



**CLIMATE CHANGE AND
PASTORALISM ALONG THE
ETHIOPIA-SOMALILAND BORDER**

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The Institute for Strategic Insights and Research (ISIR) is an independent, nonpartisan organization that uses research to inform its policy advocacy work.

It undertakes impartial policy research, training and analysis to organizations and decision-makers in the horn of African region who are working toward innovative thinking to stimulate formulation of sound public policies leading to positive outcomes in the fields of peace & security, good governance, safeguarding human rights and democracy

ISSUES AND OPTIONS PAPER

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Authored by;

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ABSTRACT

The ISIR undertook a study focusing on the pastoralists' responses to climate change. The aim of the research was to determine the ways in which the pastoralist communities living along the Ethiopia-Somaliland border respond to climate change and explore ways in which these responses could be improved. Pastoralist communities' vulnerability to climate change varies within and between communities and areas. While some of their innovations cannot be scaled to other areas or communities due to their localised nature, they can serve as starting points upon which pastoralists and other stakeholders base their response mechanisms. These stakeholders include researchers, development partners, and government authorities. The study found that pastoralists' increasing vulnerability to climate change has a lot to do with their marginalisation in resource management decisions. In its conclusion, the brief paper emphasizes the importance of assessing local innovation alongside other environmental, socioeconomic, and policy changes. Furthermore, local innovation should not be just viewed as an innovation but as a process that should be acknowledged and encouraged by other stakeholders. Rather than simply reacting to climate change, it is important to focus on new realities that people can change - also in the policy framework for pastoralism. In addition to joint experimentation, pastoralists can engage in research and action to strengthen local adaptation capacities.

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1 | INTRODUCTION

Climate change and its consequential disaster risks are significant obstacles to long-term development and poverty eradication in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere. Climate change complicates the living conditions of the pastoral communities, as it leads to land degradation and violent conflict over limited resources. Climate change calls for the national, international, and regional stakeholders to cooperate in intervention measures to improve communities' resilience. Over 80% of the people living along the border Ethiopia-Somaliland border depend on pastoralism for their livelihoods¹. Being an arid area with poor soil conditions, the populations in this region find it difficult to practise cultivation-based agriculture, instead opting for nomadic livestock keeping.

Since the early formative stages of post-colonial administrations, the nomadic lifestyle of pastoralist communities, combined with the remoteness of their ancestral land, has frequently resulted in marginalization. Several factors have combined to make pastoral livelihoods more complex. Pastoral communities on the Ethiopia-Somaliland border are among the least developed². They live in remote areas away from business and political centres where most development and disaster response decisions are made. They were often viewed and used as buffer zones by governments in the past, marginally pushing pastoral priorities to the backseat of the national development agenda. An inadequate representation of pastoral interests in governments

and a poor understanding of pastoralism at policy-making levels exacerbated these realities.

Most pastoral areas in the Horn of Africa fall along inter-country borders, often with a history of conflict and insecurity. Most large-scale, protracted insecurity incidents in pastoral areas start with colonial wars but do not end there. Many post-independence wars in the Horn of Africa were fought in pastoral areas due to their locations as border areas; they were also used as military hideouts due to the presence of dense forests in these regions. Many of these wars originated from boundary disputes between states (e.g., the 1977-78 war between Ethiopia and Somalia), once again affecting pastoral populations primarily through the loss of life, displacement, and destruction of property and livelihoods.

Since the 1990s, population growth, extreme climate shifts, competition for pastoral resources by non-pastoral communities, and growing and sometimes deviant political orientation among pastoral groups have intensified resource competitions in the Ethiopia and Somaliland border. One of the major contributing factors is the weakening reliance on traditional governance for maintaining order and settling conflicts. While these challenges have various origins ranging from climate change to border volatility, they have many things in common: they all undermine development progress, slow economic growth, increase the livelihood

vulnerability of pastoralists and threaten their survival and sustainability. Pastoral communities in the Ethiopia and Somaliland border are lagging behind today in almost every development indicator and face growing vulnerability to recurrent hazards. Inhabiting one of the most volatile parts of the Horn of Africa, the cross-border pastoral communities in the Ethiopia and Somaliland border, the communities have endured a rise in the intensity and frequency of droughts³ in the last two decades, which turned out to be the biggest killer of livestock, causing many dropouts and tightening economic space.

2 | THE PARADOX: REALITIES AND ISSUES

The following are the key issues identified from the various discussions with the communities in the study areas.

