



UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Centre for Peace Studies

A STEP TOWARDS RESILIENCE:

Response to the Conflict-Induced Displacement in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia 2018

RICHMOND EL-NATHAN SACKKEY

Master's Thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation...SVF 3901...June 2020



DEDICATION

To the wonderful people residing in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia

Enjoy Peace!

To the Aid Workers and the informants who willingly participated in this study, keep on with the hard work!!

To my loving family, I appreciate all your support!!!

To Mr. Wiafe George, reflecting on the end, you made the beginning possible!!!!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Almighty God for his special grace - bringing me this far in life.

I really appreciate the invaluable contribution of my supervisor Professor Christine Smith-Simonsen. Right from the start of the thesis, your guidance and constructive feedback have been pillars that has made this thesis stand on its feet. Tusen Takk.

My special heartfelt gratitude goes to the solid collaboration between Dilla University and Centre for peace studies (UiT)- which enabled me to partake in the NORPART project. My fieldwork would not have been successful without the financial support form (CPS) and the warm reception from the Staff of Dilla University - Amese gnalo!!!!

I sincerely recognize the selfless efforts contributed by all my Ethiopian friends especially Eyob, Tilahun, Sali, Abera, Zerihun, Kidist, Mr. Getachew, Wondiye for your help during the data collection as well as making my stay in Ethiopia very memorable and pleasant.

I cannot forget the wonderful classmates and friends in the MPCT programme. GALTUNG'S ARMY!!! The good moments we shared cannot be expressed in this limited space. Your comments and feedback from the seminars were also very helpful. Thank you, Heidi, Marisa, Caleb, Sergio, Ingvild, Thembi and AB, for your direct contribution to my thesis.

Finally, to all my Tromsø friends Portia, Kelvin, Joshua, Adwoa, Isaac, Larry, Josephine, Oda, Milton, Elvis, Bashiru among others who have been like a family. You have made my stay in Tromsø smooth. - Meda mo nyinaa ase!

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to explore an understanding into the multi-actor resilient approach that was adapted as a response to the conflict-induced displacement situation that occurred in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia 2018.

The study draws on semi-structured interviews, observations and some reports and proposals from aid workers, displaced people or returnees, government officials and traditional leaders. The study used and combined concepts like humanitarianism, resilience, peacebuilding, multi-actor approach and local ownership as a framework to explore and interpret the data.

The study findings indicate that, several other factors apart from the conflict led to a protracted displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones. The Ethiopian government and humanitarian partners came up with a resilient strategy to address the displacement situation. The local community also mobilised efforts together with the government and the humanitarian partners to respond to situation. Even though some progress was made, there were several challenges that impeded the desired resilient recovery. With regards to the dynamic nature of the displacement, the end is very uncertain.

Analytically, the study projects the perspective that, humanitarian governance without a proper collaboration with the local actors seems to retard the resilient recovery. When the local is fully included in the projects, their self-mobilization skills would provoke an efficient process of recovery. The study contributes to the understanding that, the local ownership concept is a necessary tool for these communities to address the conflict and displacement and push ahead to build resilient local structures in the society. Again, when several actors are involved in a humanitarian response, it is necessary to form a humanitarian eco-system rather than just a humanitarian governance without any collaboration and dependence among the actors. If there is no collaboration among actors, there will be clashes of roles and these factors will mitigate against the recovery process.

Key words: Conflict, Displacement, Humanitarianism, Humanitarian Governance, IDPs, Local, multi-actor, Resilience.

ABBREVIATIONS

CRS	-	Catholic Relief Services
EOC	-	Emergency Operation Centre
HDRP	-	Humanitarian Disaster Resilience Plan
IASC	-	Inter- Agency Standing Committee
IDP	-	Internally Displaced person
IGO	-	International Governmental Organization
INGO	-	International Non- Governmental Organization
NDRM	-	National Disaster Risk Management Office
OCHA	-	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commission for refugees
IOM	-	The International Organization for Migration
WHO	-	World Health Organization
SNNPR	-	Southern Nations, Nationality and People’s Region

DEFINITION OF LOCAL TERMS

Abba Gada - Head of Gada Assembly (Traditional System)

Gondoro - Indigenous method of conflict resolution among Guji and Gedeo peoples

FIGURES

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Chapter 1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1. INTRODUCTION TO DISPLACEMENT

Displacement of people is ubiquitous. As several scholars and experts have remarked, it is not a recent phenomenon (Cohen, 2001:2-3), but what has provoked a development in the discourse and maximum international concern over the last decades is the complexity of displacement, (Muguruza, 2018: 4,11), the escalating figures and the axiomatic numerous reasons for displacement (Global Humanitarian Assistance , 2017 : 15-17) (IDMC, 2019).

Among the several reasons instigating displacement, be it generalized conflict, communal violence, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights and natural disasters among others, an undisputable fact exist that, violent conflict and communal violence predominately displace people every year (Brookings- LSE, 2014 : 2) which has degenerated into a protracted and multifaceted situation or crisis (Lischer, 2009). Globally, this has contributed immensely in mushrooming the figures of displaced persons of which all the continents in the world have experienced the ardent effect of the displacement phenomenon. Even though the devastating effect of displacement may not be experienced in the same way, Maqbool (2019:49) stipulates that, conflict induced displacement may have regional implications too. To further extrapolate, if there is a conflict in one country, the effects could be experienced in other countries and displacement could flare up into other neighboring countries too. While States, international governmental and non-governmental organizations, scholars and policy makers in the post-cold war era, have all been engaged to ascertain a solution for displaced people globally (Deng,1995), displacement situation is getting appalling and abysmal day in and day out.

In April 2018, Ethiopia experienced a displacement situation in the ¹West-Guji and Gedeo zones of which almost one million people were displaced according reports (World Vision , 2019 :2) (Schlein, 2018). Ethiopia has never experienced displacement in such a protracted manner hence it became one of the worst humanitarian crisis the country has ever faced (Yigzaw & Abitew, 2019: 37). A number of humanitarian agencies together with the government and local agencies contributed in responding to the situation which has saved a lot lives. This study therefore seeks to understand the approaches these multi-actors adapted to respond to the situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.

¹ West-Guji zone is found in the Oromia Region and the Gedeo zone is found in the SNNPR regions of Ethiopia

1.2. INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

The displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo zones presents a scenario of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). To clearly define internal displacement and who an internal displaced person is has been a major debate among legal scholars (Mooney, 2005). However, the study adopts the definition stipulated by the Kampala Convention which is the African Union for the protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa. The Kampala Convention is also highly influenced by the Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons (UNHCR, 1998). It defines Internal Displacement as “the involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons or groups of persons within internationally recognized states borders.” (African Union, 2009 : 3). The same legal document also define an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) as :

persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (AU, 2009 : 3)

Even though the definition might have been contested and criticized by several scholars, what is relevant for the study is the core elements that, first it is an involuntary movement of people and second, People are displaced within a recognized legally accepted border and not outside which coins the concepts for understanding the phenomenon. The understanding draws a line between IDPs and refugees who have been displaced outside of their countries. (Mooney, 2005 : 11,12)

Over the last two decades empirical evidence through various tracking and data collected around displaced persons proves that, more displaced people remain in their own countries as opposed to Refugees. From the global report of internal displaced people in 2010, since 1997 the number of internal displaced persons increased haphazardly from 17million people to 27million while the number of refugees remained fairly stable shifting between 13 million and 16million within the same stipulated period (IDMC, 2010). Again, the UNHCR annual global report on forced displacement suggest that, 40.8 million people were displaced internally as against 21.3 million persons as refugees in 2015 (UNHCR, 2016). This encapsulates some of the many reasons internally displaced persons (IDPs) has received maximum attention within this period. (Ferris, 2014 :4,5). ²Francis Deng who had worked

² Francis M. Deng was appointed a representative on Internal Displaced People (IDP) in 1992 by the former Secretary- General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

extensively on IDP's situation described the phenomena of internally displaced persons as a global crisis and it is more than statistical data can even demonstrate (Deng, 2001).

Not only has the figures risen beyond comprehension, scholars and experts such as Deng (2001), Cohen (2001)(2004), Kalin (2014), Mooney (2005) stipulate that the situation of internally displaced persons is estimated to be very critical than refugees who fall within the same category of displaced people. Their Critical condition is linked to the fact that, these persons may be plagued with specific needs that demands the intervention of affected Country's national institutions and the international organizations too.

1.2.1. IDPs as Special Category?

The scholarly disagreement on whether internally displaced persons should be considered as a special category is still growing. Hathaway (2007) upholds strongly that no sharp contrast must be drawn based on their rights and entitlement, they must be considered as the same category of displaced people. While Kalin (2014) specifically emphasise the fact that, there is a dichotomy between IDPs and refugees. He further argues that, stating that refugees are better than IDPs is not entirely a vivid empirical reflection. Refugees who are perceived as foreigners may not enjoy all the rights that a citizen of a country is entitled to. On the other hand, it could be said that IDPs do not lose any rights because they are displaced in a country, they remain citizens of that country even if there exist some discriminatory mechanism.

Regardless of the scholarly differences, this study accentuates on the general level that all displaced people are faced with some specific challenges which should not be ignored. (Cohen & Deng, 1998: 27). The maximum attention from the concerned institutions and organizations should be accorded all displaced persons. Similarly, the context of this study which is a conflict-induced displacement in Ethiopia, 2018 is directed towards people who have been displaced in their own country hence, IDPs in the West-Guji an Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.

1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

From April 2018, a protracted displacement situation began in the West- Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia leaving thousands of people to be in a state of inestimable destitution. Believed to have been caused by communal violence and conflict. It became obvious from the media and some reports that the displaced people needed urgent humanitarian assistance and support. This attracted several international and non-international organizations to the affected areas in order to assist the displaced communities. Some governments institutions together with these

humanitarian organizations devised a resilient recovery strategy to address the displacement situation and restore the livelihood of the displaced people. While all these actors have been assiduously involved in providing a humanitarian support for the displaced people since the inception of the displacement situation until date, little is known apart from some reports about who these actors really are, and how these actors have worked together, to responded to the humanitarian situation in Ethiopia in 2018 as well as the conflict resolution and efforts to attaining a resilient recovery for the displaced people.

This study seeks to explore what informed these actors on their approaches as well as their roles in this specific displacement situation. The study deems it crucial to understand why the actors acted the way they did and an interpretation of the philosophical influence upon their actions. This knowledge can inform and contribute to policy makers, scholars as well as practitioners in the field on how the actions and inactions of actors has affected the response. The roles and contributions of the various actors would therefore be objectively studied, isolating and gradually understanding the tenacious efforts made in responding to the displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia, 2018.

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The overarching aim of the study is to understand the humanitarian response towards the resilient recovery of the displaced people as well as a post-conflict rebuilding measure in the communities. The study will evenly address the multiple actor involvement during the response. The study is contextual and a representation of the conflict-induced displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones. The objectives are presented as follows:

1. To understand the nature and context of the conflict-induced displacement situation in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.
2. To understand the response and the approach to the conflict-Induced displacement situation in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.
3. To explore all the actors involved in the humanitarian response as well as their various roles in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.
4. To understand the implication of having these multiples actors in operation.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to achieve the above objectives, the following research questions would guide the entire study.

1. How did the government, humanitarian partners and the local actors respond to the displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones in 2018?

2. What were the specific role(s) or contribution(s) of each actor?
3. What are the implications of having multiple actors in the response?

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is an undisputed reality that the issues revolving around the Conflict-Induced displacement phenomenon is of great relevance for peace studies. What makes it even more critical, is the increasing alarming figures of displaced people globally in recent years. Bohnet et al (2018), stipulates that, IDPs have the potential to cause a significant impact on conflict dynamics more especially ethnic conflicts (Bohnet, Cottier, & Hug, 2018 :708). In view of this, researches and studies into these complexities are significant to broaden a contextual understanding on these global issues. As the study explores the multi-actor approach to this specific displacement situation in Ethiopia, there is the need to understand how these actors have responded to the displacement situation, and critically consider the roles that each actor has played. This could further promote and inform future projects.

1.7. ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study assumes that a specific situation such as the conflict-induced displacement within the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones in April 2018 should be approached with a more specific humanitarian action plan which highly upholds peacebuilding projects that will also transform the conflict situation. Again, the approach should combine several actors and the local actors and not just address the situation in a top-down approach. The study is contextual and revolves around the conflict-induced displacement in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones from April 2018 to August 2019. The study limits itself to understanding how different actors came together to respond to the displacement situation within the stipulated period and the implications of having these actors like the government, humanitarian organizations and local actors in the response to conflict and displacement situation.

1.8. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is structured in six chapters. The succeeding chapter which is chapter 2 expands on the context of the study which is about the dynamics of the conflict and the displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia 2018 as well as the nature of the displacement and the national approach to the displacement situation. Whereas chapter 3 focuses on discussion and reflections on the methodology and methods that were used for collecting data, Chapter 4 discusses a conceptual framework which consists of related literature and the conceptual approach to the study. Chapter 5 deals with the presentation of findings and

the entire analysis of the data. Chapter further extrapolates on the discussion of the findings and the understanding that the findings produce. Then comes the final chapter which would conclude the study with a final reflection on the findings and a general conclusion to the study.

Chapter 2. BACKGROUND TO THE GUJI AND GEDEO CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT

2.1. CONFLICT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

Conflict-induced displacement has strong connections with conflict and violence dynamics (Adhikari,2011: 5-8). The unique aspect of it is that it is accompanied by an aspect of force and unwanted movement (Schmeidl & Hedditch, 2018: 180). The displacement dynamics on this tangent is characterised with an upheaval of events which Horst & Katarzyna (2015: 3) coins as a situation of uncertainty and unpredictability non-conformable to the society norms. The syndrome of this kind of displacement exposes it as one of the most severe forms of displacement (Schmeidl & Hedditch, 2018 : 180). It is estimated that, at the end of the year 2018, 41.3 million people were displaced internally due to conflict and generalized violence (IDMC, 2019). Kalin (2014) Suggests that, internal displacement linked to conflict often last longer and may stretch over a long period of time than other forms of displacement.

The conflict-induced displacement situation that commenced in April 2018 is not an exception to the narrative of conflict-Induced displacement literature. (Mehari, 2017: 18) opines that, conflict-induced displacement has been predominant in Ethiopia. Likewise, the case of the Guji and Gedeo highlights the fact that, an interconnected conflict and communal violence contributed enormously to the IDP's situation in Ethiopia which evolved in one of the worst humanitarian crises in the Country. (MSF, 2019)

2.2. THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT

The Ethiopia state had a change in government in 2018, when the former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned (Gerth Niculescu, 2019). In April 2018, the former prime minister was replaced and the inception of the new ³Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmned produced a political reform which speedily electrified the entire state (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Expressive remarkable events occurred such as, the prime minister establishing a peace agreement with neighbouring country Eritrea, inviting formerly exiled opposition leaders back to the country, lifting bans on social media and giving some freedom to the media among others. This was a successful start off story for the new government (Yarnell, 2018: 7). Despite this on-going democratic reform and fight for human rights that was springing in the country,

³ Abiy Ahmed was chosen to lead the ruling Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front Coalition when Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned in 2018, He is Ethiopia's first leader from Oromo Ethnic group (BBC News, 2019)

the government's positivity and optimism for a resilient democratic state coincided with series of events, mainly, displacement in Ethiopia. This is linked to the several factors including communal violence, ethnic conflicts and climatic changes (Mules, 2018). These factors though interconnected contributed to 2.9million IDPs in Ethiopia generally (IDMC, 2019).

However, the ⁴case of Gedeo and Guji which is directly related to communal violence and conflicts, erupted in April 2018. These two places are classified as neighbouring zones, though conflicts and tension have existed between them in previous years, they were regarded as experiencing good relations in the last few years. Yet this peaceful cohabitation was marred by the recent conflict and displacement of 2018 (Gardener, 2019).

2.3. THE NATURE OF THE DISPLACEMENT

The main causes of the conflict have not been plainly exposed and reported, but it is established that, armed youth groups attacked some villages, killed, raped and even ⁵burnt down houses. Reports suggest that, some people were arrested, and it looked like the situation was under control not until the conflict ferociously bounced back a month later in June 2018. Nearly one million people were recorded to have been displaced in all after these incidents. They fled their homes and communities for their lives and got displaced in the Gedeo and West-Guji zones (MSF, 2019). Efforts made by the prime minister and his government in collaboration with UN agencies and other humanitarian organizations were highly commendable. Their sole preoccupation at that moment was to address the situation (Yarnell, 2018: 8).

Subsequently, the government of Ethiopia through the office of the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC), The UN agencies and other humanitarian agencies and as well as the communities had joint operations to address the displacement situation. Concurrently, there were separate efforts wielded by the government and the traditional authorities to use the indigenous mechanism ⁶(Gondoro ritual), of conflict resolution to address

⁴ Historically, the Gujis and the Gedeo's are related and have a lot in common. This recent conflict was a shock to these communities (Informants- Fieldwork 2019)

⁵ see appendix for photos

⁶ "Gondoro" is a common term both in Afan Oromo (Guji language) and Gede'uffa languages with the same meaning. Literally it implies declaring or concluding something or an event not to happen again. The tradition has complex ritual procedures and strong symbolic representation of purification of the 'curse' and reconciliation of conflicting individuals/groups. The Gondoro tradition is performed not only as a mechanism of purifying the 'curse' from the guilty but also as a method of conflict resolution both at personal and inter-group level (Debelo, 2007: 66)

the violence and conflict situation spiralling amidst the two communities (Addisstandard, 2019) (Debelo, 2007 : 64-67).

