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Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

Inhalt

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AABOLSA	Addis Ababa Bureau of Labour Social Affairs
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACPMD	African Common Position on Migration and Development
AU	Africa Union
AIR	African Institute for Remittances
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AUC	African Union Commission
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDO	Citizens and Diaspora Organisations
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DM&N	Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
ECOSOCC	AU Economic, Social, and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EEF	Ethiopian Employers Federation
EOEAA	Ethiopian Overseas Employment Agencies Association
ESA	Eastern and Southern Africa
ESA-IO	Eastern and Southern Africa-and Indian Ocean
EYF	Ethiopian Youth Federation
EU	European Union
EWF	Ethiopian Women's Federation
FeMSEDA	Federal Micro and Small Enterprises Development Agency
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
G.C	Gorgonian Calendar

GoE	Government of Ethiopia
ICBT	Informal Cross-Border Trade
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross/Red Crescent
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
IGAD-ISSP	IGAD Security Sector Programme
IGAD-RCP	IGAD-Regional Consultative Process
IGAD-RMPF	IGAD-Regional Migration Policy Framework
ILO	International Labour Organization
I-MAP	IGAD-Migration Action Plan
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPF	IGAD Partners' Forum
ISC	Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MF	Migration Fund
MIP	Minimum Integration Plan
M&N	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
MPFA	Migration Policy Framework for Africa
MSs	Member States of IGAD
NCM	National Coordination Mechanism
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NMP	National Migration Policy
NHRIs	National Human Rights Institutions
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
RMCC	Regional Migration Coordination Committee
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
ToR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USD   United States Dollar

Map 1: *Ethiopian – Regional States and Humanitarian Emergency Needs*
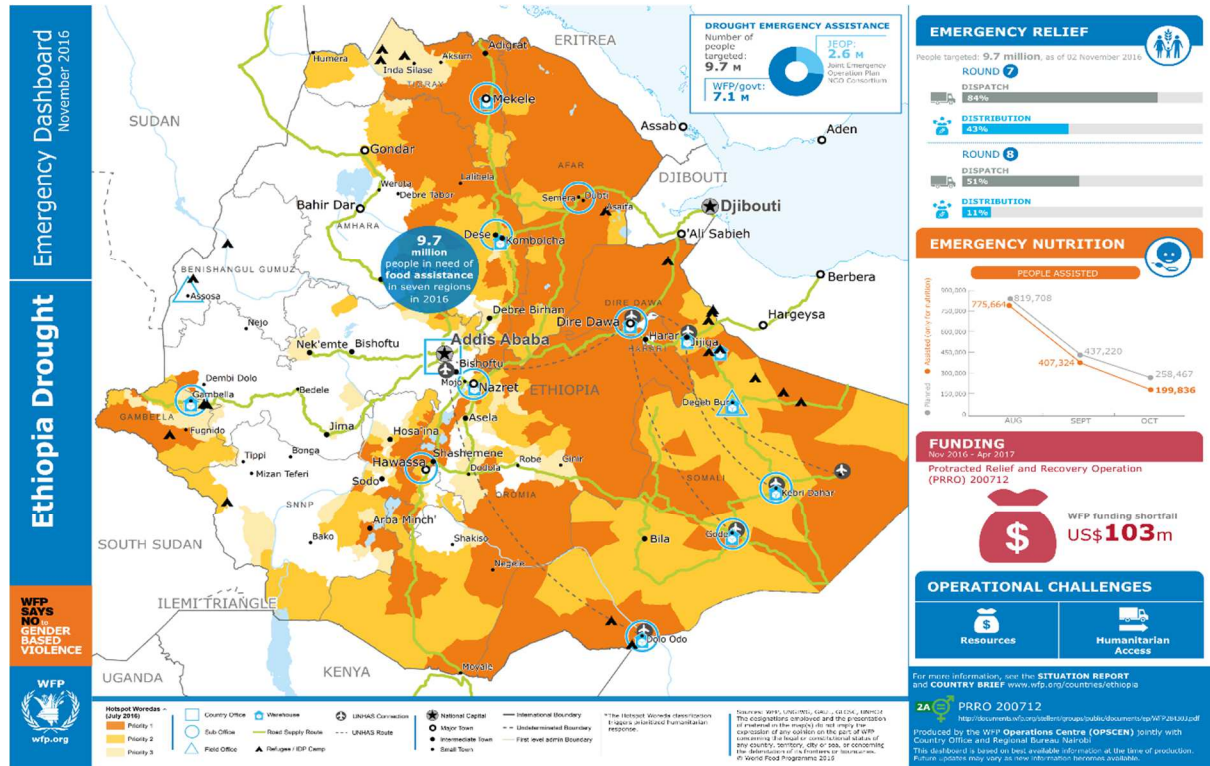
Source: WFP, November 2016

Executive Summary[1]

With more than 700,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Ethiopia produces 10.4 percent of the total IDP population in the IGAD region. More than 17 percent of the global number and half of Africa's IDPs are in the Horn of Africa. Excluding pastoralist mobility and those migrants displaced due to man-made disasters and development projects, the IGAD region currently produces 6.5 million IDPs, of which 88 percent of this population is in Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia.[2] The IDP population in Ethiopia is three times greater than the number of Ethiopian refugees in many other countries, and close to the total number of refugees hosted by Ethiopia.

As of April 2016, there were 777,147 IDPs in Ethiopia due to a variety of causes. Conflict-induced Displacement (CID) constituted only 26 percent, whereas the remaining IDPs are due to flooding, drought, and wildfires. Between August 2015 and April 2016, there were 454,457 IDPs caused by drought, flooding, local conflicts, and wild fires. Somali (64.5 percent due to flooding), Gambella (14 percent due to conflicts), SNNP (10.6 percent due to flooding), Afar (6 percent due to flooding), Oromia (2 percent due to flooding), Amhara (1.5 percent due to flooding), as well as Harari, (1 percent) were the sources and hosts of these IDPs. Forty-eight percent of the IDPs were females. More than 30 percent of the total IDPs have already returned to their homes. In April 2016, there were 637,901 IDPs from protracted displacement, while 139,246 IDPs were newly displaced in April 2016.

This number does not include Development-induced Displacement (DID) and Man-made Disaster−induced Displacement (MDID). In the past 10 years, Ethiopia is estimated to have had

close to 220,000 IDPs due to DID, emanating from infrastructure projects, including dams, industries and industrial parks, railways, roads, and urban renewal programmes. Most of these IDPs were resettled in other locations by the GoE, particularly by regional states and Woreda (district) authorities. Thus, if we include IDPs due to DID in the figure, the number of IDPs in Ethiopia has been close to a million.

In addition to the staggering number of IDPs, inevitably internal displacement negates the most fundamental of human rights. The extreme circumstances under which IDPs struggle to survive, only compounds the problem. This is particularly true with regard to freedom of movement and residence as well as rights to life, livelihood, health, education, property and so on. Seen through the prism of human rights, not only freedom of movement and residence are of concern, but also the freedom to remain in a place of one's choosing. Internal displacement causes people to be uprooted against their will. Ensuring freedom of movement and residence thus provides protection against forced displacement and unlawful eviction.[3]

Internal displacement and freedom of movement exhibit special causes, dynamics, and consequences in the Ethiopian federal system. Ethiopia has been governed, since 1991, under an ethnic federal constitution, which also addressed the main causes of long-standing unrest and civil war in Ethiopia. However, the federal arrangement also spawned new localized conflicts. Moreover, in Ethiopia, the recurrence of famine is still the main source of food insecurity. Three important factors contribute to the causes and consequences of internal displacement: the ethnic federal structure, the persistent threat of famine, and ethnic conflicts. Both famine and ethnic federalism (as the outcome and aggravating factors of ethnic conflicts) often result in population displacement.[4] Large-scale migration

[2] IDMC, Latest Update of IDPs (by May 2015), available from http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures (accessed 22 August 2015).

[3] UN Human Rights Committee(UNHRC) "General Comments" available from http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/6c76e1b8ee1710e380256824005a10a9?Opendocument (accessed 09 November 2016).

[4] For detailed discussion on this, read Maru, Mehari Taddele (2004), Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Ethiopia, Unpublished Dissertation, University

has been shown to undermine, considerably, the rights of regional states to semi-autonomous self-government and other constitutional rights (such as preservation of culture and customary land rights) of Ethiopia's ethno-cultural communities. In ethnic federalism, power is shared in direct proportion to the populations of ethno-cultural communities. The relative sizes of ethno-cultural populations would determine the proportional devolution of power, accorded to each individual regional state. Therefore, in ethnic federalism, migration (forced or spontaneous) could easily affect the demographic balance and thereof the power relationships between ethnic communities. Substantial changes in population ratios could result in reversals of power in ethnic state-state and state-federal relationships. Thus, migration and mobility encounter more restrictions in an ethnically-based federal system than in a unitary system. Ethiopian ethnic federalism (for that matter, most ethnic federalism) is "holding-together federalism" that differs from "coming-together federalism". While the former is mostly imposed, the latter is voluntary federalism. "Holding-together federalism" has different implications for internal migration, compared to "coming-together federalism". In particular, "holding-together federalism" is much more restrictive of migration rights.

Protracted refugee complications and tensions with host communities could cause internal displacement. For example, Gambella is an Ethiopian regional state that shares a porous international border with South Sudan, where the national identity of the inhabitants (as in all border areas) is very fluid and where both internal and international displacement may trigger and accelerate conflict by upsetting the demographic balance. At the end of 2003, the Gambella regional state of Ethiopia experienced violent inter-ethnic conflict. More than 20,000 people were internally displaced within Ethiopia or fled to Sudan.[5] These IDPs and refugees were mainly from the Anywaa ethnic community. The violence was sparked by an attack on a United Nations (UN) vehicle in early December 2003.

Eight people in the vehicle were killed, including three UN refugee workers who were trying to construct a new refugee camp in the region to serve the Nuer community as well as other South Sudanese refugees. Migration created arguments and disagreements about the outcome of the 1994 population census, because of its implications for power sharing between ethnic communities. An Anywaa radical group was blamed for the attack on the UN vehicle. In the resultant conflict, emanating from the census findings, more than one hundred and ninety people were killed and hundreds of homes were destroyed. Despite lower levels of violence, refugee-host community tensions resulted in rioting and revenge attacks in and around the Jewi refugee camp in Gambella, following a traffic accident on 21 April 2016 that killed two refugee children.

Another cause of internal displacement in Ethiopia has been attributed to planned resettlement programmes and relocations due to development projects by the GoE and regional states. The GoE has been conducting a new resettlement programme as a part of its Food Security Programme. The previous Ethiopian regimes encouraged migration and implemented massive forced resettlement programs that uprooted more than 600,000 people to relocate them to areas traditionally inhabited by ethno-cultural indigenous and minority groups. As a matter of official policy, resettlement programs are intended to address economic development concerns. Nonetheless, this was not always the case. In the 1980s, the Derg (previous military regime of Ethiopia) forcibly resettled more than 600,000 people.[6] People from the northern highland region of Ethiopia (for example, Tigray) were compelled to resettle in the South and South Western parts of Ethiopia (for example, Oromia and Gambella). Unlike the Derg relocations, recent resettlements have been voluntary. There was no physical coercion. However, during the early stages of the resettlement process, inadequate preparations and a lack of prior consultation between the host communities and the intended settlers affected long-term settlement very negatively. Albeit difficult to quantify, the resettlement pro-

of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House.
[5] Ibid.

[6] Based on the Ethiopian experience of resettlement as "relocating people in areas other than their own".

grammes have produced significant numbers of IDPs.

With the aim of investigating the scope for suitable policy interventions on internal displacement by German and European Development actors, this study presents an informed perspective on the governance of internal displacement in Ethiopia. The Study elaborates on the situation and governance of internal displacement in Ethiopia. In particular, it provides current data on internally displaced persons in Ethiopia, maps the landscape of actors engaged in assisting them, and proposes possible policy interventions.

The study examines the situation through the following four critical prisms: situations and drivers of internal displacement in Ethiopia, the profile of IDPs, the governance capability related to internal displacement, the nexus between internal displacement and international migration, and the kind of partnership required between the Government of Ethiopia and its partners.

In assessing the situation and providing data, the study employs an approach based on five causes: Natural disaster-induced displacement (NDID); Man-made-disaster-induced displacement (MDID); Conflict-induced displacement (CID); Pastoralism and Displacement; and Development-induced displacement (DID). In Ethiopia, the most consequential and recurrent natural disasters that have had significant impacts on people's lives and livelihoods are droughts, earthquakes, floods, human and livestock diseases, pestilence, wildfires, and landslides.

The research also identifies some key governance challenges related to internal displacement, including violations of fundamental human rights concerning physical security, livelihood, access to land, health, education, freedom of mobility, labour market access, and civic registration, which are all explained in detail. Essentially, the study also examines the existing normative, institutional, collaborative, and financial frameworks aimed at the effective governance of internal displacement. By way of conclusion, the study lists key findings and advances specific recommendations that may

produce locally-informed ideas, leading to suitable and sustainable interventions.

Background: Setting the Scene

The increase of instances of displacement is a global trend. A research project based at SWP investigates both the challenges and the opportunities that countries of origin, transit, and destination face in the context of displacement, and develops policy recommendations for an effective and sustainable linkage between humanitarian aid and longer-term technical and financial development cooperation. While German and European policy interventions are focused on cross-border displacement, internally displaced persons (IDPs) constitute the largest number of those displaced worldwide. Internal displacement (whether due to conflict, natural, and man-made disasters, or large-scale development projects) is often linked to governance deficits, yet little research focuses on the question of what contribution development cooperation can make, to address these governance deficits. In the context of the overarching research project, SWP plans to address this question through commissioning a number of country case studies that will serve both as stand-alone reports and feed into an empirically informed overview of the governance challenges and possible policy interventions related to internal displacement (SWP-Studies 2017).