2.1 Deteriorating economic conditions

Nearly half of the cross-border communities interviewed live in poverty. The proportion of poor cross-border communities that can generate income to cover their needs fully fluctuates across the communities interviewed. The average daily income for the mid-level and lower-poor cross-border communities ranges from 1.5 to 2 US dollars, indicating extreme poverty by international standards⁴. In-kind income like food and material gifts are difficult to trace and hence were not captured in the data analysed during this study. In-kind income is important in Somali society where cross-border communities are connected through social support exchanged between and among extended families and relatives. The major challenges affecting resource-sharing practices on both sides of the border are (i) Increasing rangeland enclosures for private use (ii)

increasing droughts and (iii) potential conflict between in-land communities, with resource competition playing a role in triggering it or exacerbating it.

Furthermore, in most of the pastoral areas covered by the study, land enclosures driven by personal ownership and land usage remain a major issue, benefiting individual landowners but severely limiting traditional communal resource sharing. Arguments for and against this practice are there on both sides. The actual impacts of land enclosures need to be studied further, but as discussed below, most community elders in pastoral areas discouraged the practice in pastoral settings.

2.2 Cross-border sharing of resources and services.

The Ethiopia - Somaliland border pastoral communities belong to the same Somali clans. This means that they are not historical rivals⁵, as with clans from

different lineage roots. In general, both sides are strongly bound by lineage and marital bonds; they share resources and services and have economic linkages through common markets. Communities on both sides of the border are from the same subclans, with each having the same traditional chief. This allows the same elders to make strategic decisions on both sides. Such decisions are often binding for all sub-clan members regardless of which side of the border they occupy. The increasing drought frequency threatens this practice. Such cross-border relationship dynamics change as communities move from areas around the border to settle in in-land territory under the control of different clans.

Relationships with cross-border communities are loose here and often interest-driven but usually accommodate migration for pasture and water. Most importantly, by tradition, the communities along the border ensure the well-being of guest herders coming through migration. One of the most significant and often overlooked consequences of climate change is its impact on migration patterns. Changing climate conditions and altered precipitation patterns are displacing communities and reshaping the way people move around the border. Climate change has led to more frequent and severe natural disasters. These events force communities in cross-border locations to flee their homes temporarily or permanently, leading to displacement. This migration exacerbates existing vulnerabilities and acts as a threat multiplier. In several locations in the cross-border communities, competition

for pastureland fuels conflict, leading to migration as people seek safety and stability. There are several consequences of climate change-induced migration. These include humanitarian crises, with people lacking access to necessities like food, clean water, and shelter.

2.3 Limited awareness of local rangeland management institutions

Resource sharing and rangeland management practices within the Somali context are governed by state laws, customary laws, and values enforced through traditional institutions. An in-depth understanding of these would facilitate context-fit responses. Most importantly, conflict prevention and reconciliation and inclusive and sustainable development would be rendered lame in the absence of such contextual understanding. To better understand the relevance and the role of traditional institutions within the context of National Resource Management, the paper has tried to explore awareness levels of traditional institutions and their authority in this regard. The study found that the inhabitants of the Ethiopia-Somaliland border are aware of the existence of customary systems embodied by *Aqil* and *Xeer* and their role in Somali society. The study further sought to determine the levels of importance attached to such institutions.

The study found traditional institutions in rangeland management were perceived to play a bigger role in pastoral areas than in agro-pastoral settings. This is simply because land is privately owned in the latter, and hence resource sharing

decisions are often not taken communally but individually. The exception in this case would be in special circumstances⁶ where individual decisions would have effects on a large scale, for example, if the decisions would trigger conflicts between communities.

According to the communities in Bali-gubadle and Ina-Guha, a key challenge to the Customary System is the parallel government administrative authority. As the product of a political institution, the administrative authority conducts governance based on constitutional laws. These contemporary laws are sometimes different from customary practices. Customary decision-making occurs within a context of historical reference to the past, current and desired relationships with other actors, and what is considered the best interest at a given time by a community or clan. The increasing role and influence of the Somaliland government institutions have set a trend whereby reliance on traditional institutions for sustaining resource sharing, settling conflicts, and cultivating collaboration even between communities considered to be sworn rivals, is on a rapid decline⁷.

2.4 Limited early warning information

Early warning is not new for pastoral and agro-pastoral Somali communities. The communities practise indigenous methods of early warning, and modern or scientific early warning methods are in limited use. Heavy reliance on unscientific sources of information and dependence on traditional indicators (e.g., the direction of wind) make

the understanding and application of traditional early warning information limited and more complicated for modern users.