Progressively, the situation seemed to have calmed down after the initial efforts. It was as if life could go back to normal. The positive change in the situation influenced the government to have a swift change of mind along the line and decided to return IDPs who were being hosted to their own communities. Several reports demonstrated that, the return plan of the government did not achieve its objectives. Consequently, the humanitarian partners argued that, it was a conditional policy of return since the return was accompanied with promises that did not materialize. The conditional policy which instigated the return of some IDP's only turned into a phase of displacement and even in some places series of displacement (The New Humanitarian , 2019). The environment or the communities were not safe for the return of the IDP's. The humanitarian side expressed their displeasure against the government's decision to return IDPs. *"We don't want to incentivize returns, but we also don't want to leave people without assistance."* Said an aid worker. This has been a challenging situation for humanitarian organizations in the provision of aid and all the necessary support to IDPs (Yarnell, 2018 :9,10,14) (Addisstandard, 2019)

2.4. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

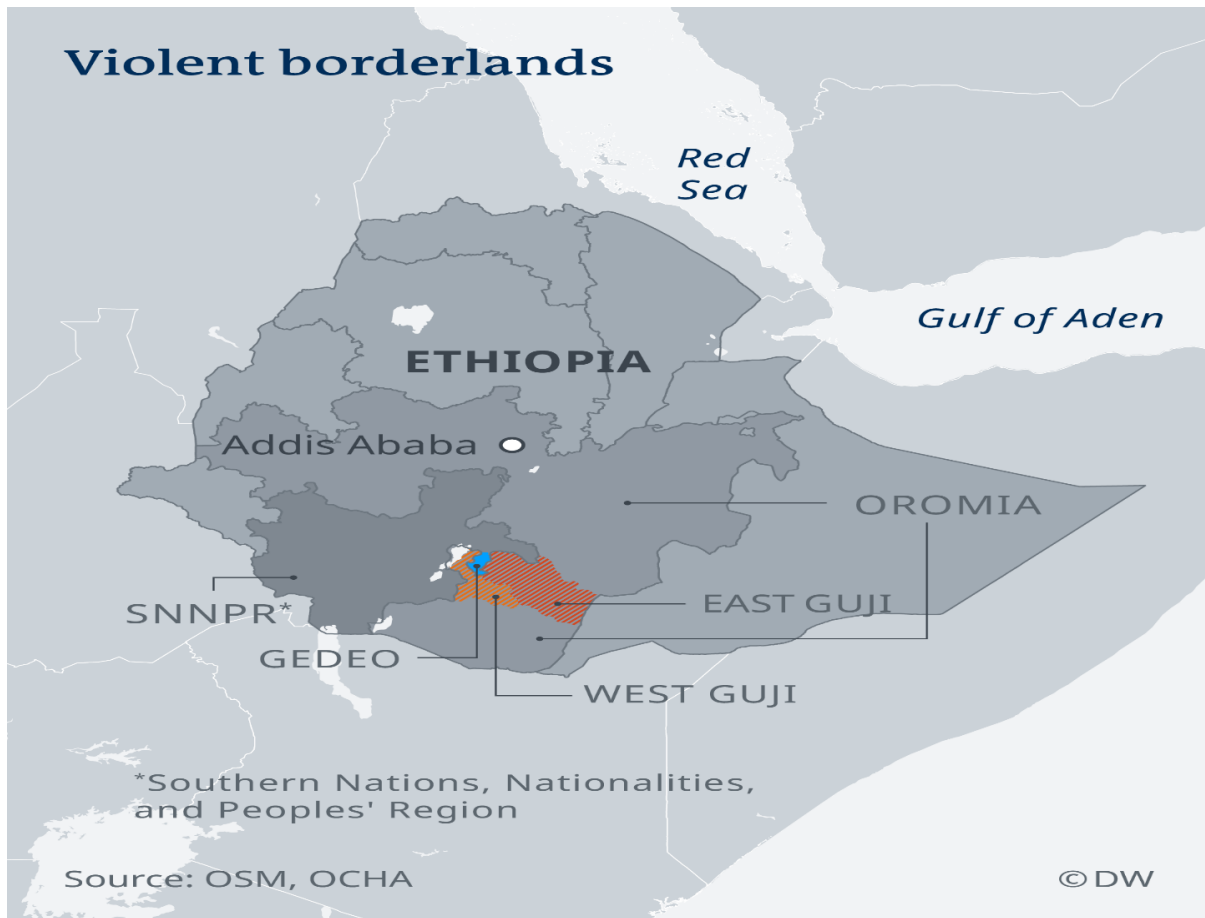


Figure 1. Map of Ethiopia showing the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones

The above map (Figure 1) of Ethiopia demonstrates the study areas of the study as the Gedeo zone (one of the 9 zones) in the Southern nations, Nationality and peoples' Region (SNNPR) and the West-Guji zone (one of the 12 administrative zones) in the Oromia region. The indicated portions show the areas that were affected by the conflict and displacement of April 2018. These areas form part of the broad administration regions in Ethiopia. Ethiopia, believed to be one of Africa's oldest independent country is a Federal Democratic Republic composed of 9 National Regional states: namely Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR), Gambella and Harari, and two Administrative states (Addis Ababa City administration and Dire Dawa city council). The national regional states as well as the two cities administrative councils are further divided in eight hundred woredas(districts) and around 15,000 kebeles (local towns/Villages) (Ethiopian Government Portal , 2018) (BBC News, 2019).

2.5. NATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT SITUATION

Although, Ethiopia had previously had several joint operations with humanitarian organizations to respond to natural disasters/climate-induced and conflict-induced displacement situations in the country at the national level. In 2018, a more robust approach was adopted by the government of Ethiopia to address acute and protracted displaced situations throughout the country (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018: 12). The National Disaster and risk management office (NDRM) which is the government's institution responsible for managing crisis and the resident humanitarian coordinator reviewed a strategic approach also known as the Humanitarian Disaster Resilience Plan (HDRP). The HDRP is composed of a resilient approach having a definite focus hence, the three-pillar approach (Humanitarian Response Plan , 2019). This approach seeks to achieve three key plans; save lives and reduce morbidity, protect and restore livelihood as well as prepare and build resilient institutions to further absorb the shocks the emanate from natural disasters and conflict. While the HDRP was a national approach, a deductive (Local approach) through the broad umbrella of the Emergency operation centre (EOC) was employed by the government, the humanitarian partners and local actors to respond to the Guji and Gedeo conflict and displacement situation. This specific approach assembled these three main actors in the response, where each actor played a role in the response. While these roles and the local approach would be discussed later in chapter 5 & 6, as a form of limitation, the study has defined the various actors and who consist of such organizations. First, **the government or the state** is composed of state institutions such as (the Local Administrative Offices, the National Disaster and Risk Management Office (NDRM) and the office of the Women, Youth and Children). Second, **the humanitarian organizations/Agencies** comprises the UN agencies, International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO) and all other humanitarian institutions not part of the state institutions that were involved in the response to the conflict and displacement situation. Finally, **the local actors** are made up of the traditional authorities, Representatives of displaced people, displaced people as well as the host communities (HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMME CYCLE , 2020).

2.6. SUMMARY

This section of the study highlighted the context and the background information of the study pertaining to the conflict-induced displacement in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia. The Humanitarian Disaster Resilience Plan (HDRP) was also discussed.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodological approach to the study as well as the methods employed in data collection. This section begins by discussing the choice of the research methodology, followed by the study area and sources of data, informant selection and sample size as well as the techniques for data collection analysis. Finally, I reflect on my research position as an outsider and how that has influenced the entire study unambiguously with regards to the access to the field, data collection and the data interpretation.

3.2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study aims at both exploring and understanding how multiple actors responded to the conflict and displacement situation in Ethiopia (Guji and Gedeo Zones), the roles actor played and what can be understood from the implication of the merging of these different actors for a united cause. In order to achieve the objectives of this study, the qualitative research design with an observational semi-structured interviews method was used. This research design is established to uphold the general framework regarding the epistemological and ontological position and what methods are appropriate and would be used for the research. This provide a systematic guidance into all facets of the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry of the phenomenon to the detailed data collection analysis procedure. (Creswell, 2009: 3).

According to Creswell (2009: 4), “qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem”. Deducing from Creswell (2009), selecting the qualitative research design in this context would enable the study to delve deeper into the social problem presented with the objective of exploring and understanding this phenomenon in this case the response.

On this basis, the study captures the philosophical underpinnings of social constructivism combined with interpretivism (Mottier, 2005). A social constructivist approach to creating reality in the social world stipulates that, realities in the social world is being constantly constructed through our interaction with the social forces in the social world and researchers have a role to play in creating and interpreting reality and meaning. It is therefore opposed to the worldview of the positivist researchers who views realities in the social world as detached. Also, engaging the interpretative turn gives room for multiple meanings to be created based on an interpretation of a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2016: 375).

Furthermore, following limb and Dwyer (2001)'s suggestion, using the qualitative research design will enable me to “explores some of the complexities surrounding the conflict and displacement situation as well as the targeted response that was metered out. This will enable me to gain a deeper understanding into how the multiple actors approaches the situation.

3.3. STUDY AREA

When conducting a qualitative research, Holliday (2007: 33) asserts that, a research setting is crucial to enable the researcher to understand the context. The Entire fieldwork was conducted in Ethiopia, specifically within the social environment of the 7West- Guji and Gedeo zones. Following the discussion on the administrative divisions in Ethiopia (see Chapter 2), West-Guji is a zone situated in the Oromia region of Ethiopia with Bule hora being its main economic city. Likewise, the Gedeo zone is captured in the SNNPR region of which the main economic city is Dilla. Upon arrival in Ethiopia during the summer in 2019, it was now over a year into the conflict and displacement situation these zones. The needed data to address my research questions could conveniently be collected in these areas. Also, these two places selected as the study area for the research are places that the people were displaced either to or from (Yarnell, 2018). Even though, the conflict occurred only in the west-Guji Zones. The study area constitutes different places purposefully selected within these two zones. I had to do a lot of travelling and sometimes stay in these places for a period. This explains why the collection of data lasted seven weeks.

3.3.1. The Gedeo Zone

Stepping in the Gedeo Zone for the research, my first point of call was Dilla. Dilla was a safe town and it harboured several humanitarian organizations offices as well as the office of the government institutions. As I had prepared to interview government officials, aid workers and community leaders who had been involved in supporting the displaced people. In the Gedeo zone, most of these people resided in Dilla town. It was after my interview with the government officials and the aid workers that I realized the need to travel to some of the towns in the Gedeo zone (Districts and villages) where people had been displaced to. I could easily encounter displaced persons or representatives of these displaced people as well as extra aid workers for interviews. In the other towns of the Gedeo zone, the data was collected in Chyericu (one of

⁷ The Guji and the Gedeos live together in both areas, they trade together have intermarriages and long economic relations. See (Debelo, 2007: 37- 40)

the villages) and Yirga Chefe (woreda/District). In Chyericu, where people were displaced to, I could interview and have a 8group interview with people who have been displaced and at the same time do some observations in these areas. In Yiga chefe, I only Interviewed only government officials.

3.3.2. The West-Guji Zone

In the west-Guji Zone of the Oromia Region, I collected data Mainly from Bule Hora. Like Dilla, Bule Hora hosted most of the humanitarian organizations and the government institutions. It was therefore favourable to meet a good number of my informants here and interview them. All except one of my informants was not in Bule Hora. In order to interview the other informant in the West-Guji region, I travelled to Gerba which is a district located in the West-Guji Zone. In Gerba, I interviewed one displaced person who had returned. I intended to travel to some other Woredas (districts) for the interview and do some observations very specifically to Kercha which was believed to be the epicentre of the conflict. Yet, the security situation in these areas had deteriorated and it was not safe to go there. Moving to Gerba was therefore an alternative area of study to visit to acquire the same data. And for the observations, I visited Abaaya in the same West-Guji zone where the displaced people have returned to.

3.4. INFORMANTS

The study targeted four different groups of informants that is; aid workers from humanitarian organizations, government officials, representatives of displaced persons, Displaced persons/returnees. According to Robin & Robin (2005), several informants as will permit the researcher pass the test of completeness and saturation.

Aid workers were my first target group of respondents. Initially, I planned to interview and acquire information from aid workers as representatives of the various humanitarian organization and speak on behalf of the organization that each one of them represented. This would have enabled me to gather accurate information on the specific contribution or specialized support each individual organization had made. In effect, I wanted to acquire data from the organization itself yet that could not materialize. Whiles some of them could freely speak after they were consented, not all the individuals could still speak to me as

⁸ According Finch et al (2014 : 213), interviwing several people does not make it a focus group discussion. Even though it maybe considered as a kind of focused group, my aim was to gather these individual interviews together and not necessarily an organised focused group disussion. Due to time and capitalizing on the availability of informants

representatives (in the name of the organization) due to several reasons which would be elaborated in the preceding sections. Briefly, a basic reason they could not speak on behalf of their organizations accentuates on the fact the information requested was sensitive. This seemed to have curtailed my quest to acquire unadulterated data from my informants. Still, I made a rebound and requested that they speak as aid workers and not on behalf on any organization. Speaking as aid workers turned out not to be an issue for any of them at all. That was indeed a tangible decision to know that, their claims were credible. In all, I interviewed 11 aid workers in both the Gedeo Zone and West-Guji Zone. 8 out of the 11 aid workers were interviewed in the West-Guji zone while the remaining 3 were interviewed in the Gedeo Zone.

The next group of informants were the government officials who were interviewed in both areas of my study (West-Guji and Gedeo Zone). With reference to the administrative structure in the various regions of Ethiopia, the government offices can be found in the various levels of the society. From the federal to the regional, to the Woreda and the last the Kebele Level. Nonetheless, with the specific purpose of selecting relevant informants and in the capacity to acquire a lot in my transient stay in Ethiopia, I restricted the number of government officials I had to interview to the zonal level only. All the government officials I interviewed were working within Dilla (Gedeo Zone) and Bule Hora (West-Guji). Except one of my informants whom I interviewed in Yirga Cheffe Woreda. In all, my informants numbered 8 in both areas of study. Further detail on the informants would be provided in the interview section.

The third target group of informants were people who had been displaced and would be willing to speak on the situation. For these group of people who became part of my sample size, I basically wanted to gather their experience with the response to the conflict and displacement situation, in addition to this, what they did as displaced people, who did what?, and their reflection on the entire approach to the displacement situation. I estimated as an outsider that, it may be seemingly uncomfortable to interview these group of people. Instead, I was informed that, there were no displaced people because all the people had returned. This was not going to be a problem at all since I could still retrieve the necessary data that I needed from them inspite of the change in their status. What stands out here is the fact that due to the return, it was not possible to find the people in the main towns that is Dilla and Bule Hora but I had to go to the exact places that they had returned to. So, I first moved to Cheriycu in the Gedeo Zone in order to interview the displaced people who were now considered returnees. The situation suggested that I employed a group interview. The group interview was composed of 8 people. Technically I conclude that they were representatives of the returnees. The next interview was conducted in Gerba which is a community of the West-Guji zone. In Gerba, I

interviewed one person who had returned. In contrast, I still encountered a few displaced people in Dilla who had refused to return to the Guji Zone. Notwithstanding the decision that all displaced people should return. The group was still there, the quest to know why they were still there made me interview them. At this point I employed another group interview technique to acquire the desired information from them.

With regards to the criteria for the informant's selection, it was clear that the traditional leaders were equally involved in the response to the conflict and displacement situation. Yet due to a security issue which prevented me from travelling to the interior areas of the West-Guji Zones to meet the traditional leaders there, I could only interview traditional leaders in the West-Guji Zone, precisely in Bule Hora. Also, due to time constraints I was not able to meet some traditional leaders purposefully in the Gedeo zone. While all available options had proven futile, by snowballing access, I could interview the traditional leaders together in Chyericu these were the same as the representatives of displaced people.

3.5. INFORMANTS SELECTION

Criteria for selecting the informants was primarily to encounter informants from the above category displayed who had worked with the situation or was fully engaged in the situation in anyway preferably since its inception and were willing to conduct interviews with me (Robin & Robin, 2005). As matter of fact, for the relevance of the study, the same size needed to be a specific group of people to interview. These ideas resonate well with what Creswell & Poth (2018 :157) explained as the criterion approach under the purposive sampling strategy. They inform that, this strategy for sampling is effective given that, all informants studied represents people who have experienced the phenomenon for the research. Furthermore Bryman (2016) explain that, if a researcher employs the purposive sampling technique the researcher is seeking to to sample on a random but rather in a cleverly strategic way which the sample size becomes significant for the research and contribute enormously to answering the research question. (Bryman, 2016 : 408) So, though my main technique of sampling was the purposive sampling, I opted to deploy more than just one sampling technique for selecting my informants of which purposive sampling was the predominant and overriding technique. Following Bryman's (2016) ideas, purposive sampling often involves more than one of the techniques used in selecting informants (Bryman, 2016: 419).

⁹ These people had refused to return because psychological trauma and they felt it was still not safe for them to go back to Kercha where everything started

In operation, I first used purposive sampling to select my informants and with references and recommendations from my initial contacts, I was connected via the snowballing approach to reach the other informants. Using the purposive sampling method was very convenient for selecting the aid workers because it was easier to target them in their various offices. Moreover, the snowballing technique combined with the purposive sampling became crucial to reach some government officials and for interviewing the displaced people or returnees in question. Therefore, the snowballing sampling broadened the scope of the informants and permitted me to reach informants who fulfilled my criteria but were out of reach and who later became part of the sample in order to be interviewed too (Bryman, 2016: 419).

