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# Resilience of People Displaced from Ethio-Somali Region and Resettled in Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne (Addis Ababa), Ethiopia

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Inter-communal violence along the Oromia-Somali border displaced more than a million ethnic Oromo in 2018. Existing research gave slight attention to the resilience of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Ethiopia. Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the resilience strategies and capacities of persons displaced from Ethio-Somali Region and resettled in Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne (Addis Ababa). The study was informed by resilience theory. This case study used interviews, focus group discussions, and observation to collect the data. Purposively selected 27 IDPs participated in the in-depth interviews and 6 officials participated in the key-informant interviews. Thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the data. Any information that harms participants was not disclosed. The findings of this study revealed that IDPs cope through social support system, reducing the frequency of eating, and begging. Coping was challenging for IDPs due to the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, increasing cost of living, and new lifestyle. IDPs adapt through income generation and formal support system. Limited access to sources of income, lack of working space, and discrimination were the major challenges to their adaptation. The major stressors affecting IDPs' transformative capacities included limited basic infrastructure, lack of safety nets, and lack of commitment to properly implement IDP policies and strategies. The findings underline that stakeholders such as government, private sector actors, local communities, civil society organizations, and international actors should work together to build IDPs' resilience through basic social services, social protection, empowerment, and enhancing the resilience of social institutions and networks.

**KEY TERMS:** adaptation; coping; Ethio-Somali Region; Ethiopia; internally displaced persons; resilience; transformative capacities

#### KEY DATES

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#### INTRODUCTION

Ethnic Oromo who were resettled in Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne (Addis Ababa) have faced various challenges relating to livelihood, health, employment, and education. Although the government has provided them with food, water, shelter, health, education, and other basic social services, these aids are not sufficient and are not obtained on time and regular basis (Nigussie, 2020). As a result, a range of adversities have limited the IDPs self-securing agency or resilience. This study examined the resilience strategies and capacities of ethnic Oromo displaced from Ethio-Somali Region. The study first will present the background of the study. It then provides the qualitative methods used to collect and analyze the data. Finally, the results and discussions, conclusion, and recommendations that can help State and non-State actors to enhance the resilience of these vulnerable groups will be presented.

## **BACKGROUND**

Globally, the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has largely increased. According to a report by Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), about 28 million persons were displaced as a result of conflict and disasters across 148 countries and territories in the year 2018. The report also shows that several countries in the Third World were affected by displacement associated with conflict and disasters (IDMC, 2019). Recently, there are twice as many IDPs as refugees in the world (Wanninayake, 2019). According to Dereje and Lietaert (2022), more than 82 million persons were displaced at the end of 2020.

In the twenty-first century, the majority of new displacements were recorded in Sub-Saharan Africa. As of the end of 2019, the number of persons displaced by conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa is about 16.5 million (IDMC, 2019). Recently, internal displacement due to natural disasters, conflict, and communal violence is a very serious contemporary problem in the Horn of Africa compared to the past (Yigzaw and Abitew, 2019).

In 2018, Ethiopia topped all countries in the world by recording a high number of IDPs. The number of IDPs in Ethiopia in this year was 3,191,000, a substantial portion of which was as a result of ethnic and border-based disputes (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019; Tesfaw, 2022). In 2021, a total of 4.2 million persons were internally displaced across Ethiopia (IOM, 2021).

In March 2017, violent conflict occurred along the Oromia-Somali border surrounding eastern, southeastern, and southern Ethiopia. This conflict between the Oromo and Somali was triggered by the broader political economy of illegal trade by many actors, including the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) military generals, businessmen, and high-profile government authorities. This conflict resulted in mass killings and displacement. By mid-2018 more than one million people were displaced from both sides (Regassa, 2019).

The displaced ethnic Oromo were escaped without having the assets that help them to save their lives (Dugo and Eisen, 2018). As these IDPs were forced to flee with no assets, livelihoods and networks, it would be difficult for them to earn a living. Therefore, most of them have faced insecure and uncertain life circumstances, and seek for assistance from the government, the international community, and the host communities (IDMC, 2019).

