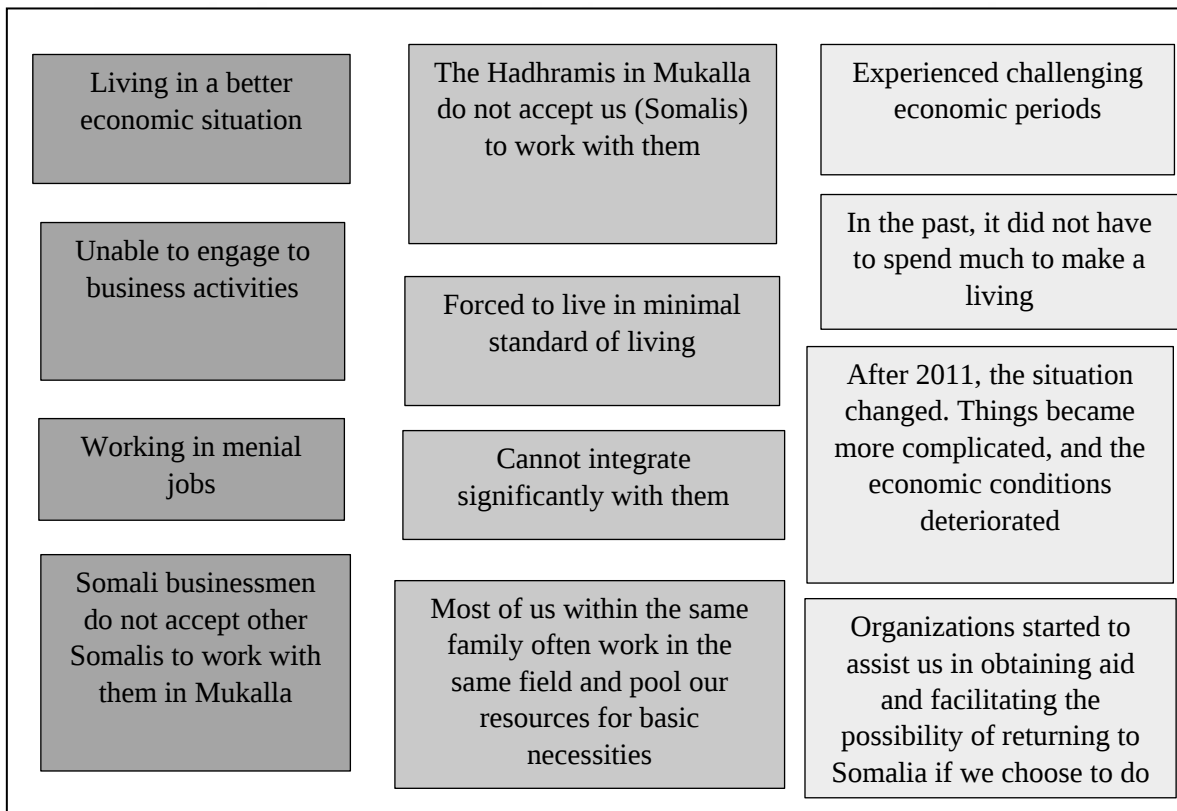


Figure 9: Key Words of the Participants' Answers in the Economic Stability and Its Role in the Resilience of Somali Migrants in Mukalla

Source: This figure is made by the author.

From the analysis of the interviewees and the summary of keywords shown in Figure 10, it could be said that, in the economic theme, Somali migrants are dissatisfied due to the local community's reluctance to employ them in jobs, which is a non-material insecurity as one of the conflict theory aspects. Moreover, the present Somali traders in the city only accept them

under certain conditions. As a result, they rely on income from simple professions, aid from international organizations, and some also have the opportunity of voluntary return to Somalia through international agencies if they want to come back.

4.3. Social Dimensions Play a Pivotal Role in Influencing the Presence of Immigrants in the City of Mukalla

In the realm of migration, social factors play a pivotal role in influencing the decision of migrants to stay in the areas they have migrated to. The dynamics of social elements significantly impact the sense of belonging, integration, and overall well-being of migrants within their adopted communities. This section aims to delve into the social dimensions that contribute to the permanence of Somali immigrants in their newfound region Mukalla city.