3.6. DATA COLLECTION

During data collection, both primary and secondary sources of data were collected, including group interviews and observations.

3.7. QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

For the primary sources, generally interviews were used as the technique for data collection from the above listed informants. Bryman (2016) stipulates that, when conducting a qualitative interview, the researcher focuses on the point of the interviewee and this reflects the concern of the interviewee. Considering the objective of the study, what is crucial for the thesis is the reflections of the informants. For example, the viewpoints of the representatives of the displaced people were highly solicited for to enhance a complex understanding into how the conflict and displacement situation was approached. This revealed some concerns that the displaced people actually had as well as what how they want their story to be presented. Elliot (2011) shares the view that reality is gradually created by the interviewer and the interviewee. For instance, some informants went a little out of contest or gave elaborate responses. Bryman (2016) refers to this going out of contest as a way the interviewee wants to express what is relevant and important. Therefore, encouraging informants in like manner attracted an unpredictable perspective for the study. In quantitative research this might be irrelevant and unneedful however, this diversity unveils the strength of the qualitative research. (Bryman, 2016: 466-467).

Again, in my quest to dig deeper in understanding and acquire rich and detailed data to arrive at my objective, Bryman (2016), specifies that, employing quantitative interviews does not impede interviewers from shifting away from their interview guide so as to ask follow up questions and even vary and refine the wording of the questions if the need be. This understanding of interviewing in qualitative research impacted my interviewing during the data

collection. The interview process was very flexible and that enabled me to ask to follow up questions to clarify some points and views of my informants (Bryman, 2016: 467).

I specifically employed **semi-structured interview** technique in conducting interviews with my informants. I had an interview guide which contained a list of questions classified already under some themes. These themes were deducted from my research questions which are; How did the government, humanitarian partners and the communities respond to the displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones in 2018? What were the specific role(s) or contribution(s) of each actor?

How can we understand the implication of having these multiple actors? Knowing very well that my informants were in four main diverse groups such as the aid workers, government officials, displaced persons / Returnees. I diversified the questions that I had to ask. Even though, I did not strictly abide by the guide in terms of the wording of the question as well as asking all the questions, I still arrived at gaining the data that I needed through asking the relevant questions for whom it may concern. This is an advantage that the semi-structured interviews exhibit, the fact that it poses a distinguished feature of flexibility. The questions were open minded which allowed the interviewees to respond in an elaborative way and not in a machinal manner but a consistent way of making meaning (Bryman, 2016: 482).

In summary, the semi-structured interview was adopted because the research aimed at obtaining the views of the informants on the approach to the responding to the conflict and displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones. I needed a technique that would enable my respondents speak freely and consciously remain on the topic area of the research and not divert my attention from the objectives of the research.

3.8. GATE KEEPERS

Going into an unaccustomed area as a researcher was going to prove really challenging without the help of a gatekeeper to pave the way into coming into direct contact with my informants. Knowing also that as much as gate keepers are very crucial in such a situation, they could be playing the role of a two-sided coin. That is either they distinctively affect the good progress of the research with their help of gaining access to the informants or the become agents whose actions impacts negatively and limits gaining access to the informants. (Reeves, 2010: 318-319). In the field, I was supported by several gatekeepers who facilitated the entire research

process so that I could reach my informants. it is important that 10Gatekeepers influence gaining access to the research,

Even though, I went to Ethiopia as a student and a researcher, I went as an exchange student from the Arctic university of Norway to Dilla University based on the agreement between the 2 institutions. Therefore, the staff and students of Dilla university were my primary and relevant gate keepers during the entire research. I had an extensive discussion with the staff and students of Dilla University who informed me on the places I could go to get my Data. Another important support I gained from dilla University was a letter that was written in Amharic stating that I was affiliated to Dilla university and was in Ethiopia for research. Even though I had a letter in English from my Supervisor and from the Centre for peace studies, it was very necessary to acquire a letter from Dilla University to the various administrative government offices so that they would be stamped. When I presented the letter to the main government administrative offices in both Dilla and Bule Hora it was translated into 11Afan Oromo in the West-Guji zone and Gede'uffa in the 12Gedeo Zone. When I presented. These letters equally acted as an authorization letter to conduct the entire research. I was never rejected by any office or institution whenever I presented these letters. The rest of the discussion would be systematically updated in Gaining access and interviewing section.

English is not the official language of Ethiopia. it could therefore be practically impossible to interview some of the informants without soliciting the help of a translator. The use of a translator was a factor that I had already foreseen and had prepared for. Due to the several travels and different informants I had to interview, the translators were different from interview to Interview and from places to places.

3.9. GAINING ACCESS & INTERVIEWING

In this section, I present the practical steps and techniques that I used in conducting interviews for the different informants that I interviewed. Similarly, I would discuss and elaborate how I gained access to each of my informant.

¹⁰ I would clarify that in this study, Gatekeepers were not the same as research assistants. Knowing these covetails would be necessary to comprehend that, while at some point in the research, I had the same individuals who were posing as both gate keepers and research assistance, I still distinguish between the two on the basis that playing the role of being either a gate keeper or a research assistant could be identical but not the same.

¹¹ The language spoken in the Oromia region

¹² Language spoken by the Gedeos

3.9.1. Interviewing and Gaining Access to the Aid Workers

Both Interviewing and having access to the aid workers was very smooth as all 11 of them spoke English Fluently. 3 out of the informants were aid workers from the UN agencies and the remaining 8 were from other humanitarian organizations. Also I interviewed 3 of the aid workers in Dilla (Gedeo Zone) and the remaining were interviewed in Bule Hora (West-Guji) Even though I recognize which organization each one of them is coming from, what is relevant for the study is that I relate their experiences to those of aid workers who have worked with the situation. Before interviewing each informant, I would have to gain access to the informant first. Gaining access began with going to their offices. The humanitarian organizations had temporary offices in mostly Dilla or Bule Hora. After locating their offices, I went to see them and spoke with them. As I already had a letter from The Centre for peace Studies and together with the letter from Dilla University, I introduced myself as a student researching on the conflict and displacement situation. Then I proceeded to getting their consent to conduct an interview with me. Sometimes, some of them would be busy and we had to schedule the interviews for later in the day or some other time. I mostly preferred that the interview would be held at a time that was very convenient for them so that they could freely speak. Yet, it was not always the case, their schedule disrupted the interviews so sometimes I had to conduct the interviews based on the number of minutes they would be available. Furthermore, with regards to the objective of the study which is to explore how the various actors responded to the conflict and displacement situation, the aid workers explicitly and impartially gave me the information needed about their role. However, in their quest to refrain from any politically sensitive issues, they still objectively shared their opinions on the implication of the merging of the various actors. In the end, I observed that, the unavailability of the aid workers at some point was a challenge.

3.9.2. Interviewing & Gaining access to the Government Officials

Just like the aid officials, gaining access and Interviewing the government officials was correspondingly smooth and successful. In all, I interviewed 8 government officials in both areas of my study (West-Guji and Gedeo Zone). Out of the 8 informants, 4 were interviewed in the Gedeo Zone while other 4 were interviewed in the West-Guji Zones. There were 3 government institutions that were involved in the response and these were institutions that worked with the conflict and displacement situation. These are the institutions I visited to gather data from my informants. The institutions are the Zonal Administrative offices, NDRM, the Culture and Tourism Office and the Women, Youth and children welfare department . All the

government officials were ever willing to conduct interviews with me. Gaining access to the various officials was facilitated by field assistance. Together with the letters from Dilla university and the ones translated by the administrative offices, I was granted access to my informants via the various institutions that I visited. Restating that, the data anticipated from the government officials was one that was geared towards exploring the research questions chief of them is to investigate the role the various government institutions played in the response process. Following the aligned objective for the interview, I had in my hand a research guide. This research guide had set of questions and themes from which I formulated my questions. In respect to the different types of institutions that I visited, some questions were not relevant for some informants. The interview process followed a consistent preceding beginning with the main open ended questions, then probing with follow-up questions and some questions that were purposefully asked for further clarification to create the in-depth meaning that I wish to achieve in the end. During the process of interview, I employed the help of interpreters as a remedy to the language barrier that existed. Even though some of my informants could speak and understand English, they preferred to speak in the various national languages in order that; they could freely express themselves and without any obvious disruption of lack of appropriate words, they can articulate their thoughts in a flawless manner. In as much as I could rate my interpreters as having done an impeccable work, there were still a few influences their impact had on the collection of data. This would be elaborated in the challenges section.

In summary, it was very evident that, gaining access to the government officials was very successful. Not even one office I showed up refused to speak to me, they were all willing to participate in the interview which gives me the impression that, they were equally free to speak and share their experiences with me. Since there were some evidences to prove some of the information they shared, I was convinced that there were no exaggeration of responses from my informants or withholding of information from my informants.

3.9.3. Interviewing & Gaining access to Displaced people and Returnees

Gaining access to the the displaced people and returnees was the easiest among all my informants. Nevertheless, no interview was conducted without the consent of each informant. I interviewed returnees (8 community leaders) in Chericu (Gedeo Zone). I gained access to this community by the help of an aid worker and the letters the aid worker also became an interpreter. Next, I interviewed One returnee person in Gerba (West-Guji Zone) and 2 displaced people in Dilla (Gedeo zone). Getting to the returnee person in Gerba, was facilitated by the

help of a gate keeper at the sametime being the interpreter, he was also a member in the West-Guji Community hence an easy way to communicate with them. However, I got his consent before the interview begun. For the 2 displaced people in Dilla (Gedeo Zone), they were amongst the displaced people who stayed back in Dilla even after the decision had been made for them to go back to place of origin. With the assistance of my field assistance who spoke the Gedeo language we could approach them. Being concious of the fact that interviewing displaced people could spark some psychological memories, I resorted to the “do no harm” principle so as not to cause any jeopardizing effect on my respondents. On the Contrary, they were not moved by any of my self-projected concerns. They readily gave their consent and the interview session begun.

These were one of the last groups of informants that I interviewed so the interviews did not last longer unlike the others which were stretching beyond 45 minutes. The interviews were held in places they themselves had prescribed giving me the impression that, they were relaxed and free to speak and share the experinces with me. Again each interview required the use of an interpreter people who spoke the specific languages and could produce the equivalent in English language. Generally, I was seeking to unravel, confirm and clarify most of the what my previous informants have already provided. Secondly, my informants mostly answered precisely to the research question which seeks to explore the role the community and the host communities played in responding to the conflict and displacement situation.

3.9.4. Interviewing and Gaining access the Traditional leaders

Gaining access and interviewing the traditional leaders seemed very difficult at the initial stage. However, it later become very obvious to me that, the use of a gate keeper is very crucial when gaining access to traditional leaders, and not just any gate keeper but the relevant gate keepers. When I arrived in the West-Guji Zone (Bule Hora) in order to interview my informants, I visited and Interviewed one informant in the Culture and tourism office who spoke fluently in English and by snow balling method connected me with the traditional leaders In Bule Hora. He, having ample knowledge about the culture and tradition in the community was the interpreter. Among the 5 respondents I interviewed, was one Aba gada and four elders who had gathered to conduct the interview which took the form of a group interview. Even though out of respect the other elders made only the Abagada spoke to me whiles the rest of the elders contributed occassionally when they had an input to make. Just as I have objectified, it was evident from the reflections of the traditional leaders that, their opinions have contributed to

one of the research questions by stating the role that they played in the response to the conflict and displacement situation.

3.10. SECONDARY DATA & DIRECT OBSERVATION

In order to complement my primary data, I gathered some secondary data as reports from some of the humanitarian organizations and the humanitarian support, figures and project proposals obtained from some of the government offices. The documents obtained from the government offices were willingly handed-out in a co-operative manner. Even though I was not expecting such a ready co-operation However, I was highly disappointed by most of the humanitarian partners as I couldn't acquire some field reports and other documents that were relevant for the conflict and displacement situation, I was told their reports and some documents were for internal use only or were confidential. The irony here was that I thought it would have been easy to get these documents from the humanitarian organisations. Yet, I Could still retrieve a few ones on their various websites which is directed for the general public.

Basically, I resorted to direct observations during the data collection process and during interview. This method allows researchers to observe what is taking place in the social setting through their interaction with participants (Pauly, 2010: 302-3025). In this regard, I did not ignore all actions portrayed by my informants since this can contribute to enriching the data and incite proper interpretations of their narratives.

3.11. FIELD REFLECTIONS

In this section, I reflect upon my experiences in the field, focusing on the factors that had an implication on the data collections and which may have eventually influenced the data itself. I reflect upon my position as an outsider and how that affected the data collection and type of Data, furthermore, I reflect on the use of translators and interpreters during my research as well as highlight a few event that occurred which would all be discussed under the limitation of the fieldwork.

3.11.1. Positionality

Before going for the fieldwork in Ethiopia as an outsider (a Ghanaian male), I had numerous questions with regards to how the fieldwork was going to be, knowing very well that it was my first time stepping foot in Ethiopia as well as not able to speak neither the official language nor any of the languages of my informants. My position allowed me to do a thorough reflection on an effective way to collect data and have a successful fieldwork experience. I was therefore influenced by my position as an outsider to have different groups of informants to share their

experiences with me in view of arriving at answering the research questions. Secondly, the focus of the study has been influenced by Millar (2018) and Brauchler (2018) to rethink this research from an influence in anthropology as a way of unmasking and deconstructing issues in this study. Though my academic background is in Political Science. I reflect on the derivative element of my choice of theories and research methodology. Getting a balance of the data as much as possible to remain neutral to the study was a keen aspiration. I strived to objectively collect data from my informants which should equally be an expository way, where I did not only limit my data collection technique to only the semi-structured in-depth interviews but collected secondary data and conducted direct observations during the interviews and during my travels. In all, I strive to project the reflections on the local.

3.11.2. Reflecting on the use of translators

The use of translators and interpreters were very crucial to the study especially for interviewing some government officials, the traditional leaders, as well as the displaced people or returnees. Temple & Alys (2004 : 170-172) stipulates that, apart from reflecting on the epistemological and ontological dilemmas a translator and interpreter may pose, who does the translation and interpretation is very important as it can influence the data. Similarly, In this study, the tendency that the use of interpreters (unprofessional) may have an input in the research cannot be underestimated. Considering that, the interpreter could add his opinion during the process of interview spontaneously, as well as swallowing up some response. This to a large extent, prompted the use other translators (proof checkers) who was not involved in the fieldwork to verify some responses from the informants which were inconsistent with the questions that I asked. This became very necessary that the respondents were recorded. Though, I managed to verify and clarify some responses, other distinctive details like emotions, tone of voice and cultural factors might have been missing as I transcribed the interviews.

3.12. Limitation of the fieldwork

I encountered different forms of limitations during the study. Nevertheless, as I tried to dully address most of the challenges on the field, I can be however reflexive of some of the complex ones which was nearly impossible to address. First, my position as an outsider in the research influenced my techniques for the data collection as I could not strictly use purposive sampling alone but had to resort to snow-balling approach and purposive. Though I remained neutral and objective in the data collection as much as possible whiles observing the do no harm, not being able to interact directly with the with the community during some observations was a limitation. Furthermore, some important places could not be visited due to instability and security mayhem

in these areas as well as inaccessibility of roads posing as an obstructive pass. This limitation made me look for alternative areas and respondents. As a matter of fact, it was not possible to conduct interviews with some aid workers due to organizational bureaucracy which hindered permission. A lot of information was withheld as some people were not free to express their opinions on some issues with the excuse that it was politically sensitive.

3.13. Summary

This chapter focused on the methodological approach and methods employed in data collection. The choice of the research methodology, sources of data, informant selection, sample size, study areas, positionality and reflections from the field as well as limitation were all discussed in this section.

Chapter 4. APPROACHES TO IDPS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the study combines the literature related to the study and a conceptual approach to understand the mobilised approach in Ethiopia (West-Guji and Gedeo) as a response to the conflict and displacement situation. A synthesis of this chapter will produce an underpinning framework upon which analysis and discussion of the findings would be made in the proceeding chapter.

4.2. PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO IDPS

It was not until the early 1990's that the quandary of IDPs was overtly exposing the inadequacy of most states to respond to the IDPs acute situations (Orchard, 2010). Among the various international approaches that began to emerge to address the gross discriminations against IDPs was the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons (1998) (UNHCR Memorandum, 1998). Norman Goldman (2009) and Walter Kalin (2002), who have contributed extensively in this literature asserts that, the Guiding principle of internally displaced persons was a normative framework developed for the displaced persons (IDPs). This drafted document highlights very important rights of IDPs as well as their absolute protection during displacement (Cohen, 2004). These 30 principles were equally to fill in the legal gap that mitigated against internally displaced persons unlike refugees who already had a legal binding document protecting them (Kalin, 2005). The guiding principle further endorses the sovereignty of states as a responsibility conferred on them (Melfald, 2003). Deng (2007) emphasises that, these legal documents were to ensure government's protection for its population in an indiscriminate way in accordance with the stipulated laws and principles (Brookings, 2008 : 3; 4) (Ferris, Mooney, & Stark, 2011) (Brookings Institution , 2005) (IDMC/NRC/BROOKINGS-LSE, 2013).

The influence of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement extended specifically to the African Union. In October 2009, The African States adopted the world's first and continent binding treaty to protect people displaced in their own country better referred to as the Kampala Convention (Kuwali, 2013). This convention inspired from the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement becoming the legal framework of governing the humanitarian response, similarly obligates states to prevent, protect and assist displacement crisis as well as the people who have been displaced. (IDMC, 2019: 26) (African Union, 2009). Internal displacement monitoring centres (IDMC)'s report concludes that, the Kampala convention has instigated an improvement in governments responsibility and involvement in

Internal Displacement. It has also provoked significant accountability at all levels (IDMC Africa, 2019: 26) (Brookings 2008 : 6).

