

NOVEMBER 2021



Livelihood Components of Durable Solutions for IDPs: Assessment of three cases in Somali Region, Ethiopia

A FEINSTEIN INTERNATIONAL CENTER PUBLICATION 

Abdirahman Ahmed Muhumed, Elizabeth Stites, Elizabeth Alexion, Delia Burns

Tufts
UNIVERSITY

FRIEDMAN SCHOOL OF
NUTRITION SCIENCE AND POLICY

Feinstein
International Center



Food and Agriculture
Organization of the
United Nations

Cover photo: Male elders of displaced community, Goljano
Photo credits: Abdirahman Ahmed Muhumed

Citation: Abdirahman Ahmed Muhumed, Elizabeth Stites, Elizabeth Alexion, Delia Burns (2021).
“Livelihood Components of Durable Solutions for IDPs: Assessment of three cases in Somali Region, Ethiopia” Boston, MA: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.

Corresponding author: Elizabeth Stites
Corresponding author email: Elizabeth.Stites@tufts.edu

This assessment report was funded by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Copyright 2021 Tufts University, all rights reserved.
“Tufts University” is a registered trademark and may not be reproduced apart from its inclusion in this work without permission from its owner.

Feinstein International Center

75 Kneeland Street, 8th Floor
Boston, MA 02111 USA
Tel: +1 617.627.3423
Twitter: @FeinsteinIntCen
fic.tufts.edu

Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Executive summary	2
Introduction	4
Background	4
Methodology	5
Limitations	6
Context of displacement	6
Overview of study sites	7
Findings	11
Livelihoods	11
Livelihoods at the place of origin	11
Livelihoods at the current location	12
<i>Tuliguled</i>	12
<i>Goljano</i>	13
<i>Adadle</i>	13
Market situation	14
Challenges	14
Policy environment	14
Lack of financial capital	15
Service gaps	15
Relations with host communities	15
Interactions between displaced and host communities	16
Assistance and support provided by host communities to the displaced	17
Impacts of the presence of the IDPs on host community	18
Services and interventions	19
Discussion: Analysis of the success of the durable solutions in the three cases	20
Relocation: Goljano	20
Return: Tuliguled	21
Local integration: Adadle	22
Conclusions, implications and recommendations	24
Gaps in research and knowledge	24
Policy and programmatic recommendations	25
Translating Policies into Action	26
Addressing Root Causes	26
Sources	28

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for their support and partnership. Within FAO we were extremely fortunate to have the partnership of Emmanuella Olesambu and the assistance of Faisal Abdi. We are very grateful to the field team members for their work in the three assessment sites: Ahmed Mahamud Bade, Mohamed Abdi Sigale and Hamda Hassen Almis. We appreciate the assistance of Mohamed Hassen, the Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) case team leader of the of the Somali Region Disaster Risk Management Bureau (DRMB). At Tufts University we are very grateful for the support of Fasil Yemene of the Tufts Addis Ababa office. Lastly, we thank all of the respondents who participated in this assessment.

Executive summary

This paper is part of the Durable Solutions Initiative (DSI) in Ethiopia and an assessment exercise undertaken by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Organization of Migration (IOM), and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN Habitat). In partnership with FAO, the Feinstein International Center (FIC) of the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University assessed livelihood options, opportunities and challenges for displaced communities in three locations in Somali Region, Ethiopia.

The assessment aimed to better understanding the livelihood context to inform programming and policy making around durable solutions for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host communities. The assessment took place in three locations, each serving as a case study to highlight a different durable solution, namely local integration, relocation, and return.

The three case study sites are Tuliguled woreda (Fafan Zone), Goljano woreda (Fafan Zone) and Adadle woreda (Shabelle zone), all within the Somali Region. The team of Ethiopian researchers, all native Somali-speakers, collected data using qualitative techniques including focus group discussions, key informant interviews with local leaders, and semi-structured individual interviews with men and women from the displaced and host communities. Data was translated into English, transcribed, and entered in Dedoose qualitative software where we used inductive and deductive coding to facilitate analysis. In total, 49 separate interviews were analyzed from the three locations.

At the time this assessment began in early 2021, the Somali Region hosted 844, 642 IDPs, almost entirely Somali in ethnicity. Conflict (both inter-ethnic and inter-clan) and climate shocks (mainly drought) are the primary drivers of displacement. The main livelihood activities of the displaced communities in their place of origins fall into the broad categories of cropping, livestock production, and small-scale trade. Some communities, such as those displaced

from highly fertile areas in Oromia region, were primarily engaged in cultivation of subsistence and cash crops. Those displaced from Tuliguled due to inter-clan violence specialized in agro-pastoralism; those displaced due to droughts in Adadle woreda specialized in pastoralism.

For most respondents, displacement upended their existing livelihoods. This was due to loss of access to assets, including land, livestock, and financial and social capital. Many IDPs reported surviving primarily from the generosity of host communities and humanitarian assistance from government and international organizations. While some respondents reported obtaining income or subsistence from crops, livestock or petty trade, most were not able to translate these activities into sustainable livelihood strategies. This was due to lack of access to land, absence of start-up capital, continuing conflict and insecurity, or recurring drought conditions.

Relations between host and IDP communities were consistently described as smooth and positive, in part due to shared linguistic, ethnic and (often) clan affiliations. Host community members were sympathetic to the experiences and conditions of the IDPs and, by and large, provided as much assistance to the displaced populations as they were able. In most instances, host communities and IDPs shared existing services, including schools, health facilities, and water points. This additional usage placed stress upon these services, many of which were already limited prior to the arrival of the IDPs. Access to land for livelihood activities such as crop farming and animal production was listed as a major problem in two of the sites.

The three cases of durable solutions examined in this assessment (local integration, relocation, and return) are all examples of partial success. While IDPs are living peacefully with host communities, additional effort is needed if livelihoods for both hosts and IDPs are to be sustainable over the longer term. This will require a concerted effort to support the displaced in the initial establishment of livelihood activities

(such as through start-up capital and secure access to land) and expansion of services such as health and education facilities. In addition, information and transparency is critical to managing expectations and mitigating potential areas of tension (such as over shared resources and services) between and among populations already living in a difficult environment. From a policy perspective, participatory efforts at drought management and mitigation, proper management and support for pastoralism, access to veterinary support services, and conflict resolution efforts at the federal, regional and local level are essential to the longer-term success and prosperity of the Somali Region.

Introduction

Background

The Federal Government of Ethiopia has made numerous efforts to develop and improve solutions for internal displacement, including through establishing the Durable Solutions Working Group (DSWG) in 2014 and the Durable Solutions Initiative in 2019.¹ The DSI was designed to provide a principled operational framework for durable solutions and shape multi-sectoral and collective programs of return, relocation and local integration of IDPs. In 2020, the Government of the Somali Regional State established the Durable Solution Steering Committee comprised of government entities, UN agencies, NGOs and community representatives in order to strengthen coordination and develop a “menu of options” for IDPs in the region. The menu includes relocation to both urban and rural areas; local integration; financial, material and technical support; and transforming IDP sites into urban and industrial areas.²

This assessment is one part of a larger joint assessment carried out by IOM, UN-HABITAT and FAO to inform a multi-agency proposal for a program to deliver durable solutions for displaced persons in Somali Region and elsewhere in Ethiopia. It aims to better understand the livelihood context to inform programming and policy making around durable solutions for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host communities. FAO and the Feinstein International Center (FIC) of the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University (Addis Ababa and Boston) worked together on an assessment of the livelihood requirements for durable solutions for IDPs in three locations in Somali region: Tuliguled woreda (Fafan Zone), Goljano woreda (Fafan Zone), and Adadle woreda (Shabelle zone). These three sites represent, respectively, cases of return, relocation and local integration; although the discussion will show that the situation often transcends simple categorization. A team of experienced consultants based in Jigjiga worked closely with the FAO and Tufts teams.

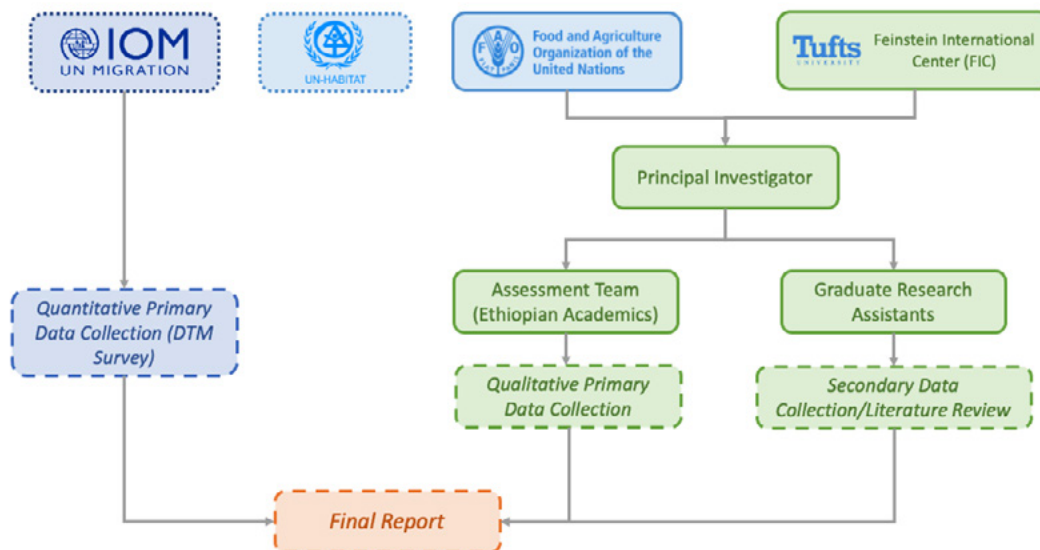
¹ Government of Ethiopia Ministry of Peace & UN Ethiopia (2019), “Ethiopia: Durable Solutions Initiative,” unpublished document.