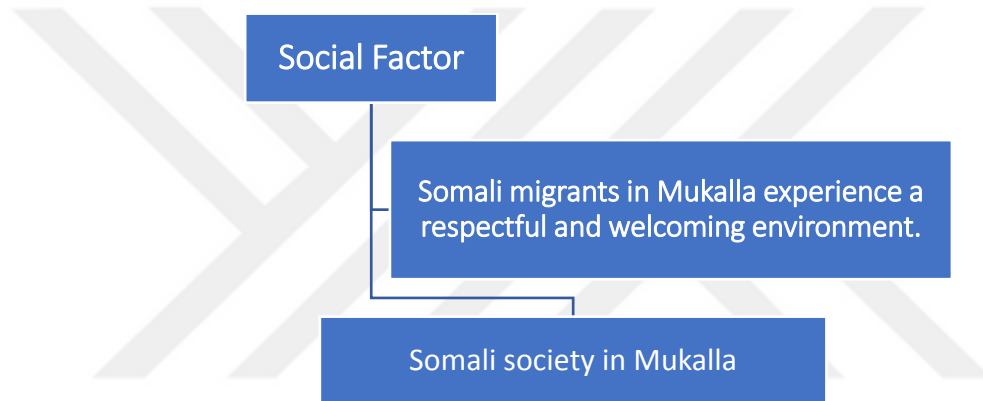


Figure 10: Social Factor

Source: This figure is made by the author.

According to the conflict theory, the lack of non-material human security, such as repression, human rights violations, and the fear of persecution in Somalia, has driven Somalis to migrate to various locations worldwide. However, contrary to this tendency, some participants have found the Hadhrami community in Mukalla city to be completely different. According to their responses, the Hadhrami community is generous and respects them as the Somali immigrants living in the city, portraying a tolerant society. Consequently, they feel secure and prefer to stay in the city, regardless of the incomplete economic aspects. They do not encounter racism or discrimination, making it the primary reason for their continued preference for Mukalla over returning to Somalia. While some of the Somali immigrant's express dissatisfaction due to the community's limited interaction with them, resulting from scarce job opportunities, the absence of discrimination or racism and the significant cultural

similarity make some consider voluntary return to Somalia due to limited opportunities rather than a social factor.

Additionally, some participants note their failure to meet official refugee conditions in the city due to the absence of refugee identity cards. However, they perceive some degree of social stability in the city, which is considered better than other Yemeni cities such as in Aden, as they call them “muwalladen”, which is a mix of being from a Yemeni father and Somalia mother or vice versa. Furthermore, the city’s security significantly contributes to their safety and stability, as they receive a small portion of assistance from international organizations. In contrast to the experiences of the Somali immigrants in Mukalla city, a review of the literature, particularly Relief Web (2020), highlights the tragic conditions faced by the Somalis, especially those who live in camps, where clean water and basic necessities are lacking. Moreover, they suffer exploitation by smugglers off the Yemeni shores, facing drought, exhaustion, hunger, and thirst, with dozens dying every year.

From the researcher’s perspective, the social factor is the most crucial element in the stability of the Somalis in Mukalla. Despite the economic challenges they face in providing for their livelihoods, the participants’ responses suggest that they find satisfaction within the local community, where they do not experience marginalization or social racism, contrary to the economic aspect. Despite several studies shedding light on the numerous challenges, they face upon reaching Yemeni shores and within the camps they inhabit, participants’ responses indicate the otherwise, especially when residing within the Mukalla city.