Following through institutional deliberations within the humanitarian by the ¹³Brookings Institute, the UN led approach came up with an Architecture for tackling IDPs plight referred to as the Inter- Agency standing Committee (IASC) (Brookings IASC, 2010). When there was a displacement situation, the UN agencies Such as UNHCR, OCHA, IOM, UNICEF, UNDP and WHO and other humanitarian organizations and the respective state were to team up for a response. In practise the IASC worked through a Cluster approach as a way of addressing the displacement complexities individually. The approach also known as the collaborative approach was coordinated by the UN agencies. For instance there could be a cluster for protection led by the UNHCR, camp coordination and shelter construction led by the UM-IOM, health cluster led by WHO among others (Ferris, 2014) (UNDP & UNCHCR , 2016)

Not only had the contribution of the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations been the protection of IDPs through the Guiding principles of Internal Displacement, but dynamic efforts were being translated into arriving at a durable solution for the displaced Persons (The Brookings Institution , 2007). The principle 28 of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displaced persons actually stipulates this action, stating that IDPs have the right to a durable solution. The durable solution for the Displaced persons is usually summarised as either; IDPs achieve a Sustainable reintegration at the place of origin or sustainable local integration into places of current sojourning or Sustainable intergration into any part of the country (Brookings, 2010). Other scholars such as Nina Birkeland (2009) and O'Neill (2009) though acknowledged the fact that more sustainable effort geared towards finding a durable solution have been institutionalized, IDPs situation is still plausible. Eschenbacher (2005) argues strongly that there could be an improved approach to finding a solution for IDPs.

A critical view of the of the rigorous activities of the states, the UN and all other international has best been assessed by Elizabeth Ferris (2014) in the Brookings- Bern Project on Internal Displaced persons. Ten years after humaniatrian reform reveals a lot of interesting

¹³ The Brookings-Bern Project on Internal displacement is a research initiative by the then secretary or the UN Special representative on Internal Displacement and the director of the Brookings Institutes (Francis Deng and Roberta Cohen). This project on IDPs involves research, studies, framework and evaluative reports that aims at creating international awareness on IDPs plight and finding a sustainable solution for IDPs.

details. The study concluded that, even though IDPs were better off in 2014 after a humanitarian reform in 2004, some lives were transformed not necessarily because of the humanitarian reform but from a change in structural political conditions in a state. Hence, the states behaviour towards humanitarian response can momentarily improve the living condition of displaced persons. In addition, Holtzman & Nezam (2004) holds the position that, states attitudes may cause IDPs to remain in extreme situations in spite of the presence and response from other humanitarian organizations.

Kalin (2014) and Deng (2001) have the clear view that, the mandate of the UN to design a durable solution for the displaced persons could only materialise if their involvement goes beyond just assistance. Humanitarian support for IDPs which is predominately about mere protection and intervention would yield similar undesirable results. Therefore, when there was an advocacy for humanitarian response to shift towards a more resilient recovery approach which demands a long and deliberate effort from various actors to be involved, several scholars affirmed and embraced this collaborative approach (Deng 2004). Michael Schloms (2003) in his work harmonize the debate for the humanitarian to be also involved in peace building even though primarily their mandates is to respond to IDPs with emergency support, they have a greater capacity to influence the forces of peace building than other institutions involved in peacebuilding projects (De coning, 2018).

The study discovers after these reviews following effort made by the UN, states and several humanitarian agencies to find a durable solution for IDPs that, humanitarian response for displaced people specifically when there is a conflict dimension is a complex phenomenon (Nascimento, 2015). It is inadequate if a framework addresses only humanitarian situations and excludes the conflict situation if a sustainable solution for IDPs is the objective. Likewise as the global scenario has kept taking new turns, it does not seem that one model could be used as the only approach for humanitarian response. Furthermore, (Tete, 2011) stipulates that, the solution to displaced people is not only limited to the 3 stipulated durable solutions of the Guiding Principles more opportunities could be explored. What this study therefore seeks to uncover, is a contextual understanding into the approach that was employed in Ethiopia against the conflict and displacement situation. An approach that seeks to advocate for resiliency for the displaced persons (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018). previous researches such as (Harvey, 2009) have studied the roles of actors involved in humanitarian response, the various actors have been studied individually. This study presents a combine understanding on multi-actors involved in the humanitarian approach.

4.3. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY

This section of the chapter establishes the conceptual approaches revolving around the study and how these concepts would be operationalised in this study. The discussion begins with how the concept of humanitarianism is understood in this study. Subsequently, the various approaches to the humanitarianism and how resiliency in humanitarianism or humanitarian response as form of governance has been critically understood. The discussion will further elaborate on resiliency in humanitarianism as the pivotal concept for the study. Systematically, the discussion will be drawn to the different concepts that is framed around the resiliency in humanitarianism thinking to achieve a constructive extrapolation.

4.4. HUMANITARIANISM

Humanitarianism as a concept has several definitions and meanings to scholars, organizations, aid workers, policy workers among others (UNHCR, 1998). The concept has equally gained maximum attention and research in various disciplines like political science, international relations, peace and conflict studies, sociology as well as anthropology making just one agreed definition for the concept not utopian. However, the study seeks for a constructed definition of humanitarianism in a manner that address the critical element of it not been too broad or too narrow. Some previous definitions have revolved around its principles or ideology like neutrality, independence and impartiality (Sørensen & Plambech, 2019 : 6) and the provision of relief to victims of conflict and natural disasters (Nascimento, 2015) (Barnett, 2013). Others have included other concepts like human rights, norms, development among others, which only seeks to suggest rather what humanitarian should be (Benthall, 2018). Sometimes, there is also the tendency that the definition might bring a diversion from the concept when it includes a lot more concepts that it should (Barnett, 2013 :383). However, for this discussion, the concept denotes an action that is geared towards humanity and crisis (Minn, 2007 : 2). Where the action would be further extrapolated in the discussion as encapsulating the approaches and the respective actors deployed in operation.

4.5. APPROACHES TO HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

Humanitarian response in the post-cold war era has evolved with series of approaches which seeks to address the rather complex global humanitarian situation in the world. Scholars and researchers have studied a humanitarian governance approach derived from global governance as a way of alleviating the pain and sufferings of the world's most vulnerable people (Dijkzeul & Bergtora, 2019) also replacing government with governance (Barnett, 2013) (Kneebone,

2010). From a critical perspective, the study tends to contrast the scholarly work of political scientist and international relations on the notion that states, and non-state actors are the most relevant actors who can cooperate to expand and address the humanitarian dilemma at the macro level. On the other hand, anthropologists, sociologists and cultural studies have researched different approaches that calls for more inclusion of other actors especially the local into the humanitarian governance phenomenon (Barnett, 2013 : 381) (Ticktin, 2014). Andersen & Behmer (2018) further introduces the idea of a multilevel approach in the humanitarian action where there are multi-actors in operation but these actors reside in a humaniatrian eco-system. Humanitatrian action operates at all levels of the society and there is the humanitarian eco-system where the various actors collaborate among each other in operations (Andersen & Behmer, 2018 : 84-87). Anticipating the changing nature of humaniatarian crisis, the critical turn in its sense has gradually shaped the humanitarian governanace to helping communities equally build coping mechanism as resiliency in the local space (Labbé, 2012 :14) (Anholt, 2017).

Following the critical philosophical dimension of the humanitarian governance aimed at a humanitarian response, Dorothea Hilhorst opines on a discovery of the resilience humanitarianism which is conceptualized with the dynamics of encapsulating different actors and aiming at reaching a resilient recovery to acute humanitarian crisis (Hilhorst, 2018). In the context of the research, the resiliency thinking in humanitarianism influenced the approach which was tailored as the framework to address the conflict-induced displacement situation in ¹⁴Ethiopia. Before arriving at this critical conclusion, the discussion will take a quick look at how humanitarianism has evolved and how that evolution transcends into this new paradigm.

4.5.1. Classical Humanitarianism

Classical humanitarianism also known as the old humanitarianism or Dunantist humanitarianism is characterised by elements of neutrality and independence of humanitarian organizations to give relief support to the humanity in times of crisis and in an impartial way. The inception and influence of the classical humanitarianism can be traced back to 1859, when Henri Dunant who was a swiss entrepreneur and witnessed the Battle of Solferino. Dunant returned to Switzerland and compiled his memories in a ¹⁵book which has highly influenced what is now the global movement of response to humanitarian need (Dunant, 1959).

¹⁴ Referring to the Humaniatrian Disaster resilience plan that was adapted in Ethiopia.

¹⁵ A memory of solferino, 1862 written by Henri Dunant

The Approach is equally paralleled with upholding the ethical and humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence but naturally studied not to be influenced by a political ideology (Nascimento, 2015 : 2). The classical humanitarianism dominated the international sphere until the post-cold war era when it was criticised a lot by scholars who viewed it as narrow and needed to be broadened. However, organizations like International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (ICRC) and to an extent Medecins sans frontieres (MSF) have keenly followed the need-based approach in spite of the influx of ideas of going beyond need based (Adami, 2019 : 1,2). Apart from operationalising the ideas of relief and saving the vulnerable, it was criticised for not being a sufficient approach as it is a form of intervention that infuses aid to romanticise power (Fassin, 2010)(BECKETT, 2013 : 87). Engage in “benevolent dictatorship” (McFalls, 2010) (Calhoun, 2010). It was therefore imperative for theorists and scholars to study and improve this approach with a different philosophical worldview of humanitarian governance.

4.5.2. New Humanitarianism

The scholarship of the new humanitarianism has its root in the post-cold war period. When humanitarian crisis born out of conflict and wars mostly internally became alarming. The humanitarian situation had worsened, and some had escalated into what the UN agencies referred to as complex emergency understood to capture and factor in conflict-related displacement situations at large (Nascimento, 2015). The paradigm shift in humanitarian action was a corresponding move to approach the palpable inefficiencies that the classical humanitarian action posed as a form of humanitarian governing ideology (Mills, 2005).

As such, the quest of awakening the international community to focus on a robust approach gave birth to the new humanitarianism paradigm. The new humanitarianism approach has clearly confronted the old humanitarianism based on the need-based and short-term relief approach. It rather suggests that, humanitarian action could have a broader sense of approaching crisis parallel to complex emergencies by undertaking long-term aid ventures. These long-term goals were geared towards achieving sustainable solutions, human rights protection and advocacy as well as contributing to peace building and conflict resolution. Another crucial idea was the shift from emergency to achieving development. This approach was fully backed by various donors’ government and organization, as well as the UN agencies.

The UN agencies and the partnering humanitarian agencies were the main instruments of practice of this theoretical assumption. Despite the ardent increase and spread of the new humanitarianism response approaches, Didier Fassin, the French Anthropologist critiques the

new humanitarianism ideology of having a humanitarian reason for other motives or interest other than the basic understanding of the values of saving humanity. Fassin however states that it this action is “a questionable moral intangibility” (Fassin, 2013 : 37, 46). These and similar critics having been levelled against the right-approach, the humanitarian action that sought to be neutral was gradually influenced by political interest (Mills, 2005).

Again, it was seen to be parallel to propagating western liberal ideologies and the conception of development and security nexus by most donor government which made support conditioned and not independent (Duffled, 2001)(Nascimento, 2015 : 4).

4.5.3. Resilience Humanitarianism

The next approach is the resilience humanitarianism approach. The resilience humanitarianism is gaining recognition now and specifically its conceptual framework seeks to override the classic paradigm of Dunantist humanitarianism as well as the new humanitarianism. (Hilhorst, 2018 : 5). The resiliency thinking in humanitarian response seeks to unpack the ideology of resilience in humanitarian governance. It stems from the idea that the central significance and primary responsibility that were accorded states and humanitarian agencies alone is gradually been eroded. There is therefore the need for an approach that assembles different or multiples actors as way of forming a governance. Where there is a plurality of actors that combine with the state to build resilience in the societies against protracted situation and acute crisis (Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano, 2019: S113).

In contrast, to the classical Dunantist and new humanitarianism is the resilience humanitarianism which is firmly established in the idea of resilience. Hilhorst (2018) stipulates that, resiliency in humanitarianism institutes the capacity built by communities or societies who have lost their livelihoods to bounce back to their default state and sustain their livelihoods in their own capacities and inclusiveness. The local actors then become an indispensable agent in a humanitarian response. Resilience Humanitarianism is not parallel to the new humanitarianism ideology which echoes western-liberal values. However, it is built on the theory of resilience which profoundly alternates how humanitarian governance is conceptualised. Instead of the normative understanding of how humanitarian action is perceived as a way of intervention. ¹⁶The 2016 World Humanitarian Summit also influences the entire scope of ideology with an added idea of bridging humanitarian action to sustainable

¹⁶ The outcome of this summit challenged the need-based idea humanitarian response and suggested a new way of involvement in humanitarian action focusing on conflict resolution, development and resilient approaches for recovery (United Nation General Assembly, 2016).

development and to peace building and the resolution of crisis. This entails the broadening of humanitarian action and its contribution to building resilient communities. Moreover, the recent global compact of refugees of June 2018 equally advocate a move for a shift from classic to resilience humanitarianism ((UNHCR, 2018, Hilhorst, 2018).

Another key tenet to highlight from the resilience humanitarianism which is linked to this study is the idea of moving from crisis to normality. The response to crisis becomes much more effective and cost-efficient as it factors in the idea that the local people have the capacity to respond, adapt and bounce back. The humanitarian action seeks to tackle crisis contextual and allows for space in order to accommodate several actors. The focus is geared towards building resilience with the local and all institutions which will need resilience (Hilhorst, 2018 : 6).

4.6. OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

In the context of the study, the theoretical approach of resilience humanitarianism is applicable as it highlights several concepts that are equally relevant for the study. This section elaborates on some of the concepts that are relevant for the study and how these concepts would explain the conflict and displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo zones of Ethiopia.

4.6.1. Resilience

The concept of resilience in recent years has gained a lot of recognition in social sciences. Most scholars acknowledge the fact that resilience has several meanings in the various disciplines. Therefore, it would be very difficult to ascribe just a single meaning to the concept. Originally believed to have evolved from ecology and engineering, other social science disciplines have adapted the concept in a way demonstrates that, there is conceptual diversity for resilience (Anholt, 2017 : 20- 30). Specifically, for the study, the concept of resilience is used as a form of governance where rationality plays a role to decentralise the power of control from the government to the local (Anholt, 2017 :23-25). The study engages the ideas of an ability or a process rather than an outcome achieved (Subedi et al, 2015: 31). scholars like David Chandler (2014) and Jonathan Joseph (2013) both highlights the idea of governance. The study fuses these ideas as a form of humanitarian governance which practically operates through adaptability, where societies and communities organise themselves locally to respond to crisis of complexities (Chandler, 2014) and much attention is drawn to the local inclusion and bottom-up approaches (Joseph, 2013 : 39). Again, Chandler (2014) however, elaborates further by constituting the resilience to be dealing with complexity. In the context of the study, the conflict-induced displacement situation exemplifies a complex phenomenon which was not

approached in a top-down approach by only the states, however, different actors were involved to deal with the complex situation. A situation (Harris, Chu, & Gina, 2017) describes as negotiated resilience as the process that permits engaging with different actors, inevitably contestation may not be escaped. It makes it very suitable to adapt Chandler's resilience approach to governing complex situation as this. (Chandler, 2014 : 48- 50). Even though resilience has been criticised as being a neo-liberal concept that emphasises top-down approaches, Chandler (2014) and Joseph (2013) argue that it should rather be considered a post-liberal approach, whereas Wandji (2019) argues that there should be a rethinking of resilience from systems to social actors. The study therefore captures these epistemological rethinking and shift to construct the notion of local resilience mechanism imbibing in humanitarian governance (Cudworth, 2013) (Eduardo, 2018) and contextual to the conflict and displacement situation in Ethiopia.

4.6.2. Humanitarianism and the Concept of Adaptive Peacebuilding

In recent years, while the paradigm has shifted from the old humanitarianism to resilient humanitarianism pursuing peace building agendas too. This aspect of merger has been very complex in both practice and theory. However, Michael Schloms (2001, 2003) one of the main scholars on compatibility and peacebuilding projects the argument that, if humanitarian organisations can modify their objectives and mandates, it will be easier to incorporate peacebuilding in their response. Moving away then into the context of the study where the humanitarian support was not limited only to humanitarian organizations, Schloms argument alone does not give a compounded understanding. It therefore becomes crucial to support the claim with the works of Cedric De Coning (2018) on the Adaptive peacebuilding approach. In the context of the study, it could be deduced from the Adaptive peacebuilding approach that humanitarianism contributes to peace and at the very least, influence peacebuilding. The adaptive peacebuilding is dominantly informed by concepts of resilience, complexity and local ownership where the peacebuilding upholds capable elements of influencing the behaviour of social forces necessary for building peace in the social system (De Coning, 2018 : 305). The adaptive peacebuilding agrees to context specific situations, and the idea of sustainable peace or longterm peace (De Coning, 2016). The idea of adaptive makes it possible to be used at all levels be it local, structural or the macro level. Knowing definitely that there is uncertainty in the complex social structure that we live in now, the adaptive peacebuilding approach in a post-conflict situation like the conflict-induced displacement in Ethiopia where the study focuses makes it capable of understanding the interconnected forces that strives to aggravate and

destabilise the society. Dealing with such societies demands that high amount of influence is mobilized to curb the situation (De Coning, 2018 : 307).