One of the country case studies is Ethiopia. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimates that as of July 2015, there were over 413,400 IDPs in Ethiopia due to inter-communal and cross-border violence, most of them living in protracted displacement situations, with the Somali region being the most displacement-affected region. At least 631,163 people were displaced within the period of August 2015 to May 2016 due to El Nino. Flooding displaced 173,695 people, while drought directly displaced 188,243. In July 2012 to May 2016, fires forced 535 people to flee. Although rare, a volcanic eruption displaced 5,700 people. In the past eight years, conflict has displaced more than 459,733 people. At the same time, Ethiopia is host to a large number of refugees from neighboring countries. Currently, close to 800,000 refugees reside in Ethiopia, with the majority of them originating from South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea,

and Sudan. This makes Ethiopia the largest refugee-hosting country in Africa. The current tensions and increases in inter-communal violence threaten further displacement and may negatively affect already vulnerable IDPs.

The study portrays a comprehensive and detailed overview of the situation of internal displacement and its governance in Ethiopia. In Part I, the study offers a conceptualization of migration and internal displacement, and the current numbers of IDPs in Ethiopia. More specifically, Part I also identifies ten primary displacement hotspots. The driving forces, causes, triggers, and accelerators of internal displacement are also identified. Part II of the study lists the direct and indirect impact of internal displacement on IDPs and the political, social, economic, and environmental spaces affecting the host communities. In Part III, the main challenges, namely, prediction, prevention, responses, and adaption to internal displacement, are addressed. Part IV describes the existing governance framework with particular focus on the normative, institutional, and collaborative frameworks. It lists key relevant policies, proclamations, and regulations. It also offers an overview of actors involved in the governance of internal displacement, including data collection. The study provides examples of capability limitations and political positions as well as policy impediments to data governance (availability, quality, comprehensiveness, accessibility, and dissemination). It identifies key inadequacies, major shortcomings, and areas requiring reforms towards effective governance of internal displacement. Part V presents key findings and advances specific recommendations. It recommends an evidence-based strategic and policy development process, different from the current ideologically-driven political position of the denial of internal displacement in Ethiopia. The study proposes tailor-made recommendations for consideration by the German Government and other development partners, as well as the Government of Ethiopia.

Introduction to Ethiopia

Ethiopia is the second most populous African country, with a population of 92 million. It is constitutionally a federation of nine regional

member-states and two special city administrations, which are mainly based on ethno-linguistic boundaries. Accordingly, there are nine regional states. Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali regional states (taking the name of their dominant native inhabitants) are more or less ethnically homogeneous with a dominant ethnic community majority at the regional level. The remaining regional states [the South Nations Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP), Gambella, Benshangul/Gumuz and Harari] are multi-ethnic without a dominant ethnic community. There are two federally administered cities, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The country's regions are further divided into Zones, with 529 *Woredas* (districts) and *Kebeles* (municipalities). The Ethiopian Federal Constitution provides for a parliamentary and federal system of government that allows the people of Ethiopia to administer their respective regions semi-autonomously as per the local context. It shares an international border with Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya (see Map 1).

Concepts

Causes and trends of forced migrations are best understood in terms of the *Push-Pull Framework*.[7] While pull-factors refer to drivers of mobility, such as better opportunities, better income, and an increasing demand for labour in globalized economic competition, push-factors, by contrast, include threats to life, conflicts, persecution, famine and drought, and man-made and natural disasters.[8] As a consequence of push-factors, IDPs and refugees fall under the category of forced migration. As a result, migration exhibits two broad forms: displacement or mobility. Displacement occurs when migrants are forced to move due to factors beyond their control.

Displacement could be external, such as refugees crossing international borders, or internal, as in the case of Internally Displaced Persons (com-

monly called IDPs). There are four categories of causes of internal displacement: natural disaster-induced displacement (NDID); Man-made-disaster-induced displacement (MDID); Conflict-induced displacement (CID); and Development-induced displacement (DID). Internal displacement in Ethiopia has been predominantly characterized by spontaneous, short-term displacement. Spontaneous movements of pastoral communities have been the traditional form of internal and cross-border displacement. In some instances, spontaneous pastoralist movement could take a form of displacement as consequence of drought, famine, conflict, flooding etc. In other instances, pastoralist movement could cause to conflicts over land incursions, competition on access to water and other resources.

Nevertheless, there were and are also planned, massive movements of people within the country as part of development resettlement programmes run nationally and regionally. Given the artificial nature and inapplicability of colonial borders that divide kin communities into several jurisdictions, displacement is most often of the cross-border type. Pastoralists and other inhabitants of the border areas tend to disregard the current borders, and thus do not consider themselves to be refugees. Therefore, they rarely seek asylum. Pastoral movements that morph into displacement are cyclical in nature and are repeated during specific seasons. Similarly, NDID are more cyclical, following climatic changes that cause drought, famine, and even wild fires. CID occurs during times of political crisis and MDID, due to extensive farming that involves the burning of forests to expand land for agriculture.

Data on Internal Displacement

Before discussing the current situations of displacement and associated data, it is important to consider the problems related to data on IDPs. This section presents problems related to data on IDPs in Ethiopia.

Despite the fact that Ethiopians have been displaced by many drivers of displacement, particularly CID and NDID, it would be an

[7] AU "Decision on the Draft Migration Policy Framework for Africa", (AU Banjul Summit, 2006), Doc. EX.CL/276 (IX).

[8] See also Everett Lee, *A Theory of Migration*, (University of Pennsylvania, 1996), available from http://www.jstor.org/pss/2060063 (accessed 18 July 2009).

arduous task to obtain a comprehensive historical background of, or data on, internal displacement and IDPs in Ethiopia. There are several institutions that collect data on IDPs. These include NDRMA (on NDID), ARRA (returnees and refugees that may be displaced within the country of asylum), Federal and Regional Police Commissions, and in the case of CID, MoLSA and BoLSAs for returnees who need reintegration. The IOM, UNHCR, UNOCHA, ICRC, the Danish Refugee Council, and other key agencies also have important roles to play in data collection.

The National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) is the leading body for hazards, related disasters, and for reducing the impact on victims of damage caused by a disaster. Among other duties, the mandate of the NDRMC is to save lives, protect livelihoods, and ensure all disaster-affected people are provided with recovery and rehabilitation assistance. Often, the Commission provides assistance for people affected by disasters, including IDPs. This makes NDRMC a leading internal displacement agency for NDID and MDID. Some of the staff members of NDRMC have been training in data collection, particularly on IDPs. However, they do not collect specific data on IDPs and are not making use of the skill set they acquired. Arguing that its main job is to support and effectively respond to demands coming from the regional states after being confronted by natural disasters, the NDRMC asserts that regional states are collecting data. The NDRMC contends that data collection on IDPs is not its function. In addition, it is the opinion of some staff members that a government agency or ministry should be designated to regularly collect data on IDPs and migration. Such a designated body needs to periodically disseminate the data to other stakeholders and the public.

This is not unique to the NDRMC. Despite having an appropriate mandate, the Ministry of Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs does not collect data on IDPs. Similarly, the Addis Ababa City Administration Road Authority, which is in charge of road construction and possible eviction and relocation of people affected by related construction, does not have any data on IDPs. In all these institutions, the challenge is not due

mainly to a lack of skilled data experts or infrastructure, but mainly a general lack of willingness to collect data on IDPs.

The GoE and its various tiers of administration adhere to Proclamation No.455/2005 on Expropriation of Landholdings for Public Purposes and Payment of Compensation. Article 8 explicitly stipulates and elaborates on the displacement compensation scheme. Article 12 mandates the Ministry of Federal and Pastoralist Affairs to ensure the implementation of the Proclamation. The main difficulty resides in the determination of the amount of compensation to be paid to the IDPs. Most often the gap between the market value of the land and the compensation paid by the GoE are very wide. Other reasons for the low amount of compensation are that the relevant administrative entities only consider the property value and disregard the social and livelihood incomes of IDPs before their relocation. Due to various protests and grievances by IDPs, the GoE is now considering revisiting its compensation scheme for possible revision.

Another state institution potentially involved in internal displacement is the Ethiopian Investment Commission, which is mandated to promote and facilitate investment, especially in the manufacturing sector. The enabling act of the Ethiopian Investment Commission, Proclamation No.769/2012, requires that the Commission has necessary data on inhabitants in places where the land is designated to be expropriated for investment purposes. However, the Commission does not collect data on potential or actual IDPs. Despite a clear legal mandate to collect data, the Commission is of the opinion that data collection on IDPs is beyond its mandate. The Commission lacks trained officers on data collection.

Addis Ababa City Land Development and City Renewal Agency is mandated to prepare land to be used for different development projects within the city. It conducts studies on development and city renewal projects based on the City Master as well as specific local development plans. As a result, the Agency is tasked with implementing inner city renewal projects for two major reasons: renewal related to ensuring the habitability of the city, and ensuring the

judicious and economic use of land resources. The Agency is guided by Directive No.19/2006. Land or house owners or dwellers with legal documents of ownership and contractual agreements with public authorities are entitled to either compensation and relocation to other areas, or access to housing. Even if the Agency does not specifically collect data about IDPs, it nevertheless lists the legal owner and tenure of his or her house, based on the relevant provision of a testimonial or legal document. Conducted at the lower administrative level of the neighbour-hood ward (*Kebele*), the registration process is strict about fulfilling the testimonial documents. It is not unusual to find two or more families, relatives, or friends, living in a house or occupying a plot of land registered to only one of the occupants. The relocation process recognises only one landholder or property owner as legitimate. Therefore, based on legitimate registration of property ownership, reparations are made to the owner, and not the adult occupants of expropriated fixed property. Registration does not provide detailed infor-mation about the number of people dwelling on the land or in the house, or their age, sex, family situation, or educational qualifications. Those without such legal documents of ownership do not receive reparations (restitution, compensa-tion, rehabilitation, or satisfaction). Hence, these people fall through the cracks of the system and become IDPs without any kind of protection or reparation. Households are also required to evacuate the expropriated property within three months, a very short deadline for many families, considering health and education needs as well as employment and livelihood difficulties. The Agency, unlike federal institutions such as the NDRMC, has no trained personnel for data collection, but instead relies on the existing ICT infrastructure.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) prepares regular data reports on the state of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia. Interna-tionally, all IOM offices use Displacement Tracking Matrices (DTM) as a tool, and this procedure has become operational in Ethiopia since 2012. In collecting data related to IDPs, IOM works in collaboration with the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) and its

regional, Zonal, and Woreda offices. The primary purpose of having organised data on IDPs is to develop an effective procedure for curbing displacement. In doing so, it will also be useful to identify the protection gap and people at high risk. All the data should be gathered at three levels, starting with site visits by the IOM personnel, Woreda, and Zonal levels. IOM also presents segregated data in an organised report. However, throughout the process, IOM works in close collaboration with the Government of Ethiopia and other partners, like the Interna-tional Red Cross and Danish Refugee Council. Finally, upon the endorsement of the National Disaster Risk Management Agency, the IOM makes the number official.

In summary, the main challenge for the data collection process on IDPs is the high probability of inconsistent data. That is the reason IOM collects data at all administrative levels, from Woreda to federal levels. In addition, data are rarely comprehensive and sufficiently detailed, and in most cases, it is very difficult to verify.[9] For example, the data on DID is almost impossi-ble to assess. As the author argues elsewhere, the challenges of availability or access to data on IDPs, for various reasons, could be attributed to the following five reasons: 1) political sensitivity and political ramifications; 2) fragmented mandates on data collection; 3) pastoralist IDPs; 4) lack of resources for data collection; and 5) low priority given to data collection on IDPs.

Figures often deflate when provided by the central government and inflate when provided by local authorities, or vice versa, depending on the motives involved. The government attempts to present internal displacement as either non-existent or temporary, for the sake of image. Similarly, deliberate underestimation of IDP figures, meant to build favourable public support for a development project, contributes to this problem. In effect, thousands of IDPs go unrecognised and uncompensated. Many violent conflicts erupt due to DID and the subsequent lack of proper compensation. Thus, access to data depends on the cause of displacement. If displacement occurs due to natural factors, such

[9] IDMC, *Internal Displacement, Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2008,* (n 61) Pp. 16-18.

as floods and wild fires, it will not be a problem accessing data, but all data are treated as confidential and sensitive if the causes of displacement are due to ethnic or tribal conflicts. Consequently, data about IDPs in a country could reflect very significant differences, based on the sources consulted.[10] IDP statistics are disputed for a number of reasons. In Ethiopia, international organisations dispute official IDP statistics, as do certain tiers of Ethiopia's government.

There are also additional reasons data on IDPs are very difficult to verify. Unlike IDPs found in towns or dispersed in the bush, those in camps are more visible to governments and international organisations. Consequently, camp-based IDPs receive more care and attention. In areas of protracted conflict, IDPs disperse to different areas of the country. Not all IDPs live in camps, as they can also be found in makeshift shelters, shantytowns, and scattered among local communities. IDPs in towns and cities, moreover, rarely stand out from slum dwellers or other populations. IDPs fleeing the 1998 Ethio-Eritrean border war were largely invisible, as most of them lived in nearby towns. Mixed into internal migration, the indistinguishable nature of rural-urban migrants and IDPs, and the difficulty of identifying urban IDPs, have all contributed to the problem of reliable data on IDPs.[11] IDPs travel to live with extended family members and kin communities, who can provide them with the necessary assistance. Hundreds of thousands of IDPs intermingle with host communities and do not register as IDPs.[12] The desire to hide one's status as an IDP stands out as another culprit

responsible for the low access to data.[13] For example, displaced persons in Ethiopia, following the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, became "invisible" when they dispersed into the towns[14] and cities. Similarly, distinguishing IDPs from members of pastoral communities is, in general, very difficult, as displacement occurs as part of seasonal or spontaneous mobility. In addition, data on spontaneous famine-induced IDPs and pastoralist movements have not been collected. For example, in 2002-2003, about 40,000 famine-affected people migrated within and out of the Oromia Regional State of Ethiopia.[15] In regional states with dominant pastoralist communities, IDP camps serve as temporary, makeshift shelters.[16]

Finally, the resources allocated to data collection about IDPs are either non-existent or simply inadequate. Even if national authorities recognise data collection as being a crucial requirement of the government in order to provide protection and durable solutions to the plight of IDPs, they do not appear to consider it a priority, even in the face of complex emergency situations that may rapidly spiral out of control due to the lack of resources.