While previous studies examined the psychological impacts of displacement, resettlement of IDPs, and socio-economic rights protection (Elias, 2019; Masresha, 2020; Negussie, 2020), no research has been conducted on the resilience strategies and capacities of IDPs from the Ethio-Somali Region. Therefore, examining the resilience strategies and capacities of the IDPs was the purpose of this study. The study can offer insight into identification and mitigation of the factors that hinder their resilience and recommending ways of alleviating them. The main research questions of this study are: what are the resilience strategies of the IDPs? What are the factors that constrain the coping, adaptive, and transformative capacities of the IDPs?

#### Theoretical framework

This study was informed by resilience theory. 'Resilience theory addresses the strengths that people and systems demonstrate that enable them to rise above adversity' (Van Breda, 2001:1). Resilience processes or protective resources enable people to achieve better-than-expected outcomes in the face of adversity. Resilience processes lie not just in the individual or in the environment, but in the way these transact (Van Breda, 2018). The notion of resilience often stresses the capacity to absorb, adapt and transform while encountering different shocks and stressors(Avis, 2020). The notion of social ecological resilience is emphasized in this study. As explained by Bottrell (2009), social ecologies of resilience underscore family relations, social structures, social services and culture as the vital and most powerful resilience resources, which are also essential for the coping, adaptive, and transformative strategies and capacities of IDPs. According to Van Breda (2018), both agency and structure and the interaction between them are vital for resilience. Agency indicates the power that individuals use over their

lives and social environment, whereas structure shows the macro systems that constrain the choices and opportunities of individuals. Focusing on these aspects is essential in situations of forced displacement where disempowerment and marginalization as well as other forms of structural violence may hinder resilience of internally displaced persons.

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Case study design and qualitative approach were applied in this study. They are valued for a comprehensive, holistic, and in-depth investigation and understanding of complex issues (Bangura et al., 2007; Yin, 2018) such as the ones associated with displacement. Further, according to Brown (2016:59-60), 'many NGOs and analysts recommend more participatory and qualitative approaches to assessing resilience.' After getting entry permission from the mayors' offices of the towns, the corresponding author recruited participants through the help of IDPs' representatives and community leaders based on their understanding of the subject matter. In-depth interviews and key-informant interviews were conducted with the IDPs in the camps and with officials in their offices respectively. Further, focus group discussions and direct observation were used to triangulate and exhaust disputable issues and to supplement the data gathered through interviews. Two FGDs were also conducted with the IDPs. The target population comprised all IDPs resettled in six towns in Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne (Addis Ababa) such as Burayu, Dukem, Gelan, Lege Dadi LegeTafo, Sebeta, and Sululta. The participants of this study were recruited through purposive sampling technique. Accordingly, a total of 27 IDPs participated in the in-depth interviews and 6 officials were involved in the key-informant interviews. The data were collected between August and October 2021.

The data were analyzed through a thematic analysis approach which involves reading and re-reading transcripts and looking for similarities and differences that enable to develop themes and categories. The data were interpreted to make meaning from the narrative and coding activities and to understand the conceptual framework generated through the coding process. Further, the data were analyzed and compared with secondary data from literature to triangulate the research results. This study is in compliance with the guideline for research ethics. Interview started with explaining the purpose of the study to participants. They were informed about their right to participate and to quit participation any time they want to. They were also given the opportunity to choose places of interviews, ask questions about the study and its procedures, and give consents for the researchers to audio-record the interviews. Further, privacy was respected throughout the research process including the write-up.

## RESULTS

The major themes that emerged from the analysis include coping strategies of IDPs, challenges for coping, adaptive strategies of IDPs, challenges for adaptation, and factors affecting transformative capacities of IDPs. These themes are discussed in detail in this section.

