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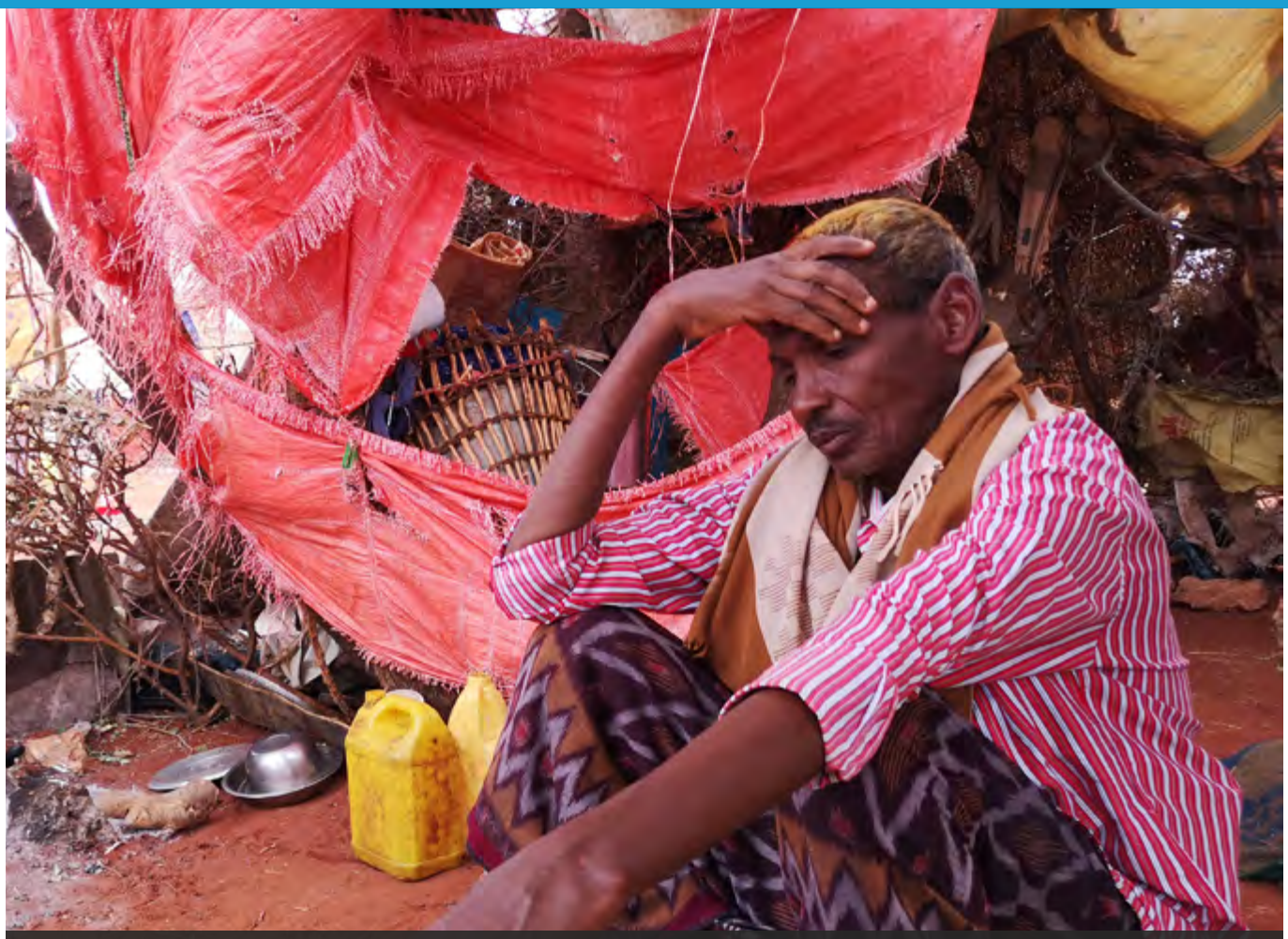
THEMATIC SERIES

No matter of choice: Displacement in a changing climate

This thematic series explores the scale, patterns, drivers and impacts of internal displacement associated with slow-onset environmental change and disasters to inform policies and practices for managing and reducing displacement risk



"NOTHING TO PUT IN YOUR MOUTH"

Seeking durable solutions to drought displacement in Ethiopia

DECEMBER 2019

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Cover photo: A displaced pastoralist leader at the Koracle camp for IDPs in Doolo zone, Somali region, where he arrived in 2017.
Credit: IDMC/Pablo Cortés Ferrández, July 2019
Photos: IDMC/Pablo Cortés Ferrández, July 2019

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A pastoralist, 32, with two of her seven children at the Koracle camp for IDPs, Doolo zone, Somali region

SUMMARY

IDMC embarked on a new research programme in December 2018 to investigate internal displacement associated with slow-onset environmental change.[1] Based on two hundred and nineteen interviews and qualitative methodologies conducted in July 2019 in the Somali region of Ethiopia, this study examines the drivers of displacement in pastoralist communities of the arid and semi-arid lowland areas of Ethiopia, and provides a better understanding of conditions and priorities for local integration to support policy and programming for durable solutions.

In the Somali region, displacement occurs when pastoral livelihoods reach a critical threshold below which pastoralism is unsustainable. There are many contributing factors to displacement in the region, and droughts that are becoming more frequent and intense are an important one. Nearly 56,000 households affected by the 2015–2017 drought are still displaced in the Somali region. Between January and June 2019, another 36,000 people in the country were displaced in the context of drought, mainly in this region.

Pastoralists displaced during and in the aftermath of drought live in peri-urban camps for IDPs over a protracted period and in the midst of a neglected crisis. They are highly dependent on humanitarian aid that has gradually shrunk in the region over the last couple of years as intercommunal conflicts have taken priority.

Despite calls from the government and UN agencies to fund national and regional efforts on durable solutions, donors continue to focus on responding to a humanitarian emergency instead of supporting joint humanitarian and long-term development efforts, as envisaged by the New Way of Working.

Implementing durable solutions in a scenario where humanitarian needs are still unmet is a challenge: high levels of food insecurity persist in zones such as Doolo; camps for IDPs and peri-urban areas such as Warder have poor access to water; and displaced families are still living in unprotected temporary shelters and near host communities who, themselves, have limited access to services.

