

FACTORS FOR HOUSEHOLDS EXITING AGRO-PASTORAL LIVELIHOODS AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE URBAN LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES IN BORENA ZONE, ETHIOPIA

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ABBREVIATION

ACF

CISP

CR2B: Coordinated recovery to Community Resilience in Borana

DRM: Disaster Risk Management

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

KII: Key Informant Interview

M.A.S.L.: Meter above Sea level

PDO: Pastoral Development Office

SME: Small and Micro Enterprise

TOR: Terms of Reference

NGOS: Non Govermental Orgnizations

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Last but not least, we would like to express our sincere thanks to the GOAL Borana for playing a vital role in facilitating the smooth conduct of the study, and for providing us the opportunity to be partners in contributing to the efforts in understanding members of the communities that have painfully exited the pastoral systems, and in developing ways on how to support these sectors of the pastoral community across the study woredas.

YONAD Business Promotion & Consultancy PLC

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

This report presents the findings of a study and analysis of the push and pull factors for pastoral dropout households and a labor market assessment in six woredas of Dire, Dhas, Dillo, Miyo, Arero, & Moyale of Borana pastoral zone, Oromia regional state.

The study was carried out by the team of experts from YONAD Business Promotion & Consultancy Service PLC using both quantitative and qualitative approaches that covered the dropout and non-dropout, partner NGOs and others operating in the areas, key and relevant government offices , pastoralist elders and private sector actors(hotel and restaurant owners , building and road contractors, labour market brokers ,tea rooms). Over 260 persons were communicated (30 KIIs,116 in FGDs, and 120 dropouts for interview) in the target woredas and made a thorough discussion on the main objective of the study and related issues. The study also involved a review of available secondary information on the pastoral dropouts. It is information from these sources that the basis on which this report has been prepared. The information and results obtained from this study will help EC share GOAL consortium project CR2B.

1.2.SUMMARY OF THE SECONDARY RESEARCH FINDINGS

Ethiopia is among the top 5 countries in the world where traditional pastoralism is practiced as a system of production (MARKAKIS, 1993). The Borana are traditional pastoralists. Principally driven by dynamic socio-economic trends and natural and human made shocks, however, Borana pastoralism has been profoundly affected by intense internal and external pressures of change (COPPOCK, 1994) Morover ,DESTA and COPPOCK, 2004,Fratkin 2013) indicated that the viability of traditional pastoral sustyem in Borana is decreasing from time to time and consequently are diversifying their livelihood strategies among others they dropout from the traditional pastoral systems.

Pastoralist drop-out – an abrupt cessation of traditional pastoralist livelihood activities, whether dictated by circumstance or more voluntary in nature – and the subsequent rural to urban migration that it entails has been rapidly increasing in pastoral areas over the past two decades. This relatively new phenomenon is accompanied by profound and comprehensive demographic, socio-economic, and socio-cultural changes(Save the Children 2013).

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urban migration that it entails has been rapidly increasing in pastoral areas over the past two decades. This relatively new phenomenon is accompanied by profound and comprehensive demographic, socio-economic, and socio-cultural changes (Save the Children 2013). Dropout study is a livelihood¹ study. Drivers of livelihood diversification² and alternative livelihoods several studies of livelihood and food security in pastoral regions assert that diversification is the norm among pastoralists (e.g., Fratkin 2013; Little, Smith et al. 2001; Barrett et al. 2001; Fernandez-Gimenez and Le Febre 2006). However, diversification among pastoralists and the causes of it are multi-faceted and vary among pastoral groups based on cultural, economic, and ecological differences. For example, the process and pattern of livelihood diversification among pastoralists in the rangelands of northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia show variations based on several important variables, including climate, distance to market towns, gender, wealth, and education (Little, Smith et al. 2001).

Adopting a wide range of livelihood choices and strategies has allowed pastoralists to respond to climate and socio-economic shocks and stresses. Pastoral livelihoods and income diversification or alternative livelihood activities and strategies can be broadly divided into pastoral and non-pastoral origins, as well as those that are coping (immediate) versus adaptive (permanent or structural) livelihood strategies (e.g., Fratkin 2013; McPeak and Little 2005; Little, Smith et al. 2001). The diversity of livelihood options and strategies are dynamic, and changes depend on different shock or stress factors. These strategies, in turn, have implications for the resilience of pastoral systems, especially in regard to climate and other shocks. The literature on pastoralism demonstrates that pastoral livelihood systems are increasingly under pressure because of multiple and reinforcing natural and anthropogenic disturbances (Fratkin 2013). In response to these pressures, households over time have supplemented pastoralism with non-pastoral strategies to survive and adapt to different shock risks (especially drought), which has forced many households to pursue livelihood diversification as a long-term strategy (Little 2001). Migration to urban areas is another non pastoral way of livelihood strategy increasingly pursued by pastoralists. Migration can be seasonal, circular, rural-urban, or international, and can contribute to household livelihood and food security through remittances. These flows of cash also provide opportunities for diversification and building assets that strengthen resilience at individual and household levels (e.g., Devereux 2006;). The

¹ A livelihood is defined as “the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household” (Ellis 2000a: 10).

² Livelihood diversification is thus defined as “the processes by which households construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living” (ibid: 14). The diversity can be conceptualized as the differences in livelihood characteristics (e.g., livelihood diversification, crop diversity, biodiversity, social group diversity) and processes, and the multiple ways livelihoods function.

exiting of pastoralists from the pastoral system (dropout) to urban and peri urban centers is one of the non-pastoral way of livelihood choices .

Exiting from pastporal system as one of the livelihood diversification stratgeis is practiced by the Borana pastoralists.The pattern of movement of borana pastoralists manly is from rural areas (84.5percent) to peri-urban and urban spaces and 13.5percent moved from other Urban and peri-urban locations. Three factors emerged as the main motives for the migration of borana pastoralists, namely drought induced loss of livestock (36.5 percent), urban trade opportunities (23.5 percent) and ethnic conflict (21.2 percent). The time of arrival of pastoralists In the urban centers also coincided with the major drought periods in borana region (1984-85, 1990-91, 1999-2000),further demonstrating that drought is a key cause of migration of borana pastoralists in urban and peri-urban centers. Additional factors included loss of livestock due to reasons other than drought such as raids (2.9 Percent) and diseases (2.4 percent) and access to agricultural land (2.9 percent). The remaining Respondents provided a variety of other reasons for settling in peri-urban such as Widowhood, access to education and access to agricultural labour work. (Eldram,2003)

Moreover Eldram,2003 also identified twenty three livelihood stratgeis classified into six main xcatagories that the dropout pastoralists enaged in their current locations. These livelihood activities are : i) petty trade (fuel wood,sugar and salt, tobacco,local alchol brewery, water,kundi , argamsa, shoe making , chat and color soil selling) , ii)livestock base activities (livestock herding and brokering), iii)farming, iv)labour work (handpushed cart,paid agricultural work,gold digging, daily labour and paid livestock herding) v) formal sector employee (civil employee and driver) vi) social support (begging,support from neighbours aqnd support from relatives) . out of these livelihood cataogories 44.8 percent of the hoseholds enaged in petty trade ,followed by farming 21percent and livestock base 12.7 percent,labour work 13percent ,formal sector5percent and social support 3.6 percent. The main source of income was also selling fuel wood trade (59.41 percent) followed by farming (44.60 percent) and livestock herding (27.05 percent). Other livelihood activities that emerged as significant were sale of water (15.88 percent) and paid agricultural work (15.20 percent) It is possible to distinguish between these livelihood strategies on the grounds of whether they are 'opportunistic' or 'strategic'. Opportunistic strategies are livelihood strategies pursued in response to crises or stress and are more aimed at survival. Also such strategies are not sustainable in the long term and do not have significant bearing on welfare. As Rakodi (2002, 6) notes, 'the poorest and most vulnerable households are forced to adopt strategies which enable them to survive but not to improve their welfare'. In contrast, strategic livelihood strategies are aimed at accumulation rather than survival, and may lead to long term improvement in wellbeing.