Brief History of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

Internal displacement has remained pervasive throughout Ethiopian history. NDID, CID, and DID were the main causes of internal displacement in Ethiopia. Accounts from ancient Ethiopian history reveal that "intense land pressure and more erratic rainfall, soil destruction and ecological degradation during the seventh and eighth centuries" caused the decline and fall of the Axum Empire in the ninth century.[17] Deforestation and climate change forced the elites and the population in Axum to

[11] IDMC, *Internal Displacement, Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2008,* (n 61) Pp. 25-26, available www.internal-displacement.org (accessed November 2009); The Refugee Law Project and the Human Rights & Peace Centre, "Why Being Able to Return Home Should be Part of Transitional Justice: Urban IDPs in Kampala and their quest for a Durable Solution"*,* (March 2010) Building Consensus on Sustainable Peace in Uganda, The Refugee Law Project Working Paper No. 2.
[12] Laban Osoro, "Displacement outside camps: identifying IDPs and responding to their Needs-Experience from Kenya", *Protecting all IDPs*, NGO Consultations, 30 June 2010, Nairobi, Kenya.

[13] Mehari Taddele Maru, *The Kampala convention and its contributions to international law*, Eleven International Publishers , The Hague, Netherlands, 2014.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Mehari, "Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Ethiopia", (n 45) Pp. 51-62.
[16] Oxfam *Out of Site*, (Oxford 2008), Pp. 17-18, also available from www.oxfam.org
[17] Butzer, *Rise and Fall of Axsum, Ethiopia: A Geo-Archaeological Interpretation*, American Antiquity, Society of American Archaeology, July 1981, Vol.46, No. 3.

migrate to Ethiopia's southern highland regions.[18] During the Middle Ages (1529 and 1531), Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi launched a massive invasion campaign of Northern Ethiopia by leading the ethnic Afar and Somali armies.[19] According to Quirin, "the Islamic invasion facilitated the Oromo migrations, and together these forces redrew the ethnic-linguistic and religious map of what is today central and southern Ethiopia".[20] Perhaps the most important period pertaining internal displacement was during the reign of Emperor Menilik II (1889-1913). Menilik II ascended to power by expanding his territory to the south. Between 1882 and 1906 he conquered Oromia, Harar, Ogaden, and doubled the population of Ethiopia.[21] He imposed the *neftegna* (the Amharic term for rifleman) system to control these regions by granting his warlords and soldiers land. The local people, who were forced to pay over half of their produce to their overlords, tilled the land.[22] This system continued until the end of the Imperial regime in 1975.

Famine and Resettlement Programmes[23]

After the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia underwent six famines.[24] While retaining the existing land system, Haile Selassie's regime also started massive commercial schemes, which emerged as a new source of displacement and destitution. Sen's (1981) analysis of the 1972-74 famine shows that 200,000 peasants died from starvation when the overall agricultural output in the country as well

as the price remained the same.[25] The feudal land system made farmers destitute servants of a few landholders and commercial agriculture reduced the grazing land of pastoralists—for instance, "[in] 1972, 50,000 hectares of irrigated land had displaced 20,000 Afar pastoralists", and it sparked the 1960s Afar rebellion.[26] Drought turns into famine and displacement only when the state is unable and unwilling to provide the necessary assistance. Dysfunctional market mechanisms decreased livestock prices, and poor infrastructure prevented grains from being transported to drought-stricken regions.[27] The famine "issue gained political currency among students and middle class in Addis Ababa" which resulted in Haile Selassie's removal from power in 1974.[28]

A popular revolution, hijacked by the Military Regime known as Derg, overthrew Haile Selassie on December 20, 1974. The new regime implemented a massive land reform in 1975, abolishing expropriation, nationalizing land from feudal lords and redistributing it to tenants. The regime also implemented similar policy in the urban areas, eliminating the urban-based feudal class. These reforms significantly reduced the flow of rural-urban migration from 6.5% in 1967 to 3% in 1980s.

Based on deep belief in image building and legitimacy, the regimes of both Emperor Haile Selassie and Derg considered internal displacement as projecting a bad image and indictment on their governance. Thus, they attempted to stifle any reports regarding IDPs. To avoid a negative image, in the early 1970s, Emperor Haile Selassie's regime put many IDPs (displaced to the capital Addis Ababa due to famine) in camps. The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution that toppled Emperor Haile Selassie mobilized people to the fact that the imperial regime had covered up the plight of Ethiopians that had starved to death by famine. Similarly, the Derg also attempted to cover up the 1984 Great Famine in order to celebrate its 10th year anniversary

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[18] Meredith, *The Fortunes of Africa: A 5000 History of Wealth, Greed, and Endeavor*, Public Affairs, New York, 2014.

[19] Briggs, *Ethipia*, Globe Pequot Press, Guilfor, Connecticut, 2015.

[20] Quirin, J. A., *The Evolution of the Ethiopia Jews: A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, 1992, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania. Meredith, 2014, p. 74.

[21] Ibid., 17.

[22] de Waal, Alex, "Evil Days: 30 Years of War and Famine in Ethiopia", An African Watch Report, Human Rights Watch, NY, 1991.

[23] Mehari Taddele (2004), *Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Ethiopia,* Unpublished Dissertation, University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House.

[24] Kaplan, RD, *Surrender or Starve*, 1988, Vintage Books, New York.

[25] Sen, Amartya, *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981.

[26] Ibid., 21, pp. 59.

[27] Ibid., 24.

[28] Ibid., 21, pp. 61.

without a bad image. As the previous regime, famine, and the attempt to cover it undermined the legitimacy of the Derg Regime. In one of the most protracted civil wars in Africa, northern parts of Ethiopia, including today's Eritrea, led to death, displacement, and famine. The war destroyed barns, bombed urban markets, killed livestock, and barred the provision of food aid to the north. Overall, the "massive Derg ground offensive led to over 800,000 Tigrayans being internally displaced and a further 200,000 crossing the border to the Sudan".[29] Repeated military offensives in Eritrea and Tigray between 1980 and 1983 forced thousands to flee their homes.[30]

Returnees, Repatriation, and Demobilized Soldiers and Fighters

Immediately after the demise of the Derg Regime in 1991, the new Transitional Government of Ethiopia, led by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Front (EPRDF), began demobilizing and reintegrating 455,000 Derg combatants (including 52,000 and 80,000, who repatriated from Sudan and Kenya, respectively) and, later on, 22,200 Oromo Liberation Front's ex-fighters.[31] The Transitional Government of Ethiopia also demobilized 30,000 of EPRDF's own ex-fighters of whom the majority participated in the Humera Resettlement Scheme to grow cotton.[32]

The staggering number of forcible returns inevitably produced IDPs. This high number results in their vulnerability to many physical and mental risks within their country if they are not fully assisted and reintegrated. Thousands of Ethiopian migrants also returned under the IOM Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration Programme (AVRR). In 2010-2016 (July), about 31,309 migrants returned under the Assisted Voluntary Return, constituting a minimum of 5,000 returnees per annum.[33] While 57 percent

of the returnees from Yemen are from Amhara, 25 percent are from Tigray. Only 9 percent are from Oromia. In terms of educational background, while 65 percent have completed high school, 20 percent are TVET graduates and 15 percent have attended secondary levels. The largest evacuation of Ethiopians in 2016 was from Yemen (1,659 returnees), and the second largest, from Djibouti (364). Only 27 percent of these assisted returnees were included in the reintegration programme.

The Ethio-Eritrean Border War of 1998

As many as 420,000, people were displaced in Tigray and Afar due to the Ethiopia-Eritrea war in 1998.[34] On May 2000, 360,000 people were displaced in Ethiopia (90 percent from the Tigray region). Eritrea deported 70,000 Ethiopians (where 62,000 remained in Tigray). After the two countries signed the Algiers Agreement on December 2000, most IDPs began to return to their areas of origin, mostly in Tigray. However, until 2004, 62,091 people from Tigray remained as IDPs.[35] Many of the IDPs did not return to their villages because their villages were hubs for landmines and further skirmishes.[36]

In 2003, the UN's OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) estimated the total IDP figure in Ethiopia to be 256, 506 (See Table below). The majority of the IDPs were created by the Ethio-Eritrean war. In the same year, another significant cause of IDPs was the drought that displaced 87,820 Ethiopian Somalis.

In 2006, the total IDP population was estimated to be around 275,000.[37] The CID in Tigray declined to 62,000, whereas NDID in the Somali

[29] Young, John, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: The Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975-1991*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1997. pp. 131.

[30] Ibid., 17.

[31] Colleta, N. J., Kostner, M. & Wiederhofer, *The Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Ethiopia, Namibia, and Uganda*, The World Bank, Washington DC, 1996.

[32] Ibid., 30.

[33] IOM, Special Liaison Office in Addis Ababa, Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration, July 2016.

[34] Abebe, A. Mulugeta, "Displacemnet of civilians during armed conflict in the light of the case law of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commissin", *Law*, 2009, *Leiden Journal of International,* vol. 22, pp. 823-852.

[35] NRC, "Profile of Internal Displacement: Ethiopia", Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, 2004.

[36] de Brauw, & Mueller, V., "Do limitations in land rights transferablity infulence mobility rates in Ethiopia?", 2012, *Journal of African Economies*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 548-579.

[37] IDMC, *Ethiopia: Government Recognition of Conflict IDPs Crucial to Addressing their Plight, 2006, available* at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/library/Africa/Ethiopia/pdf/Ethiopia-Overview-Apr06.pdf (accessed 25 November 2016).

region skyrocketed to 75,000. Similarly, ethnic and intra-border clashes and induced conflicts have increased significantly. While CID Gambella displaced 50,000 people, relatively new conflicts in the Oromia region (Guju vs. Gabra) displaced 43,000 people.[38] The following year, the estimated aggregate of IDPs in Ethiopia declined to 200,000. While the key drivers such as conflicts and drought remained, perhaps, among the most notable natural disasters in 2007 were the floods that displaced 600,000 people.[39]

Table 1. *IDP Population in Ethiopia 1, August 2003*

Category	Regions	Families	Persons
War Induced	Tigray	25, 169	125, 845
War Induced	Afar	1,766	8,830
Drought Induced	Somali	17,564	87, 820
Conflict Induced	Somali	2,800	14,200
Conflict Induced	Gambella	1,100	4,811
Conflict Induced	Addis Ababa	3,000	15,000
Grand Total		51, 299	256,000

Source: UN OCHA- EUE, 1 August 2003

In 2013/2014, Ethiopia received more than 174,200 returnees: 167,000 from Saudi Arabia and the remainder from South Sudan (3,600) and other countries. In 2015/2016, about 1,093 returnees requested Addis Ababa City Government to support them financially in order to get training and establish income-generating projects. Since 2014, Addis Ababa City Government has supported a total of 4,493 Ethiopian returnees. The returnees are from Yemen, South

[38] Ibid., 35.
[39] IDMC, *Ethiopia: Addressing the Rights and Needs of People Displaced by Conflict*, 2007, available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2007/200710-af-ethiopia-ethiopia-addressing-the-rights-and-needs-of-people-displaced-by-conflict-country-en.pdf (accessed 25 November 2016).

Africa, Libya, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Angola, Saudi Arabia, and South Sudan. For example, in 2015/2016, two Woredas (Boloso Sore, Damot Phulasa Damot Gale) of the Wolayta Zone received 29 returnees from Sudan and South Sudan. Returnees include very few deportees from Eritrea, Norway, and the US.

Current State of Internal Displacement: Causes, Triggers, and Accelerations of Internal Displacement

According to NDRMC, as a result of natural disasters, at least 827,906 people have been internally displaced in the period of July 2012 to May 2016, of which at least 631,163 people were displaced within the period of August 2015 to May 2016 due to El Nino. Flooding displaced 173,695 people while drought directly displaced 188,243. In July 2012 to May 2016, fire forced 535 people to flee. Although rare, volcanic eruption displaced 5,700. In the past eight years, conflict has displaced more than 459,733. Oromia (Adama, Awash River Basin) Dire Dawa, Amhara (Bahir Dar and the surrounding areas of Tana Lake, Fogera, and Kemise) and Gambella are vulnerable to hydrological hazards, mainly flooding.

In the month of January 2016, there were 30,183 persons internally displaced in Oromia, (19,080 IDPs), Somali (9,498 IDPs), and SNNP (1,605 IDPs) regional states. The two regions seriously affected by CID are Oromia (50 percent of IDPs due to CID), and Somali (30 percent IDPs due to CID), while IDPs in SNNP are entirely due to NDID. In total, more than 65 percent of the 30,183 IDP population is due to CID. Often affected areas include Oromia, the West Harerege Zone (Miesso, Doba), the East Wollega Zone (Dig, Jima, Arjo, Leka Dulech, and Sasiga), the Somali Siti Zone (Miesso, Ayisha), and the SNNP Gurage Zone (Abeshege, Cheha, Enimoe, Aner, Endegagn, Geto, Gumer, Kebena, Masken, and Sodo).

Ten primary displacement hotspot zones include Afder, Siti (2 Zones of Somali), Nuer, Agnuak (2 zones of Gambella), Gurage (1 zones of SNPP), Mille (1 zones of Afar), North Showa (1 zones of

Amhara), Arsi, Borena, West Hararege (3 zones of Oromia).

Determinants of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

There are six key determinants of internal displacement's nature, frequency, and trends.

Socio-economic stressors that are related to livelihood sources and the delivery of public economic and social services. These stressors could have multiplier effect on peace and development depending on whether they are delivered in an *inclusive* or *exclusive* manner. Increases in infrastructural and other develop-mental projects, such as dams, irrigation projects, airports, roads, railways, and extractive industries, may lead to increased relocation of IDPs and, in some cases, resettlement. Increases in internal displacement could also lead to an increase in localized conflicts and therefore IDPs seeking alternative internal flight areas. Increases in local job protection and restrictive migration policies may also give rise to increases in xenophobic attacks. While all communities may be prone to such xenophobic attitudes, some are more prone than others due to a lack of responsive governance or system failure to protect migrants and refugees, thereby leading to internal displacement. Ethiopia, hopefully, may not face this kind of human disruption in the future, but as a host country of close to 800,000 refugees, such developments should not be ruled out in the local areas where refugees are currently located.