## Coping strategies of the IDPs

## Social support system

The participants explained that one of the ways the IDPs respond to the shocks they encounter is through social support systems. Those who have relatives in foreign countries and those with better off kin in place of origin receive money from their relatives. They use the money to buy food, clothes, educational materials and school uniforms. According to one of the interviewees:

Some work as day labourers with low pay. Others receive money from relatives. I receive money from my relatives. No one is interested to hire me as a day labourer. The supervisors said that I am too old to be supervised (Male, 65-year-old).

#### Culture of sharing

Participants discussed that they also use food sharing to cope with food scarcity. The IDPs buy food and share among themselves. As the majority of them are from Hararghe, a zone in Eastern Ethiopia, they share food because sharing is mandatory and it is part of their culture. In addition to sharing food, IDPs contribute money to take a sick person to health center. In the words of a FGD participant:

We have a strong sharing culture. When relatives send money, we buy food and eat together. When someone gets sick, we collect coins from neighbors and religious institutions and take the person to

hospital (Male, late 50s).

## Reducing the frequency of eating

Participants revealed that they also respond to problems relating to food through sever coping strategies such as reducing the number of meals they eat per day. One of the interviewees said:

We allow women and children twice a day but we eat once. If there is nothing to eat we sleep without food having only khat (Catha edulis) (Male, 46-year-old).

#### Begging

In most of the camps, begging is used by some IDPs as a means of getting food especially by children and the elderly. They beg in adjacent towns like Finfinne, Sendafa, Burayu, Sebeta, and Dukem. According to one interviewee:

I am an old person and I eat begging food from neighbors. My children have nothing to eat. They sit and beg on the street. There are orphans in this camp. There are also elders whose age is more than 65 years and who could not work as day labourers. We are starving (Male, 68-year-old).

## Challenges to coping

## COVID-19 pandemic and cost of living

Coping was challenging for the IDPs due to the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic and the increasing cost of living. According to the interviewees:

People couldn't do business during the COVID-19 pandemic because of the restricted mobility. Those who own small business and engage on retail trade became bankrupt as the items they had brought for sell were expired due to lack of access to market (Male, 31-year-old).

Due to the rising standard of living, we cannot pay for health services. We use the small amount of money we earn from manual labor job to buy food. The price of food items is rising from time to time (Female, 34-year-old).

## New lifestyle

Further, for the IDPs from rural backgrounds, coping was very challenging because they have not been equipped with skills required for urban setting jobs and also, they cannot easily integrate into urban social life. According to FGD participants:

IDPs from urban areas can speak Amharic and easily communicate with host communities who are non-Oromo. There are IDPs who came from frontier areas like Chinaksen. They speak Somali and they do not know Afan Oromo (Oromo language) though they are Oromo. Some IDPs couldn't find jobs because they do not speak Amharic (Male, early 50s).

#### Adaptation strategies of the IDPs

#### Involving in income generating activities

The IDPs adapt through work and various income generating activities. A large number of the IDPs engage on manual labor jobs. Based on observation, some IDPs, especially women, sell *khat* and vegetables on the streets of the towns. They bring these items from the nearby areas including Finfinne (Addis Ababa). Participants said the following:

There are a number of construction sites in the town. We have some opportunity to work as day labourers. However, during summer there is little opportunity to work as a day labourer because most of the construction is quitted (Male, 35-year-old).

We sell vegetables, khat, food items, and other commodities. We bring these items from the nearby areas. Sometimes we take vegetables from farmers for credit. We sell and payback the money (Female, 37-year-old).

I have no children who help me. I live by collecting plastic bottles. I sell 1kg of bottles for 3 ETB (Ethiopian Birr). One time, I fall into a river while collecting plastic bottles (Female, 63-year-old).

There are also IDPs who are employed in private sector companies by the recommendation of the towns' administrations. Most of these IDPs work in factories that produce packaged water, cement, ceramics, soap, textiles and others. One of the participants articulated that:

There are a number of companies in this town. I am working as a day labourer in a real estate called CCD (Country Club Developers). There are IDPs who work in textile and other factories. Some of them quitted job because they disagree with managers over the issue of payment (Male, 33-year-old).