Addressing displacement triggered by drought in a way that goes beyond providing immediate assistance implies increased livelihood recovery activities. Those displaced by drought feel that access to work and economic opportunities are key requirements for advancing durable solutions.

In the Somali region, durable solutions strategies propose a long-term development approach to displacement, beyond supporting short-term humanitarian needs. At the national level, the Ethiopian government, in collaboration with the UN and NGOs, launched in December 2019 the first federal Durable Solutions Initiative (DSI).

INTRODUCTION

Afgudhiuye means "nothing to put in your mouth". Pastoral communities in the Doolo zone of the Somali region use this word to refer to the 2015–2017 drought, which was the worst in living memory.

"We have never experienced a drought of this kind. There were others that our families and grandparents talked about. Around nine years ago, we suffered one, but it was not as severe as this one because we kept a considerable number of animals alive. In the last drought, two consecutive rainy seasons failed, many people got diarrhoea and we lost all our animals." AMINA

Amina, a pastoralist, has been living with her husband and seven children in a temporary and unprotected shelter at the Koracle camp for IDPs in Warder woreda (district) since 2017. Her experience is one of the thousands of personal stories of the drought in 2015–2017. The drought triggered the displacement of more than 300,000 pastoralists in the eastern part of the Somali region.

In today's changing climate, mass displacement triggered by extreme weather events is becoming the norm.[2] 16.1 million of the new displacements in 2018 were linked to the weather, of which 764,000 were triggered by drought.[3] Climate change, primarily in the form of more frequent and severe droughts, is a serious concern in the Horn of Africa.

Pastoralism is the main livelihood of communities in the drylands of southern Ethiopia, northern Kenya and southern and central Somalia. These communities are the most vulnerable to displacement associated with climate change. In the coming decades, Ethiopia will suffer the multiplier effects of climate change through above-average temperatures, excessive or insufficient rainfall and a gradual process of desertification and environmental degradation.

In Ethiopia, as of the end of July 2019, 425,000 people were living in displacement associated with drought, 64,000 triggered by sudden-onset disasters, such as

Male social cartography at the Gafow camp

floods and landslides, and 1.1 million by conflict.[4] In the Somali region, internal displacement, driven by alternating periods of drought and flooding and recurrent intercommunal conflict, has placed thousands of people in a situation of humanitarian crisis. About 1.05 million individuals remain displaced in 419 displacement sites in the region.[5]

This study analyses the relationship between the drivers and impacts of displacement associated with drought in the Somali region, the current needs of those displaced and pathways towards durable solutions. Its objectives are:

- To examine the drivers of displacement in the pastoralist communities of the arid and semi-arid lowlands areas of Ethiopia
- To provide a better understanding of conditions and priorities for local integration
- To support policy and programming for durable solutions.

METHODOLOGY

With support from national and international partners, quantitative and qualitative research was conducted based on a participatory approach strategy in Doolo zone, one of the areas in the Somali region most affected by the 2015–2017 drought.

Data was collected in July 2019 at two camps for IDPs: Gafow and Koracle. Fieldwork locations were selected in partnership with the Somali region DPPB, Jigjiga University, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and IOM.

Two hundred and nineteen interviews were conducted by Somali-speaking local enumerators on mobile phones using KoBoToolbox, developed by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative for research in challenging environments. Prior to data collection, the enumerators underwent a two-day training over two days on the objectives and wording of the survey, how to use the software, and qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques.

Purposive sampling was used to select study participants. The sample is not representative but it does offer valuable insight into the experiences and aspirations of communities affected by displacement in the Somali region.

Along with the survey, enumerators were asked to record short summaries of the stories shared by participants, thereby supplementing the findings with qualitative narratives. Additional qualitative data was collected through social cartography sessions using a gender-based approach, with separate groups of displaced men and women. Data was also collected through key informant interviews with IDPs and host community members, zonal, regional and national authorities, national and international NGOs and the UN system.

BOX 1. MONITORING DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH DROUGHT IN ETHIOPIA

IDMC has been trying, for several years, to estimate the scale of displacement associated with drought in both Ethiopia and Somalia. We published our first estimates in the Global Report on Internal Displacement in 2018. There were several caveats attached to the figures, however, as our understanding of the phenomenon remained limited despite our efforts.

One of the most significant caveats was how our partners who collect the data in the field defined displacement triggered by drought. It is hard to distinguish between people who flee as a result of the effects of the drought, those who engage in adaptive migration and those who flee general poverty and a lack of livelihoods and resources, which is not necessarily linked to drought. These caveats also relate to the fact that many of the populations worst affected by drought are nomadic and, as a result, distinguishing between normal migrating movements and forced displacement was a challenge.

IDMC engaged extensively with its partners in Somalia and Ethiopia, who were collecting information on this phenomenon, most notably IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), UNHCR, NRC and OCHA. We understood their different approaches to the data collection and analysis, mostly when it came to definitions and data collection methodologies. Consequently, IDMC published estimates of the number of people displaced by drought in the past two global reports, explaining in detail what they refer to and how they were produced. The biggest caveats included that in Ethiopia only nomadic populations who came to the camps for IDPs were accounted for as IDPs; and those who lost their livelihood but remained where they were, were disregarded. This approach, however, is not in line with the definition of forced displacement of nomadic populations.

Given these caveats and limitations, IDMC organised a series of workshops in Ethiopia and Somalia, involving all the relevant partners, such as IOM DTM, UNHCR, NRC, OCHA, WFP, FEWS NET, FAO, governments and others. During these workshops, we established a common understanding of how drought displacement comes about by identifying different factors that contribute to drought and internal displacement and the relationship between them. We are currently in the process of obtaining data for all these different factors, such as rainfall, pasture productivity, carrying capacity of livestock, prices of animal products, and many others, in order to continue this work.