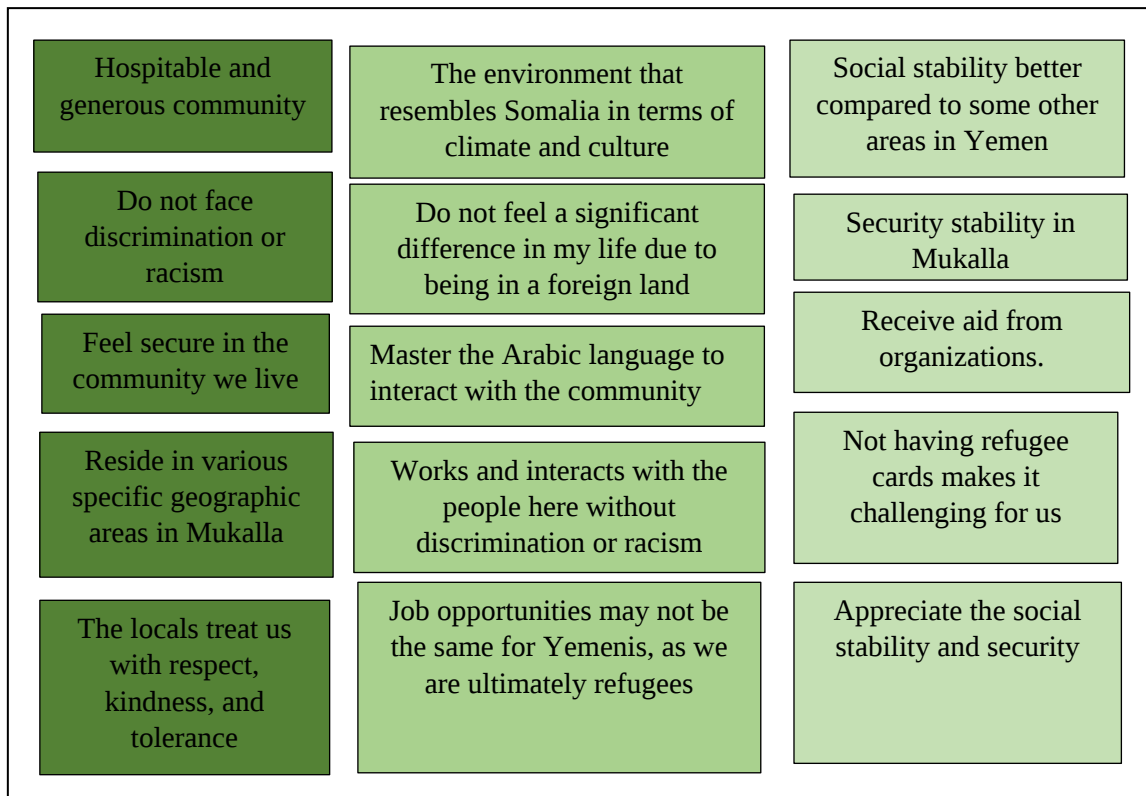


Figure 11: Key Words of the Participants' Answers about the Social Dimension

Source: This figure is made by the author.

To clarify the key points from the participants' responses, it can be said that the Somali migrants prefer staying in Mukalla city due to the local community's tolerance and respect, residing in various places without discrimination or racism. Despite the scarcity of job opportunities with local traders, the social stability and general safety have created a positive image for the Somali migrants to stay in the city. Additionally, the similar climate and cultural environment between Somalia and the city of Mukalla contribute to this preference for continued residence.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This thesis particularly aims to explore the factors that led the Somali immigrants to prefer staying in Mukalla city of Hadhramaut Governorate in Yemen over going back to Somalia, especially by focusing on the answers of the interviewee Somalis in Mukalla city. As it was mentioned previously, this thesis starts with shedding light on the background of the Somali issue. In the same context, it took an overview of the Yemeni Crisis since 2015 and how Yemen being a war zone that led Yemeni people to flee inside and outside of the country, moreover the background went depth to Mukalla city's situation due to its place of the targeted Somali immigrants who stayed at.

The fundamental question of the thesis aimed at uncovering the factors influencing Somali immigrants' preference to remain in the city. Accordingly, the literature review summarized and blended the history of the migration and forced migration, and the main factors of forced migration. Then it has gone to one of the primary factors of migration which war and its impact on forced migration, after that it mentioned the Somali migrants in Yemen and the war in Somalia as a general overview. Last but not the least, it has showed to where did the Somalis migrated around the world, and finally the Somali migrants in Yemen and their situation.