The findings show that some IDPs live by renting their sheds and shelters. Those in Burayu and Sululta get substantial income by renting their sheds for the host communities. In the words of one of the interviewees:

Some IDPs rent their sheds while others rent their shelters. Those who rent sheds get 7000-10000 birr per month. Some constructed the sheds with their own money and others used the loan they received from the government (Male, 34-year-old).

The other option that the IDPs used to adapt is migration to find work and send money to families in the camps. A large number of IDPs especially men migrated to Oromia-Somali regional states border areas. According to the interviewees:

There are better job opportunities in the places of our displacement than here. The payment is also relatively better. We used to earn 400-500 ETB (Ethiopian Birr) per day as a day labourer. Here you are paid only 150. It is easier to self-sustain in that place than here (Male, 42-year-old).

Many IDPs are migrating due to food and employment challenges. If this continues those who remain here will leave this place in the near future. Previously there were about 400 households in this camp but now they are about 100. The majority of those who live in the camps are women and children (Male, 35-year-old).

#### Formal support system

Access to loans was an important way through which the IDPs access resources. The Oromia Disaster Risk Management Commission provided interest free loans through the Oromia Credit Bureau to enable the IDPs work and self-sustain. According to an interviewee from one of the mayors' offices:

The loans were provided to business groups of five consisting of families and/or friends over 18. Each member in the group has received 20 thousand ETB (Ethiopian birr). Business sheds have also been constructed and given to the IDPs. However, many IDPs wasted the money without self-sustaining. They used it to buy basic necessities like food because they had been in critical food shortage when the loan was provided. Some IDPs effectively used the loan to improve their livelihood. They have become owners of small restaurants and barber shops. Some IDPs sell khat and coffee on an open air (Male, 36-year-old).

## Challenges to adaptation

Based on interviews and FGDs, the major challenges to IDPs' adaptation include lack of access to sources of income that are salaried, lack of working space, and discrimination. The IDPs face discrimination from the host communities and the neighboring community members while they engage on income generating activities. According to one of a FGD participants:

... our friend sold his land in Somali region and bought a Bajaj to give motorcycle transportation service in this town. But, he was forced to quit the service because Bajaj drivers in the neighboring community were not happy to see him competing with them. He was discriminated due to his place of origin. Finally, the person sold the Bajaj to his relatives in Hararghe. Similarly, a disabled woman who bought a Bajaj to give transportation service was forced to quit the service (Male, late 30s).

With regard to lack of working space, an interviewee expressed the following:

I started selling snacks in the camp, but I couldn't sell more because people from outside did not come and buy from me. Those who buy were IDPs in this camp. Through time the income I earn decreased as

the IDPs finished their money and quitted buying snacks. I became bankrupt and could not continue the business. I want to do this business outside the camp but I do not have a working space (Female, 32-year-old).

## Factors affecting transformative capacities of the IDPs

Transformative capacities are the capacities that enable the IDPs to access assets and assistance from the government and civil society organizations so as to transform their livelihoods and other ways of life. Based on interviews and FGDs, several factors have weakened IDPs' transformative capacities.

#### Inaccessibility and unavailability of public services

The findings revealed that one of the stressors that have weakened the IDPs' transformative capacities is limited basic infrastructure. Based on observation, the majority of the IDPs were resettled at the suburb areas of the towns where infrastructural installation is not yet reached. In the words of an interviewee in Sebeta:

Some IDPs are doing business in the camp. It is not easy for them to bring items for sell because the road to the camp is bad. Drivers often ask for high transportation cost (Male, 32-years-old).

The other stressor that constrains IDPs transformative capacities is poor access to water and sanitation. According to the interviewees:

We have hygiene problems due to scarcity of water and inability to afford to buy soap. Children of the host community discriminate our children in schools due to their poor hygiene (Female, 35-year-old).

The camps do not have enough toilets and places to dispose waste materials. The toilets are not clean. Liquid waste sprinkles on our body while we defecate. In addition, our waste disposal culture is poor (Male, 42-year-old).