"WE LOST ALL THE ANIMALS"

DROUGHT AND DISPLACEMENT IN THE SOMALI REGION

INCREASING FREQUENCY AND INTENSITY OF DROUGHTS

The Horn of Africa is one of the most drought-prone regions in the world. Still recovering from the 2015–2016 El Niño emergency and the prolonged 2015–2017 drought, the Horn of Africa is once again experiencing a severe drought as a result of the poor rainy season from October to December 2018 and the harsh dry season of January to February 2019. This was followed by a delayed and poor start to the March–May rainy season.[6] Rainfall between March and mid-May 2019 was less than 50 percent of the annual average across the Horn of Africa.

The Somali region of Ethiopia was faced with an unprecedented failure of the April to June Gu/Belg 2019 rains.[7] Some areas remained dry throughout April, which is normally the peak of the rainy season. This marks the second consecutive poor rainfall season after the below average performance of the October to December Deyr/Hagaya 2018 rains. Regionally, total cumulative rainfall between March and mid-May 2019 was less than 50 percent of the average across the Horn of Africa.[8]

Nearly 77 percent of research participants feel the climate has changed in recent decades: the amount of rainfall has fallen, and the weather is much hotter. Climatic shocks are perceived to be increasing in frequency: "Some years ago, droughts happened once every ten years and now we have one every five years in some parts of this region", said a member of the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau. "Doolo zone is probably one of the most affected areas in the Somali region."

"Drought is not a new hazard in Ethiopia, but this climate-induced phenomenon has changed its characteristics. It is now more frequent and intense due to climate change."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION STAFF

In Gafow and Koracle, IDPs interviewed agreed that the 2015–2017 drought was the worst they can remember. The drought is referred to locally as Afgu-dhiuye ("nothing to put in your mouth"). Rangelands remain dry and degraded, while the availability of water for livestock and human consumption is very limited. This is resulting in decreased livestock herd sizes and limited access to food and incomes in pastoralist areas.

PASTORALIST VULNERABILITY TO DROUGHT

The pastoralist livelihood is based primarily on the production, sale and consumption of livestock and its products. This includes meat, milk and other dairy products, and hides. Nearly 94 percent of households in Gafow and Koracle defined their lifestyle before the displacement as nomadic: "I spent most of my time moving around".

According to key informants, during the latest drought, households lost up to 80 percent of their livestock. There is no official figure for the number of animals that died

during the last drought. However, a fall in camel and shoat (sheep-goat hybrid) herd sizes of 44 percent and 47 percent respectively were noted. This resulted in a 41 percent drop in milk production from camels and a 33 percent fall from shoats.[9]

Displacement is triggered when a critical threshold is reached, below which pastoralism is unsustainable due to the death of the livestock.[10] As a result of the repeated shocks, local authorities in Doolo zone estimate that the proportion of pastoralists in the area has decreased from around 80 to 20 percent.

"In past droughts, when the rains did not arrive, many families gathered in one place to support each other. However, during this last drought, we felt desperate because we lost all the animals, even for transport. We have never had a situation like this before."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

"We had experiences with previous droughts where we lost half of our livestock. To avoid these situations, we moved continuously near our place of origin to look for water and pasture … However, in the last drought, we sent a man [out] several times, and he even walked seven hours a day, but the drought had affected all areas."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

As well as the loss of livestock, the drought also put the lives of families at risk following a severe outbreak of diarrhoea, when people were forced to use unsafe drinking water. Households were consequently forced to move urgently to peri-urban areas, such as Warder, to obtain clean water and humanitarian assistance.

"When the drought began, we had the hope that rain would come back soon. However, this did not happen, and we sent our wives and children here because we didn't have access to water. Some of us stayed, helping to feed the animals in rural areas."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE

TABLE 1: Types of pastoralist movements

Type of movement	Characteristics
Nomadic movement	| the strategic mobility of people and/or livestock | pursued primarily for livelihood purposes and is a matter of choice | do not stop at internationally recognized state borders
Migration as adaptation	| steered by the need to adapt to external circumstances (e.g., climatic hazards or other negative impacts on pastoralists) while trying to maintain a pastoral lifestyle | still considered 'voluntary' but different from nomadic movements due to the increased pressures on pastoralists | characterized by movements that traverse or utilize lands belonging to other pastoral communities, farmers or other private owners | protected by the constitutional and human right to freedom of movement, as long as it remains within state borders
Displacement	| may represent a secondary movement after pastoralists have first moved as a means of adapting to a changing environment | can be a precursor to cross-border displacement | occurs when traditional forms of rangeland management are insufficient | characterized by the collapse of mutual support and assistance structures within and among pastoralist communities | can lead to structural impoverishment ('poverty traps')

Source: IDMC, 2014

Alongside movement of people, huge and early livestock migrations were reported, with livestock moving from areas with low rainfall to areas of higher rainfall. Woredas with better rainfall levels are sustaining high grazing pressure, leading to fears of pasture and water depletion. This abnormal migration of livestock was reported from Shabelle to Doolo, Korahe and Jarar zones: "We noticed large population movements from the south into areas [such] as Doolo. These migration routes have never been observed before", said the staff member of one international organisation. "This is happening to escape from the extreme drought, and it is a movement that finishes with a permanent situation. Traditionally, they moved and then they continued, but now it is totally different in terms of durability and intensity."

In areas such as the Somali region, the pastoral system is particularly fragile because of the deterioration of rangelands, the geographical dispersion of the population over a wide area, mobility limitations along cattle corridors, the encroachment of pastures by invasive plants, and human action. For these reasons, the Ethiopian government is finalising a new policy for pastoral development, which could be approved by December 2019: "The policy recognizes pastoralism as a viable economic activity that is suitable and adapted to vast rangelands, and it emphasizes that pastoral mobility is a key mechanism for ensuring the sustainability of PAP [Pastoral and Agro-pastoral] livelihoods."[11]

Pastoralists in Doolo zone face challenges because of the high vulnerability of prevailing livelihoods, low productivity and limited market links, limited opportunities to diversify livelihoods, and limited delivery of social and economic services.[12] Loss of livestock is forcing people to adapt. More than 68 percent of participants said their livelihoods were dependent on the weather before their displacement; now, just over half of the participants say their livelihoods are still weather-dependent. "Everyone wakes up very early and tries to find some labouring jobs", said one participant in Gafow. "Some of them go to the town as temporary workers, selling wood or stones, some have small tea places, others sell milk and others hunt rabbits or small animals at night."