² Somali Regional State Disaster Risk Management Bureau, “Plan for Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons in Somali Region: A Menu of Options for IDPs,” March 2020, 4.

Methodology

The assessment entails primary qualitative data collection and analysis of existing quantitative data collected by IOM (as part of IOM's regular displacement tracking matrix, or DTM). Secondary sources of data were also utilized. A team of Ethiopian academics collected the primary data using qualitative data collection techniques in the three case study locations in April and May 2021. Techniques of data collection included focus group discussions, individual semi-structured interviews, and key informant interviews with local administrators and community leaders in Tuliguled, Goljano, and Adadle, and at the regional level (Jigjiga). Interviews were conducted in the Somali language and translated and transcribed into English. The team used Dedoose qualitative software to apply directed content analysis using inductive and deductive codes. Forty-nine interviews were included for analysis.

In addition, two graduate students from Tufts University worked with the Principal Investigator on a literature review of academic and grey literature on displacement and livelihood conditions in Ethiopia (see graphic below). Based on the existing body of research and knowledge on Ethiopia, the review addresses how people's livelihoods are impacted by displacement; what interventions are in place to address poverty, food insecurity, and resource scarcity; and lessons learned about the three durable solutions (resettlement, local integration, and return). This literature review accompanies this report as a separate output.



Limitations

Limitations to this study include the narrow timeframe for the assessment, the COVID-19 pandemic which prevented the Principal Investigator from traveling to the field, and gaps in the study design (influenced by the first two factors). The most substantial limitations with the study design relate to the sampling frame. First, the team lacked adequate time and resources to include comparison groups who did not benefit from the interventions in our study population. For example, we would have liked to interview those who did not return within Tuliguled, those who wished to return but were not included in the relocation from Qoloji camp to Goljano, and those who remained at the place of origin in Adadle. Second, we unfortunately lack sex- and age-disaggregated data. This was due to the small sample size, the mostly male research team, and the inability of the principal investigator to travel to engage in more rigorous training and first-hand data collection. This means that we lack information on how intra-household roles, responsibilities and challenges change with displacement and durable solutions, and how programmers and policy makers might better design programs and policies in response to these shifts. Third, given time constraints, we selected respondents purely based on convenience sampling. This may have introduced biases into the data in regard to who was or was not available to speak, who was aware of the research team's visit, who lived near the site where the team disembarked from the vehicle, and so on. Lastly, the sample is very small and hence in no way purports to provide a complete picture of the situation of durable solutions for IDPs in the Somali region. While these limitations are substantial, we are confident in the data we do have. The analysis presented here offers insights and adds nuance to the discussion of sustainable livelihoods as a component of durable solutions for displaced persons in the Somali region. Furthermore, the triangulation of primary qualitative data with quantitative data provided by FAO, as well as a thorough review of secondary data, provides reinforcement and correction to primary qualitative data analysis.

³ IOM DTM (September 2021), "Ethiopia National Displacement Report 9: Site Assessment Round 26 & Village Assessment Survey Round 9: June-July 2021." Addis Ababa: International Organization of Migration, September 24, 2021.

⁴ IOM DTM (April 2021). "Ethiopia National Displacement Report 7: Site Assessment Round 24 & Village Assessment Survey Round 7: December 2020-January 2021." Addis Ababa: International Organization for Migration, April 6, 2021.

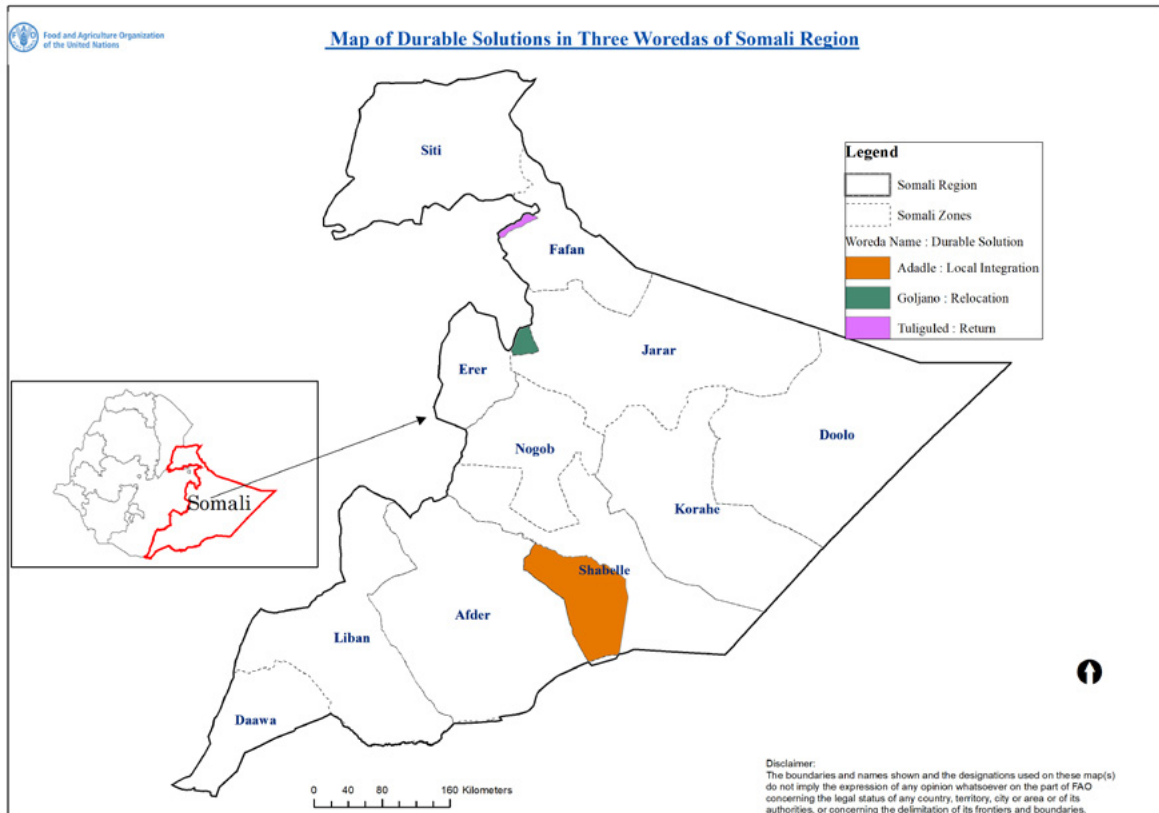
Context of displacement

Ethiopia hosts one of the highest numbers of IDPs globally, with 4.17 million identified in an IOM assessment in July 2021 (the most recently available data at the time of finalization of this report).³ Data from IOM indicate that as of April 2021, 828,125 individuals are internally displaced in the Somali region, the majority of whom left their homes due to conflict and climatic shocks.⁴ Previously relatively low, these numbers rose rapidly after 2016 due to ethnic tensions and ensuing violent conflict between the Somali and Oromia regional states, which led to the displacement of unprecedented numbers of people in the two regions, primarily across the extended shared border. Many have also been displaced due to changing climates and environmental shocks. In 2017, prolonged and severe drought caused widespread livestock and other livelihood loss for many pastoralist and agro-pastoralist populations in the region, leading many to relocate in search of assistance and new opportunities. The displacement situation in Somali region reached a peak during early to mid-2019, but has since stabilized with the number of IDPs gradually decreasing as people return to their previous locations. Populations displaced by drought are primarily in the interior zones of Korahey, Shabelle, and Doollo, as well as Sitti and Jarar zones. Conflict-induced IDPs are clustered mostly along the frontier areas of Somali – Oromia border. They are mainly hosted in Fafan, Dawa, Liban and Afder zones, which border Oromia.

Overview of study sites

In line with the agreement by the three UN agencies, we collected data in three sites in Somali region. These include Tuliguled and Goljano woredas of Fafan zone and Adadle woreda of Shabelle zone. These three woredas are home to IDPs who fall into

different categories of durable solutions: returnees (Tuliguled), relocated (Goljaano), and locally integrated (Adadle). In each of these locations, the assessment sought to understand livelihood systems from the perspective of both the displaced and host communities. Additional analysis drawn from IOM's quantitative data is included in the text box below.



Analysis of Quantitative Data

This section compares the available data from two of the case studies covered in this report to the aggregate of 408 displacement sites in the Somali region and 1222 sites in Ethiopia (excluding Tigray) using data from IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM). Round 24 was conducted between December 2020 and January 2021. The two case study sites discussed here are Adadle Town (Shabelle zone) and two kebeles sampled as part of the Tuliguled case (Sariirta and Tuliguled town, both in Fafan zone; for the purposes of this discussion we refer to these two kebeles as "Tuliguled," but disaggregate the findings when and where relevant). The third case discussed in this report, Goljano in Fafan zone, is not included in the DTM analysis. Goljano is a relocation site as opposed to a site of initial displacement, the latter which the DTM covers.

Factors preventing return

Survey respondents in Adadle and Tuliguled study sites cited lack of food, damaged/destroyed housing, and lack of livelihood as the primary factors preventing IDPs from returning, which is consistent with the top factors listed across all sites in Somali. In Tuliguled town, lack of safety/security was also listed. Lack of access to places of origin due to conflict was an additional concern for respondents in Sariirta and Tuliguled town.

Food security and market access

In 79 percent of sites in Somali Region, food assistance was the primary means in which IDPs obtained food since the last survey round, which took place in August and September 2020. This was also true in the two case study sites, where at least half of IDP households reportedly received food assistance. In the two case study sites, IDPs do have access to a market, compared with only 36 percent of IDPs across all Somali sites. However, IDPs often are unable to buy what they need at the market due to high prices and low purchasing power.