Fuel wood trade which was the primary source of income for the majority of the households, is an opportunistic strategy mostly undertaken by those who lack access to alternative livelihood

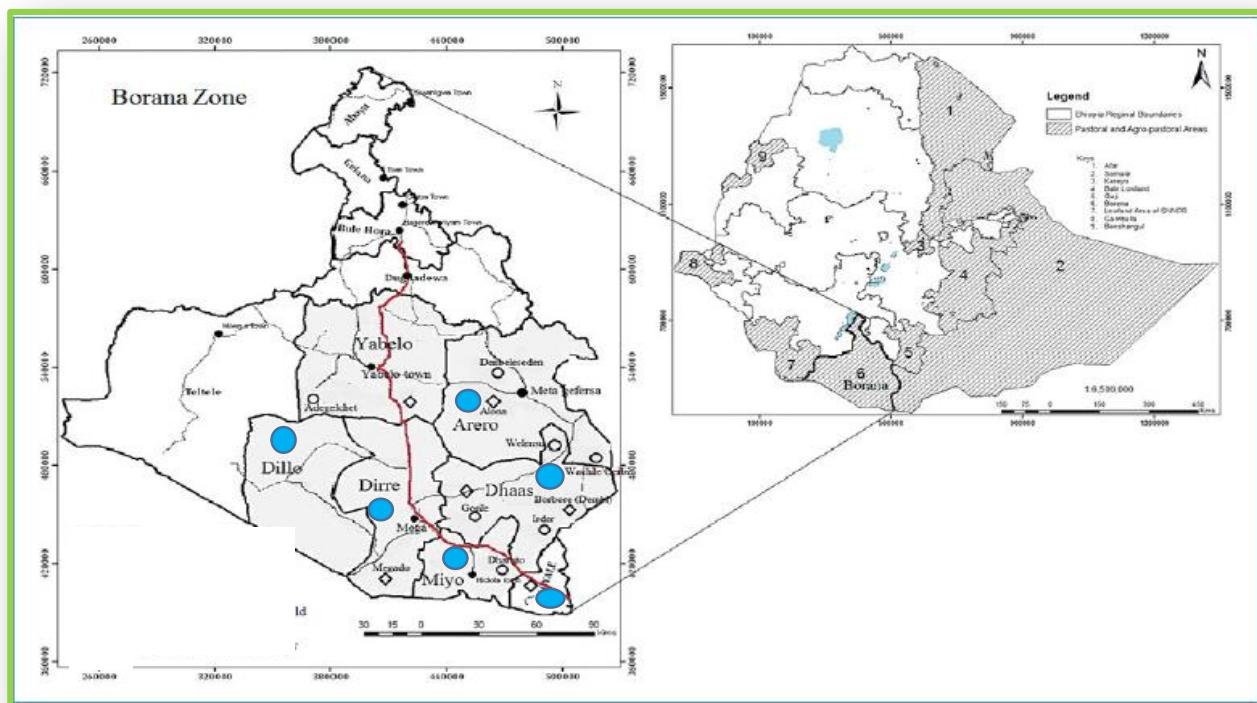
strategies. Mainly female members of the households undertook fuel wood trade. This activity requires women (and girls) to walk an average of 6-8 hours to fetch the fuel wood and take it to town for sale. Despite the physical exertion involved in this task, women are only able to gain from 5-8 birr for the fuel wood they sell in the tow, which they then spend on the daily needs of the household. Furthermore, the sustainability of this activity is questionable because, as some women noted, the number of women engaged in this activity is on the rise. Therefore, there is less fuel wood available for sale and women have to walk even longer distances to continue to sell fuel wood. Also, women engaged in fuel wood trade are at risk due to governmental and nongovernmental enforcements to protect forest resources.

It is argued that the movement of pastoralist dropouts to periurban and urban center is increasing and hence first, there should be a need to recognize urban and peri-urban spaces as potential destination areas for pastoralists who exit from rural pastoral systems, not only as temporary spaces but as permanent settlements. It should not be assumed that these spaces are inhabited by non-pastoralists only. Second, interventions should seek to improve the asset status of dropouts since paucity of assets is a main constraint for pastoralists to pursue livelihood strategies that can enhance their wellbeing. third, development interventions in the dropouts should take into account gendered differences in livelihood opportunities for Borana men and women in urban and peri-urban spaces and how their roles are redefined within this context. Fourth, In developing an Ethiopian pastoral policy, there is a need to take account of the manner in which pastoral livelihoods. It should be recognized that, as a result of the declining viability of rural pastoral livelihoods, the borana pastoralists are increasingly relying on nonlivestock based livelihood strategies and giving up to migratory strategies to settle in various spaces including urban and peri-urban spaces (see Eldram,2003, Desta, S. 1999, McPeak, J., and P. D. Little. 2005 and Ellis, F. 2000) .

1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

Borana is a predominantly pastoral zone located in the southern part of Ethiopia bordering Somali region in the East and North, Kenya in the South, Guji zone in the Northeast and SNNPR in the West. It is the largest of the 18 zones in Oromia regional state located in the arid and semi-arid southern lowlands. Borana pastoralists belong to the larger Oromo ethnic group who occupy parts of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. Under the present administrative structure, Borana mainly reside in Borana Zone. The study area covers a large proportion of the zone, particularly the arid and semi-arid woredas include Dirre, Dillo, Arero, Dhaas, Miyo and moyale woredas (see map of the study areas below, the study woredas are located by blue points)

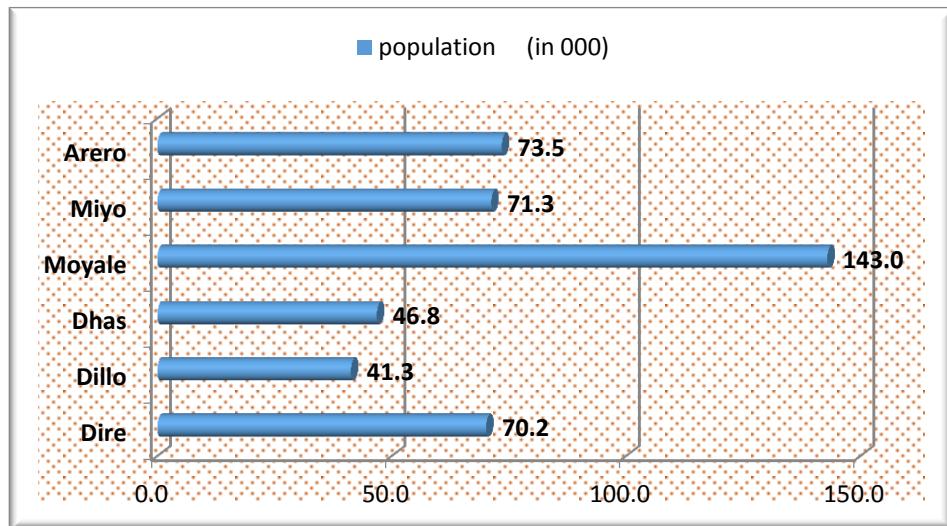
PICTURE 1: MAP OF STUDY AREA



Source: **USAID East Africa Resilience Learning Project 2016** All the woredas selected for this assessment are situated in lowland wide pastoral areas with the high potential in livestock production and people engaged in pastoral system as mainstay of the livelihood. The assessment areas are generally characterized by semi-arid climate with mean annual rainfall of 620 mm and range of temperature varying between 20 °C and 35°C. The long rainy season is from March to April and short rainy season from September to October. The altitude is ranging

between 500-1500 m.a.s.l. Similar to the other parts of the country, rapid demographic change³, is also an issue for these woredas. The total population of the study woredas is estimated 446,030 which is about 39% of the total population the Borana zone. The following graph indicates the population number by study woredas.

GRAPH 1: POPULATION NUMBER BY STUDY WOREDAS



Source: GOAL Ethiopia C2BR, 2017

The population in each of the study woredas range from 41,300-143,000. The largest population belongs to Moyale and Dillo the lowest. Out of the total 30,550 households 61% belongs to pastoralists and 28% are agro pastoralists (GOAL Ethiopia, 2017). Pastoral communities in the Borana are the most vulnerable communities in Ethiopia affected mainly by the impact of climate change. Drought is the most significant climate change affecting pastoralists in the area, with livestock disease, shortage of pasture and water, crop disease and livestock death affecting the environment-people-livestock relationship.

The situation is exacerbated by a lack of economic development, as pastoralists and agro-pastoralists remain heavily dependent on an increasingly unstable traditional livestock production for their survival. In recent years, a consequence of drought, it is observed that livestock die more quickly, more regularly, and in larger numbers when compared to previous generations (UNDP Horn of Africa Crisis 2011).

Because of the cumulative effects of the above mentioned factors namely, population growth, recurrent drought, livestock death and traditional livestock rearing practices the pastoralists in

³ The proportion of youth category increases. Unless this increment is cope with labour absorbtion and job creating capacity of the local economy, it will exacerbate migration with in and out of the country and will also have a negative impacts on social and environmental factors in the area.

Borana are becoming increasingly poorer and cattle holding per capita is in decline. With declining herds, traditional pastoral livelihoods are increasingly non viable. As vulnerability to external shocks and stresses grow, communities become increasingly risk averse, sticking resolutely to traditional approaches which limit their ability to adapt to change (YONAD 2008). Communities resort to negative coping strategies, such as the increased encroachment of grazing pasture for un viable agricultural use or collection and sale of fuel wood and charcoal with obvious consequences on the environment.