#### Lack of safety nets and employment

The IDPs' transformative capacities are also hampered by lack of social protection mechanisms. In the words of a government official:

Among the six towns where IDPs are resettled, social safety nets are available only in Burayu and Sebeta. Even in these towns, the safety nets have not yet reached the IDPs and they are not benefiting from them (Male, 37-year-old).

Limited employment opportunities have also weakened the transformative capacities of the IDPs. Employment opportunities are either inadequate or unavailable at all. According to one interviewee:

There are no enough jobs. The only available job is day labourer. If you work for a week then you might sit without job for two or three weeks. These days, construction work has been stopped due to scarcity of cements. It is very difficult for us to live here (Male, 34-year-old).

Limited access to loans has also constrained the transformative capacities of the IDPs. Many IDPs want to take loans from banks and credit associations so as to improve their livelihood. These financial institutions need collateral to provide loans. It is difficult for the IDPs to take loans because they do not have land certificate or assets. According to a FGD participant:

The loan we received earlier is inadequate. We are required collateral to access additional loan. We are in a serious economic problem. Most of us are jobless. Although we were organized in teams to run business, we haven't still accessed adequate loan (Female, early 30s).

Some IDPs organize themselves in team and buy items such as edible oil and sugar from public sectors to distribute these items to hotels and restaurants. However, they face challenges to buy the items due to some corrupt officials. According to one of a FGD participants:

Some of us were organized in teams to sell edible oil and sugar. But we haven't yet got the items. The concerned individuals say 'go on hand, not on foot.' This is ironically means give corruption money. They asked us to pay bribe (Male, late 30s).

## Lack of commitment to properly implement IDP policies and strategies

The other factor relates to the implementation of government policies and strategies concerning IDPs. In the words of one of the officials:

There is lack of accountability in among the authorities. There is a delay in responding to the needs of the IDPs from public sectors. The authorities are reluctance to facilitate the provision of basic support such as health care, proper living condition, psycho-social support, and the like. They lack commitment to respond to the needs of the IDPs. (Male, 38-year-old).

#### DISCUSSION

## Coping strategies of the IDPs and challenges to coping

The IDPs cope through social support system; culture of sharing; reducing the frequency of eating; and begging. Coping was challenging for them due to COVID-19 pandemic and cost of living as well as new lifestyle. They adapt through involving in income generating activities and formal support system. Lack of access to sources of income that are salaried, lack of working space, and discrimination were the major challenges for adaptation. The factors affecting the transformative capacities of the IDPs include inaccessibility and unavailability of public services, lack of safety nets and employment, and lack of proper implementation of IDP policies and strategies.

The IDPs receive financial and other forms of support from their bonding social capital that include relatives, close friends, and neighbours. These social support systems enabled many IDPs to access resources that help to cope with food shortages. These findings are consistent with literature. Cinner and Barnes (2019) also found that formal and informal relationships such as social networks play a crucial role in helping IDPs to have access to food, economic opportunities, and resist shocks and stressors associated with displacement. In addition, food sharing through social networks and structures such as self-help associations and cultural groups helped the IDPs to cope with critical food problems especially after the government stopped providing them with food ration. Similarly, Avis (2020) found that community networks such as local groups, cooperatives and associations are an informal safety net that supports households through sharing and lending or gifting a variety of important items. IDPs absorptive or coping capacities may be assisted by such informal safety nets of food sharing and reciprocal exchange of food. Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) also highlighted the major role of social capital in building and maintaining social resilience.

The findings revealed that the IDPs also respond to problems relating to food through sever coping strategies such as reducing the number of meals they eat per day. In line with this, World Food Program (2016) also found that IDPs households respond by reducing the number of their meals. More sever coping strategies include restricting adult consumption to enable children eat—compared with resident households. Further, in times of hardships relating to food, the IDPs use begging as a means of accessing food. In line with this, Mehari (2017) also found that IDPs in urban areas often resort to begging. Further, child labor is used by several IDPs in order to feed the family. This is the result of their lack of livelihoods and food. The deeper families are in food scarcity, the more they use their children as a coping strategy.