Housing, land and property

In Adadle and Tuliguled town, at least one quarter of households live in standard temporary shelters built with distributed or purchased materials. This rate was higher in Sariirta (50-75%). The second most common shelter was individual household shelters in the case study sites. In 82 percent of all sites in Somali, no support was available to IDPs regarding housing, land and property claims; this was also the case in the Tuliguled kebeles. Social or affordable housing was available in only 5 percent of sites, including Adadle town.

Livelihoods

The average percentage of displaced households who currently have a source of income is 15.5 percent across all IDP sites in Ethiopia, and only 5.7 percent for sites in Somali region. In Adadle this rate is higher (23 percent), while it is significantly lower in Sariirta (2 percent) and Tuliguled town (3 percent). Across all IDP sites in Somali, the primary occupation for a majority of displaced households is pastoralism (64 percent of IDP sites), followed by agro-pastoralism (25 percent), collecting firewood (5 percent), daily labor (4 percent) and farming (3 percent). The primary occupation for the majority of displaced households in the Adadle site is pastoralism. For displaced households in Tuliguled, agro-pastoralism is the primary occupation.

While there is livestock in Tuliguled, only 3 percent of households own livestock in this location, compared with an average of 10 percent of households across all sites where livestock is present (74 percent of all IDP sites in Somali). All households in the two case study sites were estimated to have lost resources or assets, including cattle, sheep, camels, and goats. Households in Tuliguled also lost crops or seeds, businesses and donkeys. This is consistent with the average of 89 percent of households that reportedly lost resources or assets during displacement across all Somali sites.

Forty-three percent of IDP sites surveyed in Somali region reported that access to land was required for the livelihood practice of the majority of IDPs. In Tuliguled, where respondents reported that access to land is required for livelihoods, less than half of IDPs report having access to land. The average size of the land per household in Sariirta and Tuliguled town is only 0.1 and 0.3 hectares, respectively. The most commonly cited obstacle to land access for IDPs in all Somali sites, as well as in our two case study sites, was that land was physically unavailable to IDPs, followed by “authority in charge of land administration is not taking a decision on the allocation of land” (also true in Tuliguled, but not Adadle). Although most sites (81 percent of all Somali sites) reported no disputes over land and property, 18 percent, including Adadle town, mentioned that housing, land and property disputes did occur.

Livelihood support needed

Across all sites in Somali Region, 98 percent of respondents reported that economic opportunities were the greatest need for IDPs to resolve their displacement situation, followed by the restoration of lost assets and greater availability of services. These three needs were also cited as top priorities in each of the case study sites. In Adadle and Tuliguled towns, respondents said that there was currently access to income generating activities, although these services are not accessible to women in Tuliguled. Such opportunities are uncommon across all IDP sites surveyed—only 11 percent of IDP sites in Somali had access to income generating activities. Tuliguled town is one of a small handful of sites where a microfinance program provided by the UN was available. Twenty-five percent of IDPs received vegetable seeds in Sariirta, which was one of only 13 sites in Ethiopia where seeds were provided to IDPs.

Tuliguled is home to two main populations of interest. The first are returnees who were displaced from their homes due to inter-clan conflict between the Gari and Jarso clans in 2016 and 2017. This population began to return to their original homes in Tuliguled town in 2020. However, inter-clan conflict continues to simmer in a number of locations, and not all those displaced by the inter-clan fighting have been able to return. Tuliguled also hosts IDPs who were displaced from frontier areas of the Somali and Oromia regions (mainly from Belbelti woreda in West Hararghe zone) following ethnic tensions and clashes along the regional border starting in 2016. A key informant in Tuliguled described the situation:

These IDPs were displaced for more than three years now. Most of them were displaced by conflict between two clans who

live in Tuli. But also, there are others who were displaced by the conflict between Somali and Oromo.

Those who were displaced from Oromia are reluctant to return. Most have chosen to stay in their current locations due both to their relative peace and clan ties to these locations. Some IDPs also hope to be able to establish livelihoods at these sites, as explained by a female respondent in Sariir-Garaad kebele:

This area was peaceful and secure at that time, and in addition, the people in this area are from our clan. This area was green--we thought our small animals [livestock] could adapt to this. Also, we thought we could make charcoal as a way to generate income. That is why we selected to live here.

Similarly, another female informant interviewed in Tuliguled explained that security and proximity to assistance were the primary reasons for settling in Tuliguled:

When that conflict and war started, we decided to look for a place where we felt secure. This was the first place that we believed was secure for ourselves and our children. In addition, this area is near the road so we decided to settle here because there might be different organizations and NGOs to meet us around the road and we can be supported. But we don't have any support so far.

The IDPs in Goljano were beneficiaries of a government relocation scheme. Initially displaced from Oromia region due to conflict, they had lived in Qoloji IDP camp for two to three years before being relocated. The government constructed houses for families who were to move from Qoloji. Clan ties to the Goljano host community was the selection criteria for the original 200 relocated households. However, an additional 205 households opted to spontaneously relocate.⁵ As a result, each two-room house built for one family is hosting two, most of whom have few to no income opportunities.

In contrast to the sites described above, IDPs in Adadle left their place of origin due to drought resulting from two consecutive seasons of failed rains. While pastoralists are well adapted to managing single-year droughts and seasonal and spatial fluctuations in rainfall, multiple-year droughts place extreme stress on their ability to recover, and often lead to substantial livestock loss, increased human mortality and acute malnutrition.⁶ The two seasons of failed rains displaced pastoralists in multiple parts of Somali region, including locations in Qorahey, Shabelle, Doollo and Sitti Zones.

IDP respondents in Adadle reported that, after losing all their livestock, they went to the nearest place they knew of for assistance. IDPs prioritized areas where they had clan ties, as explained by a displaced male respondent:

Our kebeles are under this area and this was the nearest town. By the time drought occurred in [our home] area, we had lost everything we had, and we couldn't travel a long distance at that time. In addition to this we have a close relationship to the people in this area.

Clan members provide an important form of social capital and have been able to support drought-induced IDPs in Adadle and numerous other locations. The resources of the host community are often meager, but respondents spoke of the consistent generosity of their hosts. In the case of Adadle, many of the IDPs had direct personal relationships with their hosts through family ties or interactions over the years in the town. In contrast, those who came from Oromia to Tuliguled or Goljano were unlikely to personally know members of the host community. Even so, settling among clan members is often a means of guaranteeing security and support.

The next section details the findings of the assessment and includes sub-sections on livelihoods at the place of origin and current locations, the challenges to achieving sustainable livelihoods, relations between the host and IDPs, and access to services and the presence of interventions. The findings section is followed by a discussion section which analyzes the extent of success of the durable solutions in the three different case studies. The last section includes conclusions, implications and recommendations.

⁵ Durable Solutions Working Group (DSWG) (2020), "Site level Report- Assessment on IDPs Relocation Sites in Siti, Fafa, Jarar, Korahey, Nogob & Shabele zones," Durable Solution Working Group, Somali Region, 26 Dec-4 Jan 2020, unpublished document.

⁶ J.E. Ellis, and David M. Swift (1988), "Stability of African Pastoral Ecosystems: Alternate Paradigms and Implications for Development," *Journal of Range Management* 41 (6): 450-59.

Findings

Livelihoods

Livelihoods at the place of origin

As described earlier, the main drivers of displacement in the Somali Region are conflict and climatic shocks, especially drought. Most of the conflict-induced IDPs in the Somali Region have been displaced due to tensions over political, natural and economic resources occurring along ethnic lines. Prior to displacement, many of those who migrated from Oromia relied on crop farming, businesses (for those in urban settings) and livestock production. Those who fled Tuliguled town due to inter-clan tensions lost access to their fields and agricultural inputs, previously present in a place that had been, according to a key informant, “one of the largest wheat producers in the region.”

One of the most immediate impacts of conflict-induced displacement was the loss of productive assets. As a local authority in Goljano explained, “These IDPs used to be agrarians, pastoralists and even business people. Now they don’t have anything.” Prior to displacement, household livelihood opportunities were often diverse and varied by season, including work in the service sector (e.g., salaried staff such as teachers), business, charcoal making and beekeeping. As described by a female IDP interviewed in Tuliguled:

Back in our previous style of living, there were not such fixed things for a family to feed on. It was, rather, a mixed style of living. During the rainy seasons, most of the families used the lands to cultivate. In the dry seasons, people used any means to remain firm and feed their families. For instance, some families traded charcoal in that dry season; others did some kind of trading of other things.

Respondents who were displaced to Adadle reported relying primarily on livestock at their place of origin. While many of the displaced respondents in Tuliguled and Goljano reported having diverse skills, many of those in Adadle had skills specific to livestock production, as pastoralism formed the basis for all aspects of their lives. A male IDP interviewed in Adadle described his previous livelihood as follows:

Before we were displaced, we had different kinds of animals. We had goats, sheep, and camels—this was our main livelihood from which we were generating our income and we were independent. If we needed to purchase something from the market, we used to take animals to the market and sell them, and after that we used the money to purchase what we needed. We had a good way of living, but we have lost everything we had.

Overall, three main livelihood activities listed by respondents prior to displacement were cultivation (for both subsistence and sale of crops), livestock production, and petty trade. Numerous other activities—such as beekeeping—also existed. We can assume that women and children also engaged in a myriad of livelihood activities that both supported their households and brought in income, including firewood collection, charcoal making, natural resource collection and sale, water carrying, and a range of other domestic and reproductive duties. Unfortunately, we lack information on how displacement may have affected these gendered and generational roles and responsibilities.