Climate/Environmental stressors most often increase the impact of the insecurity nexus between rises in global temperature (climate change), population growth, and shortages of water, food, and energy that may cause people to move. As discussed above, famine, a consequence of climatic drought, in Ethiopia has been one of the key drivers for internal displacement. Thus, climate change and environmental degradation cause displacement in the form of NDID, and the capability of the Ethiopian agrarian economy to adapt to climate change and transform domestic agriculture into a climate resilient economy will determine the IDP numbers and the gravity of the impact of displacement.

Demographic stressors related to population growth place an excessive burden on the eco-system's carrying capacity and increase the youth bulge and unemployment as well as put additional pressure on the social system. In this context, depending on many factors, including governance, population becomes either an asset or a liability.

Migration flux increasingly leads to violations of human rights, creates stress in host communi-ties, and may trigger xenophobic attacks and conflicts. Alternatively, such violations could facilitate integration and regional economic prosperity through trade and labour migration. Depending on whether or not Ethiopia has more mobility or displacement, the kind of migration the government encourages will become another determinant of displacement. The current high number of refugees from neighboring countries puts pressure on the host communities, potentially leading to displacement within or outside Ethiopia.

International interventions may also play important roles in fostering mobility and addressing the causes, triggers, or accelerators of displacement. Military or other kinds of unwarranted intervention, peace support operations, development aid, trade, and investments by states and organisations, such as for example, the AU, the EU, NATO, and the UN, need to ensure that such intervention activities do not cause displacement. Transnational companies, such as those in the extractive industry, construction, and private military and security companies, also cause and aid displace-ment through their commercial operations.

Governance capabilities. More essentially, all the above factors are to a large extent determined by the governance of the country and its various provincial regions and their abilities to predict, prevent, respond, and adapt to the stressors listed above. Governance capabilities determine the pace of reforms and crises, whereby crises may overtake reforms required to address them. Even the roles of international actors may finally be determined by the governance capabilities of the state.

Five Causes of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

Natural Disaster-induced Displacement (NDID)

In 2015, "Ethiopia suffered one of its worst meteorological droughts in 50 years".[40] The El Nino weather phenomenon triggered the displacement of 280,000 Ethiopians. Within six months of the drought, beginning in August 2016, 146,000 citizens faced severe food insecurity. In addition to that catastrophe, 67,800 people were displaced fleeing communal conflict.[41] Out of the $1.4 billion worth of humanitarian pledges made to the GoE, Ethiopia managed to secure only 37 percent.[42] Compared to the worldwide disaster-related displacement of 19.2 million people and considering the population size of Ethiopia and the impact of the drought on its people, Ethiopia's 146,000 IDPs were relatively small in number.[43]

However, as the IMF (2016) pointed out, "rising temperature and rainfall volatility are expected to increase the frequency and severity of droughts and floods, thereby impairing agricultural productivity". Given the fact that climate change will increasingly bring frequent and severe insecurities in water, food, and energy needs, Ethiopia must consider designing and implementing a clear policy and institutional response mechanism for internal displacement of mainly NDID. Another driving factor for internal displacement from rural to urban centres in Ethiopia is environmental degradation and climate changes in areas of origin that have made earning a livelihood almost impossible for IDPs.[44]

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[40] IDMC, "Off the GRID: The world's overlooked IDPs", Spot light, IDMC,2016. internaldisplacemnt.org.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid
[44] Morrissey, J. William, "Understanding the relationship between environmental change and migration: The developement of an effects framework based on the case northen Ethiopia", 2003, *Global Environmental Change*, vol. 23, pp. 1501-1510.

Conflict-induced Displacement (CID)

While the political transformation brought with the establishment of the federal system in 1991, inter-ethnic conflicts have increased at local level. Article 32 of the federal constitution stipulates that freedom of movement and residence within the federation are fundamental human rights.

In ethnic federalism, power is shared in direct proportion to the population of ethno-cultural communities. The relative numerical superiority of ethno-cultural communities would result in more power for the largest ethnic group. Therefore, in ethnic federalism, migration (forced or spontaneous) could easily affect the demographic balance and power relationships between ethnic communities. Reversal in the population ratio could mean reversals of political and federal power. Thus, one of the effects of holding-together (ethnic) federalism is its tendency to restrict migration-induced demographic changes. The ethnic boundaries created by the federal constitution of Ethiopia have legitimized any resistance to spontaneous inter-ethnic migration. Such resistance (for example from Anywaa to the Nuer, and from Ari to the Mursi in terms of migration) has led to confrontations and violent conflicts. Such projects have limited the geographical spaces for movement of traditional communities.

Violent conflicts in and around refugee camps in Gambella in 2003 and in 2016 reflect this challenge. The recent massive protests in Ethiopia's Oromia Regional State were triggered by the launching of what is called the Integration Masterplan of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, which aims to link its major services to the nearby suburban areas of Oromia Regional State. For some of the residents of the Oromia regional state, the Integrated Masterplan threatened land expansion through expropriation that led to displacement of famers surrounding the city. Treating the objections as a technical issue, the Federal Government of Ethiopia, the City Government of Addis Ababa, and the Oromia Regional State failed to consult with city, suburban, or regional state residents about the Integrated Masterplan. Reacting reflexively and failing to substantively explain

the nature and implications of the plan, the Oromia Regional State abandoned it in January 2016. However, local protests due to the fear of displacement spread across the country and transformed into a political crisis across the regional states of Oromo. An important impact of such violence was the displacement of people belonging to a single ethnic community.

CID may also occur as a result of the following major conflicts:

1. Ethnic identity and federalism:

    a. conflicts based on administrative boundaries between regional states;

    b. conflicts based on the recognition and status of ethnic identities as nationalities;

    c. conflicts based on administrative status, as in the case of local government in Zones, Woredas etc.;

    d. referenda on identities;

    e. conflicts over natural resources, including water and land usage;

    f. questions related to Addis Ababa and its relations with the federal and regional state of Oromia.

2. Religious conflicts:

    a. religious-based tensions and conflicts;

    b. inter-religion relations;

    c. concerns of religious-based terrorism and extremism.

3. Weak implementation of the constitutional protection of minority rights and ethnic security: in the current political dispensation, ethnic communities face security impasses due to mobilizations based on fear and hate of "the other". The anticipated consequences are to reinforce undemocratic political mobilization and platforms based on ethnic or religious group protection, leading to discrimination based on "son of the soil" alienation and violence. The implication of such behaviour fortifies exclusive and undemocratic political practices and mob-group dynamics that ultimately stifle voices of reason and inhibit any possibility of reasona-

ble and rational deliberations. These problems have led to politics of intolerance and zero-sum political games, politics of fear, politics of resentment and politics of hate in society. Protests, violence, and local and armed conflicts may easily turn to target ethnicities and produce CID.

Pastoralism and Internal Displacement

Some researchers estimate that 15 percent of the total population is pastoralist.[45] Article 40(5) of the Federal Constitution stipulates the rights of pastoralists to grazing land and freedom from any unlawful encroachment: "Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the *right not to be displaced* from their own land (emphasis supplied)". In Ethiopia, at least two regional states – Somali and Afar – are largely pastoralist. Moreover, a significant portion of the populations of Gambella, Oromia, and SNNP regional states are pastoralist or agro-pastoralist.

They continually face high levels of displacement. The regional state boundaries with the highest number of pastoral communities, namely Somali, Afar, and Oromia, are designated as regional states with the largest pastoral communities, basically with the intention of preventing unnecessary encroachments on their community rights. For this reason, as with all the other ethno-cultural communities of Ethiopia, pastoralists have their respective "natural homeland" within which they are fully free to move. From time to time, pastoral communities are in conflict over grazing land and water wells which displace people. Pastoral communities also face serious challenges when their geographical space is limited or reduced by large-scale commercial farms or national parks.

Table 2: *2015 Pastoralist Regions Affected by Displacement*

[45] Winsor, M., *Ethiopia drought crisis: Pastoralists threatened by El Nino, land grabbing, population growth adopt non- methods to survivetraditional*, 2016, viewed 9 November 2016, www.ibtimes.com

Development-induced Displacement (DID)

In an agrarian society such as Ethiopia, DID is closely intertwined with land governance, which in turn overlaps with federalism and the identity of inhabitants living in a specific territory. Given the economic transformation in Ethiopia, DID may take various forms, including resettlement programmes, relocation, and eviction.

Infrastructural and Development Projects

Ethiopia is carrying out massive developmental transformation in many sectors. Key among these projects is infrastructural projects such as dams, industries and industrial parks, railways, roads, and widespread urban renewal programmes, particularly in Addis Ababa. With the increased industrialization and urbanization projects, infrastructural and city renewal projects, such as land and identity related national parks and dams, DID is expected to rise. Thus, DID may manifest itself in development projects, displacement, and livelihoods due to the following infrastructural development projects:

a. road and rail transportation;

b. hydroelectric and irrigation dams;

c. urbanization projects (urban renewals, integrated urban master plans, and the relocations of persons);

d. industrial parks;

e. national parks;

f. commercial agricultural farms and processing industries;

g. state sponsored resettlement programmes.

Urban Renewal Programme

Development of the slum areas in the inner city of Addis Ababa has resulted in massive relocations of many households. According to the available data from the Agency, in 2015/2016, a total of 17,127 households were relocated. Nine thousand, one hundred and eighty households were relocated from the inner city to a housing project on the outskirts of Addis Ababa. The most affected areas were Lideta (3477), Kirkos (1330), Arada (2558), and Addis Ketema (1851). Similarly, 7,947 farmers were displaced due to the

Region	Conflict	Drought	Flooding	Volcano
Afar		61,867		3900
Amhara	7,945			
Gambella	2,870			
Oromia	29745			
SNNP			495	
Somali	3,198		72,972	

expansion of the boundaries of Addis Ababa City. These were mainly displaced residents of the Nefassilk Sub City (568), Kolfe keranio (82), Bole (3062), and Akaki (4235). Most of these households subsequently moved in with relatives in the city. As a coping strategy, many opted to stay in rented houses during the transition period.[46] Some areas identified for renewal and potential project development slipped into a repetitive cycle of relocation and displacement. The resultant reparations included compensatory cash payments, land restitution, and alternative condominium (low-cost housing developed by the city government) accommodation.

In Bahir Dar, the construction of Bahir Dar Hulegeb Stadium has relocated 352 households. These households were relocated to the Kotatina resettlement area, which is on the periphery of Bahir Dar City.[47] The Kotatina resettlement area was initially used by farmers, but was subsequently made available for displaced people.

Through slum clearance operations, the condominiums given to IDPs offer better space and more hygienic living spaces. Nevertheless, the locations are also far away from livelihood and job opportunities. These limitations gravely affect any opportunity to earn an income. Relocated people face declines in income as they lose most of their customers in the inner city and there are usually not the same demands for their services in areas of relocation. In addition, the low-cost condominiums built on the expropriat-

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[46] Ambaye, G. & Abelieneh, "Developement-Induced Displacemnt and its impacts on the livelihoods of poor urban households in Bahir Dar, North Western Ethiopia", 2015, *African Human Mobility Review*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 310-331.

[47] Ibid.

ed land are given to new buyers, and not to the original inhabitants. The condominiums usually have too few bedrooms for a typical household, as most of the relocated people are registered as one family unit whereas they may actually include several adults (friends or relations). Furthermore, the relocation sites are not suitable for any business enterprises due to a lack of demand and the absence of infrastructure.[48]

Some recent studies found that renewal and expansion projects caused repetitive displacement of people and increased their vulnerabilities. Despite provisions for low cost housing and improved shelter for urban IDPs through relocation programmes, most people preferred living in the same slum areas in order to maintain their livelihood sources, which often depended on serving customers in the central parts of their city. Their preference for their previous homes and places of residence was usually due to their previous easy access to many daily household services such as transportation, schools, clinics, infrastructure, and traditional support networks.[49]

Considering itself to be a developmental state, the GoE emphasises the need for transformational economic development of double-digit proportions regarding annual economic growth and pro-poor deliveries of public services. Given that the term "transformation" refers to the pace and depth of change in the national economy, the nature, scale, and extent of state intervention requires a monopoly of all economic assets of the various states. Transformation and economic development trumps every conceivable kind of accountability mechanism. For example, lack of accountability is the main reason DIDs are not conducted in accordance with international and constitutional standards but does not necessarily constitute arbitrary displacement and it may also offer opportunities to improve the lives of IDPs in the case of condominium and infrastructural

development projects. If DID is avoidable, the GoE is required to provide careful planning, substantive consultation, and effective implementation of projects, so as to DID, as demonstrated in the case of resettlement programmes and relocation in inner-city renewal projects, do not necessary end up impoverished and vulnerable. What is largely and gravely missing in Ethiopia is the absence of judicial or other constitutional means to oversee and review decisions of the executive branch to carry out DID. While there is no arbitrary displacement of populations as such, there is widespread disregard to the rights of IDPs who are displaced due to development projects with a justification that such projects are for the greater good of the nation. In the face of the developmental state and its priority of the "greater good of the nation", redress and accountability mechanisms for the IDPs are very narrow. Current Environmental and Social Impact Assessments (ESIAs) in Ethiopia that require project feasibility are very limited in terms of the cultural, historical, and religious rights, and considerations of the human rights of inhabitants. In order to implement this effectively, the ESIAs need to be replaced by a more comprehensive and advanced form of feasibility appraisal of development projects and their impact on human rights in general, including the socio-economic and environmental aspects Human Right Impact Assessment (HRIA).