There were various limitations that faced the researcher while collected the information of the Somali immigrants such as requesting information about the situation of the Somali immigrants. Unfortunately, one of the organizations that work in that field, INTERSOS Foundation, declined to share any information. Also, the difficulty in accessing participants, time constraints, the high cost of traveling to and from Yemen limited the researcher to reach more detailed conclusions about the topic. Furthermore, the limited number of participants in the sample, which was completed through online interviews, puts restraints on the results of the thesis.

This thesis utilized the thematic analysis method, which has various applications in social sciences. Information related to the research question was gathered from Somali immigrants via face-to-face interviews or online. The data was then organized into distinct categories

aligned with political, economic, or social factors, then aligned with the conflict theory of migration and its two characteristics, the material and non-material human insecurity. Each factor was assigned a specific sub factor, then the code to determine actionable insights from participants' responses. Subsequently, these responses were examined to clarify the two main characteristics of the theory of conflict, then compared the answers with the literature review, some of which corroborated the struggles faced by immigrants, while others diverged from participants' answers.

The researcher played a significant role in analyzing participants' responses alongside the literature review results using the conflict theory and employing a thematic analysis methodology. Ultimately, this approach led to the conclusion of the research, shedding light on the analysis of political, economic, and social factors that inclined the Somali immigrants to prefer staying in Mukalla city over returning to Somalia. The results indicated that the Somali immigrants favor stability in Mukalla city due to the following factors.

Politically, they perceive Mukalla city as a distinguished place by general security parameters, making it a more stable place for living environment compared to other cities. Additionally, their fear of tribal conflicts in Somalia postpones their return to their homeland. And approving the hypotheses of the thesis that the Somali migrants fleeing from the conflict based on the analysis of the study and according to the conflict theory, this signifies the absence of material human security in Somalia, leading migrants to prefer stability in the city, even though it might not be the optimal choice. Despite international reports indicating their severe struggles in their interactions.

Economically, the Somali immigrants face exclusion from city traders and business owners, including the Somali traders in Mukalla. This is evident in their limited integration into the workforce and the scarcity of opportunities for economic and trade assimilation within the Yemeni society. However, interviews conducted with them revealed that despite these challenges, their reliance on simple jobs and international aid has enabled them to stabilize in the city. There might be other undisclosed factors influencing their decisions that participants have not disclosed, requiring further exploration in future studies.

Socially, some international reports have highlighted that Yemen hosts thousands of Somali migrants in various regions of the country, some which have been facing exploitation upon arrival. However, upon reaching different regions in Yemen, such as Mukalla, they encountered a welcoming, hospitable, and tolerant community, as per their narratives. Additionally, they find many similarities with the Somali culture, making them prefer settling in the city, considering that it is also a coastal city. Thus, there is no tangible material or non-

material human security threat, according to the conflict theory, which has led Somali immigrants to prefer stability in the city and avoid the human security threats they experienced in Somalia. In this context, the researcher compiles all the keywords for each participant from the political, economic, and social factors, intending to present the outcome of the research.