For many of those who leave, and move to a peri/urban setting, their skills are not easily transferable with unskilled labour the main source of income. For agro / pastoralists who move to an urban setting, there are many socio-economic challenges to integrating into a settled and urban environment.

1.3. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to identify and analyze the push and pull factors for households exiting pastoral livelihoods on both a permanent and seasonal basis; and conduct a labor market assessment to identify urban livelihood opportunities for agro / pastoralist in Dire, Dhas, Dillo, Miyo, Arero, & Moyale Woredas of Borana pastoral zone of Oromia region.

1.4 KEY QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

A. What are the push-pull factors for households exiting agro / pastoral livelihoods?

- Why (agro) pastoralists are leaving their traditional livelihoods, permanently, or on a seasonal basis, in search of alternative livelihood opportunities will be researched and analyzed?
- Who are mostly involved (agro-pastoralist, pastoralist, women, men and age consideration) in dropouts?
- Identify the livelihood opportunities they are securing; by those leaving on a permanent basis and those on a seasonal migration?

B. What are the urban livelihood opportunities for agro / pastoralists?

- What is the snapshot of the current labor market in the six target woredas with the consideration of supply and demand side factors?
- What is the likely evolution of the labor market considering current trends and foreseen shocks?
- What are the constraints and opportunities within the labor market?

- What are the key evidence based recommendations as to future economic development programming? And which sectors are with the most potential to be key economic and employment drivers moving forwards in the area?

1.5. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1.5.1. General approach

The study was carried out by one senior consultant from YONAD Business promotion and consultancy plc and assisted by one assistant researcher⁴. Their approach and methodology in undertaking the study included;

- A literature review of documents from both GOAL Ethiopia and other sources, in order to better understand the factors that affect the pastoral drop outs.
- Searching the internet and elsewhere for relevant additional data on the subject matter.
- We carried out a meeting with GOAL Ethiopia livelihood program team and validated the methodology and the data collection tools as well as the work plan .
- Meetings with GOAL Borana office team and partners (ACF and CISP) were conducted to gain insights about the current drought and livelihood situation of the pastoralist in the study area, to fully understand the contextual definition of the term pastoral dropouts and in order to develop field visit schedule and assigned facilitators from GOAL Ethiopia and partner organizations in the target woredas.
- Study instruments, data gathering tools and a data collection schedule were developed, shared and agreed with the GOAL Ethiopia livelihood team in advance of implementation.
- Finally, primary data was collected from the six woredas through a combination of methodologies including by KIIs, FGDs, one to one interview and field observation methods.

1.5.2. Key Informant Interview (KII)

The KIIs tools were developed and submitted to Goal Ethiopia and validated as per the TOR of the study. In the fieldbefore carrying out the interview, brief on the tool was done to the informants. KIDs were done with officials and experts working for government offices, NGOs at

⁴ Mergia Bekele with Agricultural Economics background specifically worked for the past fifteen years on agricultural valuechain analysis , agricultural market linkages and development, agribusiness feasibility studies and small rural enterise development, mentoring and coaching in general and livestock and livestock products valuechain analysis,program intervention areas development in pastoral areas of Ethiopia (Borana,Somali,south omo and Afar) as well as in Karamoja (Northern Uganda).

zonal level and private sector actors in the six target woredas. A total of 30 KI interviews were conducted with government offices like PDO, SME development, DRM, social affairs, pastoral research center and women and the children's affairs office. Moreover experts from GOAL Ethiopia, ACF, CISP, Mercy Corp, Hotel owners, labour brokers, restaurants, construction companies and urban better off households were also interviewed. In the interviews attempts were made to understand the local definitions of the dropouts, the different push-pull factors and the existing labor market situation in the target woredas from the perspective of participants. Though not quite exhaustive we obtained on the factors that forces people to leave the pastoral system and the preferred destinations of such people and the kind of social groups they often join plus the most common livelihood strategies they pursue. Some ideas were also captured on the positive and negative impact of dropouts on the environment, the society they left behind and the new social group they join. In particular the KIIs conducted with elder pastoralist provided good insight into the drop out trend in the different GEDA⁵ system administration areas as well as identifying the main push factors.

Finally KII participants were asked to suggest on what needs to be done to help dropouts to pursue sustainable livelihood strategies either in the pastoral area or elsewhere. While conducting the KII trips in the woredas, areas were visited that were claimed to have large dropout concentrations. These areas included: Goray in Dillo, Mene soda in Dire, shanty areas and Tej houses in Miyo, Xilemedo and Shewaber in Moyale, Dhas kebele in Dhas and Haro Dimtu in Arero woreda. Moreover field observations were made in the main shanty areas of Yabelo town.

On the other hand the demand and supply side of the labor market in the woredas, the challenges and opportunities faced, the priorities and the sectors with job creation potential in each targeted woreda, were also discussed in KIIs and general information was obtained.

The outcome and preliminary information gathered through KIIs and the field observation of areas assumed to be concentration and attraction points for dropouts, have guided the decision to select particular kebele for the FGD and one to one interview. Information gathered through KIIs revealed and confirmed those assumptions on the geographical distribution, attraction points and concentration areas of dropouts. (the KII tool is attached on annex 1)

⁵ The Gada administration system was a system of an age-grade classes (luba) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economy, political and ritual responsibilities in Boranas. Each Gada class remained in power during a specific term (Gada) which began and ended with a formal power transfer ceremony. Before assuming a position of leadership, the Gada class is required to wage war against a community that none of their ancestors had raided. This particular war is known as Butta and is waged on schedule every eight years. (See, Asmarom Legesse (1973),

1.5.3. FOCUS Group Discussion

The FGDs were conducted in kebeles and areas identified by the woredas as being known historically and currently for being points of attraction and as having a concentration of pastoralist dropouts. From the purposely selected kebeles, discussion with the kebele administration and the general manger of the kebele, the elders, youth and women dropouts were invited for the FGD.

The uniqueness of such areas was identified in terms of their proximity to satellite and main towns, weekly markets, centers for aid distribution, forest areas for timber and woodland areas for fuel wood. 10 FGDs were conducted (1 in Yabelo, 1 in Dillo, 2 in Dire, 2 in Moyale, 1 in Arero, 1 in Miyo and 2 in Dhas) with pastoralists and with groups of experts and officials from government offices (PDO, DRM, SME, Women and children office, social affairs office) and experts and mangers of GOAL Ethiopia Borana office as well as partners (ACF and CISP).

PICTURE 2: FGD WITH PASTOTAL DROPOUTS



The composition of the focus groups (FGs) were people who were at the time of the study dropouts (elders, youth and women), very poor (qolle) or poor (lyessaa). These are people who have practiced pastoralism at least once in their lifetime, before they were pushed or dropped out of the system for various reasons or have become very destitute through practicing pastoralism and have begun to pursue an alternative livelihood.

During the FGD discussion, the facilitator orientated discussions towards the push and pull factors that forced people out of pastoralism, the challenges they are facing, and the opportunities they got as well as any support they have received and any proposed strategies to support their livelihood. Consequently, relevant and appropriate information on the issues were obtained.

PICTURE 3: FGD WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICE EXPERTS AND OFFICIALS



The FGD tool is attached on annex 2.

1.5.4. ONE –TO- ONE INTERVIEW

Sampling method: The main challenge in this sampling method was the study team could not have data on the total number of dropout population and the whereabouts in each of the woredas and hence unable to follow the formal statistical sampling methods. However based on the general information obtained from the KIIs particularly about their whereabouts, the team selected the method below which fits the context. The combination of two-stage purposive and random sampling method is used to identify candidates for the interview. On the first stage, out of the total kebeles in the woredas, the kebeles that have high concentration and historical alignment for pastoral dropouts were purposely selected. From the selected kebele centers, the dropouts were purposively assigned to be in one group. Finally, the individual candidates for interview were selected using simple random sampling from the group using a lottery method. Interviewing every second person from the place where he sits and a total of 120 dropouts were interviewed from the six woredas (20 in each). The women are selected & interviewed purposely after it is learnt from the FGDs that there are peculiar factors that forced them out from the pastoral system.

The interview provided data on basic information about the candidates, overall drop out parameters, push-pull factors, the then wealth status, the current asset ownership, level of satisfaction on current livelihood accompanied by the challenges they are facing and opportunities grabbing the current labor market in their current location.

2. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

2.1. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION FOR DROPOUTS:

General: This is a livelihood study in the pastoralists. It takes in a movement of pastoralists from their conventional pastoral way of life to another one that often intended to be in lower income generation and social status. These people engage in a non-pastoral livelihood strategies they never practiced it before as a result of their inability to survive as pastoralist due to loss of their livestock asset and some other social problems. This movement includea physical relocation in dividuals and or family migrate to a place where they can make a living without any asset ownership , access and users right. However, pastoral dropouts who are no longer able to make a living from pastoralism and have not managed to find an alternative livelihood could remain within the pastoral area. In either case such movement in livelihood strategies is a sign of downward economic and social mobility.Hence this type of migration is understood as one of the key adapted livelihood strategies in the pastotralist systems with the motive to improve personal and household economic situations. Frank Ellis (Ellis, 2000) identifies three types of migration strategies adopted by rural households in developing countries.

The first is ***seasonal migration***, which refers to a condition where households decide to partly allocate their labor to off-farm activities for supplementary earnings during slack seasons in their major occupations. In this case, the migrant household member(s) may leave the rural village in time of low on-farm labor demand and return, with some extra earnings, for seasons of peak labor requirements in the regular operations at the original place of residence.

The second related type is ***circular migration***. Circulatory movement, in this context, is not necessarily driven by seasonal variability in labor demand. It may be motivated by the household decision to reallocate part of its labor to meet its earning requirements supported by some available livelihood opportunities in the urban economy or other locations. Circular migrants permanently hold their original place of residence but occasionally move out for additional earnings and temporary stay at the place of work.

The first and second type of migration does not apply in the pastoral way of life. This is because unlike the sedentary farmers, there is no slack season and off farm time in the pastoral way of life, the pastoralists rear their animals throughout the year and are busy in search of forage and water. Their livelihood is based on the availability of livestock which are the source of income and social status. Among other factors they only live in their original system as far as the animals are there and otherwise relocate permanently.

The third type, which is ***permanent migration*** from rural to urban areas, refers to a condition where the migrant decides for a long stay at the destination (Ellis, 2000). Permanent migrants decide to leave the village economy for good. Pastoral drop-outs who moved out of their place

of origin fall in this category of migrants. This situation is basically motivated by a variety of factors, either a deliberate decision by the chronic poor to leave the system in search of better opportunities or is because of an unpredicted exit by strained households in response to sudden shocks such as conflict and catastrophic droughts.

The conventional migration framework considers migrant decisions as an individual affair and that this is purely guided by economic motives. More recent studies underline the importance of group (family) decisions even for individual departures. Moreover, in most cases, migration studies analytically emphasize individual departures (individual drop-outs in our case), though not necessarily of autonomous (purely individually decided) type, because of the commonly recognized case of rural households' decisions to allocate individual family members to different livelihood activities (including migration) to generate income from diversified sources. However, the focus of this study is on those who decide to move out of pastoralism as a family. Here, the process of movement at times might involve individual departures of household heads to move the family later (here referred to as process departures).

This type of movement is perhaps mainly associated with family out-migration decisions motivated by chronic poverty and hopelessness due to eroded opportunities in the pastoral system. Locational choice decisions that involve a sudden entire family movement (automatic departures) to the urban fringe, on the other hand, are perhaps mainly motivated by unpredicted shocks such as conflict and droughts. A distinction is often made between pull and push factors in identifying key elements that influence migration decisions. The pull factors are simply attractions at the point of destination, which include job opportunities and good living conditions. The push factors are poverty and limited livelihood opportunities at the point of origin. These factors may result from trends such as population pressure and general policy neglect of the rural sector. Moreover, shocks such as conflicts, droughts and other natural disasters may push people out of their villages in search of survival options in urban and peri-urban locations.

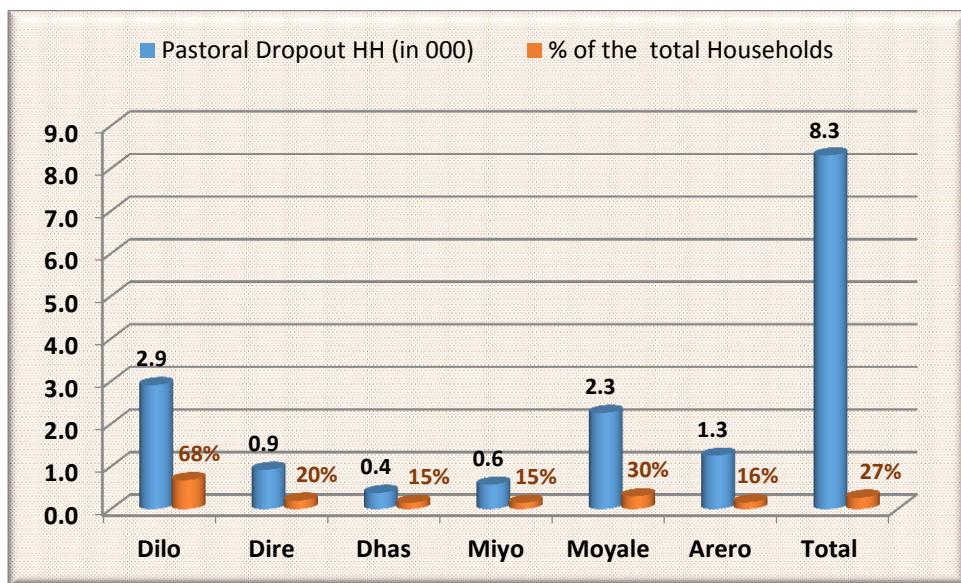
In Borana pastoral community dropout has no one agreed and commonly used local definition. However all the key informants have commonality that those pastoralists who decide to leave their original system searching for other livelihood strategies for survival and move to urban, peri-urban and traditional mineral mining regions and cross boarders moves are the ones who should be considered as drop-outs. In the mean time the FGDs and KIs have also stated *Bukatota, Qole gutu enqabne, Honge , Awara Sala* are the local names given to the pastoralists based on the reason why they lost their livestock.

2.2. THE DROPOUTS IN TARGET WOREDAS

2.2.1. General Description

There are dropouts in the target woredas. The study identified there were about 8,305 household heads dropouts and 49,830⁶ dropout population in the six target woredas. Altogether these are about 27% of the total pastoralists and agro pastoralists' household heads and 27.2% of the total population respectively. Dillo woreda has exhibited the highest dropout rate and its 68% of the household heads became dropout. This is because Dilo is highly drought prone woreda, no market accessibility, located at far distance from the main road and low access to animal health services. Followed by 30% in Moyale, and 20% in Dire woreda. For the details see table below.

GRAPH 2: NUMBER & PROPORTION OF DROPOUT HOUSEHOLDS IN THE TARGET WOREDAS



Source: EC Share project document and field assessment

The expert KIIs across the woredas were asked to state the proportion of youth, women and adult male in the dropouts, accordingly the respondents pointed out the percentage of the youth and female dropouts is increasing through time. As per the KIIs in the woredas the proportion of youth dropouts in Dillo is reached up to 60% women 20% and the remaining 20% is adult male dropouts from the total dropouts in the woreda. In Arero the proportion for

⁶ Multiplied by 6 which is average family size of Borana pastoralists obtained from <http://www.saga.cornell.edu/saga/ilri0606/24gemtessa-emana-tiki.pdf> : Livelihood Diversification in Borana Pastoral Communities of Ethiopia- Prospects and Challenges(2013)

youth is 45% and women 25% , in Moyale 55% and 40% , in Dire 40% and 20%, in Dhas 35% and 30% and finally in Miyo 50% and 25% respectively .

2.2.2. the dropouts trend and the occurrence of drought

The observation made and KII participants revealed that in the target woredas the pastoral way of life is dying gradually. Currently we are seeing this way of life coming under threat because of the impacts of climate change like recurring drought, environmental degradation and livestock depletion. Consequently this occurrence increases the number of dropouts from the pastoral system through time. In order to understand how we have reached this stage we need to look to the past indicating when the trend of the drought increases the number of livestock decreases. Desta & Coppock, 2002, Shibu, 2001 indicated the Borana pastoralists suffered with three main droughts between the year 1980 and 2000 which resulted the pastoralists lost 35-67% of their livestock inventory.

In 2001-02 another drought hit followed by the 2005-06 drought. The 2005-06 drought resulted a significant impact on livestock mortality . in this season the total livestock loss was 50-75% and higher among cattle than other species, and higher in the more southerly woredas, were reported (Morton, 2006). This had resulted in a downward shift in the distribution of wealth of households between those considered, in local terms, wealthy, middling, poor and destitute (Morton 2006).

Moreover research indicated the trend of drought has reduced the number of cattle per household. In a 17 years (1980-97) data analysis , it identified a downward trend in cattle holdings per household in Borana pastoralists. On average, households reportedly lost 67 head of cattle to drought-related mortality over 17 years, largely due to starvation . Death losses were 10 to 15 times greater than net sales, indicating that natural factors—not marketing—regulated the population size. Borana are becoming poorer and poorer over time as cattle holding per capita dwindle. Increasing number of Borana are having smaller number of cattle herd as more and more Borana fall on the downside of the household herd size distribution Larger proportions of the households were on the upside of the distribution in 1980-84 than in 1986-90, which was better compared to 1992-97 (Desta,1999).