Effectively removing the oversight and judicial powers of both legislators and the judiciary, delivery of the public good is prioritized over democratic governance and accountability for internal displacement due to decisions about land issues. The executive branch, at the highest federal level and the lowest administrative levels, is bestowed with the power to decide on land issues. In preparing land for industrial parks, large commercial farms, dams, roads and railways, natural parks, and land for commercial developers, the executive organ has all the power to decide on the fate of the people inhabiting the land. In most cases, these mega-projects increase landlessness and associated local social conflicts when they are not properly integrated with other key social development projects. Land problems overlap with the identity questions of inhabit-

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[48] Atalw, H., "Slum redevelopment in Addis Ababa: How can it become sustainable", 2014, *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)*, vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 2387-2393.

[49] Pankhurst, A. and Tiumellssan, A., "Beyond urban relocation: Expectations and concerns of children and caregivers in Addeis Ababa and Hawassa", 2014, Young Lives.

ants, self-rule, and federalism. Focusing on the trickle-down effect of such projects, the limited distributional impact and beneficiations of local community projects often create resentment. Heavily dependent on the accelerated pace of transformation, the developmental state has relocated people without any relevant agency being able to make its own decision.

In 2009 E.C. (2016 G.C.), the Addis Ababa City government established a project under the Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA) with the sole duty of rehabilitating IDP farmers on the outskirts of the city. With four project offices in Bole, Yeka, Akaki, and Kaliti cities, in the same year, it aimed to rehabilitate 20,000 IDP farmers that were displaced due to the development projects surrounding the city. Several utility bodies working on land development, road, telecommunications, water and sewerage, and the Sub City administrative bodies, collectively deliberated and followed up the implementation of the project.

Dam Construction

Ethiopia's Gibe III dam is a 243-meter-high hydroelectric plant located on the Omo River. This dam started hydroelectric production in 2015. According to Rahmato, the construction of Gibe III has displaced and affected between 200,000 and 500,000 people in the Omo Valley.[50] These communities are composed of the following eight minority ethnic communities: Mursi, Bodi, Nygatom, Suri, Hamer, Dasanech, Me'en, and Kara.[51] The livelihood of these semi-pastoralist communities has always depended on flooding from the Omo River, as they made use of flood-retreat agriculture.[52]

Large Commercial Farms

Massive land investment programs are also taking place in many parts of Ethiopia, following the attractive 2010 investment policy for foreign companies. Although leasing land for investors is

taking place in Benshangul-Gumuz, SNNP, Gambella and the Afar regions, the main targets for large land investments are in Gambella and Benshagul-Gumuz.[53] According to the World Bank's 2011 report, Ethiopia has granted 1.2 million hectares (almost 3 million acres) of land to 406 investors.[54] These investment processes have displaced many households and negatively affected their livelihoods.

In 2010, the Ethiopian government planned to relocate an estimated 45,000 households in the Gambella region to provide better facilities for those people.[55] However, relocation was not conducted with a well-thought-out plan to better the people, but in order to facilitate the investment of gigantic international corporations on the people's land.[56] Besides, the settled communities in Gambella did not know why they were being resettled or that their resettlement had any connection to the extensive foreign investment plans on their land.[57] In Benshangul-Gumuz, some 30,000 households were resettled in 43 villages and there were plans to resettle an additional 10,688 people following further land investment arrangements.[58] The Kuraz Sugar Development plan incorporates the development of three sugar factories on 240,000 hectares of land in the Omo Valley.[59] Despite the consequences of forced resettlement of the inhabitants, the plan also aimed to make available 111,000 hectares of land for cotton plantation.

[50] Abbink, J., "Dam controversies: Contested governance and developmental discourse on the Ethiopian Omo River dam", 2012, *Social Anthropology*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 125-144.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Fratkin, E., "Ethiopia's pastorlist policies: Developemnet, Displacemnet and Resettlement", 2014, *Nomadic Peoples*, vol. 18, pp. 94-114.

[53] Makki, F., "Developemnet by dispossession: terra nullius and the social ecology of New Enclosures in Ethiopia", 2014, *Rural Sociology*, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 79-103.

[54] Rahmato, D. 2014, "The perils of development form above: Land deals in Ethiopia", *Africa Identities* , vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 26-44.

[55] Cochrane, L. & Skjerdal, T., "Reading the narratives: Relocation, investment and developemnet in Ethiopia", 2015, *Forum for Developemnet Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 467-487.
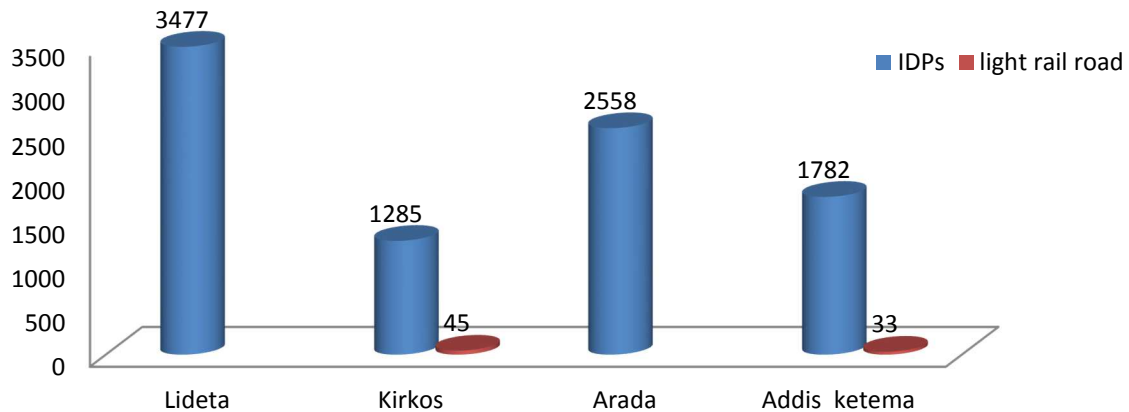
[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 5.

[58] Ibid., 4.

[59] Ethiopian Sugar Cooperation, Omo-Kuraz Sugar Development Project, available from http://www.ethiopiansugar.com/index.php/en/projects/kuraz-sugar-development-project (accessed 16 February 2017).

Graph 1: *Relocation due to Inner City Renewal and Infrastructural Development*

violently against a Pakistani investment by setting their plantation on fire.[61]

Graph 2: *Farmers Relocate to the Outskirts of Addis Ababa*
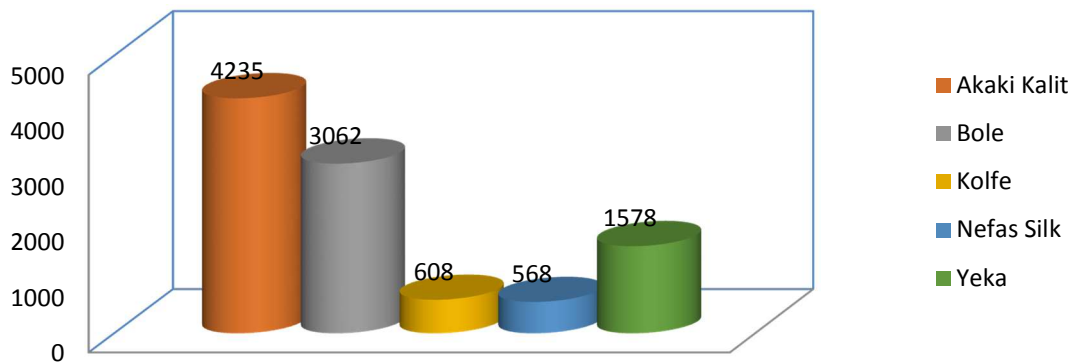
DID results in homelessness, inaccessibility of basic services such as electricity, schools, waste management, and water, limited mobility due to transportation unavailability, an absence of an adequate compensation package, landlessness, and loss of pre-resettlement social networks. Frustrations and grievances against resettlement programmes are expressed mostly in a peaceful manner through protests and litigation. Nevertheless, in some instances, inhabitants have reacted violently. In 2013, inhabitants of the Godere Forest in Gambella reacted violently to the leasing of their forest land to an Indian company called Verenda Harves.[60]   People in the Arjo Didessa Valley, Oromia region, also reacted

Resettlement Programmes

As discussed above, in the Ethiopian context, resettlement occurs as a spontaneous movement; for example, due to pastoralist communities or state-planned programmes. Mostly, resettlement is conducted as a response to natural disasters, man-made disasters, conflicts, or development projects. People and communities spontaneously resettle in other areas, either as part of the seasonal pastoral migrations or in search of fertile land. Spontaneous moves and resettlement programmes to fertile lowland destinations and to commercial/ development projects/ plants since the dawn of the twentieth century have also become the new drivers of IDPs in Ethiopia.[62]

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[60] Ibid., 5.

[61] Ibid., 5.
[62] Ezra, M., "Environental vulnerability, rular povery, and migration in Ethiopia: A contextual analysis", SWP-Berlin

Intended to address economic development concerns, state-sponsored resettlement programmes began in the 1960s and continued under the Derg Regime until recent years.[63]

For political reasons, when it took power in early 1991, the EPRDF was opposed to resettlement of any kind. However, with the recurrence of drought, it changed its position and began preparing for the implementation of a massive resettlement programme as part of its Food Security Program. In order to avoid the grave mistakes of the pervious resettlement programmes, the GoE issued principles for resettlement programmes. These included intra-regional state (instead of inter-regional state) resettlement; developmental motivation (instead of political reasons); well-informed consent of the person to be resettled; consultations with the

regional states, such limitation does not address the problem it was intended to solve; namely, conflict between settlers and host communities based on their respective ethnic identity. In the recent intra-state resettlement programme, there have been many violent incidents, despite settlers sometimes being of the same ethnic group as those whose community they have come to inhabit. The conflicts were sparked by scarcity of resources.[65]

Due to poor planning and execution, resettlement in many areas has brought more vulnerability to settlers, tensions, and other social problems in host communities and degraded the environment. Settlers face all kinds of health, education, water, and electricity problems. Most settlement areas are endemic to malaria. Host communities have been forced to change their traditional livelihood methods. Deforestation of massive areas has contributed to an erratic and dry climate.

Table 3. *Number of Households Planned and Resettled 2002-2007 E.C.*

Region	Targets	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	Total	% of Target
Oromia	100,000	19432	31641	6845	3035	14931	75884	75.9
Amhara	200000	6298	5639	31918	8505	7203	59563	29.8
Tigray	40000	6058	11810	12089	0	0	29557	74.9
SNNPR	100000	971	14184	2740	3567	6660	28122	28.1
Total	140000	32759	63274	53592	15107	28794	193,526	44.0

Source: MoARD (2009); MoFED (2007)[64]

host community; and proper preparation in regard to basic services such as shelter, health, and educational services.

Despite the excellent principles guiding the resettlement programme, there were several planning and implementation challenges. Although resettlement is limited to intra-

Man-made Disaster-induced Displacement (DID)

Data on MDID are not available, despite several reports of arson and fire accidents affecting small industries and markets in the country.

2003, Universita degli studi di Roma *La Sapienza* vol. 59, no. 2, pp. 63-91.

[63] Aptek, L., *In the Lion's Mouth: Hope and Heartbreak in Humanitarian Assistance*, 2010, Xlibris Corporation, New York. Based on the Ethiopian experience of resettlement as "relocating people in areas other than their own".

[64] Ibid.

[65] Pankhurst, Alula "Revisting Resettlemnet under two Regimes in Ethiopia", in A. Pankhurst, F. Piguet (eds.), *Moving People in Ethiopia*, 2009, 1st edn., Boydell & Brewer Inc., Rochester, NY.

Socio-Economic Characteristics and Core Needs of IDPs and Host Communities

In general, host communities and the GoE prefer programmes to achieve the return of IDPs rather than other available forms of durable solutions. Thus, more than 92 percent of the IDPs in Ethiopia return to their areas of origin in less than a year. In rare cases, IDPs, particularly due to CID and MDID, stay in their areas of destination and relocation. Barriers to their return are mainly related to the causes of their displacement in the first place. Most of the IDPs move to urban places and rural areas with kin communities. The impact on local host communities is substantial, and as IDPs tend to stay longer in resettlement areas, the socio-economic and environmental impacts are high. Rises in food and housing prices and crowding of schools are the immediate visible impacts, in addition to environmental degradation due to clearing land for farming. The economic activities of IDPs in host communities are various, depending on the host communities. In urban areas, IDPs may seek jobs in construction, on commercial farms, in public service, or in the informal economic sectors. When provided with land, IDPs from the rural areas may continue their farming activities.

Displacement is a consequence and potentially a cause of conflict that links migration to overall governance, peace, and security at local, national, regional, and global levels. Spontaneous migration, pastoralist movements and refugee influxes impact the peace and security of specific regional states hosting pastoralists, IDPs, and refugees. Thus, migration may pose grave threats to local, national, regional, and international peace as well as to security, health, and the environment. Internal displacement crises impede the capacity of states to exercise effective control over situations within their territories, and create tensions between IDPs and host communities as well as neighbouring countries, as in the case of Gambella and South Sudan.[66]

Overcrowding of public services and utilities including transportation, health, education, water, and electricity, occur in the areas of destination for IDPs. Inflation in some basic service charges, such as shelter, food, and transportation was also observed in many rural areas due to IDPs. Slums and informal shelters are mostly a result of rural-urban migration, but in some cases, they are also due to internal displacement.

Environmental degradation could be the cause or consequence of migration. Environmental degradation and natural disasters force pastoralists and farmers to spontaneously move to or settle in another compatible ecosystem. Recurrent droughts and floods, mainly due to El Nino and La Nina, two commonly experienced weather phenomena impacting Ethiopia, have resulted in a devastating impact on rural household livelihood, through situations of famine and death, and both internal and external displacement. Climate change, environmental degradation, droughts, floods, and famine forces people to leave their homes. Both internal and international migration are considered to be a coping mechanism for many traditional communities, such as pastoralists, and rural communities. With its harsh and diverse climatic conditions and extremely varied topography, Ethiopia receives from 250 mm to 2000 mm of rainfall per annum. Ethiopia is known as the water tower of North East Africa. Running water resources in Ethiopia flow from 12 major river basins. Despite efforts aimed at forestation, due to the impact of deforestation, the vegetation coverage has declined by 12.2 percent. Land degradation, deforestation and drought are among the most severe agricultural challenges in Ethiopia.