However, the logic and validity of such sources of information must be tested and understood in order to diversify the sources of early warning information available. This would aid in making more accurate predictions, sound analysis, and better response decisions. Currently, populations seldom rely on modern sources of early warning information. Similarly, the younger generations of nearly warning actors seldom rely on traditional early warning. In this study, 60% of the cross-border respondents indicated that they use traditional early warning systems, while only 6% of the respondents use government-produced early warning information. More than half of the respondents indicated that they rely on community and local networks for their early warning information. The penetration of mobile telephone networks into the rural areas has increased the speed and effectiveness of both traditional early warning which heavily relied on physical delivery of information by men on foot, and the work of community committees.

Having explored the main sources of early warning information for these communities, it is imperative to turn on to the practical uses of such information to understand why it is needed. Respondents in Lebi-Sagaala indicated that such information is used for decision-making regarding the acquisition of supplies critical for survival, livestock farmers' preparedness and response,

and mobility. Notably, a significant proportion of cross-border communities do not consider themselves serious users of early warning information but rather resort to response after disasters hit. The study found that among the low-income groups, early warning information is perceived to add very little to their lives.

2.5 Severity of Droughts in the Recent Past

The resource mobilization options available to cross-border communities in the face of a drought are very limited. Mobilization of resources in cross-border communities is complemented by resource mobilization within lineage groups. This comes in the form of inter-cross-border community support within close relatives' circles. Normally, social networks and clan lines, which are very strong within Somali society, become a safety net for those considered most vulnerable during a crisis. Resource mobilization through relief from humanitarian organizations and the government are relied upon the least.

Pastoralists are not passive victims of droughts. They proactively engage with the changes in their economic and social environment in ways that minimize risks to themselves and their livelihoods. Normally, workable but often limited sets of risk-minimizing strategies are employed in advance as preparatory steps in the face of an emerging drought. The communities interviewed use four risk-minimizing strategies: selling off some livestock/herd reduction, fodder storage, economical use of water and continued use and reliance on scouts to assess range conditions. These

strategies are interlinked and are used in the drought cycle from alert to alarm and emergency status.

Herd reduction is done at all stages of drought early warning, and most commonly during the 'alert' stage when the livestock are in good health condition and can fetch high prices⁸. This is done as a drought-resilience measure and as an income-generating activity, whereby pastoralists sell less cattle for the maximum income. In cases where the pastoralists wait until drought strikes to dispose of livestock, they fetch very low prices and are in poor health. Regardless of the prices, the main source of income during seasons of drought year is livestock sales for both pastoral and agro-pastoral settings.

Another activity undertaken in response to drought early warning is fodder storage; the pastoralists send scouts to the fields to assess the availability of fodder and ensure it can last the whole drought season. This also informs their migration patterns which depend on the availability of pastures and fodder. During the alert and alarm stages of drought early warning, the fodder is readily available, but during the emergency stage there is barely any fodder available. Economizing in the usage of water is an activity pursued in all three stages of drought early warning, and during the emergency stage the pastoralists attempt to collect the water available into tanks for storage. In conclusion, the respondents indicated that they would prefer to practise non-nomadic pastoralism since migration triggers the death of their livestock due

to heat exhaustion. They only migrate during the emergency stages of drought early warning and only when there are no other options left.

2.6 Water shortage

The study was conducted in an arid area, considered to be the most water-insecure area in the Ethiopia - Somaliland border. The populations in the region therefore rely on the use of surface water harvesting which is limited by two things: economic capacity and ecological factors in some areas. During the worst water scarcity periods, almost all aspects of social and economic life in the region are affected. Businesses and schools are closed, there are higher rates of dropouts from both formal and Qur'anic schools, food becomes scarce, there is a rise cases of malnutrition among children, among other effects. Most household income is channeled towards the purchase of water, and budgets for food and other necessities are cut negatively impacting the food security in the region. In extreme situations, competition for water among various cross-border communities and socio-economic groups leads to the curtailing of the poorest groups' access to water due to price hikes. There is however a proliferation of water points in major rangelands. Population growth in the study areas is pushing people out of historical settlements and into new ones, a move which comes with the development of fresh land that alternatively serves as a grazing land.