The Borana oral tradition also supports the literatures such a way that the intensity and trend of the drought increases and inversely the number of livestock decreases. The oral history indicates drought (Oola) started in history of Borana during Gada rule of Bule Dadacha (1776-1783). Then other droughts were remembered during Gada rule of Saqqa Dadacha (1814-1821), and Guyo Boru (1885-1891) which was locally remembered by oola qolajii. During those Gada periods drought had occurred once in eight years. According to Borbor Bule, it was during Gada rule of Goba Bule (1968-1976) drought occurred more than two times within one Gada period. Starting from this Gada period drought becomes recurrent in nature even if the frequencies and magnitudes varied. Again other droughts have occurred during Gada rule of Jilo Aga (1976-1984), Boru Guyo (1984-1992), Boru Mada (1992-2000) and Liben Jaldessa (2000-

2008) (Abaruf Jateni 2011) here increase in drought trend means decrease the number of livestock

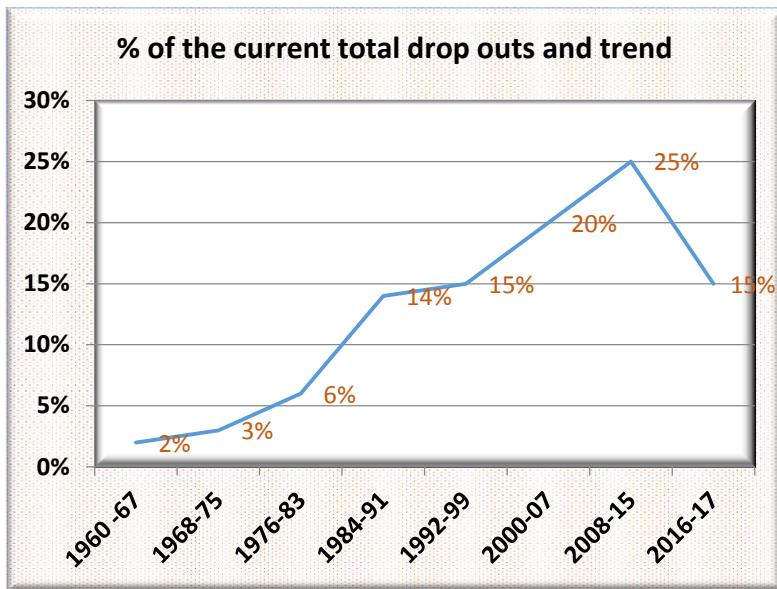
Moreover the KIs also confirmed the intensity and magnitude of drought in Borana increased through time and resulted to reduce the number of livestock. The KIs pastoralist elders Okor Huqo (85 years) and Gababo Karu (83years) responded two-three decades ago the majority of the pastoralists were in the middle (Gidu Gelessa) wealth category and own cattle and sheep and goats enough to lead their livelihood. However at present up to 60% of the pastoralists became both poor and destitute put them in the situation where unable to survive in the system because the majority of the pastoralists lost their livestock because of the drought and unable to sustain their livelihood in the pastoral system.

The above mentioned information stated that when the trend and intensity of drought in the Borana pastoralists increases the number of livestock decreases consequently. The loss of livestock in pastoral community means the highly affected pastoralists unable to sustain their livelihood in the pastoral system and among other strategies they decided to move from the system. Hence, by implication the increase in drought trend induce the increase in the number and trend of pastoralists.

Moreover the elder KIs also attached the both drought occurrence and the trend of dropouts by distributing the proportion of the current total numbers of dropouts to the past Geda rules bearing in mind the occurrence of drought trend increases at increasing rate. They stated dropping out from the pastoral system started during the rule of Abba Geda Jeldesa Liban (1960-67) and they assumed out of the current total drop outs, that time takes the share of not more than 2%, in Boru Guyo Boru (1984) the proportion reached 6%. In the rule of Liban Jeldesa Liban (2000) however, the rate was doubled than the previous Gada rule and took the share of 14%. Finally in the last three Geda rules the proportion was substantially increased and reached 15%, 20% and 25% in 2000-2015. Unlike the trends in the past, in the present Gada rule particularly starting from September 2016 through February 2017 the number of drop outs substantially increased by 15%⁷ which is proportionally high as compared to previous years of intervals and rates. The following graph shows the proportion. Graph 1: % of the current drop out numbers distributed in the past Gada rules (the trend)

⁷ It is a one year data

GRAPH 3: PERCENT OF THE CURRENT TOTAL DROPOUT AND TREND



Source: Field KI Discussion (February 2017)

Likewise, the dropout FGD participants were asked how many years since they dropped out from the pastoral system. Their responses align with the KI discussion response above. The number and trend of dropouts have substantially increased over the past 5 years. Of the total FGD participants, 85% of them dropped out in the past 5 years.

TABLE 1: FGD RESPONSES ON THE NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE THEY DROPPED OUT & PROPORTIONS

Years	Qty	%age
> 20	2	5%
10	4	10%
5	14	36%
3	12	31%
1	7	18%
Total	39	100%

Source : KIIs in the field

2.3 PUSH-PULL FACTORS

Permanent departure of the pastoral drop outs is basically influenced by a set of factors in both the area of origin as well as the destination. These factors are routinely referred to as “push” and “pull” factors – or those negative factors that “push” a household out of a given area or lifestyle, and those positive factors that “pull” them into a new location. Finding indicate clearly that the most important driver of pastoral area to peri urban migration is not the “pull” of the urban centres, it is much more so the “push” (often abruptly) out of previous pastoral systems. Both factors are further elaborated below.

2.3.1. *Push factors*

It is discussed that seasonal and circular migration generally donot practiced in the pastoral way of life because it is completely different way of life than sedentary system. When it is affected by recurrent drought not only the pastoralists the agro pastoralists also unable to support their livelihood by producing crops and hence no seasonality of production and cattle rearing. Therefore the push factors influence the pastoralists to leave theiier original system permanently and decide other livelihood strategies and start non (agro) pastoral way of life. The study has identified six major factors that push the pastoralists to drop out the system. These are:

1. Drought,
2. Conflict,
3. Livestock disease,
4. Divorce,
5. Resettlement by local government
6. Addiction to alcohol (local drinks) & Chat and others like Chabena and prostitution.

The FGDs & KIs were asked to list the factors based on its contribution percent in impacting the pastoralist to drop out and for the survey also weighted based on the percent of interview respondents stated a particular factor has pushed them out. The following table indicates the impact percent of each of the push factors by study methodology average and rank. The higher the percent means the higher the factor influenced the pastoralist to drop out from the system. (for the detail see table below).

TABLE 2: THE IDENTIFIED PUSH FACTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION PERCENT TO DROP THE PASTORALISTS

Push Factor	% of Factors contributed for the drop out			
	FGD&KI	Interview	Average	Rank
Drought	79	79	79	1
Conflict	7	8	8	2
LS Disease	6	3	5	3
Addiction &others	4	0	2	6
Divorce	3	4	4	4
Urban/rural land conflicts	2	3	3	5

Source: Field Assessment February 2017

2.3.1.1. *the push factors by woredas*

The contribution percentage of the push factors by woredas indicated by both FGDs and KI and interview are averaged and presented in table below. The separate results are annexed.

TABLE 3: PUSH FACTORS BY WOREDAS

Woredas	Impact (%) of Push factors by the woredas					
	Drought	Conflict	LS Disease	Divorce	Urban/rural land conflict	Addictions
Dillo	90	3	5	2	0	2
Miyo	75	5	13	0	0	5
Dire	80	0	0	8	8	10
Moyale	74	19	0	0	5	0
Dhas	87	10	2	2	0	1
Arero	68	8	5	11	0	8
Average	79	8	5	4	3	4

Source: Field assessment February, 2017

Drought: All the respondents indicated on the table above, drought is the main push factor impacted the pastoralists to dropout from the system in the target woredas. Its contribution in Dillo is 90% is the highest and the least is 68% in Arero woreda.

Drought is an immediate negative impact resulted from the climate change the area. There is a growing concern that climate variability and change, combined with environmental, social and political pressures may overwhelm resilience of pastoral systems if local adaptation strategies

are not strengthened. The climate change has negatively impacted the Borana pastoral system. Studies identified drought and the chronic failure (late arrival, early cessation, or non-appearance) of the long rains in the period from March through May are the most important features of climate change impact in Borana pastoralists. Livestock disease and death, shortage of pasture and water are also stated to be the repercussions of climate change which ultimately disrupt the overall pastoral livelihood patterns. (Meseret K.2013, Jeffrey S etal 2011) and consequently increase the dropping out rate of the pastoralists from the system. Though there is a dire lack of a time series data that indicates the relationship between the drought occurrence and the trend of permanent drop outs in the pastoral system. Despite of this, literatures cited in previous sections of this paper indicated the ultimate impact of drought is loss of livestock and reduction of the productivity of the natural ecosystem to sustain the livelihood of the pastoralists in the system which ultimately leads the pastoralists decide to dropout their area.