Livelihoods at the current location

According to the Somali Region Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED), the majority of the population of the Somali region are pastoralists and agro-pastoralists whose livelihoods depend on livestock and some cultivation. The livelihood zones of the region can be categorized into pastoral, agro-pastoral, riverine and sedentary farming. Prime income sources in these zones include sale of livestock and livestock products, crop sales, and petty trade.⁷

Tuliguled

Cultivation and crop production form the main livelihood systems for residents of Tuliguled due to the availability of arable land with rich soils. Respondents indicated that livestock marketing represents the second most important livelihood activity, especially the purchase and fattening of animals for resale. According to a male key informant interviewed in Tuliguled:

[Most] of the people in this area were dependent on farming and cultivating the land. As we know, this area is very fertile for agricultural production, particularly wheat and sorghum. In addition, the people in this area are rearing different animals on which they depend, mostly sheep, goats and cattle.

Despite these natural resources, IDPs in Tuliguled report relying mainly on humanitarian assistance and support they receive from the host community. There were attempts by the government and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) to provide cultivation support to IDPs by way of seeds and other inputs. A variety of factors stymied these efforts, including on-going inter-clan conflict, the desert locust infestation, and poor rainfall. In the words of a male respondent in Tuliguled:

The farm is what our livelihoods mainly depend on: farm, cultivate and manage that production. But this year that has changed. In previous times what we were producing was enough for us and it was dependable and sustainable. But the shortage of rain and the Desert Locusts have had a big effect on our harvest. Nothing has been produced this year.

Apart from agriculture and livestock, respondents mentioned petty trade as a significant livelihood activity for many people in Tuliguled. Tuliguled is the largest town in the woreda, and hence many people come from the surrounding kebeles to purchase crops, livestock products, and other food items. Local residents are able to benefit from this trade, as explained by a male key informant: "Some people open small shops inside the kebele and then sell basic needed materials. From this they can generate some small money."

The IDPs who were displaced from Tuliguled due to inter-clan conflict lost a great deal of productive livelihood assets and describe a struggle to recover. In addition, there are fears that tensions could escalate in the future and further threaten sustainable livelihoods. According to a male IDP interviewed in Tuliguled:

There is no other factor which is a barrier or challenge to our livelihoods except the conflict between the two communities. This clan-based conflict is threatening our resettlement and livelihood system. It could happen while we are in our farms and people might easily die. There are some people whose beloved family members have died, and they are still angry for that. It is the conflict that is threatening the long-term settlement and livelihood plans.

⁷ Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED), "Somali Regional State, Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II) (2015/16-2019/20)", BoFED Jigjiga, December 2015. Available at: <https://srbofed.gov.et/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/GTP-II-final-document-ready-for-Publication.pdf>

Goljano

According to respondents, ongoing conflicts over the last 30 years led many local residents in Goljano to abandon their traditional cultivation livelihoods in favor of pastoral production. Today, despite having access to fertile land in the area, reportedly few are engaged in crop production. One of the local authorities interviewed in Goljano explained the local livelihoods as follows:

Most of the people here are pastoralists and to some extent agricultural... A small proportion of them rely on petty trade. But now the new asphalt [road] can be a potential source of businesses. Other than that, if there is a drought, it affects the livelihoods of this community as their livelihoods emanate from livestock and agriculture.

IDPs relocated to Goljano in recent years have been provided housing but continue to rely heavily on humanitarian food aid. Hailing from a predominately crop farming area of West Hararghe, they have strong farming skills and a desire to cultivate. However, they have not obtained access to land from the host community. This was a source of frustration for several IDPs, as noted by one key informant: "Although everyone has a vast land for nothing, they were not willing to share land with the IDPs. Some of them offered a mountainous area that is not conducive to cultivation."

A number of IDPs report growing kitchen gardens in the small plots of land adjacent to their homes, and others engage in traditional honey production. The livelihood preferences of this relocated population were described by a local authority: "IDPs relocated in Goljano know cash crop production very well... They are also planting trees in their homes unlike the host community that cuts down the trees." Another key informant interviewed in Goljano described how the IDPs were trading fruits and vegetables that they had grown in their kitchen gardens. He said, "If you go and visit their homes, you will admire how [good] at farming they are. They even plant trees in the small house yards." Given these skills, many IDPs pointed out that they would be able to support themselves if they had access to farmland. A focus group

of male IDPs described, "We started small gardens and have farmed a lot of vegetables. This shows how much we can farm if larger areas are given to us."

Economic activities in Goljano are likely to expand due to the newly constructed paved road that passes through the area. A number of respondents reported starting up services and small enterprises in advance of an expected increase in demand. These included working in restaurants and barbershops and engaging in petty trade and dairy cooperatives.

Adadle

Livestock production is the main livelihood for the population of Adadle, followed by petty trade. The area's low and variable annual rainfall is not sufficient for crop farming, although some people are able to plant on the flood plains of the Shabelle River, about 18 kilometers from the town. Some respondents reported the availability of manual labor jobs, especially construction, in the growing town area. Others work in government offices.

Locally integrated IDPs in Adadle come from relatively nearby areas and are engaged in pastoral production. Skill sets mostly involve animal husbandry. The small size of Adadle town poses a challenge for those looking to start up new forms of livelihood activities. Respondents who reported working were mostly doing manual labor, including using donkey carts (owned or hired) to carry loads of soil and stones to construction sites. IOM has supported some people in the IDP site (known as Farburo) to start small businesses. Respondents felt that those who participated in these projects had become relatively better off compared to the rest of the IDPs. A male IDP leader in Farburo explained, "IOM has also distributed a few donkey carts for the IDPs, and they rely on that as their livelihood source. Some livestock distributions and establishing of small businesses were also carried out. Those in this group are now better off compared to the majority of other IDPs in the camp."

Market situation

Access to markets differed across the three sites. In all three sites, there are small markets that provide some food items (including tea, vegetables and sugar), clothes, school supplies, basic medicines, cooking utensils, shoes, and other household items. All items, however, appear to be available only in small quantities. When items are unable in local markets, most respondents reported being able to find them in nearby towns (i.e., Jigjiga for Tuliguled, Babile for Goljan and Gode for Adadle). The small local markets tend to be active every day, and tea shops are a common form of business. Nevertheless, a small surrounding population and low demand limits these markets' capacity to absorb additional supply or to support new businesses.

Tuliguled serves as a market center for a number of surrounding kebeles, and residents are able to take advantage of purchase and sale opportunities. Tuliguled does not have a livestock market—a point raised by a number of respondents—but is relatively close to livestock markets in Gursum, Jigjiga and Lafa'ise. A number of respondents spoke of the opportunities related to cooperatives, especially for women and youth.

With regard to the market situation, Goljano appears to be the most disadvantaged of the three sites. Goljano also does not have a livestock market, even though sale of livestock and livestock products is reported by respondents as the main source of income. The nearest livestock market is in Babile, and people take livestock products from Goljano to Gursum and Jigjiga as well. According to a local authority representative interviewed in Goljano, the construction of a livestock market is planned under the Lowland Livelihoods Resiliency Project (LLRP). As discussed above, a number of respondents felt that construction of the new asphalt road through the area would improve the market situation in Goljano.

Unlike Tuliguled and Goljano, Adadle has a livestock market, which serves as the main livestock market for a large number of surrounding kebeles. A key informant explained that greater engagement in the resale of livestock might be a viable livelihood opportunity for some of the displaced population:

Livestock marketing is a good opportunity. [Animals] can be sold in the market after fattening them. This can give us a chance to generate income. That is one thing we know how to do. Small shoats can be bought and fattened and then sold for a better price. Livestock management in the previous pastoral style is not sustainable.

Also, mainly in Adadle, IDPs reported some limited access to credit/loans from the host community. However, many IDPs said that they had difficulties repaying loans on time.

Challenges

Policy environment

In addition to the various challenges discussed in the above sections, the lack of effective and appropriate policies posed an over-arching obstacle to the adoption of successful and sustainable livelihoods. In particular, policies to promote security, resolve and prevent conflict, and minimize displacement mean that many root causes remain unresolved. This means, for instance, that the tensions along clan lines in Tuliguled continues even while some families have returned home. This insecurity and instability make recovery very difficult at the local level, as people fear a resumption of violence and are reluctant to fully invest in rebuilding productive lives. Community-based conflict resolution mechanisms, while present in some places, are apparently insufficient to stem further conflict.

Another significant policy challenge is the issue of land access for displaced, relocated, and returning IDPs. Although at the national level and as determined by the constitution, land belongs to the government and is accessed on a leased basis. However, the situation in Somali Region differs from this model, whereby land belongs primarily to individuals or clans, and only secondarily to the government. As a result, accessing land has been a significant challenge in, for instance, Goljano, where attempts by the local administration to secure land for allocation to IDPs were unsuccessful. As explained by a local authority in Goljano:

The problem is that the regional government relocated [IDPs] to this location but they were not given any livelihood source. For example, they don't have access to land. The land is owned by the host community members. We asked them to give plots of land to the IDPs but they were not willing to do so.

An additional policy challenge is that a majority of the public support in Ethiopia, including in the Somali Region, is tailored for cultivation, rather than pastoralist livelihoods. For example, public safety net programs provide seed distributions and agricultural training to poor households, rather than animal distributions and veterinary services. This lack of appropriate inputs is worsened by a pattern of inadequate services for the existing host communities of Somali Region, as discussed further below.

Local drought management tactics are insufficient in relation to the drought threat, which leads to further economic marginalization and underpins the phenomenon of drought-induced local displacement. The Ethiopian Government has adopted a Disaster Risk Management Plan, which provides for the establishment of committees at the kebele level consisting of both host and IDP members. These committees are expected to anticipate and plan for future shocks, especially climatic shocks that may severely affect production. Implementing such plans is essential to preparing for future climatic shocks, which are expected given recent changes in rainfall volatility and rising temperatures driven by climate change. The level of knowledge among the studied IDP and returnee communities regarding drought management techniques is not discernible from the data collected for this study, but is a potentially relevant topic for further examination.