It is evident from the findings that coping was challenging for the IDPs due to the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic and the increasing cost of living in the country. These conditions complicated the problems of the IDPs because the government stopped providing food ration without any warning. The government quitted the food ration before ensuring that the IDPs are self-sustained. The situation was further exacerbated by the IDPs lack of savings that might be used in times of hardship. The IDPs have little capacity to spend money to absorb a shock like buying emergency assistance and accessing key services. According to Masresha (2020), the IDPs had little access to social services and infrastructure even before the pandemic and the war.

## Adaptation strategies of the IDPs and challenges to adaptation

The IDPs adapt through income generating activities. The proximity of the resettlement area to the capital has provided an option for some IDPs to adapt and improve their livelihood. It enabled many IDPs to engage on micro and small businesses. The formal job market is not accessible for many IDPs and the majority of them prefer doing business. Although some IDPs could get jobs in the formal sectors, most of them stayed in this kind of job for a short time because they either resigned or fired due to argument with employers over low payment, lack of capacity to adapt to the work culture of the resettlement areas, and lack of social understanding.

The findings show that many IDPs migrate to Oromia-Somali border areas. These IDPs were exposed to secondary migration due to lack of access to jobs in the resettlement areas. It is important to note here that the

IDPs migrate to areas from where they had been displaced. This shows that the IDPs could return to their place of displacement if the government would be committed to peacebuilding activities in the areas of displacement. Further, this finding supports the findings of Regassa (2019) that the conflict between the Oromo and the Somali was politically instigated. The findings further show that the IDPs migrate not only due to scarcity of jobs but also to find better jobs. Migration offers opportunities for accessing cash and employment. It may enhance the resilience of some households by improving future livelihood and economic security.

The IDPs also adapt through formal support system. They were provided with loans, however most of them couldn't improve their livelihood. Only a small number of IDPs effectively used the loan to improve their livelihood security. In line with this finding, Cinner and Barnes (2019) explained that access to a diversity of financial and other types of assets enable people to become more resilient. However, many IDPs are unable to access these assets and they could not improve their socio-economic circumstances due to limited loans.

The findings revealed that lack of access to sources of income that are salaried affected the IDPs' adaptive capacities. Unreliable and unsustainable income sources such as street vending, begging, and selling assets have largely eroded IDPs' resilience. In addition, the empowerment and self-efficacy of the IDPs is affected by a number of limitations such as lack of capital and skills training, lack of working space, and discrimination. Discrimination may highly affect adaptive capacity because it constrains social and economic integration which are vital for building sustainable livelihood. Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) explained that discrimination and inequality are constrictions to resilience.

## Factors affecting transformative capacities of the IDPs

The most important stressors that have weakened the IDPs transformative capacities include limited basic infrastructure, poor access to water and sanitation, lack of social protection, limited employment opportunities, limited access to loans, and discrimination. Similarly, Masresha (2020) and Nigussie (2020) found that the IDPs in Oromia Region have faced these challenges. It might be due to government's lack of commitment to assist IDPs to integrate that the IDPs faced discrimination. The findings of this study revealed that discrimination highly affected IDPs adaptive capacities because it constrains their social and economic integration which are vital for building sustainable livelihood. Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) also explained that marginalization, inequality, and unequal power relations are constrictions to resilience. As a result of lack of transformative capacities, the IDPs are unable to transform their livelihoods, to disrupt a cycle of vulnerability, to avoid the effects of shocks, and to ensure resilience.

The road facility in most of the camps is poor. In addition, the distance of the business sheds from the shelters and high transportation costs have prevented many IDPs from transforming their business into livelihood security. In some camps, the internal roads are swampy during rainy seasons, and it is difficult to walk on. The drainage systems are also poor. This finding is consistent with literature. A study by ILO (2020) found that Ethiopia hosts IDPs in areas with weak local government capacities, poor social services, restricted access to job opportunities, and restricted economic and infrastructural development.