Equally in current the drought (2017) the intensity of the drought on livestock loss is also increased. The field assessment identified many animals have died, negatively affecting pastoral households. For example in Dillo woreda a total of 14,531 livestock has died in three months between November 2016 and January 2017) in 412 households which means on the average 35 animals dead per pastoral households. Of these, 90 are female headed pastoral households and 20 pastoral households lost all their animals.

Drought causes the price of livestock to fall and the grain price to increase. Drought also causes households to sell their animals when market prices are low, pastoralist who restock after drought will be buying animals when the prices are high. This will contribute to smaller herd sizes.

Conflict: It is the second push factor in all woredas except Dire which is not share boundary with Somali and or other ethnic groups but in every direction the woreda is bounded with the Boranas so that the occurrence of conflict is non-existent.

Conflict especially disrupts herd movements and efficient use of rangelands, rational settlement and migration patterns, and sustainable trade. In terms of its economic impacts, conflict and insecurity has two general impacts.

First, is the way that it distorts grazing and settlement patterns forcing large expanses of rangelands to be left vacant and forcing conflict-displaced populations into small towns and settlements. The latter often stretches the capacity of settlements to support excess populations, leaving many destitute and with minimal future prospects. A second general effect of conflict is on trade (and directly on food security). In this case, the latter creates severe food shortages and high prices for pastoral consumers, while the loss of livestock markets in the

area cripples income generating capacity of the pastoralists. Other ways that conflict damages pastoral areas is by closing livestock markets for several months at a time and constricting trade within certain groups and territories, both constraints distort prices both for traders and producers.

Conflict in the area is mainly emanated from the combination of diminishing grazing areas and population growth has contributed to competition for pasture and water, and inter-ethnic and intra ethnic conflict. The historical evidence indicated that the trend of grazing land shrinkage because of bush encroachment, drought and urbanization etc, is proportionately higher than the loss of livestock loss because of drought. This is why many agree that pastoral system is dying and bexcaume as one of the main causes of conflict.

According to pastoralist leaders, the loss of traditional lands and the constraints on mobility resulting from administrative boundaries have disrupted and disarticulated social coping mechanisms and made traditional means of dispute resolution more difficult (USAID 2011).

Elders indicated that conflict used to be the biggest push factor two decades ago but has been replaced by drought. The recent conflict happened in 2013 and affected the pastoralists in Dillo, Moyale, Dhas and Arero. Conflict can cause pastoralist households to lose family members and animals through looting. Conflict and looting causes vulnerability (especially for women and children), and can push households to move to peri / urban centers for safety. As indicated in the table above, the contribution of conflict as a push factors is high in Moyale (19%) and lowest in Dillo (3%).

Livestock disease: This is the third push factor and is one of the impacts of the climate change in Borana pastoral areas. The study indicated that out of 200 households, 66.5% of respondents said livestock death is the second impact of climate change next to drought in Borana zone. Drought increases the risk of livestock disease (Meseret K. 2013). The third push factor identified four woredas (Miyo, Arero, Dillo and Dhas) and with relatively high contribution in Miyo (13%) and the lowest is in Dhas with 2%. It has no contribution as push factor in Dire and Moyale woredas.

Divorce: Divorce is the fourth push factor known to push the pastoralists to drop out. Divorce mainly pushes the women. The FGD and KI argued among other causes, divorce is more likely to occur easily when fewer cattle were paid by the bride family to the bridegroom family. Payment of more cattle means not only that the bride is carefully assessed for her qualities and background but, should a divorce be considered despite this, it would be extremely difficult for the groom's family to recover all the cattle paid. Thus while marriage is not wholly an individual affair(romance and love) but attached to social status as well in Borana pastoralists. Divorce as a push factor is identified in four woredas with the average of 4% contribution. It is high in Arero (11%), low in Dhas and Dillo 2% and with no contribution in Miyo, Dire and Moyale woredas. The following two cases depict how divorce contributes to force female pastoralists to drop from the system and live destitute in nearby urban centers.

Gordo Gelema is a 30 years old female dropout for ten years and lives in Fulodawa small urban center in Arero woreda. She stayed in marriage for two years and divorced. During their marriage the household had 10 cattle, 5 camels and 15 small ruminants . She left all these stock to her husband without sharing because of the influence the parents particularly the father of the husband made on her not to take part in the share of the animals. She was aware she would have got a solution if she took the issue to the court but she wouldn't take it for she had no money even to travel to the court in the woreda town. Now she sells firewood and fetches water for the well-off households in the kebele.

The other victim of divorce is Diqo Konsite is also a 27 years female dropout lives in the same center. The husband left her to gold mining site in the woreda while she was a six months pregnant. She took the issue to court and the got positive response and police was sent to the mining sites and brought the husband back home and reunited with her. They started living together for about one and half year and again he left her on her four month of the second pregnancy. After a while the father of the husband forced her to get out of her home without sharing the asset they had and moved to her current location. Since then she never saw him for the last seven years. She lives with her two children in

Urban-rural land conflict: As urbanization increases, the demand for land is increasing. To satisfy this demand urban centers are extending into rural lands. The study identified that of the total dropouts 8% in Dire and 5% in Moyale woredas were pushed to be dropout because of expanding urban areas which encroach on pastoral land.

Addiction of chat and local alcohol and other social problems: These factors are the last push factors identified and the current emerging social problems in Borana pastoral system. The FGD and key informants pointed out addictions became the cause of divorce as well as dropping out from the pastoral system. If one is addicted he starts to sell his livestock even in some cases without consulting the wife and gradually unable to manage and support his family and stocks then leave the system (the husband and/or with family and starts residing in nearby urban centers. These people get drinks and chat from the near by urban centers.

PICTURE 4: DROPOUTS DRINKING TEJ IN URBAN CENTERS IN MIYO (FEBRUARY 2017)



The other social problems indicated as the push factors during FGD &KI were casts, prostitution and chasing of women .These are practiced by individuals against the values and norms of the borana pastoralists.. Casted pastoralists are those who break the social and cultural norms of the community. Among others *Chebena* are those pastoralists casted by the community for they make sex with unmarried girl. Both the male and the female are casted and move away from the system and start living in small urban centers like *Harobeke*, *Dublik*, *Bokoluoboma*, *Melbena* and *Moyale*. The casted girls often engage in prostitution and she also sometimes are point of attraction for other pastoral teenagers from the rural areas to involve them into prostitution. The FGDs pointed out there are many teenager girls engaged in prostitution in the above stated urban centers. These situation also initiative another problem, the some pastoralists also are chasing the teenagers and move to the urban centers, start drink and buy items to her and ultimately begin to sell his livestock consequently in rare cases divorce and start living in the urban centers as drop out. These problems as push factors are existed in all the woredas except *Moyale*. The highest is in *Dire* with 10% in *Dire* and the least is 2% in *Dillo*.

2.3.2. *Pull factors*

The study has identified four major factors which create a pull from traditional agri / pasoral lifestyle to an urban lifestyle, these are:

1. Presence of family / social support systems
2. Employment opportunities
3. Education
4. Access to basic services, such as health and water

Many of the dropouts' households interviewed as well as the FGDs and KIs were aware of the difficulties that a move to a peri / urban setting would entail – especially the financial

difficulties related with saturated labor markets and increased expenses. This is because the life style in urban centers need a permanent income to cover all living expenses (food, shelter, cloth and other payments). To acquire this the pastoralist who intend to move to urban areas should either have to secure jobs or should be subsidized from family. To employ ,unless they have special skill, the casual job labour market saturated and unable be a solution. On the other hand the pastoralism proud also not make them not to engage in a casual labour for they are thinking they will disgrace their relatives live in the urban centers. Despite all these ,Many families base their decisions to relocate to an urban center due to the presence of family or extended social networks in those centers.The KIIs indicated that social networks with relatives in the destination towns not only facilitate the initial move by providing shelter for a time but they also greatly facilitate the longer-term transition by helping with job searches and integration into the new surroundings of urban centers.

The respondents indicated that the pull factors are similar across all woredas and the numbers of drop outs influenced by pull factors is small.From the total 120 dropouts interviewed only three or 3% of the dropouts are found to be pulled by factors to the current locations. As the key informants from the government offices indicated, it appears that those who are influenced by pull factors do better than those who are influenced by push factors.