4.6.3. Multi-Actor Approach

The resilient humanitarianism approach highlights the drive for multiple actors to be involved in the humanitarian action. According to Collinson & Elhawary (2012 : 1) Humanitarian response takes place in space where several actors are involved. Hilhorst (2018) establishes that, humanitarian action under the resilience humanitarianism approach previews a humanitarian ecosystem rather than a mere humanitarian system of connection without proper collaboration and dependence. The multiple actors operate based on cooperation and collaboration rather than the traditional conception of intervention by humanitarian organizations. Previously the UN agencies or other humanitarian agencies spearheaded the humanitarian response from a top-down narrow model without considering other actors who could be equally important for the response (Hilhorst, 2018 : 7). Relating the multi-actor interaction to the study, explains the involvement of the government, humanitarian organization and the local actors in the humanitarian space of the West-guji and Gedeo zones.

4.6.4. Local ownership

Local ownership has been a familiar word in critical peace studies against the overly influence of the western liberal ideologies which tends to ignore the local in its practical operations. However, in this study, the local is conceived to be capacities of the local agency to create and build their own societies and be deliberate about their future ventures (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015). The local capacity in operation then can be understood to be the transfer of responsibility to local actors to have the capacity to build local resilience and engage their structures of the society to be an element of support through acknowledgement of a local initiative (Hilhorst, 2018 :7) (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015 : 831). The essence of the engagement of the local actors is to facilitate the resilience building in the community of displaced people. Here the local actors have an involving role to play and their opinions and ideas are solicited for in light of improving aid effectiveness, cost efficiency, an improved context-sensitive and speedy emergency response, increased humanitarian access to people in need (Roepstorff, 2020 : 286). The call for the local involvement is to shape humanitarian action in a way that addresses the ineffectiveness in humanitarian response by the neglect of the local (Roepstorff, 2020 : 286) . The local ownership remains a tool which scholars such as Brauchler & Naucke (2017) acknowledge as necessary for building peace and societies capacities from below. The local agency is either included Brauchler & Naucke (2017), or emphasising the local capacity to be

resilient against complex phenomenon not a mere support but entrusting the local structures to utilise its capacity (De Coning 2018). This study again, unpacks the ideas (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013) of where the obstacles hindering the local from exhibiting its capabilities such as the western liberal agencies from surmounting top-down approaches on the local, but creating strong connections and working with the local while empowering them (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 777).

4.7. Summary

This Chapter of the study has focused on a conceptual framework for the study. The concepts of humanitarianism, resilience, multi-actor approach and local ownership have all been discussed and how these concepts apply to the study.

Chapter 5. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the data obtained from the fieldwork in Ethiopia (West-Guji and Gedeo Zone). It is in this section of the study that the data will be analysed in the aim of answering the research questions as well as engaging the understanding established as the meaning and interpretation of the data in relation to the thesis and related literature. To begin with, I focus on the profile of the informants. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the perception of the informants and gradually exploring these opinions about the response to the conflict and displacement situation in Ethiopia.

5.2. PROFILE OF INFORMANTS

As presented earlier, in the methodology section, there are 4 categories of informants within the 2 study areas (West-Guji and Gedeo Zone). A total number of 34 informants participated in the study of which some of them participated in a group interview. Out of the 34 participants, 17 of them were interviewed in the Gedeo Zone and 17 of them were interviewed in the West-Guji Zone. 11 out of the 34 Informants were aid workers from both study areas. This represents approximately 32% of the sample size. 8 government officials were interviewed, 4 of them were interviewed from the West-Guji Zone while the remaining 4 were interviewed in the Gedeo Zone. The informants represented the relevant government institutions that worked with in the response programme in each of the study areas. A total number of 11 displaced and returnees were interviewed. This represents approximately 32% of the sample size interviewed. 9 out of the 11 were returnees and the remaining 2 were still displaced as at the time of interview. Detailed information about the informants can be found in the Appendix.

5.3. TECHNIQUES FOR THE DATA ANALYSIS

After transcribing all my interviews into transcripts and following a coding framework, I resorted to using the thematic analysis technique to analyse the data. Bryman (2016), implies that, this approach informs the researcher as to how to manage the data into themes. These themes maybe the same as the codes labelled on the data or produce multiplies that become themes (Bryman, 2016 : 584-585). with the aim of arriving at a thematic analysis discovery, I began with a systematic version of coding which transcended carefully into the themes and particularly, I deduced from these a conceptual understanding in relation to the data and the interpretation of this data for a relevance to the study. Following the procedure of thematizing, I focused on how to create the overarching objective of understanding the whole response and

the actors who played a role in the process. I critically recognized repetitions from my informants, in the same line exploring some similarities and differences in responses and which ideas were resonating with some concepts revolving around the study. While the focus of the data analysis maybe geared towards the primary data, Bryman (2016) informs that, using this same technique on secondary data will permit the researcher to identify some data that were out of reach by the investigators or during the fieldwork. Likewise, my secondary data analysis followed this same impression made by Bryman (Bryman, 2016 : 586,594).

5.4. RESPONSE TO THE CONFLICT AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN THE WEST-GUJI AND GEDEO ZONES

This section of the study begins the journey for the Data analysis and later the discussion. Referring to the first research question, which is “*How did the government, humanitarian partners and local actors respond to the conflict and displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones in 2018?*” the discussion would explore the research question in relation to meaning obtained from the data collected and how the data is interpreted.

5.4.1. INDIGENOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Referring to the Chapter 2, the study further expands on the conflict situation to unravel some reflections from my informants regarding the conflict. The data shows that the conflict began initially by a communal violence from the youth but escalated into a conflict which caused people to flee their home to save their lives. Based on the findings:

...the conflict is triggered between certain interest groups who have used these communities to flau-up the issues and then once the community went into motion, maybe this has spilled over to different areas... (AW 1). the conflict was not really designed by the community itself. Its rather like some interest groups putting their interest on the mass (AW 1)

I reflect on this data with communal conflict ideas from Elfverson & Johan (2012). They define communal conflict “as violent conflict between non-state groups that are organised along a shared communal identity”. The study does not seek to undertake an in-depth exploration into the causes of the conflict as this is not within the scope of the study, yet it seeks to investigate the response to conflict situation .As a matter of fact, it had been repeatedly argued by my informants that, the escalation of the conflict by the youth was originated by some interest groups residing within the community. It is said that the two ethnic groups themselves would not have been in conflict. While not undermining the political issues that already existed, the causes of the conflict remain fluid.

local authorities resorted to their ¹⁷traditional system and performed *the Gondoro ritual* to resolve the conflict. What poses as a significant experience, is to observe this ritual without any external influence. Consequently, the government got involved in the quest to assist the traditional leaders to resolve the conflict. The traditional leaders expressed their disgruntlement during the interviews with regards to the government's involvement. It seems to have disrupted and neutralised the potency of the ritual. Debelo (2007: 84) stipulates that when conflict has erupted among the two communities previously, the *Gondoro* has been a successful way to resolve it. This observation readily exposes a nuance in who can be involved in the conflict resolution scenario. This same observation reflected in the works of Bjorkdah & Hoglund (2013) indicating that there could always be some friction among actors in peacebuilding. While the government may have the intention of resolving the conflict, the local actors saw the involvement as an external influence which rendered the indigeneity in the conflict resolution as void. Furthermore, some reflections demonstrates that the spontaneity of the government may be interpreted to mean that, either the change in government had had an impact on the structures and institutions, or it had already become very alert and mechanism had been put in place to address and approach likely conflicts which were springing up in Ethiopia during that same period. This was vividly recalled and expressed by some informants; *...When the media reported the situation from the beginning of the year some journalist took pictures and so it exploded, and the government came very fast to extinguish the fire that the media has started and removing the camps and returning people to their original place. They tried their best for social reconciliation, but the security situation was not the best... (AW 5).*

... The government immediately intervened and tried to return these people to their original

Another understanding that could be derived was that, in as much as it seemed that the government was discharging its responsibility as the protector (Ayoob, 2002 : 84) and the one who provides peace, the government would have loved to contain this issue and resolve it abruptly. Otherwise, it would be difficult for the government to stay nonchalant, as people may be dying, and a lot of resources maybe destroyed. In this same light, one of the displaced people who was still living in Dilla made some claims that, the response by the government which caused people to returned home had an underlying political motivation rather than just assuming responsibility.

¹⁷ Among the Guji and the Gedeo people, this system of political, military, economic, ritual, and juridical is a traditional institution is referred to as the Gada system (Debelo, 2007: 24)

... *The government was forcing us to go back to where we came from which in the Guji area around Kercha, however you know, it is not safe to go there due to horrible news we have heard, we have therefore refused to go back because it appears as if this idea is to satisfy the a political agenda and protect the government (DP 2)*

5.4.2. Peacebuilding

Another response that sprung up was the peacebuilding efforts put together by different actors to address the conflict. Basing on the concept of adaptive peacebuilding of De Coning (2018), and the findings, it can be deduced that the first influence of the peacebuilding was creating awareness in the society. Likewise, influencing the complex societal forces and structures is an essential package of the adaptive peace concept (De Coning, 2016 :176). The peacebuilding begun from the federal level and moved to the Zonal level from negotiations to discussions and implementations. The involvement of the national institutions illustrates a vital element of the adaptive peacebuilding approach. De Coning (2018) introduces the idea that, peacebuilding could be done at all levels and it becomes even effective when worked within the already existing institutions. secondly, peacebuilding should constitute the local actors and allow for the local to manage their own affairs through collaboration. The external actors ought to be the ones to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the projects (De Coning, 2018: 304 -307). In view of this, At the Zonal level, the humanitarian actors worked with government offices and Religious leaders in both Guji and Gedeo Zones. In ¹⁸Dilla there was a conference with the aim at bringing government officials, religious leaders, youth groups together where the main discussion was the way to resolve the conflict as well as promoting sustainable peace. This led to a creation of an action plan to work it out which was developed by different actors. For example, the religious authorities developed their action plan, government authorities both from the Gedeo side and the Guji side also developed theirs. All these actors came up with different action plans. They had a dialogue and some discussions generated into a proposed action plan and finally, several action points were suggested as a recommendation to resolve the dispute. The actions plans were presented to be incorporated in the government policies as an education policy in the community level which would help promote the peacebuilding projects. What is interesting is that, the development of these action plans involved the various leaders and at various levels, it was not a top-down approach which had already been designed and was to be implemented. Even at this level, the implementation was subject to review by

¹⁸ Located in the Gedeo Zone

the policy makers and it could not be finalised unless agreed upon by the government (De Coning, 2016: 27-32).

5.4.2.1. The peace builders (The youth and Traditional leaders)

At the local level, there was high recommendation by the local actors to focus on employing the youth in the community to be peace Ambassadors about 10 to 20 youth groups established as peace ambassadors from both Guji and Gedeo groups. They were trained and equipped to assist in the peacebuilding projects. since they have been selected from the communities, they go to their respective Kebeles (Villages) and assist in the communities. These selected individuals would be provided with some assistance both financial and material in order to reposition them in the community to play an effective role for the community. This appeared as a bottom-up approach where they would work hand in hand with the traditional leaders. The reason why the youth was mostly mobilized was because, the violence and most of the destructive moments in the conflict were all perpetrated by and supported by the youth groups. Succeeding to deploy the youth groups was a step majority of my informants really acknowledged would help create awareness about the dangers of the conflict, and the unemployed youth would now take responsibility in the right direction towards promoting peace in the society.

...We can see result. Now when the first displacement happened, there was no peace building approach, so the people got displaced again. After the second displacement the peace building project was lunched, and it has been seen to be effective. We can see that all the return process has been smooth too. (AW 4)

Most of my informants acknowledge that fact that, the Catholic relief services (CRS) was the humanitarian partner directly and mostly involved in all these peacebuilding projects. when I inquired about why most organizations were not involved, I discovered that, there was no peacebuilding cluster or a collaborative peacebuilding project at this level. However, the findings prove that the peacebuilding approach had been very influential. Referring to the work of Scholms (2003) and Richmond (2013), if humanitarian organizations gets involved in peacebuilding, they would influence the societies indigenous mechanisms for an effective peacebuilding.

5.5. ANALYSING THE RESPONSE TO THE CONFLICT

Response to the conflict situation was grossly dominated by the local actors (traditional authorities) and the government. The humanitarian organizations were not involved in the practical measures and rituals (Gondoro) that led to the resolution of the conflict, the dialogue

among the traditional leaders of both communities and the steps metered out to materialize the local agreements that had been established.

However, there was a humanitarian response to the conflict situation through a peacebuilding approach that came a little later during the response. My informants, especially the local actors were not content with the government's involvement in the immediate response target towards bringing the conflict to a stop. Consequently, it was highly argued that, the ineffectiveness of the ritual is what caused the escalation of the conflict into a high scale of displacement of the people in the Guji and Gedeo zones. Looking at this angle of the debate, the government had the obligation to stabilize the situation in the shortest possible times knowing very well that the situation was going to attract the attention of the international community. Meanwhile, there were other similar conflicts and displacement situation in other parts of Ethiopia in 2018 (MSF, 2019). Severally, my informants had also revealed that, there was no conflict between the two communities, but it was rather the existence if some armed groups who are causing instabilities in the region. Others were of the view that, these same armed groups could equally be perusing a political agenda against the new government in the form of instigating the people against each other.

In the quest to understand the governments involvement, it may be inconsistent to conclude on any of the premises that had been given. However, putting the narratives of the government officials together, it explains that, addressing the security challenges was the sole duty of the state and an indispensable ¹⁹responsibility to save the people along the lines of the direct communal conflict. On other hand, was the government only shielding itself politically to gain extra accolades? or the government did the needful?

The second part of the response to the conflict taking a peacebuilding approach at this level rather involved all the various actors. This makes it elaborate to situate the government's actions as deliberate and intentional towards resolving the whole situation but not ignoring the fact that there could be additional motives towards the government's action.

Furthermore, my observations present a disconnect on the palpable claims of my informants recognising that the governments involvement was problematic. Even though the indigenous dispute resolutions had not attained the expected dimension of influence, the events unfolding like the communal mobilization was an evidence that, there is no more conflict between the two groups (the Guji and the Gedeo). Pondering over some submissions from some

¹⁹ The UN guiding principles on IDPs mandates states to take the primary responsibility by using the state sovereignty to address displacement issues. (UNHCR Memorandum, 1998) (Brookings Institution , 2005)

informants and several observations, could it be then that whatever caused the overlapping displacement later after the first displacement was still the handiwork of the armed groups and the government needed to match them boot for booth? this scenario however is an indication that highlight the fact that, indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are highly venerated by the local folks and this cultural or traditional system ought to be revered exclusively whether the claims are justified or irrational.

The study does not intend to generalise the findings, it is enough to say the timely peacebuilding response in a stage where the social actors were ready to cooperate rationalises the ideas of the Adaptive peacebuilding approach (De Coning , 2018). As earlier presented, the peacebuilding agenda that was commenced by the CRS and supported by the humanitarian partners through funding and resource mobilization was adapted to comply with the environment where awareness creation was very vital to stimulate the community first and later set the pace for action plan. As De Coning (2018) suggest, it is a gradual process of influence until the desired change is mollified. Working with the local actors, the active social force was the youth within the communities who have been charged with duties and the main peacebuilders in the community De coning (2018).

Though promising, it is not very clear looking through the facade of the adaptive peacebuilding approach what objective would be obtained in the case of the Guji-Gedeo Conflict. Whether it is in line with the local resilience building or towards achieving a sustainable peace or with aim of a desired change or both. Any of the above could be possible but the approach suggests that, there should be a continuous assessment and gradual adaptation until the desire objective is achieved. It is evident at this level that, most of the humanitarian organizations would be evacuating their temporary structures and probably working in other parts of Ethiopia. By so doing, the focus of the peacebuilding might have a transient lifespan.

The study concludes by the data and observation that, humanitarian organizations may not be involved in the immediate response to a conflict situation. They may be driven by their objectives, mandate and principles of humanitarianism and the response would be to supply the immediate needs of the people and not necessary be based on the dynamism of how the situation is manifesting, a scenario (Hearly & Sandrine, 2016 :76) describes as “inflexibility built in into the humanitarian infrastructure”. Nevertheless, the study explores that, the response to the conflict situation is not limited to only the resolution of the conflict and peacebuilding. But the humanitarian equally supported protection of displaced people and gave relief or live saving support as the ideas of Henri Dunant also in view of the security challenges (Adami, 2019: 2-3)

5.6. DISPLACEMENT IN THE WEST- GUJI AND GEDEO ZONES

The displacement which is associated conflict has its unique contextual characteristics that were reflected upon by my informants;

... These people were displaced within the zone as well as out of the zone, some of them went to Gedeo and some of them remained in WEST-GUJI. The government immediately intervened and try to return these people to their original place and of course they did that which was in a rush. So, the second was in the early part of June which was in a large scale as compared to the first stage so this round again the displacement was again similar within the zone as well as out of the zone. So, the displacement also affected 6 Woredas of West-Guji even though the flash point is Kercha it spilled over to the rest of the 5 woredas where these communities used to live together. (AW 1) ...If you see overall displacement in both zones, the displacement is in several ways 1. People displaced form Gedeo to Guji and vice-versa or people displaced in their own communities from one area to the other and they live in the same communities. (AW 7)

The reflections of my informants reveal that, the displacement did not just happen once but by observation, it even had about 3 phases of which two are the major ones. Based on Orchard, (2010 : 42-43) conception of regime-induced displacement, it is evident the government's decision to return displaced persons was an indirect factor that caused another displacement (Lwanbukuna, 2011:138). Again, the displaced people decided to either move within the communities (host communities) and got hosted by the nearby communities or their own people based on how they could move or get into collective sites that were provided by the government and the humanitarian organisations later on. One unique feature I observed in line with the findings of Adhikari (2011: 5-8) was the fact that, people moved to communities based on safety rather than convenience. I came across some people from Guji zone living in the Gedeo zone during one of my travels and where they were was not a bother than how safe they were going to be.