2.7 Economic dependence on unsustainable livelihoods

An analysis of the sources of livelihoods for the populations in the study

areas revealed a critically important environmental fact: the dependence on charcoal and firewood production by the youth in the cross-border communities. This is an environmentally devastating and economically unsustainable means of survival. Although awareness of the environment and wildlife conservation have significantly grown among the communities in Higlada and Bali-gubadle compared to the situation in 2016, the destruction of the environment remains the main source of daily subsistence for some people, which is worrying. A second worrying factor is that Somaliland relies primarily on charcoal for cooking, so trees must be cut down to meet the demand, which causes the rangelands to degrade and increases the risk of desertification.

2.8 Khat

The widespread addiction to khat, particularly amongst the men in the border communities, is having a devastating effect on the poorer households. Respondents from Lebi-sagaala confirmed that the men in the community often exchange the remaining livestock for khat during drought seasons, leaving the women and children at further risk of food insecurity. Khat tends to incapacitate the users who are often male, leaving the women with the main responsibility of providing for the households' needs. Khat is a scourge that is undermining the remaining resilience of many households to cope during the dry months. Hartman et al. (2009) in their report on the impact of climate change on the pastoralist societies of Somaliland point to the

psychological impact of an increasing sense of hopelessness in the face of their changing context that may also be driving the khat dependency and thus accelerating the decline of many of the more vulnerable households.

2.9 Charcoal production for commercial use

The households whose livestock herd sizes are too small and cannot sustain their households have had to turn to charcoal production; the resultant deforestation further deteriorates the rangeland's protective cover, leaving it exposed to severe wind and water erosion and a reduced ability to retain moisture. The erosive impact on the range is one of the greatest concerns as recovery becomes increasingly difficult with the loss of topsoil. Charcoal production and the resulting deforestation are seen by the pastoralists as the main threat to the rangeland. The stopping of charcoal production, particularly the cutting of live trees was mentioned by ten of the communities. Although charcoal production was seen to be the main cause for the deterioration of the range, some felt that it would not be appropriate to deny households that are in need the opportunity to make charcoal.

2.10 Illegal land enclosures

The practice of creating illegal, private enclosures is increasing, due to the need to preserve fodder, crude land grabs, and the inability of the Government to adequately enforce environmental management guidelines. This further exacerbates the pressure on the remaining, though degraded, open

rangeland, leading to conflict over access to pasture. Since the collapse of the state of Somalia, rangeland management has declined. The current Government of Somaliland has introduced clear rangeland management protocols⁹, but to date have relied on the communities to organise and manage the range through participatory processes. The Government has lacked the resources to adequately police and enforce the environmental protocols.

Many environmental stakeholders, including the Ministry for the Environment and Climate Change who are currently involved in promoting appropriate range management and preserving the pastoralist way of life, see the proliferation of illegal enclosures as the greatest threat to the viability of pastoralism. Mobility and freedom of access, which are key elements of the pastoralist survival strategy, are threatened. Community members from this region confirmed that it is not just the grabbing of the open range but also the move by many people to agropastoralism, which is leaving little open space for communal grazing. Most of the land surrounding the communities is now owned by different individual households, although these claims are yet to be substantiated. The process of enclosing land with brush is also diminishes the browse and tree cover, leaving land particularly exposed to sheet erosion.

2.11 Policy issues affecting cross-border pastoralism.

From discussions with government officials and available records of official documents, government-driven cross-border policy cooperation is almost non-existent in the areas of pastoral and agro-pastoral development. So far, discussions between Ethiopia and Somaliland have only focused on security and control of contraband trade. There have been no discussions or joint planning for sharing cross-border strategic resources by the two governments. The need to operationalize the pastoralism policy adopted by the African Union (AU)¹⁰ may motivate the two governments to undertake these processes.

The policy includes issues of cross-border mobility and access to strategic resources and services. It also covers the effects of climate change and explores related advocacy work driven

by different humanitarian and relief organisations. This is expected to guide policy formulation by both governments regarding cross-border issues. Since there is no policy framework which sets the foundation for government-led cross-border collaboration and cooperation on pastoral issues, no joint interventions (both development and emergency response) are known to have been done in cross-border areas.

Ethiopia and Somaliland have developed disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) policies. In principle, these policies call for community-level DRRM initiatives without mentioning cross-border cooperation. However, ensuring cross-border cooperation through government-centred initiatives alone would take many years due to low economic capacity. Budgetary allocations for engaging in DRRM are very limited in both governments of Ethiopia and Somaliland.