TABLE 4: PULL FACTORS

Woredas	Pull factors
All the woredas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education – an educated son if he has got enough income, he will attract first brothers & sisters, then the family as whole • Students go to urban centers and often to not go back
All the woredas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An urban lifestyle is viewed positively by pastoralists
Miyo & Moyale (Kenya), Dire, Dhas & Arero	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job opportunities in Kenya and in nearby urban centers (mostly daily Labour)
Moyale , Dire and Miyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To start new business like petty trade and the possibility of selling fuel wood and charcoal
Dhas (water), Moyale (health)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social services like health and water
Arero	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mining of gold in two areas (Dhighle & hermaye),

2.4. DEPARTURES AND CENTERS OF ATTRACTION OF DROPOUTS

The KI and FGD disclosed two types of departures. The first one is abrupt departures due to unanticipated happenings like droughts and conflicts; and second one is departure due to chronic poverty that may gradually force households to drop pastoralism in search of alternative livelihood options by moving to peri-urban centers. Pastoralists who drop out of the system and end up in peri-urban encampments or villages very close to small towns or small village towns (market centers) or larger woreda towns.

The woreda towns and peri-urban encampments around them have been centers of attraction for those who decide to opt out of pastoralism. It is also informed that Dubluk, Bekeharo and Dida hara market centers have also attracted an increasing number of drop-outs from pastoral villages. Some of our key informants pointed out that these small centers are more attractive to drop-outs because of easy accommodation and adaptations as compared to the more complex urban areas. Many of the drop-outs in the Dire Woreda, according to our KIs, tend to migrate more to Dubuluk or Moyale than to Mega. This is because in Dubluk there is a weekly livestock market which allows the drop outs to generate income by brokering and keeping animals for traders. Moreover near the livestock market there is also an open market petty trade activities which attracts the dropouts to engage in and generate income. Moyale town is a center of attraction for pastoralist drop-outs and even highland migrants. Because it is a border town which has job opportunity both from Ethiopia and Kenya side. The drop-outs around Moyale are generally dispersed in different areas in the town and the shanty encampments around it.

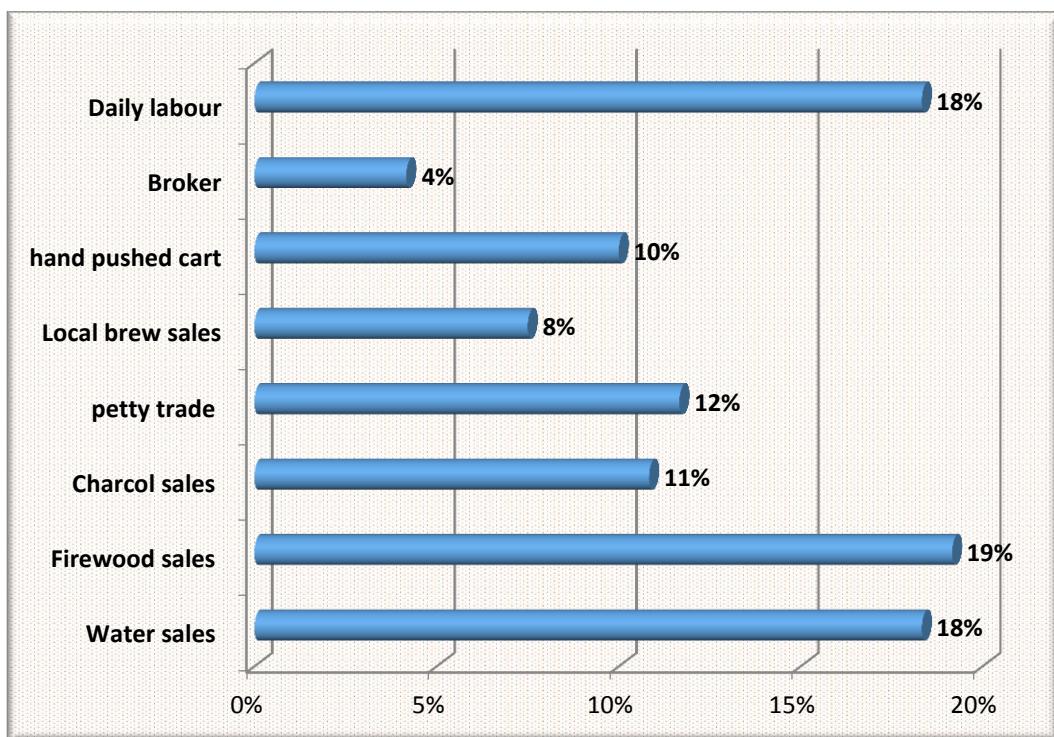
2.5 LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF THE DROPOUTS

The result of the study revealed that the majority of drop-outs are very poor due to lack of skills that meet to the requirements of urban centers, knowledge, government support, working capital and networks which allow them to live and work in urban setting and the only thing they have is unskilled labor. Likewise dropouts in all woredas are facing a challenge to adapt to new non-pastoral lifestyles and livelihoods. Pastoral livelihoods are often perceived to be inferior in terms of income generation and social status by urban communities. Livelihood options adopted by pastoralists in urban settings include; firewood collection and charcoal making, supply of construction wood to towns, local alcohol making, passing contraband items (mainly in Moyale), petty trading, and a variety of causal labor services.

There are obvious negative environmental impacts of some of these activities such as charcoal making and firewood collection. Drop-outs, on the other hand, supply cheap labor and trading services to urban areas and rural residents.

The Information obtained from government KIIs suggests that the overall livelihood of the majority of the dropouts is not better when compared to a pastoral livelihood. On the average only 30% the total dropouts changed their life positively through successful adaptation to an urban setting and livelihood. However, 60% remain and live in the lower economic and social status, and the remaining 10% are socially and economically disadvantaged through alcohol and Chat addictions, with some begging, highly socially unacceptable and against the values of Borana. The majority of dropouts in the target woredas identified that they are engaged in In unskilled labour catagories. Of 120 drop out respondents interviewed across all woredas, 55% of them are engaged in firewood, water sales and daily labour activities as their main source of incomeve. About 4% of them are engaged in brokering (cattle and small ruminants) activities. The following table indicates the detail.

GRAPH 4:THE PROPORTION OF DROPOUTS ENAGED IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES



3. LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES: LABOUR MARKET ASSESSMENT

3.1. SNAPSHOT OF LABOUR MARKET IN THE WOREDAS

To identify the livelihood opportunities in the six target woredas, a snapshot of the current labour market was undertaken from; FGDs, KIs, in depth interview with the Micro and Small Enterprise (MSEs) development offices, The Labor and Social Affairs Office, Micro Finance institutions (MFIs), Pastoral Area Development Offices, Trade and Women and Childeren Offices hotels and restaurant owners, brokers ,households and construction companies.

The livelihood opportunities for dropouts in the target woredas is narrow with an increasing rate of urbanization. There are some seasonal government projects like construction of roads, construction of telecommunication and electric power lines and water development projects which provide opportunities for a small number of the dropouts to sell their cheap labour. Opportunities to engage in government supported unskilled labour appears to be through individual networks and not on an equal opportunity basis.

The FGDs and KIs, indicated different age group dropouts want to enage in different job types. for example ,youth dropouts are looking for jobs such as tea making, housekeeping, petty trade etc. in urban centers, while adult prefer to go to the nearest peri-urban or urban woreda and engage in firewood/ charcoal selling activities.

However, all age and sex category face the same challenges when looking for support from government offices and credit from MFIs. The main constraint is lack of proof of identity with out it they are not qualify for the support from the government and access to credit. Dropouts usually do not have an identity card because they are not registerd as permanent peri / urban residents.

Additional barriers include relevant work experience and literacy skills to apply for work and attend trainings .

To determine the most critical factors for livelihood opportunities, the study asked informants across the target woredas to rate what they considered most important when hiring. There responses were; relevant work experience, level of education, sex, language, personal connections or references and good behavior. According to the findings, the most important hiring criteria across all woredas are personal connection (reference) and pertinent work experience.