...The situation of IDPs was terrible, inexplicable hardship and a horrible life. Among the displaced were children, the youth and elders. They had no cloths, no shelter, no food, leaving some children to pass away... (GO 7)....it was very bad honestly speaking immediately after the displacement they went into collective sites, in those of the collective sites they didn't have proper shelter or any other thing especially from the beginning (AW 1) ...It was a really difficult situation, if people are displaced the leave all they have so they don't have cloth and food even shoe to wear, there is none. Women and children are mostly affected as the weak

part of the society, when you see the bodies of some children you see they are suffering mal-nutrition and sometimes just a small room you see a lot of people occupying these places and living there because they do not have houses or places to sleep. It was a difficult moment for them to survive, and some must be with their relatives, in that case they must share with their relatives what they were going to eat. ... it is not only the displaced people who are affected but there is the possibility for those relatives to be also affected. This creates tension between them and the IDPs because they had to share a lot with them before the support came. (AW 9, there is disease in the rainy Season and it actually very challenging for them and the other reasons gaps in (AW 3) There was shortage of shelter due to their huge number that came in from different places. They stayed in inconvenient places like under trees, in muddy places among others. (AW 10)

The descriptions given by my informants confirm and accentuate some of the challenges that IDPs face based on some previous researches by the Brookings Institute, Deng & Cohen (1998), Kalin (2014) among others. This highlights the fact that, the conflict-induced displacement among the Guji and the Gedeo had some specific psychological problems and challenges making it not entirely possible to recover all the needs of the displaced people especially when some people lost their relatives and they were traumatised. Furthermore, the cataclysmic situation that this displaced people face is extended to the entire community. For the communities, the displacement may be indirectly affecting them too making it necessary that the response is extended to the host communities who did receive a good number of the displaced people.

5.7. COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

Systematically after the local authorities and the government had mainly responded to the conflict and there seemed to be some relative peace in the region, the conflict resurrected. From all my informants, the efforts made by the community cannot be ignored as they mobilised to respond to the displacement situation. According to Roepstorff (2020 : 284), when conflict hits societies, the first call of response is the affected community and neighbours. Countless times it had been emphasised that the very first people to have responded to the displacement situation was the community through mobilization. I best resort to how my informants describes the process;

...Community mobilization in form of sharing food and housing of displaced persons in their homes, their cloths. The most basic needs were addressed by these people in the community before the government and humanitarian organization arrived to work on the situation... (AW 10) The

situation was very interesting after everything the host community accepted them and they lived together, farm together and traditionally accepted the each other, the Guji supported the Gedeo and due the traditional elders, government and other interference they live together they are back to original home. (GO 5). They community themselves mobilized the people to contribute to the people who have been displaced in these areas. They gave cloth. Temporary shelter, and the basic needs. They also facilitated their movement to their former places (GO 8)

It remains an undisputable fact that, the efforts assembled by the local actors or the community cannot be undermined. Interestingly, a narrative was given by one of my informants on how one single family hosted 66 displaced people in their home. They fed them, sheltered them, clothed them and protected them in their home. This aspect of the response was even acknowledged by the humanitarian themselves and this was setup for a strong local involvement in the approach to the situation. The community mobilization as a response was spearheaded by the host communities and some local actors who contributed in a significant way.

As earlier reflected on by my informants, those Displaced people who did not want to stay within the camps or the collective sites that were created were absorbed by the nearest communities they could visit or among their family members. These communities who received the displaced people are the host communities. According to Collinson & Elhawary (2012: 1) the host communities becomes part of the humanitarian space since they are also affected. In the context of the study it was observed that, initially before the arrival of the humanitarian organisations, all the displaced people preferred to stay and enjoy the company of the host communities. Apart from the fact the some of the people moved to stay with their relative and loved ones, others had nowhere to stay but moved in the communities and stayed anywhere available for them. As a matter of fact, the host communities were not just the families and the houses that these people sojourned in but is goes beyond the space of the people and their homes. I could observe within the cities and towns that I visited, that the displaced people were living in the churches, some schools as well as on the streets and in temporarily constructed placed to abode. Some of my informants acknowledged the fact that the displaced persons became a burden to the host communities. This was true in the sense that, the displaced people came in with their families and children, walking on the streets most of the times, I could see numerous kids gallivanting aimlessly and begging for money to feed themselves and their families.

Majority of the IDPS were in the host communities by the way. So, the host communities share their resources and the amenities with the displaced people and so they were both affected, and they are also vulnerable. That is why we say this intervention should focus on all groups, returnees, IDPS and host communities. People in the host community felt neglected and they said they receive or didn't get support as much as those living in the created camps had (AW 7)

Certainly, the host communities mobilised themselves with finances, resources and shelter facilities for the displaced people as far as their capacity could reach them.

...They mobilized the people to contribute to the people who have been displaced in these areas. They gave cloth. Temporary shelter, and the basic needs. They also facilitated their movement to their former places... (GO 8).

As my informant rightly explained it, all other informants one way or the other acknowledged the mobilization response by the host communities.

Focusing on the host community's mobilization for the displaced people, the local actor functioned within the existing local structures to facilitate the process. The local authorities, apart from the government workers, the traditional leaders equally stepped in to use the relevant local agency as an initiative to respond to both the conflict and displacement situation. For example, the religious leaders were instrumental in that regard, mobilizing to feed the people and sometimes housing them in the churches and places of worship. The elders and the traditional leaders including the women leaders simultaneously initiated the process where the distribution of resources and the response were even. This was very necessary because, some people from the West-Guji Zone had moved to the Gedeo Zone and vice-versa and if this initiative had not existed, it would only favour either the Guji people or the Gedeo people but the was not the aim. Moreover, the youth in these communities created the atmosphere for peace. They further used their force to facilitate some of the movement. One of my informants explained how the mobilization was done.

...At that time, it was very difficult to provide for all these people. It was by mass mobilization process, we used social media to announce to the people and get support and from different parts of the country. Formerly when the displaced people were here, they were given these kind of support and ' we were distributing to them and after the support was given to the displaced people after they have gone back when the government told them to go ... (GO 8)

Critically, this particular response had an implication worth analysing. To begin with, this is the aspect where the local initiative during the response was evident and commenced. As the

local actors were able to engage the local community as way of assuming ownership (Brauchler & Naucke, 2017) to the situation and responding vertically to the fellow displaced people in the community. They succeeded in mobilizing the youth in the community to enhance change, these projects have futuristic values that is sure to help the community itself. Following the information, the informants; The local initiative certainly demonstrates how the local understands the context knowing who needs support. Again, the historical relations that have existed between these two communities to a large extent facilitated the support process.

5.8. THE HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

The humanitarian response emerged after the conflict had escalated in June and July to respond to the displacement situation. The humanitarian response encompasses all the support mainly those that was provided by the humanitarian organizations to the displaced people. The study identifies two kinds of humanitarian response to the situation.

5.8.1. Intervention

When the humanitarian organizations arrived on the scene in the various zones, the aggravating displacement situation of IDPs was intense so they began to mobilize resources to attend to the basic needs of the people. At this stage, the focus was straight- up relief support mechanism and life-saving necessities for the people.

...Some came as an emergency and they remain emergency response organisation. We protect and we give support for people. (seeing people wearing the same cloth for several months was not a pleasant sight to behold) it was essential to focus on the needed pressing/urgent needs of the people. (AW 5).

The above statement is going in line with reflections made by other aid workers. They admitted that at the very instant when people are displaced and are facing a lot of challenges, the most urgent needs ought to be addressed which is providing necessities such as food, available water, temporary shelter as well as health support mechanism to the people (Adami, 2019).

The intervention a clear example of the old or classical humanitarianism ideology which equally focus on the most pressing needs of the people. However, a distinctive feature that associates itself to this intervention in a contextual representation of how the government also intervenes alongside the efforts labelled across by the humanitarian partners. The intervention constitutes a solid multiple involvement by the government institution, the humanitarian partners and the local actors. This approach blatantly was an early focus to the displacement situation but along the line, the response proceedings changed it sequence into

several phases which equally left the different actors to assume different involvement strategies.

5.8.2. Early Recovery Projects

... we realise that the it was time build back the society and recover their lives. That is the problem, they have not fully recovered. Comparing people who owned houses and the rest, their establishment will take some time... (AW 7).

After the initial intervention by the humanitarian partners, Government and the local actors, the focus of the response was gradually shifting to a recovery stage. When I arrived in the Guji and the Gedeo zones in June 2019, almost all the displaced people had returned back to their place of origin and it was obvious that, humanitarian partners had been working on a project they called early recovery (Humanitarian Programme Cycle , 2020). These projects involved shelter reconstruction, projects on extending water to the communities, Supporting farmers to rebuild their livelihood by providing them with farm tools and seeds for their farms, sometimes cash distribution to families and affected households, rebuilding of schools and dilapidated buildings, health support mechanisms both physical and psychological among others.

...and slowly the humanitarian partners came in and of course started providing some assistance, that in my view the assistance provided I cannot say was adequate enough to address the need of the Idps which of course the government always pushed for the return of the people which he did. (AW 2)

The above statement made by one of my informants and reiterated severally by other Informants suggested that, the initial intervention and humanitarian action towards the displaced people were not enough. To resolve this challenge of insufficiency, government engineered the entire process into moving into the recovery stage so that, the situation would be under control by the government. The mechanism adopted by the government led to a united front approach (Humanitarian Response Plan , 2019)

5.9. HUMANIATRIAN APPROACHES

The entire response to the conflict and displacement situation in the study is seen to be an interplay of the several approaches in humanitarianism governance. Some of the actions implied is parallel to the conceptual underpinnings of the study involving resilience, the local ownership as well as the multi-actor approach operations. The previous discussion had been about delving into the response to the both the conflict and displacement situation and understanding what exactly the response had been and the actions of the various actors. This

section continues the discussion on the general approach formulated by all the various actors, as well some specific approaches engaged by each actor.

5.9.1. A Collective Approach

As I have tried to categorise the various responses in the previous discussion on the response to the conflict and the displacement situation respectively, it is applicable to state that, at the initial stage of the response, there was not a collective mobilization of the various actors. However, when the response progressed, the various actors combined forces initiated collective approach to respond to the conflict and displacement situation.

The focus was at the local level in the Guji and Gedeo zones. So, these procedures, at this level was well organised and generated into a creation of an Emergency Operation Centre (EOC). The emergency operation centre was organized to bring all the actors involved in this response on board which is mainly responsible for properly managing resources in order not to have misuse of resources. The (EOC) has the list of the most affected areas and the organizations are guided on where to go and based on the EOC's recommendation organizations collaborate to work on a project. The EOC was composed of the government, specifically some institutions and the humanitarian organizations as well as some local actors. The EOC operations at this level involved all the various actors on the various projects (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018).

5.9.2. Cluster Approach

The next approach that was enforced was the cluster approach where the various humanitarian organizations focused on the different support and response to the displacement situation in a way that reflected with their objective and the focus of the specific organization with the EOC (Brookings, 2010). Where the EOC suggests and show places that have been mostly affected by the conflict through assessment and evaluation in these areas. Several clusters were set up to respond to the specific situations. There were 8 clusters that had been operating when the study was conducted in these areas where the cluster groups were led by the government and CO-Chaired with by some of the UN agencies which (OCHA) or (IOM) depending on the focus of project. The coming together of the government and the humanitarian organizations was a forum where all the different humanitarian organizations are referred to as partners and the government is a co-partner even though, the government still willed the power to approve and implement projects. The cluster approach has two different ways in operation mainly by coordination and information management. The coordination was the way to bring all similar organizations together to work on a specific project for example, there was a shelter cluster

where some organizations together with the EOC and the local actors, mobilized efforts and reconstructed shelter facilities in areas that had been mostly affected. This mobilization involved the relevant organizations whose objectives matched with the different response mechanism and areas of need exposed by the EOC. For the Shelter Cluster, the UN(IOM) was the lead partner in this project, and organizations like the world vision and the Norwegian refugee Council are also partnered in this project. Another example is the health Cluster where the focus of the response is directed to health issues and partners are engaged in like manner. Here, you have the World Health Organization (WHO) leading the cluster together with the health institutions and other humanitarian partners as the Red Cross international and Médecins Sans Frontiere.

The information management as a collaborative approach mechanism, fused with all the different humanitarian partners in the response team. Information from the government as well as the cluster in the field was compiled. This information is later furnished into processed product like the presence map for the partners and filed for operations. The different partners were grouped into inter-cluster groups for effective collaboration in units. The inter-cluster operated in the form of a periodic meeting for the partners to enable them make subsistence progress whiles they deliberate projects as well as the challenges that they encountered during the project. In as much as the inter-cluster forum consisted of the government and the humanitarian organizations, the local actors were involved in practise, the local actors could not have been ignored. The coordination with the local authority in the inter-cluster was a means of facilitating the activities in the areas where the local actors mobilized representatives at the various levels to achieve their desired objectives. Another observation was that, the local actors assisted to produce maps like the access maps which shows the security concerns in this operational area so that partners would be aware of where they can access and where they cannot access. This was to prevent the partners from escaping security issues and not to duplicate the projects in the same areas. The study understands and interprets the data received by this collective approach that; the focus of these projects was in the villages (Kebeles) where the local actors were actively involved. This effort calculated in the materializing of the project makes use of a strong force of the local actors can be seen as way the local actors manifest the philosophy of local ownership concept (Roepstorff, 2020).

5.9.3. Towards Resilience Building

Following the sequence of the humanitarian response and the phase in which the projects and events about the response unfolded in the Guji and Gedeo zones respectively. The specific

collective approach at this level that had been designed for the conflict and displacement situation in the Guji and Gedeo Zone was in line with national objectives that had been set for the national strategic approach. This strategic approach, inspired by a 3 key pillars approach as the framework to tackle the humanitarian needs that has been posed in the whole country (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018: 16-17).

The objectives at the national level were still the same objectives that the Guji and Gedeo case was working with to build resilience. Applying the various approaches and the objectives by the joint effort of the government and the humanitarian, it is parallel to the conceptual approach used by the study to understand and objectively identify the involvement of each actor in the study. Using the humanitarianism approaches as the framework, the discussion would be focused on analysing the approaches that had been employed for this specific response on both the conflict and displacement.

5.10. Analysing the response to the Displacement

The response to the displacement situation as already discussed was in two main ways, that is the communal mobilization and the humanitarian action of which the humanitarian action covers the intervention aspect and the early recovery projects. Even though the entire response commenced with the local actor intervention strategies, yet theoretically, the approach that assembled the different actors in an organized manner was one fundamentally concocted by the government with clear objectives. The overarching aim of building resilience and a sustainable recovery for the displaced people as well as the host community that had felt the ardent discontentment of the displacement situation. (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018).

To explore the approach adapted for the response, the study applied the data collected with the conceptual underpinnings previously discussed to analyse the overall response to the displacement situation.

5.10.1. Humanitarianism vs. Intervention

The narrative of the new humanitarianism approach seems to suggest that, humanitarian organizations should intervene when there is crisis with a more teased out plan and strategies to respond to crisis in general. However, Nascimento (2015) is of the view that, the new humanitarianism approach which emerged with strong critics against the emergency assistance or relief for human survival of the classical approach as inadequate tends to sway away from responding to the humanitarian delimas. The focus of the humanitarian was to encapsulates conflict resolution mechanisms and long-term sustainable developmental projects. Yet, there

is tendency that the humanitarian organisations would pay less attention to emergency support projects in a conflict and displacement situation (Nascimento, 2015 : 3).

Based on the empirical evidence from this study, the government or the community alone could not deal with the emergency situation of the displacement people and that the beginning of the humanitarian action was limited broadly to administering life saving support to the displaced people in the communities. This correlates with a dominant flow alongside the classical humanitarianism approach at the intervention stage. All organizations coming in with their specific objectives had to halt all their other projects for a while and focus on the contextual reformed mandates perhaps different from what had been planned previously. This means, even if an organization or the UN agencies had an approach informed by the new humanitarian approach, at the initial stage of the assistance, this had to be modified to relate to the context of the situation.

when the government sent the displaced people back to their place of origin or the communities because not all the people still had houses since some houses were burnt. It sparked an inconsistency in the approach. Whereas the government wanted the approach to divert towards resilience right from the intervention status, the humanitarian organizations perceived that, it was very premature to begin local resilience when some fundamental support is still lacking. The humanitarian organizations at this point raised a demurrer to the fact that, the forceful and conditional returning of the displaced people was against humanitarian principles, and it was not also safe for them to return due to security threats that were lingering in the communities. Even though this objection was accurate, the Government still overruled the objection and the displaced people were returned. This specific scenario that occurred during the response could be interpreted as parallel to the humanitarian organizations wanting to resort to a top-down approach (dependable aid agenda) on the other hand, the government wanted to emphasize local ownership and pave the way for local resilience.

Clearly, using the classical humanitarianism approach as a form of intervention can be perceived as the starting approach before the latter approaches are employed after there is a mastery of the context of the situation. However, it appears the longer displaced people remains in camps and wait for support all the time, the likelihood that the support is going to remain stagnant as the displaced people would remain dependent on the support and it would always seem as though the support was not enough. (Dunn, 2014 : 292) depicts this situation as “displaced people strategically angling for more aids”.