"We never thought it was possible to live without livestock or in a non-mobile lifestyle."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

"My husband died and I'm the breadwinner of my family. I collect and sell wood in the market. Also, my son digs in the sand to extract and sell stones for construction."

FEMALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

In the midst of this difficult situation, there is great solidarity, which characterises this community culturally: "Those of us who work are responsible for sharing money with people who cannot work or are very weak", explained a man in Gafow.

"A FEELING OF HOPELESSNESS"

PROTRACTED DISPLACEMENT OF PASTORALISTS

People displaced by drought in the Somali region are in protracted displacement. Both camps in the case study, Gafow and Koracle, were opened in January 2017. The last group of IDPs arrived in March and May of that year respectively. Many end up stuck in this protracted situation, with scarce opportunities for self-reliance and local integration.

"It is a feeling of hopelessness. You have no means of livelihood. You don't have any other support and you are the responsible person in your family. We came with nothing to Koracle."

MALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

FOOD INSECURITY

Store owner, Warder

In the Horn of Africa, millions of people suffer from chronic and cyclic food insecurity; the increasing frequency and intensity of droughts induced by climate change is one of the drivers of this situation.

One of the costs of the drought in Ethiopia is that food insecurity and acute malnutrition levels remain inadmissibly high. The burden of acutely malnourished children in Ethiopia remains the highest in the Horn of Africa. The area of most concern is the Somali region. A quarter of the 8.13 million people in need of food assistance and 28 percent of the 5.91 million people in need of nutrition assistance are in the Somali region. The region also hosts the highest number of acutely malnourished children in the country.[13]

In the south and south-eastern pastoral areas of Ethiopia, food access for poor and very poor households remains significantly constrained because of a lack of pasture and water for livestock body improvement and production.[14] Food security outcomes in Doolo zone, in particular, remained in Crisis (IPC Phase 3) through September 2019. In major parts of the Somali region, poor house-holds are expected to be in Crisis (IPC Phase 3) through January 2020. Households in areas currently in this phase will move to Emergency (IPC Phase 4), while levels of acute malnutrition may rise further.[15]

IDPs are among the most vulnerable groups and immediate action must be taken because of the very harsh conditions in which they are living. The current level of food assistance provided is also very low and most IDPs depend on their hosting community for their livelihoods.[16]

"If we must stay here for a long time, we need to survive and we need food. Right now, we don't know what we are going to eat tomorrow."

MALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

Ration distribution, Warder, July 2019

"The rations are not regular. We haven't received them for the last two months. We have a problem with the red beans because this is not our normal food. We must cook with a lot of fire and we normally give them to the animals. We are not used to eating this kind of food."

FEMALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

Although livestock prices are rising compared with 2018 and the five-year average, the price of staple foods is rising at a greater rate. This is probably the result of below-average crop production, the increased availability of cash in the market generated from the government's productive safety net programme, Ethiopian currency inflation, a rise in the cost of fuel and spare parts, issues related to security in the transportation of food and greater demand from those parts of the region affected by drought. [17]

In the market in Warder, the wholesale price of maize was 700 birr in June 2019 ($23.80), 40 percent higher than last year, and 57 percent above the five-year average, respectively. Another example in this market is that the wholesale price of white sorghum was 1,000 birr in April 2019 ($34), which is 11 percent higher than last year and 64 percent above the five-year average. The price rises clearly affect the most vulnerable in the population, namely the displaced, who cannot afford these market prices and who consequently suffer from increased food insecurity.

"I've been working in this food store for the last five years. After the drought, the prices of the products that I sell, pasta, flavouring, sugar, oil and salt, increased because of the exchange rate with the dollar. Sugar and flavouring cost around 880 birr for 50 kilos, and now they cost 1,080 birr. IDPs suffer this situation because they can only buy a small number of products. Sometimes, we help them with some extra rations." STORE OWNER, WARDER

ACCESS TO DRINKING WATER

In Doolo zone, the Gu rains were reported to have been erratically distributed and excessively below normal levels, while certain areas remained dry. Some localised areas received only one or two days of rain. This had a dramatic impact on the availability of surface water and groundwater for human and livestock consumption; most water sources consist of natural and artificial ponds, boreholes, berkas and hand-dug wells. Most of the population (95 percent) depend on these seasonal berkas.[18]

At least 184,000 people in Doolo zone require emergency water trucking. The water that is available is very salty and unfit for human consumption. The huge number of IDPs hosted in Doolo zone are putting pressure on already overstretched water infrastructure. Twenty-four percent of the camps for IDPs report access to less than five litres of water per person per day. The main sources of drinking water in Gafow and Koracle are public water taps, boreholes and water trucks. The situation is better in Gafow than Koracle, which is suffering from a serious shortage of water.

"We came to Gafow because of the availability of water. There is a motor that takes water from the wheels to the shared taps. In fact, Gafow is the original name of the closest small lake to this camp."

FEMALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

"Water is the first pressing issue. People don't have water in Koracle. The water taps built are not functional anymore."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

Traditional berka, Koracle camp

SHELTER AND PROTECTION

Displaced pastoralists live at ad hoc sites and settlements, in relatively underdeveloped and marginalised settings. Peri-urban host communities such as Warder are characterised by pre-existing and precarious socio-economic situations. These include chronic malnutrition, limited access to basic social services and economic infrastructure, poor livelihood opportunities and a diminishing natural resource base. Consecutive years of drought and a profound nutrition crisis have accentuated the hardships faced by the region's population, severely depleting communities' coping mechanisms and resilience at a time when they are most needed.

More than 50 per cent of households surveyed were living in emergency, temporary or poor-quality, makeshift shelters, made of old tarpaulins, old cloths and sticks.[19] In Gafow and Koracle, families are sheltering outside peri-urban Warder in small plots under the trees, sometimes sharing with three or more households. More than 90 per cent of households said they lived in a makeshift shelter (made of plastic sheeting, for example). These shelters fall significantly below Sphere standards and offer limited defence against the elements.