Environmental degradation has aggravated rural poverty. Environmental degradation and poverty have caused people to consider migration as a coping mechanism. Not only environmentally degraded areas are inclined to poverty and resulting migrations; most rural areas of the country (hotspots) are generally poor, with only some exceptions. For these reasons, international migration, except along the Middle Eastern route, is predominantly rural-urban to the nearby zones. Internal migration is predominantly determined by social-economic capability

[66]Maru, Mehari Taddele (2004), *Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Ethiopia,* Unpublished Dissertation, University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House.

of the communities and families affected by these external shocks. In 2015, "Ethiopia suffered one of its worst meteorological droughts in 50 years".[67] This El Nino triggered the displacement of 280,000 Ethiopians within six months beginning in August 2016, whereby 146,000 citizens faced severe food insecurity. In addition to that, 67,800 people have been displaced, fleeing communal conflict.[68] Of the $1.4 billion humanitarian plead made by the GoE; Ethiopia managed to secure only 37 percent.[69] Compared to the 19.2 million newly disaster-related displacement figure worldwide, and considering the population size and the impact of the drought on the population, Ethiopia's 146,000 IDP is quite small.[70] However, as the IMF (2016) has pointed out, "rising temperature and rainfall volatility are expected to increase the frequency and severity of droughts and floods, thereby impairing agricultural productivity". Given the fact that climate change will increasingly bring frequent and severe insecurities in water, food, and energy, Ethiopia need to consider a clear policy and institutional response mechanism for internal displacement mainly from NDID. Another driving factor for internal displacement from rural to urban cities in Ethiopia is environmental degradation and climatic changes that made livelihood in origin areas almost impossible.[71]

Communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDs, cholera, malaria and respiratory problems constitute 80 percent of all IDP health threats. The HIV/AIDs prevalence among Ethiopian migrants is higher by 10 percent than the national average of 1.14 percent.[72] Apart from the devastation these diseases bring to migrant populations, the threat they pose to host communities is also staggering. At the very least, the threat of an epidemic illustrates the global risks posed by ostensibly internal displacement crises. Recent records reveal that health problems result in more IDP deaths than violent conflict.[73] IDPs face a catastrophic degree of health risks because of the appalling conditions in which they travel and stay. Their restricted access to water and poor sanitation are at crisis levels, and thus aggravate their health circumstances. Compared to the World Health emergency threshold, the risk of death for Ethiopian IDPs is greater than those who are not displaced.[74]

Indeed, IDPs are not only exposed to high health risks, but also often expose others to pandemics, communicable and non-communicable diseases, and physical and mental health problems.[75] Thus, ill governed migration crises pose grave threats to national, regional, and international peace and security, health and the environment. Massive and protracted displacement crises may also impede the capacity of local and national authorities to provide services, and create tensions between IDPs and host communities as well as neighbouring countries.[76] The absence or limited access to health services in border areas and on migration routes through remote deserts or deep forests only compounds the problem.

The socio-economic characteristics and core needs of IDPs and host communities differ, depending on the causes of internal displacement in their areas of origin and the situation in the areas of the host communities. IDPs, due to NDID, mostly move either to other rural areas to seek assistance or work in wage-earning farming activities; move to urban areas to seek government assistance; or resort to begging. They need long-term assistance that can reestablish their

[67] IDMC, "Off the GRID: The world's overlooked IDPs", Spot light, IDMC,2016. internaldisplacemnt.org.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid
[71] Morrissey, J. William, "Understanding the relationship between environmental change and migration: The developement of an effects framework based on the case northen Ethiopia", 2003, *Global Environmental Change*, vol. 23, pp. 1501-1510.
[72] WHO, Ethiopia: HIV/AIDS, available from http://www.afro.who.int/en/ethiopia/country-programmes/topics/4480-hivaids.html (accessed 27 July 2015).

[73] Tim Allen, *Trial Justice: International Criminal Court and the Lord's Resistance Army*, International African Institute (Zed Books, London, 2006).
[74] Ibid. Pp. 53-54.
[75] UNGA "Report of the Secretary-General on Climate change and its possible security implications", (11 September 2009) A/64/350, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4ad5e6380.html (accessed 17 October 2010).
[76] African Union (AU) "Decision on the Draft Migration Policy Framework for Africa" (AU Banjul Summit, 2006), Doc. EX.CL/276 (IX) Pp 22-25.

livelihood sources and build their community assets. In a nutshell, their specific needs should focus on building their resilience to natural disasters. This is mainly because of socio-economic long-term development interventions. Due to MDID, the needs of IDPs have become more focused on preventing future failures of disaster relief and receiving fair restitution for their property losses. Financial assistance and insurance systems have become critically important, in addition to the need for political and judicial accountability of those causing or expected to prevent such disasters. In the case of CID, IDPs urgent and key needs revolve around physical security and the desire to avoid threats to their lives and physical well-being. As targets of violence threatening their existence, IDPs need state protection from attacks. Peace and security in their areas of origin are the long-term needs of IDPs. IDPs due to DID are mostly the result of planned infrastructure projects, but they are also often the least visible. Depending on the losses and vulnerabilities they face due to eviction, evacuation, and resettlement, their needs tend to focus on substitution or compensation of some kind for the losses they incur. Their main sources of concern are not legal issues about the right of the GoE to expropriate land or other properties for specific constitutionally permitted public purposes. Since the state or companies are involved in their displacement, the main source of their concern is the agency and rights they have to consult, negotiate, and litigate in response to the actions of the GoE, and the entitlements they have under the constitutional and legal system of Ethiopia. Unfortunately, legal and judicial mechanisms of challenge and redress have a limited presence and availability in Ethiopia. A common need of all IDPs due to NDID, MDID, CID, or DID, is humanitarian and legal assistance during their displacement.

Durable Solutions: return, local integration, and relocation

Despite their importance, protection and assistance are temporary interventions. As temporary as they are, protection and provision of aid need to be conducted with a long-term vision and in a sustainable manner to ensure that the phenomenon of IDPs comes to an end at some point. Unless IDPs regain their livelihood,

and the causes of their internal displacement cease, continuous protection and assistance have to be provided for them. An end to the predicament of IDPs, by contrast, can come only through permanent solutions. The Kampala Convention on IDPs identifies three such solutions to internal displacement: 1) sustainable return to areas of origin; 2) local integration in areas of destination; and 3) relocation to another area (resettlement). Human rights norms need to guide the search for durable solutions. Such solutions are best understood as part of the freedom of movement and residence of IDPs; that is, freedom from forcible return and discrimination. The government needs to give options to the IDPs and not force them to return. Host communities may want IDPs to return, but the host government has to protect the rights of IDPs to move freely throughout the country. Moreover, the state should focus on removing obstacles that constrain the return, integration, or resettlement of IDPs. The most common constraints to achieving durable solutions in general, and return in particular, are: 1) physical insecurity; 2) political instability; 3) lack of livelihood sources; 4) violations of HLP-related rights; and 5) infrastructural problems. Unfortunately, these constraints reinforce one another: political instability increases physical insecurity; lack of livelihood exacerbates political instability; violations of HLP rights weaken self-sufficiency; and so on. Similarly, disputes over HLP may also lead to violent conflict.

For integration and relocation, the rights of host populations—particularly their economic and cultural life, customary land use, and ownership—need to be protected. This is particularly important in agrarian and pastoralist communities. In some settlement locations such as Gambella, Wellega, and Benshangul Gumuz in Ethiopia, IDP settlements have endangered the ways of life of native inhabitants and pastoralists, violating their customary rights to use their land and its resources.[77] For example, in Ethiopia, some areas designated for resettlement were wrongly assumed to be free and "virgin", and not

[77] Maru, Mehari Taddele (2004), *Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Ethiopia,* Unpublished Dissertation, University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House, Pp. 30-52.

in use by anybody, only because they were not inhabited or cultivated at the time of planning their settlement. However, this was not a correct assumption because some of the areas designated were indeed occupied by pastoral communities and local people who use shifting cultivation as one traditional way of conserving the fertility of their soil and the ecosystem. Thus, while searching for a lasting solution for IDPs, the customary resource (*usufruct*) rights of host communities should be respected.

There are several international and national actors that provide assistance to IDPs. Significant assistance comes from the GoE, and in 2015/2016, it allocated more than USD 2.2 billion for those affected by the drought. The GoE works closely with UN agencies, IOM, ICRC, and other aid organisations. There are also national organisations that provide assistance to IDPs. These include regional states, local authorities and communities, faith-based organisations, such the Ethiopian Red Cross, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development, Inter-Church Aid Commission, the Association for Forced Migrants, Islamic Relief, Nolawi services, the Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment, the Hope for Children Organisation of Australia, the Mission for Community Development Programme, and the Organization for Prevention Rehabilitation and Integration of Female Street Children, among others.

Governance of Internal Displacement

The official position of the government, though not presented in any policy document, is to discourage the recognition and institutionalisation of the existence of internal displacement. Expressed in several pronouncements by high officials, the propensity of the GoE is rather to consider internal displacement as an indicator of failure of the state to prevent and respond effectively to internal displacement; and therefore, to deny the existence of internal displacement and IDPs in Ethiopia. Even more adamantly, on DID, the government denies the existence of IDPs due to its record level developmental delivery of mega projects. Internal displacement governance could be seen through

the following four lenses: normative, institutional, collaborative, and financial frameworks.

The normative framework refers to the instruments in the form of policy, legislative, decrees, and regulations that provide policy and legislative regulations and strategies as well as guidelines aiming to govern internal displacement.

The Federal Constitution of the FDRE

The 1995 FDRE Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Under the FDRE Constitution, free mobility of Ethiopians within and outside the country is guaranteed. Under Article 32, the Federal Constitution stipulates that freedom of movement and residence within the federation is a fundamental human right. The federal government is responsible for the establishment of institutions such as the Ministry of Federal Affairs, National Disaster Risk Management Agency, and so on. Ethiopia has also taken several measures, including legislation with regard to trafficking in human beings and smuggling of persons. However, there are no useful documents except for the NDID under the National Disaster Risk Management policy and the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 10/1995. The Ministry of Federal Affairs has a mandate, but it rarely focuses on IDPs. Under the Ethiopian federative arrangement, unlike refugees and immigration issues, internal displacement is not exclusively a matter to be addressed by the federal government, but also by the regional states. The FDRE comprises the federal government and the regional states' various institutions that form part of the executive, legislative, and judicial components of the government. There are also National Collaboration Frameworks, which mainly focus on bringing national stakeholders together. Ethiopia has several collaborative frameworks working on migration, but only two established under the Proclamation for Disaster Risk Management Commission (see annex 3 (no 9, and 10) and annex 5).

Conclusion

This section focuses on the major findings of the study and the measures that need to be taken into account to establish effective internal displacement governance as part of the comprehensive migration governance architecture of Ethiopia. Finally, it advances general and specific policy recommendations targeting the Government of Ethiopia and the development partners, including Germany and the EU.

Key Findings

Ethiopia is one of the largest countries of origin and transit for displaced people, as well as the host of displaced persons. With more than 60,000 regular and irregular migrants heading to various destinations, it is one of the largest sources of migration. Hosting the highest number of refugees in Africa with close to 800,000, there is the potential to increase this number due to conflicts in neighbouring countries. Onward secondary movement of refugees to third countries is expected to increase. As a responsible member of IGAD, the AU, and UN, Ethiopia has ratified several treaties dealing with refugees and it continues to host one of the largest refugee populations on the continent, arguably more than its fair share of the international refugee burden. In non-financial terms, Ethiopia is practically one of the leading in-kind donors to the protection of refugees. Nevertheless, the link between internal displacement and international migration is very weak.

Internal displacement will increase due to natural disasters such as drought and famine, massive development projects carried out in infrastructure, industrial parks, and large-scale dams and industries. Internal displacement increases vulnerability and may end in negating IDP's fundamental human rights.

For a long time, the position of the Ethiopian government has been ideologically-led, focusing on deterrence and containment of internal displacement, and not on evidence-based policy. As discussed in the sections on the history of displacement in Ethiopia, along with the concerns of the state for its political image and the implications of its large numbers of IDPs, when internal displacement is considered an indicator of failure of the state to prevent and respond effectively to such displacement, there is almost invariably the tendency to deny the existence of internal displacement and IDPs in Ethiopia. In contrast, the federal Government of Ethiopia denies the existence of long-term IDPs in the country, perhaps to protect Ethiopia's image or to de-institutionalize the IDP situation by immediately returning IDPs to their areas of origin. In addition, local authorities stand accused of falsely reporting increases in the number of IDPs so as to justify more assistance on behalf of IDPs.

This study explains that a protection gap exists when it comes to IDPs in Ethiopia because 1) IDPs have special vulnerabilities and specific needs; 2) unlike other vulnerable groups, such as children, women, refugees, and minority groups, IDPs are not specifically protected by the Ethiopian legal system; and 3) despite the existence of the AU Kampala Convention, which offers protection specifically tailored to the needs of IDPs, Ethiopia is yet to ratify, domesticate, and implement that instrument.

Ethiopia has been considering and deliberating the ratification of the Kampala convention since 2013. With delays in the ratification of the Kampala Convention, the protection gap with regard to IDPs in Ethiopia will continue to exist. With the Kampala Convention ratified, Ethiopia could develop a detailed normative and institutional framework that provides a single binding national instrument to take into account the specific needs of domestic IDPs, the increasing volume of internal displacement and its adverse impact on peace and security, human rights and justice, development, and the environment. Therefore, the Kampala Convention would not only fill the existing protection gap, but would also reinforce existing norms, laws, and practices in regard to the protection and assistance of IDPs. It would effectively provide the legal framework for better governance of internal displacement within Ethiopia.