5.10.2. Towards local Resilience

Hilhorst (2018), stipulates that, when a humanitarian approach is geared towards resilience building, affected communities as a whole are challenged and there is an infiltration into the local system which engages the local mechanism to combine with other actors in order to work for a spring back from a tragic life (Hilhorst, 2018 : 5). This reflects the resilience thinking in humanitarianism which advocates for a different approach to complex situation exactly as the conflict and displacement situation in the Guji-Gedeo Zones of 2018. As a matter of fact, the 3 pillar approach (national approach) adapted by the Ethiopian State was an approach whose objectives were directed to resilience (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018). In the same vein, the local approach(Cluster Approach/ EOC) which was informed by the national approach was a step in the same direction to achieve early recovery first for the communities and further explore other developmental and sustainable projects. At this stage where the resilience was emphasised. The local actors equally had an input by working smoothly with the humanitarian organizations as well as the existing government structures that were relevant for the response.

The study observed that, as the displaced persons returned to their affected communities, the atmosphere for the humanitarian assistance began to change its course. The humanitarian assistance began to extend to the entire community. For example, wash programmes (borehole drilling), Agricultural sector recovery which began with the distribution of agricultural tools and facilities to assist coffee farmers and the pastoral communities generate a livelihood exclusive for the communities and produce larger scale quantities for economic benefits. This time, projects and proposal which I had observed for some organizations included the host communities. There was shelter reconstruction projects which included reconstructing school facilities, social amenities and houses for the population living in the communities. The local folks began to see life gradually coming back to normal. As I enquired from my informants mostly the displaced people, their submissions could be combined in this narrative.

...We are uncertain about what the future holds for us, but we are encouraged by the fact that the government and the NGOs are helping us to build a livelihood. As you can see we are living in peace and the society is more strong than before (DP 1). ...Everyone is supporting one another. We know it is going to take sometime before life comes back to normal. For now, our unity is a way to prevent any other displacement... (DP 2. DP 3).

5.10.3. Understanding Progress

Most reports that I came across informed and indicated that, the government and the humanitarian organizations would be engaged in certain particular projects. This seems to suggest otherwise that, the local actors had been ignored in the projects and the response. However, the local actors were involved in every stage and the humanitarian work base were largely the local actors and representatives. Even as some point, recalling one of my visits in Gedeb and some Kebeles (Villages). The humanitarian organizations only had to supervise the local people through employing them and leaving them take ownership of some of the projects.

Another interesting observation that draws from the study with regards to the local resilience building is a community in the ²⁰Yiga chefe woreda. This community resides along the muddy road to Chyericu(Kebele). There was a temporary community where the inhabitants who were displaced people had sojourned due to the conflict and it does not feel safe for them to go back. They had built temporary structures and had adapted to staying in these areas. This was a local initiative supported by the humanitarian. It appeared initially that these group of people were the most vulnerable of all the displaced people, however, after observing for a while, I could clearly see resiliency in action. ²¹They had devised new ways of farming, cooking among others. In a nutshell, they found their home, as Murica (2019) puts it, displaced persons can find home in an ambivalent space when it connects to a symbolic element of community. Obviously it is not to say that they did not necessarily need any help at all from the government and the humanitarian, yet their survival and coping mechanism had been locally built which is the aspect of the resilience that the study recognizes to be capable of helping a community cope under future complex emergencies that manifest either through conflict or by other means.

In all, the study observes that, the response made sense of all the humanitarianism approaches. This support the philosophical ideas of (Subedi, et al, 2015), stating that resiliency thinking does not seek to change an outcome but the process and ability. Furthermore, as a rational governance, there should be negotiations (Chandler, 2014, (Harris et al, 2017)

²⁰ A District located in the Gedeo Zone of SNNPR state

²¹ See Appendix for pictures

5.10.4. Understanding Challenges

In the face of the many progress made as well as the hopeful ones that would be made through the various approaches outlined as a way of response to the conflict and displacement situation. The study explores some significant challenges most of the informants pointed out during the response. These challenges were perceived as products of contextual inescapable realities and challenges associated with the response and the approaches that had been employed.

One first challenge to note from the study is the Security issue that was still existing as a treat both to the people and to the free flow of the humanitarian support and assistance which had been intended to reach the displaced people and the communities. These issues lingered specifically in the West-Guji zones. The presence of the armed groups who had contributed to the communal violence and conflict situation had not been fully eradicated as a result, they still were able to capitalize on the affable nature of the environment to infiltrate the communities to destabilize these areas. Unanimously, my informants who were aid workers were all quick to point this out as a major challenge that had averted the support and sometimes caused operations to be halted in these areas for weeks. This phenomenon is a familiar challenge in responding to a conflict-induced displacement (Kumar, 2019 : 66). Usually the security issue is very harsh in the early stage of the response and gets mild with time. By observation, the government had to ensure control over the security situation anytime there is instability in the region while the humanitarian organizations and partners manageably assisted the displaced people. The study explores the perspective that, this was a contextual challenge which was already in existence and had only accompanied the conflict situation, it is therefore precise to note that it was not in any way linked to external factors.

In as much as this challenge was posed during the response, the various organizations and institutions still found new ways of operating and significantly adapting with the organizational protocols. This demonstrates how resilience thinking approves of a conceptual manoeuvre into creating a new form of governance for the context and stressing on the local or governing from below as a new post-liberal way to handle a complex phenomenon (Chandler 2014). The unwavering reliance on the existing institutions to continue to operate alongside the challenges is an evidence of working towards resilience (Hilhorst, 2018 : 9).

Another challenge that was captured during the response are natural factors of which inaccessible roads was among the chief effects that challenged the response. 90% of the informants confirmed that one major challenge that hampered the humanitarian support was that, the roads were inaccessible by cars especially moving to the kebeles (Villages) the areas which needed the assistance the most.

....that is also a natural factor when it rains on the road the condition in some rural communities specially in the raining Season becomes bad, the roads that we have here are not all water resistant so those roads are the obstacles that we have had by providing these support...(AW 3)

The above contribution drawn from my informant reveals that, there could be natural factors not just affecting the roads but causing other subtle forms of displacement which had not been expected at all. This supports the claim that conflict-induced displacement has unpredictable occurrences (Lischer, 2009), (Maqbool, 2019), (Kalin, 2014) (Horst & Katarzyna, 2015). Furthermore, the data equally supports the understanding that, conflict-induced displacement is a complex phenomenon as stated by (Nascimento, 2015), There are always numerous underlying elements that could be inherent in a conflict-induced displacement and this study unravels the same narrative. Subsequently, this understanding tends to suggest that, building towards resilience is not just necessary but a considerable approach for future eventualities (De Coning, 2018), (Hilhorst D. , 2018).

Again, one of the challenges that was loosely disclosed by my informants was limited resources. The statement below summarizes what my informants said.

.... There was limited resources and it was challenging since they were many... (AW 10)

Whereas some displaced people could not receive the assistance that was provided, sometimes, the humanitarian action was marred by insufficient support. The reflections obtained seems to suggest that, the possibility of providing substantial and consistent support for the displaced was unrealistic. For Instance, the displaced people who were living in the camps had consistent emergency assistance to the extent that sometimes people who were not displaced secretly joined the displaced people to receive some food and other life-saving benefits, while those who were hosted did not always receive the necessary assistance. Furthermore, the humanitarian organizations and partners sometimes had to prioritize the displaced people. They looked out for those who were most vulnerable and gave them the necessary support that they needed. At other times, they had to target based on the resource capacity to support the displaced people. After engaging the aid workers, it could be deduced that, the numerous humanitarian organizations who were operating in the West- Guji and Gedeo zone were neither a guarantee nor a panacea to improve the situation of the displaced people. Undoubtedly, the humanitarian had partnered with the government and supported a lot of displaced people yet, it cannot be denied that, they were all operating under hierarchical administration where mandates and objectives ought to be adhered to. Synchronously, their operations were financed by donors. Having donors have several implications on the way an organization is going to run with regards to the budget, exit plans as well as the exact support which the organizations

would want to provide. However, Hilhorst (2018) stipulates that, aiming at building resilience is a cost-efficient venture and a way of including the local actors in a way that resources would be maximally utilized. The empirical evidence on resilience building and local resilience from this study shows that, as the humanitarian collaborated with the government and worked within the collective approach paradigm, the challenge of limited resources was no longer stressed but managed (Hilhorst 2018 : 5-6).

5.11. SUMMARY

This section of the study dealt with the first part of the Data analysis discussion. Referring to the first research question, which is “*How did the government, humanitarian partners and the local actors respond to the conflict and displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones in 2018?*” the discussion focused on creating meaning from the data obtained collected and what interpretations could be represented in an analytical manner. The discussion begun with the response to the conflict situation, followed by the response to the displacement situation. The principal understanding of the response to the conflict and displacement situation in the study is an application of the several approaches in humanitarianism adapted for the response. Whereas the response to the conflict situation was predominantly dominated by the government at the initial stage, the latter saw a peacebuilding initiative from the humanitarian. The response to the displacement situation was a step towards building resilience.

Chapter 6. DISCUSSION

This chapter of the study focuses on the understanding derived from the reflections made by my informants on the specific role each actor played in the response to the conflict and displacement situation. The chapter makes use of analysis in chapter 5 and the role the government played, followed by the role of the humanitarian organizations and the role of the local actors. As a result, the second research question would be answered.

6.1. ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The study establishes that, the role of the government is presented as a clear-cut dichotomy between the duties performed by the government during the response to the conflict-induced displacement situation and the role played by the government in the multi-actor approach as presented in the study as a fellow actor. Introducing these caveats paves the gateway to understand through the lenses of an institutional mandate and the interplay of roles within which the multi-actor system produced. By stating the role of the government, the study refers to contributions of the government or the state while operating in a joint approach with other actors. This is not just analogous to the “what ought to be” discourse on what a state should do when there is an emergency situation ²²(REDLAC, 2011 : 31)(General Assembly Resolution 46/182) (UNHCR, 1998) but rather the “what is” in this contextual situation of the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia.

6.1.1. The leading role

One very visible role of the government posed during the operation was taking the leadership role in the response and among the actors. To the government or the state, it was more of a responsibility than a role to ensure that the humanitarian assistance gets better and improved. The findings prove that, the state had a leading role and an appreciable control of the dynamism of the situation. As stipulated by the UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182, the guiding principles 3 & 4 state the following;

3. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States must be fully respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In this context, humanitarian assistance should be

²²REDLAC was created in 2003 as an interagency workgroup inspired by the global level Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) to develop an exchange platform for information and the discussion of humanitarian matters. REDLAC includes more than 27 members from United Nations agencies, the Red Cross Movement, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and donors committed to the association principles of the global humanitarian platform.

provided with the consent of the affected country and in principle based on an appeal by the affected country.4. Each State has the responsibility first and foremost to take care of the victims of natural disasters and other emergencies occurring on its territory. Hence, the affected State has the primary role in the initiation, organization, coordination, and implementation of humanitarian assistance within its territory.

the onus lies on the state as a primary role to take the initiative to protect and support the population during an emergency (Harvey, 2009). Undoubtedly, the Ethiopian state played the primary role at every stage of the response. The state even got involved in the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism alongside the traditional authorities to resolve the conflict. Secondly, the state, solicited for the support of the international community and the humanitarian organizations as well as the UN agencies in charge of responding to crisis to come on board, when the displacement situation escalated (MSF, 2019 : 15). Again, the government led and initiated the approaches for the response at the national level and local level which was very significant and an effective way of managing the displacement situation. After a thorough observation, the study understands that, the change in government in April 2018 had a significant impact on the role that the government assumed. My informants pointed out that, if there had not been a change in government, some of the humanitarian organizations would not have been welcomed to operate in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones. Reports also have it that, after the change in government, the number of humanitarian organizations who were operating increased significantly (MSF, 2019 : 30) This equally supports the study conducted by the Brooklin institutions that a structural political change is essential for an improved humanitarian response (Ferris, 2014). This accounts for the leading role that the government took in the response to the conflict and displacement situation. The leading role of the government or the state equally demonstrates the ideas of local ownership where the response saw an inclusion of local agency in the response agenda (Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano, 2019).

6.1.2. The mobilizing Role

Usually when the state takes on the leading role, Harvey (2009) suggest that, the state initiates response mechanisms, further organise, co-ordinate and implement them (Harvey, 2009 6-8) (General Assembly Resolution 46/182). This representation is in line with the legal responsibility of the state having to play this role. However, in spite of the state only leading, the study discovers that another interesting role of the state in the actor system operations was mobilizing role among the actors. This was demonstrated in the calling of the acute displacement situation

and soliciting for several actors to be involved. The state initiation of the cluster approach that was implemented exhibited a well mobilized institutions acting in the response space on a mobilized agenda. As Hilhost (2018) describes it, the actors who respond to a crisis are well organized if they operate in a humanitarian eco-system rather than just the approval of remaining in a system where each actor can do whatever suits them rather than operating in the joint effort response (Hilhorst , 2018: 7).

6.1.3. The monitoring role

.....some of the decisions the government made didn't go down well with the humanitarian, but I will say overall the government role has been very significant.... especially accessing the work of the humanitarian, he was firm....., (AW 2)

The above statement reflects a role that government was playing among the actors. As the state, all projects were supposed to be implemented and approved by the government even if it was not initiated in collaboration with the government. On my visit to the office of the National Disaster and risk management office in Bule Hora, several organizations came with proposal ready to be approved and implement by the government. The government though collaborated with all the other partners, made sure there was proper monitoring and assessment of the projects before implementations were made. Some of my informants readily expressed that it was a challenge having to work around the sovereignty of the government.

.... There many political reasons which did not allow us to intervene except by the governments, approval. These factors couldn't permit us to act as timely as we wanted to.... (AW 10)

Nevertheless, the study draws from the ideas of Mac Ginty & Richmond (2013) Leonardsson & Rudd (2015) De Coning (2018) discovering two contextual meaning of the local ownership. At this point, the government play a local ownership role showing that the local agency can also include the government institutions at the local level. In this case the local agency consisted of the local institutions of the government who collaborated with the humanitarian organizations. Temporarily, the local people worked with these institutions in a way that it was difficult to see a detachment of these two in separate operations. Secondly, the government acting on behalf of the local and presenting the local voices in the monitoring in a way that represents the local involvement.

6.2. ROLE OF THE HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

The study does not make a distinction between the various humanitarian organizations and therefore perceives all external actors other than, the government the local actors as forming

partners to the humanitarian. In this understanding, the observed role is based on the predominate common operations taken by these organizations. Also, the study analysis the contribution of these partners in multi-actor collaboration as the role of the humanitarian organization.

6.2.1. The Coordinating Role

Initially the programme was designed for IDPs, but immediately as we reached the ground the context is changed and are changing, and we are asked to change to recovery programmes since the displaced people have returned... So, we also are working on this and then also we support partners in their response planning (AW 7, AW10, AW 6)

The study observed that, the humanitarian organization had a primary role of coordinating the response to the people in a way involved the local actors and the relevant government forces. As my informants have clearly illustrated above, the nature of the displacement actually caused the humanitarian organizations to apply changes to the strategies and means of operation against the response. This action follows the resiliency in humanitarian action and governance. Where the humanitarian agency allows its systems and forces to adapt to the situation as they unfold. This dynamism has the tendency to ensure effectiveness of the response (Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano, 2019).

6.2.2. The Advocating Role

when we come across issues which is sort of out of the humanitarian principles and further which affects the life of these communities we raise our concerns at different levels of the government we do it at the local level but if these issues are not resolved then we escalate those into the regional as well as the national level.(AW 1,2,5,6,8).

Another crucial role, the study observed was the advocating role of the humanitarian Organizations. Where the humanitarian observes issues among the communities and present them during their meetings with the Government for deliberation. They pick up and become the voice of the people by Representing their needs in an objective manner. While, they were very discreet about remaining neutral and not wanting to be involved in some political issues, there is a limit to challenging the state and its sovereignty.

6.2.3. The mediating role

we also work with government and the local authorities because most of our activities we have to coordinate with the local authority so in addition to the inter-cluster we also have forum with the local authorities where the government as well as the humanitarian partners come together (AW 1)

During my travels and interviews, sometimes the community misrepresented me as an aid worker and they often began to complain about their challenges to me hoping that as an aid worker I am part of the government and so I can help them. This observation reflects how the local community perceived actors in the humanitarian organizations.²³ At this level, the humanitarian acted in a technical mediating role as a way of connecting to the local actors and not being represented as the government.

6.3. ROLE OF THE LOCAL ACTORS

The role of the local actors in this study is the fundamental contribution of the local community to Multi-actor system of operation. In the humanitarian system and ecosystem, each actor plays an interesting role in the humanitarian space of which the study seeks to ascertain. There was some dependence among the actors during the response, yet, the findings demonstrate a specific role of the local actors during the response.

6.3.1. The supporting role

...We worked with all, from the kebele level to community representatives that we formed to Woreda level to the zonal and, and all that, we have a continuous engagement with local people to the...they were very supportive in cooperative... (AW 6)

The findings demonstrate that, the joint efforts of the local actors were a supportive role during the response to the conflict and displacement in the west-Guji and Gedeo zone. All the approaches that were employed by the actors were operationalized under a supporter contribution of the local actors. The study observed that, the local actors could play this role as a result of the how the other actors in the humanitarian system had focused on working through the local structures. It also reveals that, the resiliency approach that was governing the entire response broadened the horizon of the humanitarian space to accommodate and include the local actors in a way that reflects and emphasise local capacity. Obviously, the government and humanitarian actors dominated the working space, my informants still narrated how they felt included and important for the response. They confessed that this was the key to their supportive role they played.