"These are temporary shelters. To survive and stay here in the long term, we need better housing. When it's cold or [when it] rains, my family and children get wet. Also, it is very difficult to live inside when it's very hot. Protection is very poor here and we are very vulnerable to cold, rain and any kind of thief." MALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

Poor shelters also leave inhabitants vulnerable to a variety of protection concerns, including gender-based violence, child abuse, child labour, separated or unaccompanied children, abuse towards people with disabilities, psychosocial distress, harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation, and early marriage. Yet according to key informants, few or very limited services are available for vulnerable groups.

Women's lives, in particular, are generally governed by patriarchal beliefs and customs, which often prevent them from accessing services and from making their own decisions. Female genital mutilation, involving very serious health risks, is still widely practised, with prevalence rates of 74 per cent in Ethiopia.[20] Domestic, sexual and gender-based violence remain a significant protection concern.

Families displaced by drought still living in provisional shelters after more than three years

ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE

Health centres in zones such as Doolo are severely understaffed. The hospital in Warder only has one badly equipped ambulance, there is a shortage of electricity and water, and the infrastructure uses fuel for the electricity generator 24 hours a day. There are also severe shortages of life-saving medicines to treat outbreaks of diseases. According to one healthcare professional, Warder's hospital was previously managed by an international NGO. Since their departure, the government has so far been unable to address the resulting budget deficit. "After the NGO left, people must pay for the health assistance and they cannot afford it; certainly not the IDPs", he explained.

Doolo zone reported the highest number of cases of measles in 2018. Malaria, chikungunya, dengue fever, acute watery diarrhoea, cholera and meningitis are other concerns. These diseases could be anticipated as a result of below-normal Gu rainfall, the lack of safe water, poor cold-chain management and a shortage of drugs and medical supplies. The widespread practice of open defecation in IDP sites exacerbates the risk of disease.

Over 58 percent of respondents in Gafow and Koracle described healthcare as bad or very bad, predominantly due to the distance of health facilities which are not available within the camps. Despite this, most families said their access to healthcare facilities had actually improved since coming to the area.

"In terms of services, this place has better services than Badhan-cad. We have better access to water and children are going to school. We would like to stay here because we have better education and better services. We have access to a better life here."

FEMALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

"We don't want to go back to rural areas because we have already seen what is here in a small town in Warder; mainly, the services. We have a better quality of life here than in our previous remote areas."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

Families displaced by drought still living in provisional shelters after more than three years

"WE CAME TO KORACLE BECAUSE WE HAD THE INFORMATION THAT DROUGHT-AFFECTED COMMUNITIES RECEIVED COOKED FOOD"

Female pastoralist, 32. She lives at the Koracle camp for IDPs with her husband and seven children.

"Three years ago, we lived in Lahelow with 100 camels, around 20 cows and 200 sheep and goats. By the time we came here, we only had eight goats and two female camels. We came to Koracle because we had the information that drought-affected communities received cooked food. During these three years, we have sold the camels and some goats. The most serious problem for us is water, because the shared [water] taps are not functional. Besides, there is no healthcare here and we have to pay for it. For now, we don't have any other plan than to stay here in the long term."

"WE FEEL THAT WE ARE LIKE BEGGARS BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE A CHOICE"

Male pastoralist, 54. He arrived at the Koracle camp for IDPs three years ago from Dhedin rural area.

"We live here with my wife and seven children. I'm one of the elder leaders in this site. The drought affected all our animals and we came here close to the water, but we didn't know anyone. We have experience with droughts when a lot of families lived together, but this time the drought affected everything. We didn't have camels to transport and we had a feeling of desperation because our only livelihood is our livestock. The government and NGOs did a really good job, but the support decreased and now we have pressing issues with water, health and depression because we don't have jobs. We feel that we are like beggars because we don't have a choice. There are no plans; just waiting for the support from the government and the international organisations."

"WE WOULD LIKE TO STAY HERE BECAUSE WE HAVE ACCESS TO BETTER SERVICES"

Female pastoralist, 45. She left Badhan-cad three years ago and arrived in Gafow without any animals.

"The drought was the reason because we lost 40 camels and 150 sheep and goats. The animals were too weak or died and we decided to move here, renting some donkeys. We had the information that the government was helping the people here in Gafow. We would like to stay here because we have access to better services. Besides, we don't have livestock and we don't need to move because we don't have to find pasture or water for the animals. Also, we are making some friends in Warder and we can find support."

"THE DROUGHT AFFECTED THE ANIMALS EVERY DAY"

Male pastoralist, 45. He lives at the Gafow camp for IDPs with his wife and 13 children. Qotomalay, his place of origin, was affected by the drought and they lost 20 camels and 300 goats and sheep.

"The animals almost died in the surroundings of Gafow. We sent half of our family here to create these shelters. The oldest men of the family remained with the animals in Qotomalay. We couldn't use the animals as transport because they were very weak. The drought affected them every day. One of them died, another one died and, on the way to Gafow, most of them died. There is no reason to go back to Qotomalay because we don't have any animals. We don't know or we don't expect anything from NGOs or the government."

"WE CAME TO GAFOW BECAUSE MY FAMILY ORIGINALLY BELONGS HERE"

Male pastoralist, 36. He arrived, with his wife and seven children, at the Gafow camp for IDPs three years ago from Mir-Khalifa.

"We came to Gafow because my family originally belongs here. We were living for the animals. We sell them, use them for transport or food. After the drought affected our livestock, our life is more dependent on the support of the government and the NGOs. We had a female camel and 70 goats and sheep. Now, we only have four goat kids. We don't have the capacity to move to another place and we don't have any reason to do so because we don't have animals. Even if we have animals again, my recommendation is not to move because we don't have the experience and the capacity that we had in the past. We have learnt many things from the last drought, when two consecutive rainy seasons failed. If only one rainy season fails, we can take our animals to places and keep them alive with grass. We can manage that. But two consecutive rainy seasons failed; it is very difficult."