3 | THE IMPORTANCE OF STOCK-TAKING

Natural disasters lead to the loss of lives and livelihoods, with long-term effects for social and economic development. They raise poverty levels and force new groups into poverty. As a result, disasters and climate change are increasingly being viewed as, and linked to a development continuum rather than as distinct occurrences. Hazards are natural, but disasters are not. The scientific community has identified weak policies and practices in land-use planning, governance, urbanization, natural resource management, ecosystem management, and rising poverty levels¹¹ as contemporary risk drivers. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment¹², for example, discovered that many of our key ecosystems are being utilized in an unsustainable manner, limiting their capacity as natural buffers to give protection against risks,

which is critical in the protection and sustainability of livelihoods.

Furthermore, these dangers are only growing. Somaliland's population is rapidly increasing. With a current population of about 5 million. The growth rate currently stands at 2.92%, and it has increased every year since 2015. Despite negative net migration, this rate adds about 200,000 people to the population. Additionally, Somaliland's fertility rate is relatively high at 6.12 births per woman¹³. Much of this expansion is occurring in areas that are already vulnerable to droughts. The dangers posed by disasters and slow-onset processes will impact the poorest and most marginalized people, whether due to gender inequity, age, disability, or any other intersecting vulnerabilities. The interdependence of climate change and catastrophe risk with poverty reduction, social protection, and sustainable development creates a compelling case for adaptive, inclusive, egalitarian, risk-aware, and climate and disaster-resilient development.

4 | RECOMMENDATIONS

Suggestions on the way forward are built on the issues identified in the course of the research. The recommendations set out what needs to be addressed, although they do not identify immediate priority areas.

4.1 Development and operationalization of the climate change policies at the national level to enhance resilience building.

Advocacy must be geared towards speeding up the approval of climate change regulations (Policy and Bill) which have been in draft form for the past few years in Somaliland. This will provide a strong policy foundation that formalises already ongoing disaster risk reduction efforts aimed at resilience building in the country. It will also unify resilience-building measures by various stakeholders. In Somaliland, the focus should shift from addressing emergencies to disaster risk reduction as is the case in most other countries in the Horn Region. This could start with a review of the approach to be more responsive to the local context. The governments should jointly formulate policies that explicitly address and mainstream issues at the heart of cross-border sharing of resources and services. These would include the effects of climate change and corresponding coping mechanisms, as well as the unhindered access to resources and services on any side of the border by pastoral populations.

4.2 Improving cross-border social services

One persistent perception among the cross-border communities is that cross-border areas are buffer zones important only for providing security for the rest of the country's security. Elders from pastoral communities on both sides of the border may claim that everything is fine in public, but in private, they admit to being marginalised as far as development is concerned. This calls for the improvement of basic social services for cross-border communities on both sides. This should start with addressing immediate climate-related challenges identified during this study, including water shortage and the limited scientific drought early warning information.

To explore alternative ways to reduce the impact of water scarcity on the local populations in the long term, satellite scanning should be conducted to find out where permanent water sources could be established. In the short term, improving the quantity and capacity of surface water harvesting schemes should be undertaken through building more communal assets like dams. Improving access to water would not just ease water needs, it would also improve school attendance, improve food security, as well as overall community health.

4.3 Establish cross-border collaboration to address deforestation.

Establishing common modalities and collaborative platforms like intergovernmental forums for sharing knowledge, updates and strategies aimed at protecting forest reserves would be important. Deeply embedded inter-country collaboration would be critical in meeting the challenge posed by the international demand for charcoal, leading to rapidly disappearing forests in cross-border areas. Grass-root level action by communities and other actors, which has to be achieved through awareness raising and strengthened multi-actor collaboration, must be backed by the seriousness of intention and action to curb deforestation at higher levels. This necessitates collaboration among various actors, including environmental agencies, border protection agencies, port authorities, customs agencies, the public and civil society organizations.

Social awareness of deforestation through the effects of charcoal and firewood production should be exerted. Those whose survival depends on destroying vegetation should be transitioned to other livelihoods through productive skill building and provision of productive assets, complemented with training in business management.

5 | CONCLUSION

Climate change is a global phenomenon that affects; however, its impacts are not evenly distributed, and some communities are more vulnerable than others. Among the most vulnerable are cross-border communities. These communities face unique challenges in adapting to the changing climate, as they are often subject to different legal frameworks and political orders on either side of the border. The effects of climate change on cross-border communities are far-reaching and multifaceted. One of the most significant impacts is on the natural resources that these communities rely on for their livelihoods. For example, changes in precipitation patterns and temperature can affect the availability of water, and pasture. Similarly, changes in the timing and intensity of rainfall have been witnessed in the last two decades on the border between Ethiopia and Somaliland. These effects can be exacerbated in cross-border communities where resource management is complicated due to shrinking resources.