Lack of financial capital

In addition to land, the lack of adequate financial capital is a major obstacle for IDPs attempting to establish new livelihoods or rebuild previous livelihood systems in the studied areas. IDPs had different ideas for businesses, including those related to cooperatives, livestock marketing and petty trade. In Adadle, IDPs mentioned owning donkey carts and engaging in petty trade as potentially good sources of income. In Goljano, respondents discussed

beekeeping, cafeterias, barbershops and other services as ideas for economic activities. While the desired activities differed, the lack of necessary start-up capital was consistent across most respondents.

It is crucial to consider market saturation in these small towns when contemplating the promotion of alternative livelihoods for displaced communities. These towns and markets serve relatively small catchment areas and can only support a limited number of actors in each sector. Hence, while donkey carts (for example) were touted by respondents in Adadle as a promising financial venture, it is unclear how many donkey carts the local economy can support before supply is greater than demand and the rates start to decrease. This holds true across all sectors—tea shops, barbers, seamstresses, livestock cooperatives, dairy cooperatives, etc. To be successful, thorough market assessments are required prior to any interventions around skills trainings, provision of start-up capital, etc. Entities such as cooperatives need to include systems to connect them to larger markets outside of the immediate area.

Service gaps

Lastly, absence of adequate expansion of services (such as health facilities, schools, and public water sources) was a challenge affecting both IDPs and the host communities. The host communities not only provide the bulk of material assistance to the displaced but also share their existing services. While the host community respondents described a willingness to support their displaced counterparts, in most locations the sharing of minimal services is straining these already impoverished populations.

Relations with host communities

We sought to examine the positive and negative relationships between the displaced, returned, or relocated populations and the local host communities. Overall, both sides reported that these interactions were overwhelmingly positive. This section briefly discusses the interactions with and responses by the host communities, the assistance or support provided by the hosts to the displaced populations and impacts of the presence of the displaced populations upon the hosts.

Interactions between displaced and host communities

Most respondents within the displaced populations spoke positively of their relationships with the host community in all three locations, although with varying degrees of shared experience and history. In the case of the locally integrated IDPs in Adadle, for instance, the hosts and IDPs had very close economic, cultural and family ties. As one male IDP explained:

The two communities are interdependent with one another, and they are also our relatives, so we are living in a peaceful and coexistence way. They welcomed us as soon as we have arrived here. The first time when we were displaced, people came here one by one, so we were living with the host community within the same houses.

The government has since settled the IDPs in Adadle at a slight distance from the host community village, but the two communities still share access to services, markets and natural resources. Views from host respondents about the displaced in their midst were emphatic, with a focus upon ties of proximity, clan and family. As one man explained, these “people had already been living in this same [kebele], so when they have arrived here they came to their relatives, and we have welcomed them as brothers and sisters.”

As discussed earlier, the Tuliguled population consists of people with mixed displacement status, including host community, returnees from inter-clan fighting, and IDPs who fled Oromia. Our discussion on host-IDP relations in this site focuses on the IDPs displaced from Oromia. This population moved to Tuliguled because they had historical clan ties with the local communities. IDPs described a positive relationship with their hosts, including both economic and social exchanges. A female IDP explained, “These people have welcomed us, and we have a good relationship with the host community. We don’t have any conflict between us. When we make charcoal, they buy from us.” Another woman offered:

The host community in this area are very good people. They have welcomed us very well; they gave us everything they had. They treat us as their brothers and sisters.

Starting from the time we have arrived until now we eat and drink together.

There are greater differences between the hosts and IDPs in Tuliguled than in Adadle because of different livelihood, cultural and, in many instances, linguistic backgrounds. Many of the IDPs who settled in the area had been living in Oromia for generations, and yet view the Tuliguled area as their cultural ‘home’ within Somali Region. This impression is largely shared by the host respondents, as described by a female host community member: “We share blood as well as the common interest of living in peace. So, we have very good relations.”

The relocated IDPs in Goljano also reported a mostly positive interaction with their hosts. For instance, a female respondent in a focus group discussion said: “We enjoy a positive relationship with the host community. They are very honest people and interactive enough. We live here peacefully. Minor conflicts may happen sometimes but these are always about child conflicts [i.e., disputes among children].” Another female respondent explained that “It’s a smooth and positive relationship since they are our siblings.” However, some members of relocated community also reported that they “didn’t interact that much” with their hosts but rather, in the words of a male respondent, we “just live together. Our interaction isn’t that good, but we hope it gets better.” Other IDPs felt that there was a more substantial divide between the IDPs and the hosts. As in Tuliguled, this divide was rooted in part in the differences between people who had lived in two different regions for generations, but different approaches to livelihood activities seemed to further compound this in Goljano, as least in the views of some respondents. A male IDP offered his impressions:

We don’t understand each other well. It is like we are from different planets. These people don’t use their lands which are very fertile. They have no future plans-- they were affected by previous conflicts which caused them to abandon their habit of farming. They are now idly sitting there with no activity - just waiting for the government to help them. When we asked them to give us some plot of lands so we can cultivate and produce something, they ignored us.

Unlike in Adadle, where people welcomed their kin and clan mates, or in Tuliguled, where the IDPs fled across the regional border to their cultural home, the regional government made the decision to relocate IDPs to Goljano. The relocated community shared clan ties with the hosts, but they were not close relatives or connected through other means. Some of the hosts in Goljano felt that they were not adequately consulted prior to the relocation, and that the government and international agencies were providing support to the IDPs but not the equally needy host community.

Assistance and support provided by host communities to the displaced

In all three locations, the displaced populations described the extensive support and generosity provided by the host communities in contributions of food, shelter materials, and labor. Such contributions were much greater than the amount of assistance received from either the government or international actors.

Assistance from hosts normally began with a warm welcome to the displaced. In Adadle, for instance, the local community took their clan members into their homes and treated them as part of their immediate families, as one man explained: “When they arrived here every person welcomed one or two families, and we gave them food and shelter before different organizations arrived and helped them.” People’s prior interactions and kinship connections likely facilitated the extent of this support. In both Tuliguled and Goljano, however, the IDPs and the hosts were strangers to each other apart from their clan ties, but the host community nevertheless went to great lengths to support their displaced counterparts. Some host respondents reported that this was in recognition of the trauma that many of the displaced had experienced, as explained by a man in Tuliguled:

By the time they arrived they were people who had been affected by war and had lost everything they had. Their life was in a disturbing situation. Some of them may have lost their loved ones, so we assisted them with whatever we had, and did whatever we could to help them.

IDP respondents in Tuliguled confirmed the extent of the generosity of their hosts, as evidenced by one woman’s recollection:

When we arrived here, they welcomed us and helped, they gave us everything they could give. When we arrived, nothing was in our hands, so it was the host community who supported us and gave us food and shelter assistance. From that time, we have become brothers and sisters.

Host communities provided supported even when they had very little to give and were living in economic conditions similar to those of the displaced. One host respondent described his community as being “empty handed” and felt that providing continuous assistance to IDPs was unsustainable. Most respondents reported minimal assistance coming from the government or international actors; the pressure to assist over the longer term thus rested upon the host communities. Some community leaders, such as the kebele administrator of the host community in Tuliguled, explained that this was taking a negative economic toll:

When these people arrived they started to share what these host community households used to manage their lives. Every host community household [struggled] to feed his family and one or more relatives who had been displaced by the wars and conflicts... So economically [things are] deteriorating since the start of the [IDP] arrivals.

When national and international attention or support does come to the displaced, host community members may feel excluded or overlooked. This was discussed by a focus group of women from the host community in Adadle, in which a responded noted:

To the best of our ability, we have helped them. Even though we ourselves are in need, some of us are in more severe need than the displaced but nobody gives us attention... We want you to know that there are families or individuals among the host community who live in a more severe situation than the displaced.

Some IDP respondents perceived resentment and hostility from host community members who felt left out of assistance. This sentiment was most pronounced in Goljano, where the 200 houses were constructed for the relocated IDPs. When asked about relations with the local community, a male IDP explained:

We don't interact smoothly even though we are from the same tribe. They don't assist us, they just watch. If we were to say we interact smoothly, that is an obvious lie. We were chosen to come here because we all belong to the same tribe, but this community had no mercy for us. They just say 'you live in white houses' [the new homes].

In addition to informal systems to provide material support, the local governance institutions in host communities have expanded to take responsibility for the IDPs in their area. A displaced woman in Tuliguled described the process if someone was particularly vulnerable or in need: "The kebele leader takes up a campaign for helping that person or family. It is the kebele administration that manages such things among the village communities." The at times rapid and unexpected expansion of population and duties brings additional burdens to under-facilitated staff and offices.

Impacts of the presence of the IDPs on host community

We asked host community members if there were ways in which the presence of the displaced populations had brought changes to their lives and livelihoods. Responses reflect both positive and negative transformations. On the negative side and as highlighted above, host communities felt stretched by the assistance they were providing to the IDPs. In addition, in most locations there were increased numbers of people using the same services, including schools in Goljano and Tuliguled, health facilities, and water points. Additional users for services can increase wait times, decrease quality, and cause strain. A male member of the host community in Adadle offered his perspective on the difficulties faced by

a small town attempting to absorb additional residents: "People in this area have experienced a very challenging situation. This is not a larger city in which a such large number might live, so the arrival of these IDPs has made the situation a more challenging one."