"WE DON'T HAVE ANY EXPECTATIONS TO RECEIVE ANYTHING FROM THE GOVERNMENT OR THE NGOs"

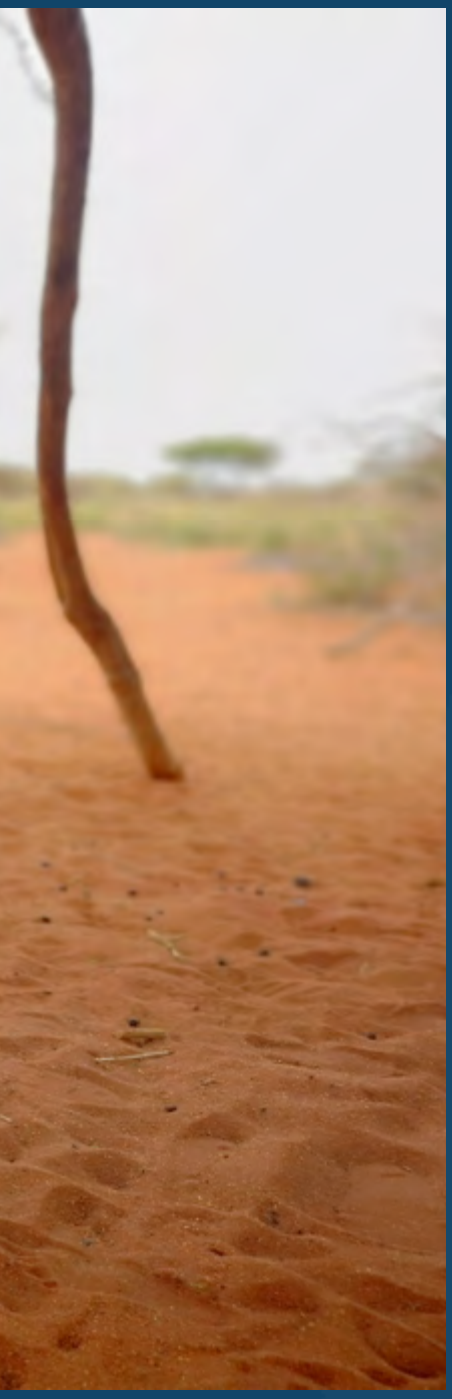
Female pastoralist, 40. She is from Kaam Yaxye village, a four-hour walk from Gafow, the camp for IDPs where she currently lives with her husband and five children.

"We had 30 camels, 25 cows and 100 goats and sheep. By the day we came here, we only had eight goats left. We arrived here one and a half years ago, because some animals were still alive but they died during the cold season. We want to stay here, even with animals; we don't have plans to move. However, we don't have any expectations to receive anything from the government or the NGOs. I think the most probable option is to find a regular labouring job in Warder."

"WHEN WE CAME TO THIS PLACE, WE CAME WITH NOTHING"

Male pastoralist, 35. He is from Dheerdheerlay, a five-hour walk from the Koracle camp for IDPs.

"When we came to this place, we came with nothing. We had around 80 camels and 300 goats and sheep. The drought affected almost everything we had. My grandparents experienced another drought, but we didn't have experience of a drought where two consecutive rainy seasons failed. Some of our relatives were affected by diarrhoea. That was the worst time, when we also lost our transport, the camels, and we didn't have animals left to move. Nowadays, we have ten goats for three families. In addition, when there are some labouring jobs in the market, we go there. We don't have any idea where we'll get livestock from again, but we don't have any expectations that we'll receive [any] from anyone. We don't expect that anyone [will] help us any more."



"WE NEVER THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO LIVE WITHOUTH LIVESTOCK OR IN A NON-MOBILE LIFESTYLE"

Male pastoralist, 25. He came from Hareri Kaldhacay three years ago because of the drought. He currently lives at the Koracle camp for IDPs with his wife and five children.

"When the drought started, we had hoped the rains [would] come back again. Before the animals died, they became weak and sat down all the time. They couldn't even stand up or walk. Initially, women and children came here. Some of us were with the animals and we fed them from the trees, but, finally, we had to come back. After many families arrived here, the government and people living in Warder helped us. We never thought it was possible to live without livestock or in a non-mobile lifestyle. We are trying to do our very best but we don't have a permanent livelihood. We also depend on support from relatives. I am planning that my children have [an] education. I'm not planning to go back to rural areas and a pastoral way of life."

"I REMEMBER THAT 80 PER CENT OF THE PASTORALISTS LOST THEIR LIVESTOCK DURING THE DROUGHT"

Male, 24. He is from Warder, where he opened this clothes and cosmetics store five years ago.

"I remember that 80 per cent of the pastoralists lost their livestock during the drought. They came to Warder and the government helped them with something to eat. I have not seen anything like this before or have even heard [about it] from my parents. There were people in need in Warder during the drought. Some [of the] IDPs are relatives. People feel responsible and we give a hand to our brothers. Life in Warder is generally fair, but business is quiet. Not many people buy things. Some of those who work for the government buy things when they have money. We need two things here. The first one is water, because there is water only in some parts of Warder. The other one is health. Some time back, an NGO was working in the hospital and everything was free; but now, the services are not free."

"IDPs COME TO THE STORES AND THEY BUY A SMALL NUMBER OF PRODUCTS BECAUSE THEY CANNOT AFFORD THEM"

Male, 26. For the last five years, he has been working in this food rations store. He is from Warder.

"IDPs come to the stores and they buy a small number of products because they cannot afford them. I help them, [by] giving [them] some extra rations. The relation[ship with IDPs] is very smooth. There are a lot of people from the same clan and they are like relatives. When people arrived [here], there was a lot of pressure on the clans and relatives. The government, during those days, helped a lot with food. But the new administration is not making [any] significant efforts to help these people. The situation nowadays is very hard again. Two things are a priority in Warder. Firstly, health, because the hospital was run by an NGO and when they left everything is really expensive. The health service is worse. The water system has to be established in Warder. If the health and water systems are better, [then] the conditions for integrating the IDPs will improve."

"ACCESS TO A BETTER LIFE"

SEEKING DURABLE SOLUTIONS, A PREFERENCE FOR LOCAL INTEGRATION

Among households surveyed in Gafow and Koracle, a majority intend to remain in their peri-urban host community, predominantly in order to remain close to their families and place of origin. According to a member of the Somali Region's Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau, patterns of displacement are influenced by clan affiliation. Most pastoralists who suffer large livestock losses are displaced to their extended family's woreda.