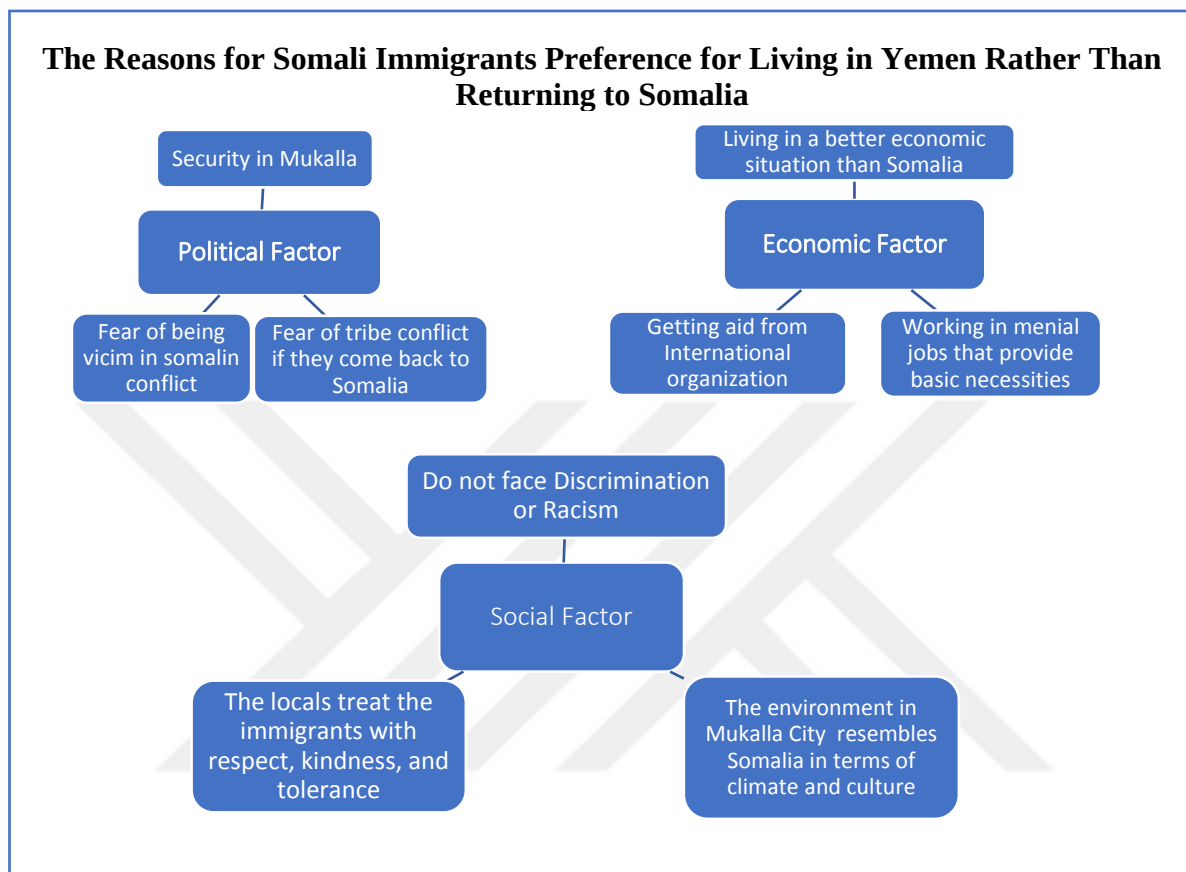


Figure 12: Result of the Thematic Analysis

Source: This figure is made by the author.

Finally, despite the limitations in the thesis topic and the aforementioned approach, the researcher supposes that this thesis has provided a somewhat fruitful explanation for the factors influencing the Somali immigrants' stay in the city of Mukalla by using thematic analysis of participant responses. Then the researcher examines the characteristics of the conflict theory in the analysis of the factors that led the Somali immigrants to stay in Mukalla city over going back to Somalia. While it is expected that there is still room for further research into other reasons and a more in-depth exploration of this phenomenon, the researcher hopes that this work will at least contribute to the development and increased use of thematic analysis, and the conflict theory in international relations field, particularly in migration studies. Additionally, it may assist in promoting the use of other standard methodologies in analyzing immigrants' decisions in various regions in general.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Ethics Committee Approval from Social Science University of Ankara

Karar: 96701

KARAR(ISSUE NUMBER): 24.11.2023/



T.C.
ANKARA SOSYAL BİLİMLER ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER ARAŞTIRMALARI
VE
BİLİMSEL YAYIN ETİK KURULU
(SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS COMMITTEE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
HUMANITIES RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION)

ETİK ONAY BELGESİ
(CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL)

Araştırma Yöntemi (Research Method)	Mülakat
Araştırmanın Adı (Study Title)	WHY SOMALI IMMIGRANTS PREFER SETTLING IN HADHRAMAUT OVER BACKING TO SOMALIA?
Sorumlu Araştırmacının Adı Soyadı (Principal Researcher Name Surname)	MUNEER KAWELH
Karar (Committee Decision)	UYGUNDUR

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. M. Hakan TÜRKÇAPAR
Başkan (Chair)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Ejder OKUMUŞ
Üye(Member)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Sutay YAVUZ
Üye(Member)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin BİLGE
Üye(Member)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Aslı AKAY
Üye(Member)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Mustafa ÇEVİK
Üye(Member)

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. İsmail ÇAKIR
Üye(Member)

Belge Takip Adresi : <https://turkiye.gov.tr/iddt/cK-5451&cD=BSP4KZNU12&cS=96701>

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

Appendix II: Information Sheet

“While Yemen considered as a war zone, why Somali immigrants prefer settling in Mukalla city, over back to Somalia?”