Systems for natural resource management are also affected by the influx of IDPs. This includes tension over the appropriate use of resources, including forests and land. For instance, IDPs in Tuliguled, described instances in which members of the host community told them not to cut wood in certain areas, saying they were "eroding the environment when cutting trees" or "you have overtaken our land." Such sentiments point to resentment or frustration over usage and governance of resources and may be reflective of the existence of broader tensions around similar issues.

Host community respondents also discussed positive changes brought about by the presence of the IDPs in their midst. The primary positive change related to the increase in market activity, as IDPs purchased market items, provided new services and engaged in trade. A male member of the kebele administration in Tuliguled explained, "They have changed the labor market, most certainly in the building activities. They are part of the market force now, and their skills are needed in the market." Another male respondent in Tuliguled said: "After the arrival of these people we had new consumers. For example, if you have shops or if you are selling something, these people are paying and [have also] brought something new to your market."

Services and interventions

As mentioned above, access to services is a challenge in all the study sites. Basic services such as schools, health services and even water are limited or unavailable for the IDPs and often for the host communities as well. An exception is education in

Adadle, where schools have been constructed for IDPs by IOM and Save the Children. In most areas the displaced population shares services with hosts, placing stress upon already-meager facilities. For example, an IDP representative in Adadle described the problem—and the creative solution—of sharing limited water in Adadle: “You will see that the water well is very stressed and not enough even for the Adadle [host] community. So, what we [IDPs] do is we fetch the water during the nights.”

Shelter remains a priority need for IDPs in Tuliguled and Adadle, where displaced households live in temporary shelters made from plastic sheeting distributed by humanitarian organizations. In Goljano, houses were constructed for 200 single-family shelters, currently home to more than 400 families. Basic services beyond housing are not available for IDPs in Goljano, who share health, water, education and other services with the host community.

In some cases, such as in Tuliguled, the impacts of conflict meant that some services remained non-functional at the time of data collection. As indicated by a local authority, “Health posts were burned, water points destroyed, and schools destroyed and disrupted.” In cases where health services were available, some IDPs complained about the low quality of services. A female IDP respondent in Adadle explained:

We don’t have a good health care service. For instance, if somebody in the family became sick, we should take them to the district hospital, but even in the district hospital we don’t get good health service. We are served sometimes, or not served at all or late, and we pay for the medicines we were supposed to receive for free. There is a shortage of medicines.

Food relief rations were provided by regional and district Disaster Risk Management (DRM) entities to host community households and some IDP households in all sites visited. Some respondents noted that the distributions were irregular and the amount of food insufficient.

Most support to host communities (including schools and health facilities) is the responsibility of local administrations. In addition to these efforts, some national and international organizations also provide support. In Tuliguled, ICRC, NRC and the regional bureau of agriculture were supporting IDPs and host community members with agricultural inputs such as seeds and access to a tractor. In Adadle, Action Aid provided nutritional support to displaced children. Several other agencies distributed sheep, goats and donkey carts to some IDPs, although one respondent reported that many of the animals had died due to drought conditions. According to a displaced respondent in Adadle, programs normally target only the most vulnerable IDPs among the population. In Goljano, NRC was providing cash distributions for IDPs and distributing sheep and goats to select host community households. Reportedly, the difference between receiving cash and livestock related to whether households had adequate access to land for grazing.

While the local administration in each of the sampled woredas was working to provide basic services to their communities, these services were normally insufficient to accommodate both the displaced and the host communities in the study areas.

Discussion: Analysis of the success of the durable solutions in the three cases

Solutions to internal displacement cannot be contemplated in isolation from the broader set of norms in which they are situated. The data for this assessment make clear that any durable solution is deeply embedded within a complex and shifting landscape of policies, processes and systems. These include continuing displacement of other groups, internal and external economic migration, conflict and conflict resolution, security/insecurity, market systems and processes, natural resource management, and multiple levels of formal and informal governance systems. For instance, in the case of Tuliguled, we set out to examine the durable solution of return following displacement due to inter-clan conflict. Once on the ground, however, we found not only returnees, but also those who were displaced from Oromia by inter-ethnic conflict. Returnees were acting as hosts, as were those who had not experienced displacement. Even while many people had returned home, others felt unable to do so, and inter-clan conflict continued to cause occasional violence and on-going disruptions to security and livelihood systems. These observations from Tuliguled highlight the dynamic and intersecting set of factors that must be considered in efforts to achieve durable solutions.

The grey literature on durable solutions in Ethiopia has greatly expanded in recent years as policy makers and practitioners seek to find solutions to the widespread internal displacement. As of 2017, the Somali Regional administration has committed to work with the Durable Solutions Working Group (DSWG) which seeks to ensure adherence to international principles and frameworks. However, the implementation of durable solutions has been hindered by poor coordination across stakeholders and sectors, limited resources, and low technical

capacity of regional implementers. This section of the assessment discusses some of the successes and shortcomings as evident in the three field locations.

Relocation: Goljano

In their May 2020 guidelines, DSWG describes relocation as “a planned process in which IDPs are assisted to voluntarily move away from their present location, are settled in a new location with safety and dignity, and provided with the conditions, including protection, for rebuilding their lives in a sustainable way.”⁸ Relocations are meant to adhere to a range of central principles, including (among others): information, consultation and participation; choice; and comprehensiveness of recovery (including support to livelihoods, social cohesion, and host communities). It is hoped that the IDPs will bring new skills to the host communities and will increase market activity and economic interactions.

In the case of Goljano, the choice of location was made based not on local preferences, but upon clan ties and the ability of officials to secure agreement from the local community to provide land for housing. The 200 households who were officially relocated from Qoloji did not have much input or information; nor did the host community (at least not initially). In addition, although 200 households were selected for official relocation, another approximately 270 households spontaneously moved to Goljano and are sharing the 200 structures. This indicates a shortfall at some point in the process—either in the planning, communication, or implementation of the relocation plan.

⁸ National Disaster Risk Management Committee (NDRMC) (2020). “Guidelines for Sustainable Planned Relocation of Internally Displaced Person,” unpublished document.

Perhaps most importantly, major shortfalls remain regarding the “comprehensiveness of recovery” as envisioned by the DSWG. Central to this is that the relocated IDPs have land for houses but not for agricultural purposes. According to IDP respondents, the host community has refused to provide additional land for productive use. This problem is exacerbated by a lack of clear formal policies on land ownership or access and by informal policies dictating that land must remain within the sub-clan. Members of the relocated community are resentful that the land—although fertile—is not being used for cultivation and that they have not been given access to it. It seems that this is an issue that could potentially be solved given adequate negotiation and political will. However, the host community has requested that the authorities buy the land in question and grant it to the relocated population, which then makes the shortage of financial resources an obstacle to resolution.

Social cohesion is strong among the relocated IDPs at Goljano. While most relations with the host community are positive, tensions are apparent over cultural and livelihood differences and pressures upon shared resources and services, especially water. These differences may limit the success of integrated livelihood systems and may create a barrier to access of the relocated IDPs to information and resources. In addition, Goljano is a small town with limited economic activities and capacity to absorb new entrants. In the absence of financial capital to start new business or other activities, the relocated IDPs will continue to struggle to establish independent and reliable durable livelihoods.

At present, the relocated IDPs in Goljano are primarily surviving from the sale of firewood, petty trade in fruits and vegetables, small enterprises, kitchen gardens, relief assistance, and some skilled jobs (such as teaching). These activities are not particularly different from those performed by the host community, but respondents make clear that the IDPs in particular are struggling to make ends meet. A male elder of the host community said that while the situation was poor for both communities, the IDPs “are literally starving. If you go and visit their homes you will feel gloomy about their situation.” Not surprisingly, not all of those who relocated

from Qoloji have opted to remain in Goljano. A male member of the host community noted that “due to lack of job opportunities, a large number of IDPs have migrated from this area in search of better jobs.” Due to our lack of gender and age disaggregated data on specific activities, including out-migration, we can only make assumptions on how livelihood and coping strategies vary within households. While we can make assumptions (such as that young men are more likely to out-migrate, women are likely engaged in the sale of fruit and vegetables, and men are more likely to have the skilled jobs), we cannot fully understand how intra-household roles, responsibilities, and livelihood activities may have shifted with displacement and relocation. Such sex and age disaggregated information will be important in designing effective policies and programs to promote durable solutions.

As an example of relocation, the case of Goljano has been partially successful. While 200 households have settled in newly built houses, they were joined by an extra 270 families and are living in cramped quarters and placing further pressure on local services. In addition, land – the most critical input for sustainable livelihoods in a rural area known for fertile soil—has remained out of reach for the relocated community. This is a major hurdle to the success of the relocation and may indicate that the planning, cooperation, effective governance, political will, and/or financial resources required to scale-up such efforts remain unattainable by the relevant actors.

Return: Tuliguled

The woreda of Tuliguled is home to returnees, IDPs, and host community members. Approximately two-thirds of the estimated 24,000 households displaced by inter-clan fighting are expected to return to their places of origin. Tuliguled is known as a fertile farming area, but the returnees report struggling to access inputs for cultivation. Some received seeds from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the regional bureau of agriculture, but many of those that planted had their crops destroyed by the infestation of Desert Locusts in 2020. Additional traditional livelihood activities in the area include livestock purchase for fattening

and resale and petty trade. People would often invest some of their proceeds from crop farming into one or both of these other activities to achieve a diverse economic base. The absence of crop farming income for returnees has made it difficult to restart these activities. In contrast, non-displaced households may have been in a better position to absorb the locust shock due to their spreading of economic risk. In the absence of cultivation, a number of women from IDP and returnee households are reportedly engaging in butchering and selling meat within cooperatives.