A positive aspect of this local integration is the coexistence between IDPs and the host community. "The relationship is very smooth. We help them. A lot of them are from the same clan and we regard them as relatives. Conflicts start when two different clans are settled in the same area", said one host community member.

Improved security and enhanced access to services in the host community can also motivate people to seek local integration. "We would like to stay here because we have better education and services," explained one female pastoralist. "We have access to a better life here."

Loss of the livestock also dissuades displaced pastoralists from resuming their former semi-nomadic lifestyle, which focused on moving with their animals to find better pasture and water. Without animals, they have no reason to move.

"We don't have livestock now and we don't need to move. For us, the animals are more than animals; we moved because of them. Our livestock is our livelihood; our life."

MALE PASTORALIST, GAFOW CAMP

Local integration is a situation where former IDPs, based on a voluntary and informed decision, have achieved safe, dignified and sustainable integration in the location they were displaced to. Those who do not meet the criteria set out in this definition should still be considered as IDPs.

Survey participants were asked what they would need to make this local integration possible and the most common responses were job creation, vocational training, livestock, and cash. Other emphasised the importance of education, health, clean water, latrines, accommodation, blankets and mosquito nets.

Based on the list of Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS) indicators, displaced pastoralists and the host community in Warder were asked, in the qualitative methodology, to prioritise the indicators they consider key in order to move towards a durable solution. They prioritised the material safety criteria in a clear reference to job access and economic opportunities.[21] They also referred to the urgent need to develop effective and accessible mechanisms to restore shelter, land and property throughout an adequate standard of housing and an adequate standard of living: access to food, drinking water, sanitation and hygiene, healthcare, education and social protection mechanisms.

The regional and zonal authorities interviewed agreed that, in order to increase the sustainability of local integration, it is vital to boost the quantity, quality and access to basic public services in peri-urban host communities like Warder. The priority is to rehabilitate and construct basic water, health and education services and infrastructure.

Despite a desire to achieve successful local integration, the population in both camps for IDPs expressed very low expectations and the feeling that the authorities had abandoned them. Many also expressed their exhaustion in the face of continual assessments with little progress in their situation.

"We don't have plans, we are just waiting for the support from the government and NGOs because we don't have the capacities to overcome the situation…We know that the government is really busy with the new administration and the security situation in the country, but we don't have any plan without them."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

DURABLE SOLUTIONS STRATEGIES

The Ethiopian government, with the technical support of the UN, has set up an IDP advisory group and a federal-level Durable Solutions Working Group. Ethiopia's Durable Solutions Initiative (DSI), launched in December 2019, provides an operational framework to design and implement durable solutions in support of IDPs and host communities.

The government and UN agencies participating in this research declared that, "now is the time for taking action from donors to support the existing partners and agencies with expertise in durable solutions." Despite the need to move forward in durable solutions, its implementation faces two main obstacles: the lack of donor funding and the prioritisation by the federal government of those displaced by conflict.

TABLE 2: Durable solutions initiatives in Ethiopia

Level	Initiative	Partners
Somali region	Somali Region Durable Solutions Working Group	Somali region Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
		IOM
Federal level	Durable Solutions Initiative	Durable Solutions Initiative
Federal level	Plan of Action marking 20 years of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GP20) in Ethiopia	Government of Ethiopia – National Disaster Risk Management Commission
		IOM
		UN Resident Coordinator's Office
Federal level	UN Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework	UN system and government
Federal level	Intergovernmental Authority on Development – Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative	Ministry of Peace
Federal level	Multi-Year Resilience Strategy	UN entities
		NGOs
		Academia
		UN member states
		World Bank
		ICRC

The Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator called, in September 2019, for additional funding to promote durable solutions and to address Ethiopia's humanitarian needs: "Donors have historically been extremely generous to Ethiopia during its worst crises. Now we hope they will also invest more in prevention and long-term recovery efforts so that we can build resilience and break the cycle of recurrent crises – in Ethiopia the next emergency may be only one failed rainy season away."[22]

Research participants from the government, UN agencies and NGOs argue for donors to take more risks and engage in durable solutions involving humanitarian, development and peace actors. The message from the Somali region, and from some agencies at the federal level, is that donors and partners cannot continue to provide emergency assistance when the needs are clearly for long-term solutions given the protracted nature of some of the displacement issues.

In the Somali region, durable solutions strategies propose a long-term development approach to displacement beyond supporting short-term humanitarian needs. The Somali region government launched a prioritised Emergency Preparedness and Response Plan after the poor performance of the 2019 April–July rainy season.[23] This durable solutions development approach is clearly embedded in efforts to produce common humanitarian-development-peace strategies to address the root causes of displacement and to avoid creating aid dependency. Participants have acknowledged that any durable solutions strategy will have to align short term humanitarian needs with long-term development approaches, and that a paradigm shift from crisis to risk management is much needed.

The Somali region, however, has been neglected in terms of development for many years, with few actors and development agencies active in the field. Regional and national entities, UN agencies, donors and NGOs have also raised concerns about coordination mechanisms, suggesting the region's durable solutions working group should lead efforts to harmonise humanitarian and development activities for better coordination.

The Somali regional government and UN agencies advocate for durable solutions initiatives to be implemented through existing local systems, mainly the underdeveloped zonal and woreda or district institutions. Forthcoming efforts intend to strengthen the resilience of authorities and capacities of federal, regional, zonal and woreda authorities and improve the coordination of operations across all levels in a whole-of-government approach.

"Coordination for development efforts in the region is still missing. The government has identified drought-induced displacement as a developmental challenge, and we should have a solid platform to coordinate in this way, but we don't have that here."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION STAFF

Following the sharp increase in conflict displacement, those displaced by drought are receiving less attention still. "The funds shifted from drought-induced IDPs to conflict-displaced people", said one key informant. "This is now the priority for all the humanitarian funds".