6.4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE MULTIPLE ACTORS

The section of the study views the implications of the multiple actors in the response to the conflict and displacement situation in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia. Though the

²³ If the humanitarian organizations operate with the principles of independence and impartiality, they can play this role (Adami, 2019, Nascimento, 2015)

study does not intend to generalize the findings since it is contextual, it can be observed that, it is the same or similar actors who operates in different humanitarian response in another humanitarian space. In effect, the last research question which is “*How can we understand the implication of having these multiple actors?*” would be answered in the discussion.

6.4.1. Collaboration & Partnerships

One principal and obvious observation during the study and my visits to some communities was seeing all these actors work on various projects in a collaborative manner. The local approach that was designed towards resilience building was the foundation that birthed out the joint efforts between the various actors in the response to the conflict and displacement situation (Joint Government and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018). The findings present a humanitarian space in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones being accommodated by what Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano (2019) describes as the national authorities shaping humanitarian action. Empirically, the effort of the various actors goes beyond a clear-cut role suggested by the humanitarian governance literature (Barnett, 2013). The collaboration still had to be done amidst the sovereign roles of the state and government and the different humanitarian agencies having different mandates, objectives and even donors which does not allow for an absolute delivery of operations even if they are clearly spelt out in proposal and action plans. (Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano, 2019 : S113). Consequently the study discovers that the collaboration and partnership had a positive impact on the response to the conflict and displacement situation as acknowledged by my informants yet there were some challenges that were encountered as a result of the multi-actor joint operations and specificities between different actors.

6.4.2. Clash Among Actors

The class between the various actors can be described as a complex display of challenges in the humanitarian space which could be linked to several phenomenon. Using (Kneebone, 2010) ideas of “organizational overlap and rivalry in an architecture beyond boundaries”. The discussion would link the findings to some of the specific events and responses of my informants in order to reveal an understanding of these clashes. Primarily, the study discovered two obvious clashes between the government and the humanitarian agencies and the government and the local agencies. The study does not seek to assess the clashes to know what was wrong or right but rather, focus on the deeper understanding that could be derived from these clashes.

6.4.3. Humanitarian vs. The Government

... There was some disagreement between the government and NGOs because when government decided that IDPs should return the NGOs were not happy about this development well, I know the reason, it should be voluntary, they should be protected, but it is not better if the people go home because how long can you keep them there? (GO 4 & AW 7) The government's decision to return the displaced people were not properly communicated to the humanitarian partners so the humanitarian partners also had this form of challenge... (AW 2)

Looking at the reflections of some informants on the government's decision to return the displaced people to their homes and communities after enquiries, the data presents two divergent opinions, the government's view and the humanitarian view. For displaced people and returnees, some felt it was not safe for them to return, while others were of the view that, it was nearing the time for harvest and they could go back and harvest some coffee and food that had produced, so the latter's focus here was not about safety.

From the government, *(it's better for people to go home and support them otherwise it will seem you want to encourage people to be displaced, GO 3,6,8)* it appears everything has been resolved and so why keep the people in camps if they could live their normal lives ? so the government pushed for recovery activities, like shelter reconstruction because many houses were destroyed, damaged, burnt and so on, and indubitably many had lost their livelihoods as well as their crops among others which they needed to replant and restart their livelihood. The government wanted a quick switch into the national resilience strategy that had been approved and was already in operation elsewhere in the country the government needed the humanitarian support for the response to move in this custom.

Nevertheless, from the humanitarian agencies side, there was still a concern regarding the sustainability.

Obviously there is no sustainability if the people keep moving from what you gave them if you give them a shelter kit and they move to another place and leave the shelter kit behind and then you have to give them again so it's a continuous cycle.....obviously it's exhausting obviously to the community even though we are not the ones to complain, we are here to help them but also for us because we continue to give the same assistance again and again and you don't see the impact when the people move they don't take anything with them it's just themselves (AW 6).

Plainly, the clash here from the findings represents an understanding that, when the government took the leading role, there were some abuse of sovereignty and decisions going against humanitarian principles. That notwithstanding, a positive view is that, it changed the scope of the humanitarian governance towards resiliency thinking.

Again, there was also a local ownership of the entire approach. This does not mean that all the humanitarian organizations complied with the government's decision, some had other mandates in strong connection with the objectives of the donors which the organization were obliged to fulfil. They had to account for funds that had been provided for. Moreover, they had special projects that they wanted to pursue. In fact, it created the concern within and amongst the humanitarian partners that there might be the possibility of another displacement. They were therefore reluctant to invest in the recovery process instigated by the government because there was uncertainty. In their view, after a month or two something might blow up again and whatever had been done would be destroyed, the organisations looking to achieve a zero-sum win from their donors would not want to invest in that. Consequently, the humanitarian agencies did not have full confidence in the government at this time more especially when an apparent situation suggested that another displacement was imminent.

The study critically observes that, while this happened, it created some disagreement even within the humanitarian partners. Some organization as informed, began to focus on the response in their own way, while others were torn between giving the support to the displaced people or not due to pressure from their donors. Therefore, by way of understanding, if the humanitarian who accused the government of going against humanitarian principles had this similar issues and some conflict of interest, it is justified so conclude that, the clash was a disparity primarily between the objectives of the government and the interest of the humanitarian rather than humanitarian principles. In all this politics of interest as argued by Fassin (2007), my basic preoccupation was that, the local actors were almost silent. They were the ones who were would experience the effects of the actions of these actors in the humanitarian space.

6.4.4. Passive local actors

The local actors formed part of the actors who responded to the conflict and displacement situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo zones. However, as an implication of the multi-actor approach, the findings of the study prove that, the supportive role that the local actors predominately played made them have a passive voice during the operations. There was a clash of roles between the government and the local actors. Though, the local actors occupied some ownership in the humanitarian space, reflections from my informants shows that the leading role of the government overshadowed their own role and capacity building. This was first evident in the Gondoro ritual where the influence of the government was not unanimously by the local authorities. Again, the humanitarian organizations perceived the local government

institutions as forming part of the local authorities and saw it to be enough to coordinate activities through them. However, the bain was that the local remained passive, a state of feeling involved yet, detached from the process. Conversely, Hilhorst, Desportes, & De milliano (2019) is of the view that, when national actors have the principal role of shaping the humaniatrian governance is a reflection that the local is in maximun control. Yet, this maybe arguable not dipicting an entire picture of the situation unless, there is an appreciable level of interaction when considering a multi-actor approach as this one. This study redefines the local as not always part of the government. Though some government institutions might represent the local, a clear distinction is necessary to support the affected community. In summary, the understanding the study projects based on the finding is that, there could be the presence of the local involved but, that does not make it strong enough to say there is involvement, the local could be passive.

Chapter 7. REFLECTIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter seeks to provide a summary of the major discussion in the various chapters of the study. It also includes some reflections on the findings and how these findings have a connection with the conceptual approaches of the study. Furthermore, this chapter also shares my analytical contribution to how the Guji and Gedeo conflict and displacement had been responded to. Lastly, I reflect on the limit to the study and how further researches and study could approach this situation as well as a general concluding remark.

7.2. FINDINGS

7.2.1. Persistent Displacement

From the discussions in the data presentation and analysis section, this section summarizes and clarify the findings in relation to the objectives of the study. Beginning with the first objective of the study which is *to understand the nature and context of the conflict-induced displacement situation in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia*. The study ascertains that, the conflict situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo zones is a complex situation (Nascimento, 2015) took the form of a communal violence with a minimal displacement and developed into Communal conflict which schemed the protracted displacement situation (Elfverson & Brosche, 2012). The displacement also had some contextual dynamism that escalated with the government decision (see background) classified as regime-induced displacement (Orchard , 2010) as a factor, the political despondency in 2018 within these regions changed the pattern to a persistent displacement. Another discovery from the study is that, natural factors acted subtly to also displace some people amidst the conflict. Not ignoring the fracas and furore the displacement glinted within the host communities (Kumar, 2019).

7.2.2. A step towards Resilience

As an objective, *to understand the response and the approach to the conflict-Induced displacement situation in the west-Guji and Gedeo Zones of Ethiopia*. The study discovered that, the government initiative among the 3 strategic plans was to build resilience within these communities and enable displaced people get back to their livelihood (Joint Governement and Humanitarian Partners' Document, 2018). This local set-up humanitarian governance made some progress in addressing both the conflict and humanitarian situation through humanitarian assistance, communal mobilization projects, peace building projects and early recovery projects. However, in operation, the humanitarian governance lost its collaborative focus. the

state, humanitarian partners and the local actors began to experience series of challenges that affected the entire operation. Chiefly, the quest to fulfil organizational mandates by some humanitarian organizations through influence of donors, was a deviation from the resiliency approach and breaking the governance. Again, the use of sovereignty by the state hindered an easy collaboration, hence not fostering a united approach (humanitarian system).

7.2.3. Multi-Actor Involvement

The study had analysed some data in chapter 5, regarding the roles the various actors played in the response to the conflict and displacement as well as the implications of having these multiple actors together. The study recognised that, the government had a leading role which represented a local ownership of the Ethiopian state and a recipe for building a resilient post-conflict society. Whiles the humanitarian actors played a role as a coordinator, mediator and advocator within the humanitarian system, the local actors played a supportive role within the humanitarian system. ²⁴The study posits that the leading role together with the coordinative role and the supportive role formed a collaborative humanitarian governance within the humanitarian space. On the contrary, there was a clash within the governance when humanitarian principles met the sovereignty of a state. Whiles these clashes keep on hanging, the local actors are gradually being excluded and their involvement becomes passive.

7.3. ANALYTICAL CONTRIBUTION AND FURTHER REFLECTIONS

A reflection on the humanitarian response in the West-Guji and Gedeo Zones posits that, the possibility of suppling all the needs of displaced people was an unrealistic venture. Even though efforts were highly recognized by the informants, the findings divulge that, an appreciable effort by the local agency and the community is very crucial to fully restore and build a resilient community. Considering the contextual representation of this conflict-induced displacement, its complexity is undeniably a mixture of uncertainty and insecurity for the future. By way of reflection, there is always not an ideal approach to a conflict-induced displacement. it appears all approaches or a perception of a humanitarian governance will be caught up with some challenges, be it contextual, or from the collaboration. A closer ideal approach has been demonstrated as humanitarian response towards resiliency. Not supressing the capabilities of the local community and host communities but involving the local actors to enable them cope with the challenges and the dynamism of any kind of forced displacement.

²⁴ See figure 2

Figure 2. Source (Collinson & Elhawary, 2012 : 2-3) A Humanitarian governance in a Humanitarian Space

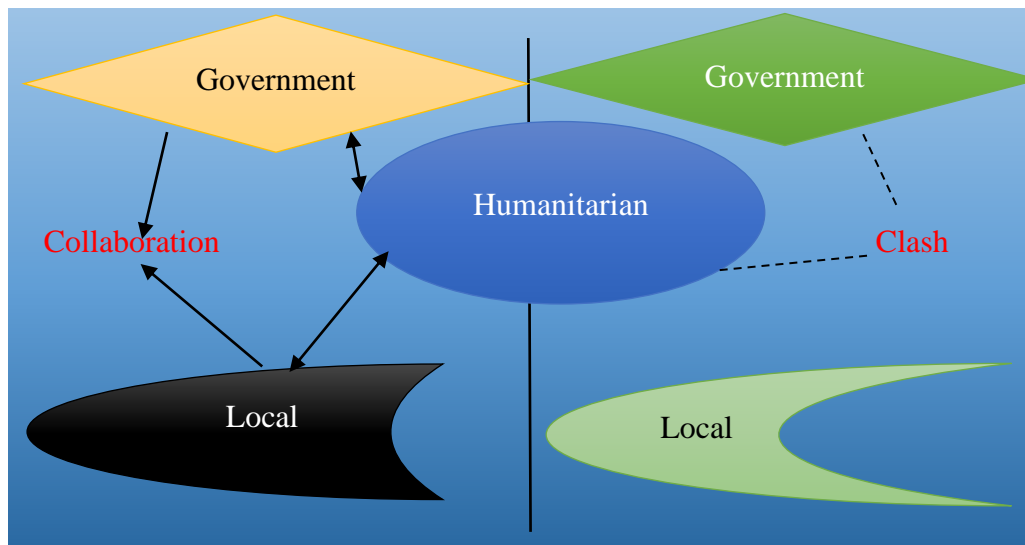


Figure 2 is a visual representation of how multi-actors in humanitarian actors could have a collaboration or could have a clash based on different objectives and political interests (Collinson & Elhawary, 2012 : 2). The humanitarian space in the west Guji and Gedeo Zones experienced series of clashes and collaboration. The collaborations produced better connections and involvement of the local community which minimised the challenges of limited resources.

The clashes on the other hand highlighted the inefficiencies of the humanitarian governance. A situation Didier Fassin describes as the politics of humanitarianism where each other pursues their own interest rather than the affected communities (Fassin, 2007: 509).

Due to several constraints, the study limited itself only to investigating the response and the respective approaches that these 3 different actors have employed to address both the conflict and displacement situation between April 2018 to August 2019 anything. Nevertheless, further extensive research is still recommended to assess the strategic resilience framework approach to rebuild a sustainable post conflict society. Again, from the findings, the environment or the land seemed to be an indirect actor in this conflict, which equally demands that researches should extend to these domains to better understand a sustainable recovery and a peaceful post-conflict society for the affected West-Guji and Gedeo zones.

7.4. General Conclusion

This study has dissected the response approach adapted to address the acute humanitarian situation in the West-Guji and Gedeo zones geared towards resiliency. As an indication, the various actors represented a humanitarian governance within the humanitarian space of the affected areas and operating through a humanitarian system (Multi-actor approach). While efforts have been highly commendable, the understanding derived is that, these actors could work in a humanitarian eco-system where each actor plays an indispensable role. At the same time, the governance accommodates local structure and institutions as capable of addressing its own crisis. As demonstrated in section (5.10.3), where a resilient society through self-mobilization is being built.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 1. Summarized profile information of the respondents

INFORMANTS	STUDY AREA	POSITION
AID WORKERS (AW 1)	GEDEO ZONE	UN AGENCY
AID WORKERS (AW 2)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	UN AGENCY
AID WORKERS (AW 3)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 4)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 5)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 6)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 7)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 8)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 9)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 10)	GEDEO ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
AID WORKERS (AW 11)	GEDEO ZONE	HUMANITARIAN ORG.
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 1)	GEDEO ZONE	ZONAL OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 2)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	ZONAL OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 3)	GEDEO ZONE	CULTURE & TOURISM OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 4)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	CULTURE & TOURISM OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 5)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	DISASTER & RISK MANAGEMENT OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 6)	GEDEO ZONE	DISASTER & RISK MANAGEMENT OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 7)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	WYC OFFICE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (GO 8)	GEDEO ZONE	WYC OFFICE
DISPLACED PERSON (DP 1)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	DISPLACED
DISPLACED PERSON (DP 2)	GEDEO ZONE	DISPLACED
DISPLACED PERSON (DP 3)	GEDEO ZONE	DISPLACED
RETURNEE (RE1)	GEDEO ZONE	WOMEN LEADER
RETURNEE (RE 2)	GEDEO ZONE	WOMEN LEADER
RETURNEE (RE 3)	GEDEO ZONE	RELIGIOUS LEADER

RETURNEE (RE 4)	GEDEO ZONE	ELDER
RETURNEE (RE 5)	GEDEO ZONE	ABAGADAA
RETURNEE (RE 6)	GEDEO ZONE	ELDER
RETURNEE (RE 7)	GEDEO ZONE	ELDER
RETURNEE (RE 8)	GEDEO ZONE	ELDER
TRADITIONAL LEADERS (TL 1)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	ABAGADAA
TRADITIONAL LEADERS (TL 2)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	ELDER
TRADITIONAL LEADERS (TL 3)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	ELDER
TRADITIONAL LEADERS (TL 4)	WEST-GUJI ZONE	ELDER

Source: Fieldwork in Ethiopia 2019.

APPENDIX 2

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE/QUESTIONS

How did the conflict happen? what caused the conflict? Has it been resolved?

How many people were displaced? / how did it affect the community?

Where were they displaced to?

SITUATION OF IDPS

How many have returned?

What is the situation of the IDPs now?

Where are they settled?

How are they doing/ what is their status now?

SOLUTION TO THE IDP SITUATION

who and who contributed to assisting them? What specific assistance was given?

What do you think is an urgent solution for IDPS (short-term) (long-term solution) for the IDPs?

What do you think should be done in other to achieve this? (how can this be achieved)?

How do you perceive the role of humanitarian organizations?

How do you perceive the role of the government?

How was their relationship?

Which specific humanitarian organizations did you work with? / know works with IDPs

What exactly do you / they seek to achieve in the IDP situation?

Do you work with them? What exactly did you do?

How do/ did you work with them?

What have they achieved (success) and?

Do you have any specific on-going projects now?

when did you arrive on the scene?

What specific role is your organization playing in the current IDP situation?

Why is your organization playing this specific role?

How is your organization going about it?

CHALLENGES

What challenges did you face in your work?

How did you deal with these challenges?

What are your expectations for the future?

Any general remarks or comments?

APPENDIX 3

A Recovering community



APPENDIX 4

Destroyed Houses (West-Guji Zone)



Field Work, 2019.

Photos by Author