Access to loans may help the IDPs to be productive and transform their livelihood security. However, due to lack of access to loans, their transformative capacity is highly constrained. In addition, lack of social safety nets has hampered their transformative capacities and worsened their vulnerability. The role of social safety nets for improving livelihood is considerable. Because of lack of social protection, the IDPs may face a prolonged vulnerability and they may not easily resist future shocks. The reason behind lack of social protection seems weakness of the government to properly implement social safety net programs even in areas where safety nets are available. Social safety nets tend to contribute to improved livelihood and keep and develop human capital and access to basic services. Access to loans and social safety nets are essential to building longer-term resilience. According to Korch et al. (2016), in addition to social safety nets, 'soft safety nets' that complement social safety nets are critical for resilience. These safety nets include the attitude, ability, willingness, quality, and capability of individuals, communities, and institutions to get involved in solving their problems.

Corrupt administrative practices also tend to hinder the transformative capacities of the IDPs. Because national and local authorities tend to pay little attention to address this problem, it negatively affected the livelihood security of the IDPs. In addition, failure to properly implement government policies and strategies negatively affected the IDPs transformative capacities. In line with this, Grossenbacher (2020) explained that IDP policy in Ethiopia is slowly implemented. Many actors including governmental authorities who are responsible for sensitive policy areas are anxious about it. Grossenbacher further noted that commitment and concrete measures are vital for the implementation of progressive policies that improve the lives of displacement-affected persons.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

State and non-State actors and practitioners need to collaborate on enabling the IDPs to self-sustain rather than focusing on provision of temporary aid. The government, private sector actors, and civil society organizations have to work together to support IDPs' livelihoods and access to basic social services. They must also empower the IDPs through financial inclusion and access to social protection. The government should furthermore address inequalities, and promote social integration through engaging IDPs and their hosts on joint activities, ensuring civil participation in public life and decision making, and arranging forums in which the IDPs can express their concerns and opinions and share their experiences. Host communities should assist the IDPs to adapt to the work culture of the resettlement areas and to easily integrate. IDP policies and strategies and resilience plans should focus on enhancing not just the resilience of the IDPs but the resilience of institutions and cities that host the IDPs.

#### **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, the social networks, social services, and formal support systems have contributed to coping and adaptation of the IDPs to some extent. However, the livelihoods of many IDPs has not been transformed. The major role that the social environment can play in resilience building has not been fully recognized by the interventions that assist IDPs. This might be because interventions focused more on providing temporary aid than building resilience. Building longer-term resilience requires recognizing the values of these resources. The resilience capacities of the IDPs have been hindered by lack of coordinated efforts among various stakeholders, lack of social protection, lack of government's commitment to address structural violence such as marginalization and discrimination, and lack of social integration. These aspects have prevented the IDPs from self-sustaining and ensuring sustainable livelihood. Further, lack of empowerment and self-determination has weakened their agency and power. Unless the IDPs are empowered to self-sustain, they tend to be dependent on unsustainable assistance. Building longer-term resilience also requires emphasis on both agency and structure. Disempowerment and discrimination largely constrained the resilience of the IDPs. Further research is needed on how to empower IDPs in the urban setting, and also the role of social networks and integration for resilience building.

#### LIMITATIONS

It is necessary to acknowledge that there are a few limitations in this study. First, it is qualitative and it did not present adequate quantitative information. Therefore, this limits the researchers' ability to generalize findings. Further, the study is limited to the identification of the major factors that constrain resilience and a detail is not presented on how to enhance resilience of the IDPs. Despite these limitations, this study contributes to literature through the identification of the various factors that constrain the resilience of internally displaced persons. It further contributes to the resilience literature which is scarce in the country because most of the literature on internal displacement focus on humanitarian intervention. Finally, this study will initiate resilience research on issues of displacement in the country, and remind planners and policy makers to reconsider resilience thinking in any intervention that targets displaced people.

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## **Conflict of interest**

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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