Humanitarian assistance has gradually shrunk in the region in the last couple of years due to conflict in other parts of the country. "Before 2019, there were a lot of NGOs working here", another key informant said. "But nowadays most of them have left." In Ethiopia, humanitarian actors have received less than 30 percent of the $1.3 billion requested as part of the country's humanitarian response plan. Approximately half of these funds have been provided by the Ethiopian government.[24]

"There is no donor interested in supporting drought-induced IDPs. Donors also prefer to assist in the emergency phase than in the long term. The need now is to get the donors involved."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION STAFF

BUILDING RESILIENCE TO DROUGHT

Addressing displacement triggered by drought in a way that goes beyond providing care and aid implies increasing livelihood recovery activities. In this sense, building local capacities is considered a protection strategy, which is at the heart of durable solutions initiatives. Participants in the research agreed that resilience of livelihoods is a central consideration of durable solutions initiatives and a fundamental demand of IDPs.

"The government, UN agencies, donors and NGOs are fed up with the prolonged humanitarian response, and the communities are fed up with waiting to receive food rations."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION STAFF

Livelihood resilience refers to the heightened capacity of pastoralists and systems to anticipate, respond to and recover from hazards such as drought. In order to ensure an adequate standard of living, displaced households need to be supported to develop diversified and sustainable livelihoods that will contribute to increased resilience. Identifying suitable livelihood and income-generating activities that strengthen local integration should remain one of the main focuses of durable solutions programmes in the region.

The regional government and the UN agencies interviewed proposed the creation of a diversification framework to support the livelihood resilience approach. This framework would be designed to identify gaps related to skills and economic activities with the support of households to find individualised solutions, such as vocational training, the provision of start-up capital, and the enhancement of social protection benefits, such as the productive safety net programme. "Finding livelihood opportunities is a core part of the sustainability of durable solutions", argued one key informant.

Some interventions could be also based on food or cash incentives to build resilient community assets such as roads, marketplaces, water systems, and sanitation. These incentives could also be used to support community-based rehabilitation or the construction of permanent and safe shelters, one of the priorities for IDPs displaced by drought in the Somali region.

One example is the community-based disaster risk management strategy, which was developed in zones such as Doolo in the Somali region. The whole community, including women, youth and elders, participate in the disaster risk reduction committees. They are given an initial cash grant to discuss the current situation and produce weather forecasts for the next season based on their experience as traditional experts: "The objective is to build the capacities of the locals and look for alternatives in terms of livelihoods", explained a member of the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau.

An important debate is currently taking place about whether or not to include the option of restocking as part of the livelihood resilience strategy. Some are reluctant to undertake restocking actions because of the risk of further livestock losses in future droughts. "Is the pastoralist way of life sustainable?", questioned the staff member of one international organisation. "I don't think restocking is one way to go with the consecutive droughts."

Opinion is also divided with regards to the prospective impacts of restocking. Since raising livestock is not possible in peri-urban areas, restocking could prompt many to return to a pastoral and semi-nomadic way of life. Yet proximity to peri-urban areas such as Warder enables better access to services such as education, healthcare and water.

"If we have livestock again, we are not taking our children out of the school. Some parts of the family will remain here, and others will go back to our pastoral lifestyle."

MALE PASTORALIST, KORACLE CAMP

Because of the severity of the last drought, IDPs in Gafow and Koracle felt they had developed new coping strategies: "We have learnt a lot from the experience we had in the past. We can do two things if another drought comes", said a pastoralist in Koracle. "First, we can sell the animals and make money before we run out of pasture and water, and, after the drought, buy animals again. Second, in small towns like Warder, there are more services and infrastructure. We can come here to the animal feeding centres during the drought."

This emphasises the need for greater commitment to put people at the centre of the durable solutions agenda and to view them, not as victims, but as experts of their own situation who can actively participate in decision-making and planning processes in order to improve the sustainability of durable solutions. The sustainability of these efforts is one of the most important criteria of the so-called New Way of Working in Ethiopia. This is especially relevant for the neglected drought crisis in the Somali region, where IDPs are highly dependent on aid. A durable solutions initiative, based on strengthening institutional and local capacities, would overcome these challenges by installing capacities in national, regional and local institutions, and national NGOs and communities affected by displacement, through grass-roots groups and committees of IDPs.

AN OPEN CONCLUSION

Climate change has influenced forced displacement trends in the Horn of Africa. Because of their vulnerability, pastoralists displaced by drought in the Somali region have found refuge with local host communities in fragile peri-urban contexts, with a preference for longer-term local integration. Difficult living conditions and protracted dry seasons place more pressure on host communities and put processes for durable solutions at risk.

The general view of research participants is that Ethiopia is experiencing a neglected crisis. IDPs displaced by drought in some parts of the Somali region are a forgotten population, who depend entirely on emergency aid at a time when humanitarian response plans in Ethiopia are significantly underfunded.[25] This feeling of being abandoned partly reflects the difficulties the government and its international partners are having in finding donors to fund durable solutions initiatives. Conflict is now considered the priority.

In April 2019, the Ministry of Peace and National Disaster Risk Management Commission launched a national strategy to end displacement associated with conflict. The government aims to ensure that conflict displacement in Somalia does not become protracted. But is already happening for those displaced by drought. IDPs in Gafow and Koracle remain in a place of supposed refuge without regaining their dignity. It is necessary not only to fund durable solutions, but also to finance these initiatives in the long term and in a sustainable way. This requires a new, coherent and participatory approach at the heart of the interventions.

Investments in past decades have tended to focus on humanitarian assistance, food aid and cash-for-work in pastoral areas. More recent investments, however, have emphasised community and livelihood development through institutional capacity-building. This includes improving the basic services of host communities, and livelihood resilience and diversification, improving the local capacities of IDPs and host communities.

Bridging the humanitarian-development-peace divide through a livelihood resilience approach could advance opportunities for durable solutions, strengthening income generation and reinforcing social cohesion. In order to be sustainable, interventions require close coordination between the different national and international stakeholders. Working with grass-roots and community groups is essential for sustainability.

Given the participatory action research nature of this study, the conclusion remains open. Research findings will be communicated to participants, especially to those displaced by drought and their host community. Together, IDPs in Gafow and Koracle, the host community in Warder, the government, UN agencies and NGOs can work to co-build an effective framework for durable solutions in the Somali region.

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