Returnees interviewed in Tuliguled reported that they did not have a problem either accessing land (for crop farming or grazing) or reclaiming the land upon which their houses stood, but many structures had been burnt down and their contents destroyed during the fighting. The return was facilitated and organized, but basic livelihood inputs and support remain lacking for this population, and many have struggled to rebuild their livelihoods. As one male returnee in Tuliguled described:

Our economic situation is a very difficult one: only Allah knows our current economic situation. We don't have enough to consume; one day we eat and another day we do not. Since displacement, we did not have any income generating activities...There is a lack of job opportunities and for a long period of time the conflict has made our progress very stagnant and the situation unchanged. We could not continue with our livelihood... people are nearing to death due to starvation and famine. Thus it is conflict which is the main risk to our economic and existing livelihood strategies.

Although the situation is difficult, this same respondent stressed that returning to Tuliguled was the only option he envisioned for his future. "Why did I return back to be here? We need to stay here and start up our previous life... In the future we want to be here, we had farms here...we don't want go anywhere else except to stay here in Tuliguled." Other than the need to acquire the assets he had lost during the fighting, he explained that the most

important missing component was a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The continuing threat of conflict was preventing more people from returning to the area and made it difficult for those who did return to fully resume their previous livelihoods.

In contrast to returnees, most IDPs in Tuliguled displaced from Oromia have not been able to secure access to land for productive use. A displaced female explained: "In this place we don't have any land ownership. We are only allowed to live in a peaceful situation, thus what makes our settlement difficult is that of land ownership, because we can't farm." Displaced respondents from Oromia living in Sariir Garad kebele of Tuliguled described their area as mountainous and unsuitable for rearing cattle as they had done prior to displacement, hence they were relying on natural resource exploitation and sale. As in the case of Goljano, the small town and limited local economy meant that there were few income opportunities for those (whether IDPs, returnees, or host community members) who were not engaged in cultivation and/or animal husbandry.

As an example of return, the situation in Tuliguled has largely been successful. People have been able to return home, to access their housing sites and land, and to re-integrate into their communities. The most substantial problems are around unmet expectations for support, especially in regard to agriculture inputs for crop farming. The Desert Locust infestation compounded vulnerabilities. Concerns about the stability of the peace remain a concern and a hurdle to the durability of this particular solution.

Local integration: Adadle

The displaced in Adadle who live alongside fellow clan members in Adadle town appear to have resigned themselves to not returning to their homes. However, as with many drought-induced displaced persons in Somali region,⁹ more than three years after their displacement they remain almost entirely dependent on humanitarian aid. In addition, they receive substantial and on-going support from the host community,

⁹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) (2020), "From basic needs to the recovery of livelihoods: local integration of people displaced by drought in Ethiopia," Thematic Series *No matter of choice: Displacement in a changing climate*, Addis Ababa: IDMC.

which has further undermined the resilience of their hosts. Despite the humanitarian and local assistance, the IDPs appear to be experiencing substantial food insecurity. An IDMC report found that the many drought-displaced communities in Somali region were coping by consuming cheap and less preferred food, reducing consumption, borrowing food, and relying on help from friends.¹⁰ Data from our assessment confirms that the displaced living on Adadle are far from self-reliance and economic independence. The main obstacles to secure and sustainable livelihoods for this group are the lack of economic activities. The town is small, demand for unskilled labor is minimal, and the displaced have few skills or experiences with enterprise. On the other hand, the children of the displaced community are in school, many for the first time, and all IDP respondents spoke positively about this change in their lives. While this improved access to and use of education may indicate hope and promise for the next generation, the extent of the current dependency on relief aid and local generosity is unsustainable.

As an example of local integration, the case of Adadle is a partial success. The IDPs have received support from the local community, have been accepted into their homes, schools, and lives, and are living peacefully with their hosts. Tensions appear to be minimal to non-existent. This ease of integration is largely possible because of the pre-existing close ties between the hosts and the displaced. These ties are based on linguistic, livelihood, cultural and familial similarities. While conflict is minimal, members of the host community do describe the pressures upon their economic situation as they continue to support their displaced neighbors. It is unclear how long this situation can continue before the hosts' resources (and perhaps generosity) are exhausted. The greatest hurdle to the success of this case of local integration is the lack of alternative and sustainable livelihoods outside of pastoralism for the displaced.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Conclusions, implications and recommendations

The increase in attention to durable solutions marks a clear and considered effort on the part of the Ethiopian government and international partners to respond to the crisis of internal displacement on a policy and programmatic level. In order for these efforts to be durable and to scale, however, increased finances, planning, and technical inputs will be needed. This section examines the lessons from the three cases examined in this assessment to highlight additional steps and measures that would assist in moving building sustainable livelihoods as a critical component of durable solutions.

In all locations and interviews, respondents expressed their desire to be financially independent and to not rely on assistance for survival. People are extremely eager to start up sustainable and successful livelihoods but are mostly at a loss to do so without adequate capital (financial, natural, physical and human). For those in locations where farming or grazing is possible, people require adequate access to land and a plan for a self-sustaining supply of inputs. For those in locations where their previous livelihood activities are not possible—such as those in Adadle who have dropped out of pastoralism or those who had cultivated in Oromia but are now in more arid areas – they need first to learn new skills as well as having sustainable models. The strong desire of local respondents to be independent and to rebuild their lives is an opportunity for national and international actors to design appropriate programs and policies to foster and support these transitions. Doing so will require increases in data, financial resources, organizational capacity, and political will.

Gaps in research and knowledge

IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) team has collected and analyzed a great deal of quantitative data on internal displacement in Ethiopia over the past five years. This information has been essen-

tial to the ability of policy makers and programmers to understand and respond to displacement patterns and needs. However, research and knowledge gaps remain, particularly around the day-to-day livelihoods and survival strategies of the large numbers of displaced. When interviewed, many IDP respondents report that they are “living off aid.” However, given the quantities of assistance and schedule of distributions, it is not possible for food aid to be meeting people’s complete slate of consumption and income needs. Support from host communities is helping to fill this gap, but details are lacking on the extent of this assistance, possible patterns of inclusion and exclusion, and the impacts on the host communities themselves. In order to ensure support to sustainable livelihoods, stakeholders must first have a firm understanding of the existing local livelihood systems, including how these livelihood systems influence and are influenced by local systems and processes. Critical systems and processes to understand include local governance (formal and customary), conflict resolution mechanisms, natural resources management systems, market systems, humanitarian and local assistance regimes, land tenure, and gender and generational norms. While this knowledge base surely exists, this information and understanding do not seem to be reflected in the planning and policy making around durable solutions in the Somali Region.

A major gap in the existing data is around livelihood changes vis a vis displacement based on gender and age and the implications of these shifts on longer-term economic and household dynamics. Information is lacking on the intra-household divisions of labor, responsibilities, and roles and how these have changed as a result of displacement, relocation (or return or local integration), and a shifting livelihood environment. Without data disaggregated by age and gender we do not know how such changes may have affected income, decision-making, and risks faced by either the household or by individuals.

Based on patterns observed in other contexts and from global trends, we know that females are often better able than males to diversify their livelihood activities in the face of upheaval and hence are likely taking on a greater economic burden following displacement. In addition, in cases where communities have moved out of pastoral production—such as the displaced in Adadle who are locally integrating—we know that the reliance on petty trade and service provision as an economic activity is increasing; such activities are usually dominated by women. Although we lack substantial gendered data from this assessment, we do have a few glimpses into the views of the local populations. For instance, when asked what would help build sustainable livelihoods, a displaced woman in Tuliguled responded:

I think if we are about to be helped, we need a comprehensive plan that would empower the family in large. As you know, nowadays, women do manage the family wealth better than men can do. So, we need the female parents to be invested in or given loans to establish small business.

In addition, we can assume—but don't know for certain—that it is predominantly young men who are considering migrating away from displacement sites, either to urban centers within Ethiopia or outside the country. While successful economic migration may bring benefits to both the individual migrant and his (or her) family, the costs and risks are often extremely high, especially for those who attempt to travel irregularly to Europe or the Gulf States. Additional information on these trends is needed. We recommend that programmers and policy makers have a firm understanding of the differences by gender and generation and design interventions to promote sustainable livelihoods accordingly.

In thinking about sustainable livelihoods as part of durable solutions, we need to know how durable and sustainable the livelihoods of the host communities are, especially in the context of climate change. In the Horn of Africa, climate change is likely to further increase already unpredictable climatic conditions. However, pastoral livelihoods – practiced by the majority of communities in the Somali Region—

are characterized by their high degree of adaptability to shifts in resource availability and access. This means that they are exceptionally well suited to seasonal and even annual fluctuations in precipitation, including single-year droughts. Pastoralists cope less well with multi-year droughts, which appear to be increasingly common in Eastern Africa and elsewhere. Furthermore, local communities may be less resilient to rising temperatures, which can have profound impacts on livestock health and systems of herd management. In regard to sustainable livelihoods of host communities, we do not know if the local mechanisms for managing resources, mitigating drought risk and facilitating drought recovery are adequate to enable longer-term livelihood success in these locations. Without such knowledge, it is difficult to determine how and if the addition of impoverished and needy displaced populations stands to undermine an already delicate balance between durability and collapse in these areas.

Policy and programmatic recommendations:

Overall, policies focusing on internal displacement in the Somali Region are moving in a positive direction due largely to the national and regional commitment to resolving the issue. However, substantial challenges remain. From a policy perspective, these fall into two main areas. The first is in regard to translating policies into action at the local level, especially around negotiating resource access, expanding service delivery, and jump-starting independent livelihoods through provision of start-up capital. The second main area in need of improved policy focus is around addressing the root causes of displacement. Without policies to promote security, resolve and prevent conflict, and implement drought management and support to pastoralism, the cycle of displacement is likely to continue to occur. Both these areas (highlighted below and covered in more detail in the accompanying policy brief) will require increased financial, planning, coordination and technical inputs to ensure interventions are durable and at scale.