Dear Participants,

The researcher is conducting a study for a master thesis entitled “While Yemen considered as a war zone, why Somali immigrants prefer settling in Mukalla city, over back to Somalia?” under the supervision of. Prof. Dr. Muhittin Ataman. The purpose of this thesis is to clarify the factors behind this phenomenon particularly the political, economic and social factors that led the Somali migrants flee to Yemen and stay in it. To achieve this goal, I sincerely request your support and contribution towards the success of this interview by objectively responding to each of the statements contained in this interview, by specifying the option that corresponds to your views or answer if freely if there are no options. The information that will be obtained from you will be used for purely scientific purposes and will be treated with extreme confidentiality.

Thanks for your valuable contributions.

Sincerely,

Researcher

Appendix III: Interview Questions

Section 1: Personal Information

- 1- Your name?
- 2- What is your age?
- 3- What is your gender?
- 4- How many years have you been in Yemen, or do you birth in Yemen?

Section 2: Political Factor

- 5- What are the main political factors that let you prefer to stay in Mukalla?
- 6- Have you been faced any discrimination in daily life?

Section.3: Economic Factor

- 7- What are the main economic factors that let you prefer stay in Mukalla
- 8- Do you work in a private Yemeni entity, or do you have private business?

Section 4: Social Factor

- 9- What are the main social factors that let you prefer to stay in Mukalla city?
- 10- According to your experience since you live in Mukalla city, do you feel that there is racial discrimination against immigrants?
- 11- Have you been able to assimilate yourself to society in Mukalla city?
- 12- Do you live in a neighborhood that is full of Yemenis or do you have a special area?

Appendix IV: Information of Participants

No	Code of participants	age	Sex	Year of coming to Yemen	Birth in Yemen	Type of interviews
P1	P.1, M, 17, F	17	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P2	P.2, M, 42, F	42	Male	1998	No	Face to face
P3	P.3, M, 29, F	29	Male	2001	No	Face to face
P4	P.4, M, 25, F	25	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P5	P.5, M, 34, F	34	Male	1999	No	Face to face
P6	P.6, M, 22, F	22	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P7	P.7, M, 26, F	26	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P8	P.8, M, 28, F	28	Male	2005	No	Face to face
P9	P.9, M, 26, F	26	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P10	P.10, M, 35, F	35	Male	2002	No	Face to face
P11	P.11, M, 33, F	33	Male	2002	No	Face to face
P12	P.12, M, 39, F	39	Male	1999	No	Face to face
P13	P.13, M, 40, F	40	Male	1998	No	Face to face
P14	P.14, M, 29, F	29	Male	2001	No	Face to face
P15	P.15, M, 24, F	24	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P16	P.16, M, 19, F	19	Male	-	Yes	Face to face
P17	P.17, F, 21, G	21	Female	-	Yes	Google Meet
P18	P.18, F, 18, G	18	Female	-	Yes	Google Meet
P19	P.19, F, 28, G	28	Female	-	Yes	Google Meet
P20	P.20, M, 26, G	26	Male	-	Yes	Google Meet
P21	P.21, F, 22, G	22	Female	-	Yes	Google Meet
P22	P.22, F, 20, G	20	Female	-	Yes	Google Meet
P23	P.23, M, 27, G	27	Male	2003	No	Google Meet
P24	P.24, M, 30, G	30	Male	2000	No	Google Meet
P25	P.25, M, 25, G	25	Male	2006	No	Google Meet
P26	P.26, M, 25, G	25	Male	2006	No	Google Meet