Climate change has significant social and economic impacts on cross-border communities between Ethiopia and Somaliland. For example, changes in weather patterns disrupt livestock management and traditional agricultural practices, leading to decreased productivity and, consequently, income. This, in turn, has led to increased poverty and migration. Additionally, changes in weather patterns have increased the risk of natural disasters such as floods

and droughts, which have devastating impacts on infrastructure and livelihoods. Cross-border communities living at the Ethiopia-Somaliland border are particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change because they often lack the institutional support and resources necessary to adapt. For example, they lack access to climate information, technical expertise, and financial resources. Additionally, they face legal and political barriers to collaboration and cooperation, which hinder their ability to develop and implement adaptation strategies.

Despite these challenges, some of these communities are successfully adapting to the changing climate. For example, the communities in Labi-sagaala have implemented a cross-border water sharing and management initiative that involves collaboration between local communities. These examples highlight the importance of collaboration and cooperation in addressing the challenges of climate change in cross-border communities. These initiatives need to be evaluated alongside environmental, socioeconomic, and policy changes. For policymakers and other stakeholders to be informed of the potential role local capabilities can play in local adaptation, as well as to trigger a process of recognition and reflection, it is imperative to continue exploring pastoralists' responses to climate change challenges. Documenting local innovation should be prioritised over implementing new innovations.

ANNEX – A

THE METHODOLOGY

The data that informed this issues and options (I&O) paper was collected through unstructured interviews and a wide academic as well as grey literature review. This was supplemented by Key Informant Interviews with relevant government officials, and Focus Group Discussions with community members for a good understanding of the practices, stakeholders involved, roles, structure, conditions, challenges, and opportunities available for the communities living along the border between Ethiopia and Somaliland.

ENDNOTES

- 1 These locations are, Bali-gubadle, Labi-sagaale, Ina-guaha, Habeedley. As a result of the researcher's desire to generalize about a cross-border population without bias, he selected these locations primarily based on their proximity to the border and the recent increasing settlement of these locations.
- 2 Oxfam (2014) Oxfam's Ethiopia-Somaliland Cross Border Drought Preparedness Project, available at <https://www.enonline.net/fex/40/oxfam>
- 3 According to communities interviewed in Labi-sagaala in June 2023, droughts were hitting the pastoral areas once or twice in every 10 years 30 years ago, but that cycle was reduced to once in every 2-3 years in the last 17 years. This has reduced the recovery period which 8-9 years and hence sustainable take-off is not the case anymore, leading to pastoral dropouts and declining herd size at cross-border community level.
- 4 i.e., average daily income would be less than 1 US-Dollar per person per day.
- 5 In general, clan rivalry remains a historical source of conflict which undermines resource sharing and increases vulnerability to shocks.
- 6 A typical given as an example of this extraordinary circumstance would be a situation where, in the event of a drought, a certain agro pastoralist wants to sell the fodder from his farm to buyers outside his community but offering higher prices. In this case, if the loss of that fodder in terms of quantity would bear a significant effect on the local community, then private decisions from the owner would be overridden by communal decisions through elders, which are binding for everyone. The result could be that he cannot pursue profits at the expense of the local community.
- 7 Communities in the interviewed areas see this decline in the role of the customary system as bad. To them, this is like losing the leverage to manage their own affairs and have a role to steer things around as they feel it good.
- 8 It is a coping mechanism referred to as destocking, but most cross-border communities are reluctant to do it early.
- 9 Somaliland National Environmental Policy 2015.
- 10 Available at https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/30240-doc-policy_framework_for_pastoralism.pdf.
- 11 Tollefson J. Climate change is hitting the planet faster than scientists originally thought. *Nature*. (2022) Feb 28. doi: 10.1038/d41586-022-00585-7. Epub ahead of print. PMID: 35228735.
- 12 Available here <https://www.millenniumassessment.org/en/index.html>.
- 13 See more details at <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/somalia-population>.

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Hamdi I. Abdulahi is a development professional with experience in multiple assignments and across portfolios on governance, justice, and legal, for government institutions, the United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations, and research institutions.

Hamdi completed his Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) research on apprising the plural justice at the United Nations University for Peace. Hamdi is also holding double master's degrees, a Master of Arts (MA) in Peacebuilding and Human Security from Coventry University, UK, and a Master of Laws (LLM) from the Kampala International University, Uganda. Hamdi's research interest and publications span both governance and justice. Much of Hamdi's work has been on improving the understanding of the social issues, and the performance of government.

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