Translating policies into action:

- Stakeholders will need to ensure and insist upon a coordinated and timely approach to policies creating appropriate conditions, programs promoting self-reliance, and durable solution interventions. Such policy and programmatic support will need to be evidenced-based, prioritize local participation, and be tailored to the local economic and ecological context in each instance. For example, displaced persons should be relocated without only adequate policies in place to ensure local support and buy-in from the host community
- Political efforts to ensure adequate land access for local populations need to be increased and improved if livelihood sustainability is to be realized. The clan-based land ownership system in Somali Region appears to pose a particular challenge to securing land as part of the implementation of durable solutions. This obstacle needs to be addressed at both the regional and local level if solutions are to indeed be durable.
- In addition to ensuring adequate land access, IDPs should be supported with or linked to opportunities for financial capital to establish new livelihoods or rebuild previous livelihood systems. IDP respondents interviewed for this assessment had ideas for businesses—including donkey carts and petty trade in Adadle and beehives, cafeterias, barbershops and other services in Goljano—but many lacked the start-up capital required to turn these ideas into realities. Such interventions should only take place following careful investigation of market capacity and saturation.
- While local involvement is envisioned as part of durable solutions, in practice greater involvement of both host and displaced populations is needed. Within our limited sample, some respondents felt that the decision-making process was not adequately transparent. In addition, implementers need to ensure that policies and programs adequately and appropriately benefit both displaced and host communities.

- Improvements to and expansions of services, including health facilities, shelter, schools, and public water sources are necessary to address service gaps and alleviate the stress placed on them as a result of increased demand. While the host community respondents described a willingness to support their displaced counterparts, the sharing of minimal services is further straining these already impoverished populations. Efforts and programs need to be transparent and clearly communicated to all parties.

Addressing root causes

- Conflict is one of the main causes of displacement within the Somali Region. Long-term solutions to displacement will only be achieved if the root causes of conflict are addressed at the federal and regional levels and if local conflict mitigation and resolution mechanisms are effective.
- The other primary cause of displacement in the Somali Region is drought. As a livelihood specialization, pastoralism is very well-adapted to cope with drought, but multi-year droughts and rising temperatures can be much more difficult for pastoralists to manage. Unless drought management and mitigation activities are in place, drought-induced displacement is likely to both continue and worsen due to climate change.
- Pastoralism is the main livelihood specialization for most of the population in the Somali Region; policies should be geared towards facilitating pastoral production. Policy engagement at multiple levels should focus on peace and security, inter-group cooperation and sharing of resources, adequate mobility for herds and people, tailoring of services to pastoral populations (including health, education, and veterinary services), and governance systems to represent pastoral populations and protect the interest of the economically vulnerable.¹¹

¹¹ Gebeye, B.A. (2016), "Unsustainable the sustainable: An evaluation of the legal and policy interventions for pastoral development in Ethiopia." *Pastoralism* 6, 2; Beyene, F. (2010), "Interclan Cooperation in a Risky Pastoral Ecology: Some lessons from Eastern Ethiopia," *Human Ecology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 38(4), 555-565; Catley, A. (2017), "Pathways to Resilience in Pastoralist Areas: A Synthesis of Research in the Horn of Africa." Medford, MA: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University (https://fic.tufts.edu/assets/FIC-Publication-Q1_web_2.26s.pdf).

The implementation of facilitated durable solutions – meaning an official and organized intervention for return, relocation or local integration—should only take place when there is a simultaneous, fully actionable, and adequately resourced plan for the livelihoods of this population. For instance, while building houses for a relocated community is an important step, without access to land or other viable livelihood assets the population is likely to become a strain on the local population and services. Access to land should be guaranteed and secured prior to the relocation, return or official integration program for any IDPs. Ideally this land tenure should be negotiated, as opposed to purchased, and should have broad support from the host community. While our assessment indicates that host populations are both welcoming and generous to their displaced brethren, such hospitality will be finite if their continued provision of support negatively impacts the prospects and well-being of the hosts themselves.

Financial support for durable solutions is essential for success. However, the assessment team emphasizes that the costs need to be realistic and designed to promote independence as quickly as possible. When costs are inordinately high—such as the listed funding requirement of US\$17,336,041 to support 7,545 households returning to Goljano¹²—international donors may be dissuaded by the extent of unmet need and the scale of costs needed to address displacement across the whole of the Somali Region, let alone the country.

The need for policies and programs to promote peaceful coexistence are absolutely essential to secure sustainable livelihoods and successful durable solutions. Peacebuilding is needed at both the inter-clan and inter-ethnic level. Even though return to Oromia was not an option under consideration by any of the respondents in this assessment, achieving peace along the regional border is critical to ensuring long-term stability in both regions as well

as nationally. In the case of Tuliguled, tensions and occasional flare-ups of violence continue to undermine additional returns and livelihood recovery. Local peacebuilding mechanisms and governance systems should be better understood and supported to function effectively to resolve tensions before violence erupts.

In addition to designing policies and programs to actively promote peace, national and international actors must ensure that all interventions that do take place—including durable solution efforts, humanitarian assistance, and development aid—are conflict sensitive and places conflict prevention at the core. As discussed earlier, while at present there exists harmony and cooperation between displaced and host communities at all the assessed sites, this peaceful coexistence stands to be undermined if the displaced populations are not able to gain economic independence in the near term. Tensions may at times be a by-product of economic strain upon the hosts; in Adadle, for instance, the host community faces many of the same challenges that led to the displacement of the IDPs, whom they have now been supporting for more than four years. In other instances, tensions may arise due to perceptions about the equity of external assistance. In Goljano, for instance, some members of the host community expressed resentment over the fact that the relocated population—but not the hosts—received new houses. Policy makers and practitioners should keep in mind that the primary support for the displaced in Somali region comes not from national or external actors, but from the local populations. All efforts must be taken to prevent undermining this support, not only because it is essential to the success of durable solutions and sustainable livelihoods, but also because these relationships promote peaceful coexistence and stability. As such, all policies, programs, policies and interventions must be conflict sensitive and place conflict mitigation front and center.

¹² Somali Regional State Disaster Risk Management Bureau (July 2020), “Tulli-Guled IDPs Return Response Plan: July-December 2020,” Somali Regional State, Disaster Risk Management Bureau, p. 3, unpublished document.

Sources

- Beyene, F. (2010). "Interclan Cooperation in a Risky Pastoral Ecology: Some lessons from Eastern Ethiopia." *Human Ecology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 38(4), 555-565.
- Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED) (December 2015). "Somali Regional State, Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II) (2015/16-2019/20)." BoFED Jigjiga. Available at: <https://srbofed.gov.et/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/GTP-II-final-document-ready-for-Publication.pdf>
- Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED) (July 2019). "Assessing the development gaps in the Somali Regional State: Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II), July 2019." Unpublished document.
- Catley, A. (2017). "Pathways to Resilience in Pastoralist Areas: A Synthesis of Research in the Horn of Africa." Medford, MA: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University (https://fic.tufts.edu/assets/FIC-Publication-Q1_web_2.26s.pdf).
- Durable Solution Working Group (DSWG) (2020). "Site level Report- Assessment on IDPs Relocation Sites in Siti, Fafa, Jarar, Korahey, Nogob & Shabele zones," Durable Solution Working Group, Somali Region, 26 Dec-4 Jan 2020. Unpublished document.
- Ellis, J.E. and Swift, D.M. (1988), "Stability of African Pastoral Ecosystems: Alternate Paradigms and Implications for Development," *Journal of Range Management* 41 (6): 450-59.
- Gebeye, B.A. (2016). "Unsustainable the sustainable: An evaluation of the legal and policy interventions for pastoral development in Ethiopia." *Pastoralism* 6, 2.
- Government of Ethiopia Ministry of Peace & UN Ethiopia (2019). "Ethiopia: Durable Solutions Initiative." Unpublished document.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) (2020). "From basic needs to the recovery of livelihoods: local integration of people displaced by drought in Ethiopia." Thematic Series *No matter of choice: Displacement in a changing climate*. Addis Ababa: IDMC.
- IOM DTM (April 2021). "Ethiopia National Displacement Report 7: Site Assessment Round 24 & Village Assessment Survey Round 7: December 2020-January 2021." Addis Ababa: International Organization for Migration, April 6, 2021.
- IOM DTM (September 2021). "Ethiopia National Displacement Report 9: Site Assessment Round 26 & Village Assessment Survey Round 9: June-July 2021." Addis Ababa: International Organization of Migration, September 24, 2021.
- IOM DTM (June 2021). "Round 24: January-February 2021, Ethiopia - Somali Regional Dashboard, June 2021." Addis Ababa: International Organization of Migration.
- National Disaster Risk Management Committee (NDRMC) (2020). "Guidelines for Sustainable Planned Relocation of Internally Displaced Person." Unpublished document.
- Norwegian Refugee Council (2019). "Highest number of people displaced since World War II: Ethiopia tops list." Available at <https://www.nrc.no/news/2019/june/wrd-2019/>
- Somali Regional State Disaster Risk Management Bureau (March 2020). "Plan for Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons in Somali Region: A Menu of Options for IDPs." Unpublished document.
- Somali Regional State Disaster Risk Management Bureau (July 2020). "Tulli-Guled IDPs Return Response Plan: July-December 2020." Unpublished document.

The Feinstein International Center is a research and teaching center based at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University. Our mission is to promote the use of evidence and learning in operational and policy responses to protect and strengthen the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of people affected by or at risk of humanitarian crises.

Twitter: [@FeinsteinIntCen](https://twitter.com/FeinsteinIntCen)

fic.tufts.edu