Normative framework (e.g., policy, strategy, legislation, regulations, and guidelines) should

determine the institutional framework. In other words, structure should follow policy and the strategy to be implemented, and not the other way around. In the absence of a policy and strategy on internal displacement governance, the current institutions and taskforces cannot effectively discharge their mandates.

Ethiopian NDRMC serves as the national humanitarian authority with an Inter-Ministerial governing body and taskforce, but it is mostly focused on NDID and, to an extent, CID. A review of the existing system is necessary, so as to make it comprehensive enough to deal with all four kinds of displacement.

Data play an important role in enhancing state capabilities for prediction, prevention and response. The same data system could also be used to measure and evaluate policy effectiveness and enhance a culture of scenario building and evidence-based decision-making. Ethiopia has strong national statistical capacities and geospatial information systems under the CSA and other cartographic institutions. However, the same institutions also need enhancement in terms of financial capability for the collection, analysis, production, and dissemination of disaggregated data that is credible and reliable enough to facilitate the design of evidence-based policies and to arrive at informed decisions.

The existing data are scant, scattered, and outdated. The accuracy of the data that has been made available by various entities is highly questionable and tends to lead to discrepancies among the different mandate holders on internal displacement. Consequently, there is a need to enhance national capabilities for the systematic use of existing data and the collection of new data, as well as the collection, dissemination, analysis, and utilization of information. Data has to be disaggregated by the specific needs of populations affected by internal displacement crises, particularly in terms of gender and age.

The existing federal, regional, and local institutional and financial capabilities for migration governance, including on internal displacement, are dismal. No institutions have been established to deal exclusively with internal displacement governance. The primary purpose of having organised data on IDPs is to shape a response for curbing displacement. In doing so, it will also be useful to identify the protection gap and people at high risk. IDP data need to be effectively collected and analysed to offer effective governance of internal displacement. Most of the regulatory and enforcement agencies have limited infrastructural capabilities. Those with the authority to manage data on internal displacement issues face severe capacity limitations in terms of human and physical resources and methodology (software, templates etc.). Such limitations are more serious at the local level, and particularly at governmental peripheries and border areas. Without a long-term strategic vision, institutional responsibility, and public accountability, sufficient financial capabilities, and a clear methodology for data governance, migration and, more specifically, internal displacement, will never be governed effectively.

The fact that no budget is specifically allocated for migration or internal displacement issues, the only exception being during cases of drought, attests to the low level of importance accorded to migration, by the Ethiopian government at all levels.

In comparison with other neighbouring countries, Ethiopia has built up considerable responsive and adaptive capabilities at policy, institutional, and collaborative levels. Nonetheless, it does not have the necessary predictive and preventive capabilities.

Recommendations

Ethiopia has been pursuing a pro-poor policy of economic growth through labour-intensive micro-, small-, and medium-scale enterprises and productive investments, trade, employment, and effective social security. This policy approach has enabled remarkable achievements, as reflected in its humanitarian responses; for example, to the combating of famine through successful early warning measures in drought-prone areas and the use of diaspora remittances to enhance the resilience of families affected by disasters. As a result, it has reduced the impact of humanitarian crises by enabling Ethiopia to allocate a budget of more than USD 2 billion during the

2015/2016 drought. It has also played a leading role in international climate change negotiations and the implementation of a climate change-resilient green economic policy.

Notwithstanding the progress made, more needs to be done. Ethiopia remains highly vulnerable to many causes of displacement, including conflicts, man-made and natural-disasters such as drought, water shortages and insecurity, flooding, wildfires and so on. Extreme poverty remains the principal multiplier of IDP vulnerability, as it reduces the capabilities of communities and individuals to withstand adversities caused by a variety of factors that contribute to forced migration. Thus, the Ethiopian government needs to build national capabilities that can transform the existing system into an effective governance programme that will compensate and protect the victims of internal displacement.

Recommendations for the Government of Ethiopia

With regard to policy and law:

Ethiopia needs a Comprehensive National Migration Policy including on internal displacement. Moreover, these efforts need to be supported by specific policies and legislation dealing with IDPs in order to protect their rights under the rule of law. Such legal standing will reduce vulnerabilities and enhance the socio-economic capabilities of communities to respond to adversities.

In order to establish the effective governance of internal displacement, the starting point is the development of a national migration policy that will also deal with internal displacement governance, the required ratifications of instruments, particularly the Kampala Convention, and the necessary institutional and collaborative framework.

The ultimate aims of the policy should go beyond response and recovery, to development, building capabilities, and resilience. The policy should take into account the peculiarities of each regional state and locality, including emerging issues such as outbreaks of epidemic diseases, cyclical droughts, famine-like situations, local

violence among pastoral communities, and flood-related disasters.

Prevention, Protection, and Assistance:

Migration is a local individual act with a serious global impact. The solution lies in strong collaboration among the local, the national, and global actors. For this reason, the game changers in the transformation of migration governance including internal displacement are states, local authorities, and communities. Establishing effective governance of migration, including internal displacement, can only be achieved with the active involvement of states and local communities, which is unthinkable to achieve without a long-term engagement. The GoE needs a clear policy direction on IDPs. As part of the national migration policy on migration, which may be developed by the GoE in the coming years, internal displacement should be anchored to a human rights-based approach to addressing forced migration at its root. The duty of the GoE to prevent displacement takes pride of place in such a policy. The bedrock principles and priorities need to be on the prevention of internal displacement as the best tool to address problems of protracted displacement. The Ethiopian federal system also needs to re-ensure the freedom of movement and residence as a bulwark against forced displacement and unlawful eviction. This should include 1) the right to move; 2) the right to be free from any internal or external displacement; and 3) the right to select a place of residence and remain in a place of choice. Hence, development partners such as the EU need to support the finalisation and annual updating of the Migration Profile and the development of an Ethiopian National Migration Policy.

With regard to NDID:

The GoE fully understands that it has the primary responsibility to respect, protect, and fulfil the rights of IDPs. Ethiopia has built an effective preparedness and timely response to crises which are part and parcel of the duty to prevent factors that cause displacement, particularly due to drought and flooding. NDID and MDID can only be reduced and their adverse effects mitigated through effective preparedness and timely response to crises. This is attested to

by its appropriation of an emergency budget for the 2015/2016 drought and to prevent a resultant famine, albeit slowly: it has allocated USD 2.1 Billion (Birr 50 Billion).

Such response mechanisms should include monitoring displacement through disaster warnings as well as preparing for responses to prevent displacement. This constitutes part of the Early Warning System that includes climate-triggered NDID, particularly water related stressors and drought, which will affect millions of Ethiopians, most of whom will end up displaced. The development partners need to develop long-term support for the various climate change-resilient economic efforts of Ethiopia. The prevention of the recurrence of displacement, particularly due to NDID and DID, requires more sustainable and long-term financial support from the development partners including though political and judicial accountability as well as socio-economic assistance.

With regard to CID

Prevention of conflicts significantly contributes to the prevention of displacement, and vice versa. Support for the setting up early warning mechanisms for conflict allows for better management of internal displacement and ensures national and regional stability. Furthermore, it helps not only to solve conflicts before they turn violent, but also ensures that emergency and disaster preparedness and response and management measures are in place in case a response is needed. Thus, prevention systems involve not only devising early warning systems for potential causes of conflicts, but also timely response and intervention mechanisms and preparedness to respond when disaster and conflict occur. Hence, development partners need to support the current efforts of political reform, inclusive national dialogue, and institutional efforts to build effective national early warning systems under the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Pastoralist Areas Development and IGAD.

With regard to displacement and its linkage to global migration and trafficking:

In rare cases, there is a correlation between internal displacement and international migration. IDPs, when they have no alternative areas of flight, may seek asylum in another country. IDPs in camps, towns, and cities may also consider and saving money for secondary or onward movements outside the country. Internal displacement is highly linked with trafficking in human beings and smuggling of persons, especially internally displaced women and children in Addis Ababa and border areas. Many IDPs, particularly women and children, are indeed the victims of such crimes. For this reason, the protection of internally displaced women and children takes on a unique urgency.[78] Thus, anti-trafficking and smuggling campaigns also need to target IDP populations and camps.

With regard to DID:

In principle, the GoE needs to attempt to avoid projects that are likely to produce IDPs. The GoE also needs to prevent non-state actors from causing DID. Ethiopia needs to offer layers of strict oversight by political bodies, review by judicial organs, and provision of effective remedies for those affected by DID. These oversights and review procedures ensure the legality of decisions related to DID. National policy on migration needs to ensure ten detailed substantive and procedural obligations of the GoE when DID is unavoidable. These are: 1) that the distributional benefits from the project are also shared by the IDPs; 2) part of a development scheme; 3) justified by a compelling and overriding public interest; 4) considered only after all feasible alternatives are exhausted; 5) carried out in such a manner that it does not cause arbitrary displacement; 6) implemented in such a way that displacement and its adverse impacts are reduced, including the protection of heritage sites such as cultural or religious objects from destruction; 7) conducted only after the free and informed consent of the people affected by the project is secured; 8) carried out with adequate provision of restitution and reparation for affected communities, shelter, and other basic necessities; 9) an established mechanism for effective participation of IDPs in the planning

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[78]Mehari Taddele Maru, Migration in Ethiopia, Making Migration Beneficial for EU and Africa, 21 October 2015.

and management of the relocation; and lastly, 10) ensuring the reintegration of IDPs in the new areas.

With regard to durable solutions:

The GoE prefers return, but local integration and resettlement should also be considered as an option as far as there is adequate preparation and the informed consent of the IDPs. Durable solution principally relates to the recovery of the capability of the IDPs to earn their livelihood and re-establish their normal lives. Durable solutions need to be guided by human rights norms. It is best understood as part of freedom of movement and residence of IDPs—freedom from forcible return and discrimination. The GoE need to ensure that return, local integration, or relocation is carried out with full respect for the human rights of IDPs. In relation to this, development partners significantly contribute to the success of durable solutions. While financial aid could help establish long-term reconstruction and recovery, humanitarian agencies offer aid for IDPs until the time when IDPs recover their livelihoods.

Focusing on building the four capabilities.

The end state of internal displacement governance architecture should focus on building the following four capabilities of the state:

1. **Predictive capabilities as the first line of defence** against internal displacement and ensuing humanitarian crises. This is related to early warning on three of the five major causes of displacement (NDID, MDID, CID), which is a function of scientific prediction and communication capacity;

2. **Preventive capabilities as the second line of defence** related to proactive developmental early intervention to boost the resilience of groups vulnerable to internal displacement and to protect their human rights. Such early warning and intervention would also prevent and resolve conflicts that are due to low socio-economic capacity or a lack of pro-poor policy. Building community assets, as well as good governance with foresight, and the application of the principles of subsidiarity at national and regional levels, through decen-

tralization *and* devolution may also help in building this capability;

3. **Responsive capabilities as the third line of defence are** related to reactive intervention, including relief and physical protection, by maintaining law and order as well as both judicial and political accountability, which are functions of socio-economic capacity and governance for effective delivery to the population of basic, legitimately expected services, including security; and

4. **Adaptive capabilities as the fourth line of defence** that are related to the abilities and coping mechanisms of societies, communities, and state and non-state institutions to "bounce back" after facing adversity, shocks, violent conflicts, and changing environments. This capability relies on building community socio-cultural traits, social innovative, traditional structures such as the informal economy, small-scale, cross-border trade, cross border spontaneous mobility and migration, and the sharing of natural resources.

Assistance in shift of focus: *from intervention to prevention*

For Ethiopia, with its grave economic challenges and meagre financial resources, prevention should take primacy over intervention. In this regard, its development partners should continue to support existing institutions with a focus on early warning and early effective response. Social mobilization and political parties can also contribute to promoting a political context that is constructive and accountable to the public. In this regard, the development partners could play a critical role in building national and regional capabilities for effective prevention and timely responses to crises that cause internal displacement.

Implementation of principles of subsidiarity and complementarity

Ethiopia needs a comprehensive national architecture for migration governance, within which the governance of internal displacement could be included. The national architecture for migration governance needs to focus on the effective implementation of the principles of subsidiarity and complementarity among the

federal Government of Ethiopia and the regional states, city governments, zonal, Woreda, and local authorities. Thus, the role of the federal Government of Ethiopia should remain subsidiary to the intervention by regional states, local authority governments, and local communities, which are the first responders to internal displacement crises and need to be supported. Thus, there is a need for the state to build local capacities, not only at the level of the regional state, but also at the level of local communities. Local populations must be seen as vital players within the entire migration governance and humanitarian system. This distribution of roles requires states to build the capacities of their local communities and to give full effect to the roles of social and traditional structures at the local level.

Climate change−security nexus: integrating climate, food, water, and energy security into early warning and response mechanisms

Early warning mechanisms are also needed to tackle climate, weather, and environmental change-related threats to human security within the Ministry of Federal Affairs and the National Disaster Risk Management Agency. While improving the predictive capability to anticipate the impact of climate change, it is also important to work on identifying the most vulnerable water basin areas to ensure adaptive responses. The integration of early warning systems for conflict, drought and famine, climate change and weather, and floods and disasters may help to bridge the gap between scientific findings and political decisions as well as in the climate change−security nexus.

Capacitate the state in developmental delivery

At the national level, given that extreme poverty will remain the most formidable socio-economic, governance, and security challenge, the international community, including the EU collectively and Germany individually, should strengthen its support for the developmental efforts of Ethiopia. Ethiopia has developed the necessary normative, institutional, and collaborative framework for poverty eradication and development. The predictive, preventive, responsive and adaptive capacity of Ethiopia is certainly a function of resilience in the face of

vulnerabilities to internal and external factors and shocks. Ethiopia's fight against poverty could also contribute to strengthening sustainable peace and security.

Specific recommendations include the following:

1. Adopting comprehensive national migration and humanitarian policies based on the AU's and IGAD's various normative instruments, including the African Union Common African Position on Humanitarian Effectiveness (CAP-WHS).[79]

2. Convening a national consultation conference on the Kampala Convention. Ethiopia need to first ratify the Kampala Convention and then issue a policy or law, and revise its laws and policies accordingly. It needs to prioritize the rationalization of existing agencies in charge of coordinating the implementation. The laws and policies need to cover all phases of internal displacement. Furthermore, in terms of durable solutions, Ethiopia need to ensure such laws stipulate for just restitution, compensation, and other forms of satisfactions. In this regard, development partners' support and urge the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission to issue special reports on IDPs in Ethiopia that enhance prevention, assistance, and protection as well as durable solutions.

3. Speeding up ratification and domestication and implementing the various African instruments such as the Kampala Convention and adhering to the African Peer Review Mechanism to improve internal displacement governance.

4. Designating a focal point for internal displacement within the NCM.

5. Taking measures to integrate internal displacement issues and the rights of IDPs generally into national development plans, including in development projects such as resettlement programmes, infrastructural

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[79] Mehari Taddele Maru, AU Common African Position on Humanitarian Effectiveness (CAP-WHS), available from http://aga-platform.org/Common_African_Position.pdf (accessed 16 February 2017).

development, extractive industries, large scale commercial farms, industrial parks, national parks, and urban renewal programmes.

6. Adopting additional measures to fight corruption and ensure transparency and accountability, especially in the delivery of humanitarian aid.

7. Establishing clear guidelines and mechanisms for the deployment of military assets as enablers in the humanitarian system without compromising the rights of IDPs and the duties of the National Armed Forces of Ethiopia.

8. Ethiopia needs to allocate the necessary budget and resources for internal displacement crises, and for the CSA's data collection purposes.

9. Making use of the existing institutional mechanisms to develop effective internal displacement governance as part of the migration architecture. This includes the National Committee, the taskforces at various levels of administration, the TWG, and NCMs.

10. The CSA may serve as the centre for quality and comprehensive collection, governance, and dissemination of data in collaboration with the other members of the NCMs, TWG, and the Taskforce.

Recommendations for development partners, including Germany and the EU

Capacitate the state in developmental delivery

At the national level, given that extreme poverty will remain the most formidable socio-economic, governance, and security challenge, the international community, including the EU and Germany, should strengthen its support for the developmental efforts of Ethiopia. Ethiopia has developed the necessary normative, institutional, and collaborative framework for poverty eradication and development. The predictive, preventive, responsive, and adaptive capacity of Ethiopia is certainly a function of resilience to vulnerabilities to internal and external factors

and shocks. Ethiopia's fight against poverty would also contribute to strengthening sustainable peace and security and the reduction of internal displacement.

Financially support the speedy ratification, domestication and implementation of the Kampala Convention in addressing issues of internal displacement. Finance is key to the effective governance of internal displacement, as part of a humanitarian response. Germany and the EU need to effectively implement the commitment of Sendai that includes the allocation of more resources to assistance in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR). In this regard, the effective implementation of the Addis Ababa Agenda for Action on FDD also takes pride of place in building humanitarian architecture that is fit for the purpose.

Support the Ethiopian Climate (Change)-Resilient Green Economy initiative. There is an urgent need to reverse the devastating impacts of climate change on the Ethiopian agrarian economy. Climate change funding should act as a catalyst for adequate support, including mobilizing predictable, appropriate, and timely financial resources in order to enable Ethiopia to face climate change-related humanitarian disasters. Germany and the EU need to implement and call for the speedy implementation of decisions on various climate change funds, including the UN Green Climate Change Fund and other financial support mechanisms. They also need to support Ethiopia in implementing its Climate Resilient Green Economy initiative.

Help bridge the policy-implementation gap

Despite the presence of fragments of policies and laws in Ethiopia, it is regrettable that the GOE is not able to effectively ensure implementation and accountability in relation to displacement. Attributed to the meagre resources allocated to migration, governance, and institutional inadequacies, the challenges will remain for the foreseeable future unless partners put large resources aside to deal with the above-mentioned gaps and help the GoE to overhaul its migration governance, and in particular, internal displacement due to DID. Similarly, the implementation of livelihood projects for IDPs and refuges

will be vital for the overall orderly migration to and from Ethiopia.

The EU and Germany need to continue their support in putting significant investment into low-hanging, multiplier, and high-impact, pro-poor economic projects such as labour intensive small- and medium-scale enterprises for IDPs, refugees, and potential migrants. Such successful projects already exist in Ethiopia and only require finance to scale up and expand. An example is the new industrial parks that will, with assistance from the EU Trust Fund for Africa, employ tens of thousands of refugees in Ethiopia. Others include on-going development projects, including urban renewal, road, air, and railway infrastructure development, and dams, etc. Intervention in such areas would also help address potential violence that may spur more displacement due to the expected growth in youth unemployment and demand for jobs.

Hence, aid to IDPs needs to be linked to sustainable livelihood activities in order to help them integrate with the local population. Unlike emergency aid, livelihood support and assistance in the form of small-scale enterprises and training for the local labour market calculated to enhance self-sufficiency contributes greatly to the livelihood and welfare of IDPs. Livestock, small husbandry, cloth-making, bricklaying, bakeries, agricultural input, seeds, cultivation equipment, and fertilizers, fishing boats, and training of various kinds, including formal education, are the most common forms of long-term impact aid. Such in-kind aid serves to improve health and welfare, build local markets, and otherwise enhance the dignity of IDPs. When such aid targets women and girls, the effect on IDPs communities further multiplies by benefiting entire families, as well as by protecting women from sexual exploitation and insulating children from forced labour and sexual abuse.

The relationship between IDPs and host communities plays an important role in the protection and assistance of IDPs. As discussed previously, internal displacement almost always affects both IDPs and host communities. It is for this reason that any assessment of an internal displacement crisis must consider the anticipated impact of such a crisis on the host community and any needs created thereby. Poor IDP and host-community relations often hamper the effective response to the internal displacement crisis. Exclusive aid may also create differences in the economic welfare of IDPs and local communities and thereby increase resentment of IDPs and food aid agencies among the latter. Thus, aid and investment packages need to consider the priorities and interests of host communities.

Annex – Stakeholders in internal displacement governance in Ethiopia

Ethiopian National Migration Governance: Institutional Framework	
Institutions	**Mandates/Laws**
Government Institutions	
The House of Peoples Representatives (HPR)	The HPR has legislative, appointment, and oversight powers entrusted by the FDRE Constitution. All federal laws, including those on migration, are promulgated by the HPR. It oversees all line Ministries and government agencies, including those working on internal displacement related issues.
The House of Federation (HoF)	Representing Nations, Nationalities, and the Peoples of Ethiopia, the HoF is responsible for distinctive powers, albeit partially exercised. These include decisions on policy and legislative initiatives with regard to economic development and to restore constitutional order. In addition, the HoF oversees inter-state relations and dispute resolution, as well as conflict prevention and resolution, and the federal budget appropriation formulae which have relevance to migration governance, including the protection of internal migrants from becoming IDPs.
The Judiciary	The highest and final judicial power over federal and regional matters is vested in the federal and regional courts. The judicial organs at federal and regional levels have mandates on migration in relation to the dispensation of justice through the adjudication of disputes and the protection of fundamental human rights of Ethiopian citizens. This body is also responsible for the adjudication of traffickers, smugglers, and the rights of citizens in relation to travel.
The Prime Minister **Prime Minister's Office**	This is the apex of political power in Ethiopia, the chief executive officer of the federal government, the Prime Minister, who is also the principal diplomat and representative of the government, providing overall direction on internal displacement. All cabinet ministers and the deputy prime minister report to him.
Council of Ministers (CMs)	Chaired by the Prime Minister, the CM is primarily responsible for federal policy formulation and execution, including migration matters. It is also constitutionally entrusted with the responsibility of issuing regulations necessary to ensure human rights protection of nationals in the Ethiopia and beyond.
Ethiopian National Security Council (ENSC)	Chaired by the Prime Minister, the ENSC provides the overall direction in respect of coordinating and supervising the "proper implementation of domestic, foreign and defence policies relating to the national security" of Ethiopia. The ENSC assesses national security threats and forwards recommendations on measures to be taken. It also proposes implementation guidelines, including on migration issues when they concern national security measures.
National Human Rights Institutions	The Ethiopian Institutions of the Ombudsman and Ethiopian Human Rights Commission were established to play the role of "watch-dog" over the executive bodies of the state with regard to violations of human rights and grievances related to the public sector.

Ministry of Women and Children	The Ministry is responsible for the implementation of policies and strategies to enhance the enjoyment of the rights of women and children, as stipulated under the FDRE Constitution and to enable women to participate equally with men in government and private institutions and thereby enhance their participation in the political, economic, and social fields.
Ministry of Federal Affairs and Pastoralist Area Development (MFAPAD)	Entrusted with the powers and duties of cooperating with concerned federal and regional state organs in maintaining public order, MFAPAD is the focal point for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and Pastoralist Communities (mostly communities residing in borderlands and dispersed among and within several countries). It is mandated to develop sustainable political solutions for disputes and conflicts that may arise within or between regional states.
Federal Police Commission (FPC)	With predictive, preventive, investigative, and responsive mandates, the Federal Police Commission was established by the Constitution of the FDRE to serve and ensure the peace and security of the public and to duly respect human and democratic rights and freedoms. Its objective is to maintain the peaceful life and security of the people through the prevention of crime. Its responsibilities are to safeguard the security of Ethiopia's borders, airports, railway lines and terminals, mining areas, and vital institutions of the federal government, and to protect and safeguard high officials of the Federal Government and dignitaries of foreign countries. The federal police have preventive and investigative powers for all crimes that fall under the jurisdiction of the federal courts, as well as for execute orders and decisions issued by courts having judicial powers.
Central Statistics Agency	The Agency is responsible for statistical data generation related to the socio-economic condition of the country. The CSA conducts, produces, disseminates, and administers data generated from surveys and from every census conducted in Ethiopia. The major mandates and responsibilities of the CSA, among others, are: collecting statistical data through census surveys, sample surveys, administrative records and registration, as well as processing and evaluating analyses, publishing and disseminating the results, and as the country's information centre.
National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS)	With ministerial status and accountability to the Prime Minister,[80] the House of People's Representatives (HPR) promulgated a proclamation re-establishing the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS). The core functions of the NISS are the collection and analysis of intelligence and the provision of security for the population and the state. It seeks to provide quality intelligence and reliable security services. The NISS shoulders the responsibility of coordinating national counter-terrorism cooperation and collaboration. In addition to its intelligence-related mandates, it also has security duties, including the provision and control of immigration and nationality services for Ethiopians and foreigners, the protection of refugees, and for aviation security services. The administration of border controls is also conducted under the aegis of the NISS.

[80] Article 33 (2) (a), Proclamation to Provide for the Definition of Powers and Duties of the Executive Organs of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 691/2010, 27 October 2010.

	The MDINA-Main Department of Immigration and Nationality Affairs (MDINA) is mandated with the issuance of passports and travel documents to Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians travelling to and from Ethiopia.
	The Authority for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA) was established by Proclamation No. 409/2004 and is mandated to administer refugee-related issues in Ethiopia. Determination of refugee status is also conducted by the ARRA.
Federal Disaster Risk Management Council (FDRMC)	The Deputy Prime Minister has the country's highest policy level coordination mandate. The FDRMC's mission is to coordinate all efforts to predict, prevent, and respond to disasters. The DRMFSS aims at building early warning and early response capabilities to alleviate the extent of damage that could be caused by a disaster and to ensure the timely provision of assistance to victims of such a disaster, including IDPs and citizens who might be repatriated due to such disasters. Associated with the FDRMC is the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC).
Addis Ababa City Government	Addis Ababa City Land Development and City Renewal Agency is mandated to identify and prepare land to be used for different development projects within the city. It conducts studies on development and city renewal projects, based on the City Master Plan, as well as specific local development plans. As a result, the Agency is tasked with implementing inner-city renewal projects for two major reasons: renewal related to ensuring an improved living environment for inhabitants of the city, and economic use of land resources.
Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC)	The EIC is mandated to promote and facilitate investment, especially in the manufacturing sector. The enabling act of the Ethiopian Investment Commission, Proclamation No.769/2012, requires that the Commission has all necessary data on inhabitants in places where the land is designated and expropriated for investment purposes.
National Human Rights Institutions	As a complimentary means toward solving complaints of the public, the NHRIs are similar to the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the Institution of the Ombudsman, which contribute to law and order and the dispensation of justice, the settlement of grievances and conflicts, and dispute resolution.
Federal Micro and Small Scale Enterprises Development Agency	The FMSSEDA is a government agency established to play a pivotal role as an economic hub for medium- and large-scale industry, and to promote exports. Another aim in the reduction of poverty and unemployment is the creation of jobs and business growth.
Addis Ababa City Government	As a federally chartered capital city and seat of the federal government and Oromia Regional State, Addis Ababa hosts the federal and city government and Oromia Regional State Councils. It has BOLSA.
Regional states	Similar to the federal state, the various regional states (provinces) have their own Regional State BOLSA, Regional State BYWC, Administration and Justice

	Bureaux, Regional State Police Commissions, Militia Offices, Education Bureaux, Agricultural and Natural Resources, Woreda and Kebele administrative units, and judicial bodies that ensure law and order, justice, peace, and security.
International and Regional Organisations, Public and Civil Society Organisations and Think Tanks	
International and Regional Organisations	IGAD, the AU, UN agencies (IOM, ILO, UNHCR), and development partners, such as the EU and Norway, have been working closely with the state and non-state actors mentioned in this Table, particularly MoLSA, MoFA, PMO, and BoLSA. The ICRC and other organisations play critical roles in the promotion of humanitarian assistance.
Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Association (CCRDA)	The CCRDA was formerly known as the CRDA, an indigenous, non-profit umbrella organisation of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) engaged in relief, rehabilitation, and diverse developmental activities focusing on poverty alleviation.
Faith-based Organisations	The Ethiopian Red Cross, Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission, Association for Forced Migrants, Islamic Relief, Nolawi services, Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment, Hope for Children Organisation (Australia), the Mission for Community Development Programme, Organization for Prevention Rehabilitation, and Integration of Female Street Children, etc.
Other CSOs/ Private Sector organisations	Faith-based organisations and other charities.

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