3.2.CONSTRAINTS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The main challenges are:

- **There is low level labour absorbtion (market) capacity** :as it is observed in the field and indicated by the key informants , the business expansion in the stated woreda towns is low for some of them are recently established as ne woreda ceneters. Moreover,some of them located far from the main road and are less atracted by business people they are limited to a weakly market days. This doeasnot mean there are no business in the urban ceneters but have low job creating capacity.
- **The dropouts are unaware of livelihood / training opportunities:** to improve their livelihood they should get a training so that qualify when any opportunities arise. However they lack awareness for different livelihood and training opportunities carried out by governemt and NGOs in urban centers. They are not aware what and when the labour market demand in the woredas are.
- **Negative attitude towards dropouts:** Employers (government projects, hotel and others) in the labour market have negative perception of dropouts across all woredas. Many believe that dropout's are poorly motivated to work and perceive dropouts as lazy and lacking in physical strength. They also convince them selves not to employ dropouts asuming they are ignorant.
- **Dropouts have low level of skill** : Across all woredas, dropouts lack appropriate market facing skills required in the urban job market, across all woredas.
- **Job readiness - language, literacy, numeracy and confidence**
Language including illiteracy / numeracy, communication, self-confidence, and motivation are all major issues for former pastoralist trying to enter the urban work force. Their opportunity to aquire these are also limited. Both youth and adults face similar challenges and are forced into unskilled poorly paying daily labor jobs such as; un/loading, mud mixing for house construction, guarding, etc. Females respondants from the FGDs mentioned that their main challenge was also their lack of skills in jobs such as housemaids and caretakers, in cooking and laundry.

In conclusion, the pastoralists that opt to dropout and live in peri / urban centers face a multifaceted constraints from social negative perception to access technical, organizational, financial and social support that excludes them from persuing more productive livelihood in urban settings.

3.3. OPPORTUNITIES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

According to the KIs there are resource and market based livelihood opportunities in all the woredas. Among others like livestock fattening , poultry and beekeeping production, mining, limestone and color full soil selling and and other related activities. On the other hand market based opportunities like petty trade, daly labour, hospitality and tea selling and small restuarnts and brokerage. Furthermore, a few KIs indicated that job training for artisan jobs (woodwork, etc.) could be an opportunity for dropout job creation.

Specifically the KIs and FGDs listed and ranked livelihood opportunities based on the resource potentials as well as the market demand for each opportunities have in the woredas. The folowing table presents the opportunities ranked from as “0” lowest and “6” highest .

TABLE 5: LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES AND RANKS BY WOREDAS

Opportunities	Opportunities by rank order 0= low 6=high						Total score	Rank
	Dillo	Dhas	Dire	Miyo	Moyale	Arero		
Vegetable farming	2	1	6	5	0	0	14	3rd
Livestock fattening/ poultry rearing and beekeeping	6	5	3	6	5	3	28	2nd
Petty trade	5	6	5	2	6	5	29	1st
Motorbike transport	2	2	1	3	2	2	12	4th
Mining/ Incense	3	2	1	0	0	6	12	4th
Livestock input supply	1	3	2	2	1	1	10	5th
Construction	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	6th
Tea room & restaurants	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	7th

Source : Field assessment report February 2017

Petty trade is ranked highest overall and specifically in Dire and Miyo. Livestock fattening /poultry and beekeeping is ranked scond overall and specifically in Dillo, Dhas, Miyo and Moyale.Vegatable farming is ranked third overall and specifically in Dire and Miyo.Motorbike transport is ranked joint fourth overall and only identified as an opportunity in Miyo.Mining / incence is ranked joint fourth overall and identified as a strong opprtunity in Arero less so in Dillo.Livestock input supplier is ranked fifth overall and only really identified as an opportunity in Dhas.Construction is ranked sixth overall and only identified as a low level opportunity in Moyale and Arero.Tea room and small restarant is ranked last and only an opportunity in Moyale.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the assessment was to undertake research and analyze the; push and pull factors for households exiting pastoral livelihoods on both a permanent and seasonal basis; and conduct a labour market assessment to identify urban livelihood opportunities for agro / pastoralist in six woreda's of; Dire, Dhas, Dillo, Miyo, Arero, & Moyale.

4.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The specific scope of work was to research and analyze the following areas:

4.1.1. What are the push-pull factors for households exiting agro / pastoral livelihoods?

4.1.2. Why (agro) pastoralists are leaving their traditional livelihoods, permanently, or on a seasonal basis, in search of alternative livelihood opportunities

Permanent departure: In the livelihood of agri(pastoralists) is there is no slack season and circular migration that enable them to move seasonaly and back home , theier way of life is linear rearing animals and travel long distance to look for water and forage for their cattle . this is the system which they proud of until recurrent drought, sudden shocks such as conflict affected them. They depart permanent if and only if they lost their live animals. What the study identified is this , the intensity and occurrence of drouut means loss of animals . This meant to the pastoralists id los their every thing (food,income peristage and others) which pushed them to decide leave the pastoral system permanently

The number and trend of drop outs in the target woredas is increasing substantially; 27% of the total agro / pastoralists. It is higher in Dillo woreda (2,900), followed by Moyale woreda (2,300) and the least in Dhas woreda (400).

Push factors The study has identified six major factors that push the pastoralists to drop out of the agri / pastoral livelihoods system. In order of importance they are:

- 1.Drought
2. Conflict
- 3.Livestock disease
- 4.Divorce
- 5.Urban / rural land conflict
- 6.Addiction to alcohol & Chat and others

1. Drought: Climate change and viariability has negatively impacted the Borana pastoral system. Studies identified drought and the chronic failure (late arrival, early cessation, or

non-appearance) of the long rains in the period from March through May as the most significant impact of climate change for Borana pastoralists.

Between 1980 and 2000 the Borana suffered three major droughts in which pastoralists lost 35-67% of their livestock. The historical drought trend shows droughts occurred in 2001-02, 2005-06 and 2017. Overall livestock losses of 50-75%, higher among cattle than other species, and higher in the more southerly woredas like Moyale, Mega and Dhas. In Dillo woreda, the most severely impacted of the six woredas, a total of 14,531 livestock has died in three months between November 2016 and January 2017 and affected 412 households. Of these, 90 are female headed pastoral households and 20 pastoral households lost all their animals. Drought causes the price of livestock to fall and grain price to increase. Drought also causes households to sell their animals when market prices are low, pastoralist who restock after drought will be buying animals when the prices are high. This will contribute to progressively smaller herd sizes.

2. **Conflict:** It is the second most significant push factor across all woredas except Dire woreda. Conflict in the area is caused by a combination of diminishing grazing areas and population growth (both human and animal), contributing to land degradation, competition for pasture and water, and inter-ethnic and intra ethnic conflict. According to pastoralist leaders, the loss of traditional lands and the constraints on mobility resulting from administrative boundaries have reduced access to land and disrupted social coping mechanisms and made traditional means of dispute resolution more difficult (USAID 2011). The most recent conflicts happened in 2013 and affected the pastoralists in Dillo, Moyale, Dhas and Arero. Conflict and looting causes shocks to already stressed households, increases vulnerability (especially for women and children), and causes loss of assets. The contribution of conflict as a push factors is high in Moyale (19%) and Dhas (10%) and lowest in Dillo (3%).
3. **Livestock disease** is the third most significant push factor and is very much linked to climate change, causing shortages of pasture and water, decreasing animal health and increasing outbreaks of disease (Meseret K. 2013). Miyo (13%) Arero and Dillo (5%) and Dhas (2%) all identified livestock disease as a push factor the other did not.
4. **Divorce** is the fourth most significant push factor for pastoralist leaving their pastoral livelihoods, mostly adversely affecting women. Smaller bride price (less cattle) is suggested by participants as a contributing factor. Divorce as a push factor is identified in four woredas, highest in Arero (11%), Dire (8%) Dhas and Dillo (2%) and not a push factor in Miyo or Moyale woredas

5. Urban-rural land conflict: As urbanization rate increases, the demand for land is increasing. To satisfy this demand urban centers are extending into rural lands. The study identified that this is an issue in Dire (8%), Moyale (5%) woredas and not identified by the other woredas

6. Addiction to alcohol & Chat and others

Substance abuse has a strong link to divorce and can contribute to loss of assets and increased vulnerability, especially for women and children. There is an interesting social norm that applies to both women and men, known as 'Casted' pastoralists; they are those who break the social and cultural norms of the community. They tend to move away from their communities towards peri/urban centres. Casted girls / women sometimes engage in commercial sex presumably for economic survival and as KIIs indicated may be attract other youth towards peri/urban locations. Livelihoods based on commercial sex work have inherent risks (HIV, abuse, substance abuse, social isolation) and significantly increase vulnerability for women. These push factors were identified in all the woredas, but more so in Dire (10%), Arero (8%) Miyo (5%), Dillo (2%), Dhas (1%) and not in Moyale.

Pull factors

Pull factors appear to be less significant than push factors. However, the study has identified four major factors which create a pull to an peri / urban lifestyle, these are:

1. Presence of family / social support systems
2. Trade / employment opportunities
3. Education
4. Access to basic services, such as health and water

1. Presence of family / social support systems

The most significant pull factor to relocate to an peri / urban center is the presence of family or extended social networks in those centers. Social networks in the destination towns not only facilitate the initial move by providing shelter for a time but may facilitate the longer-term transition by helping with job searches and integration into the new surroundings of urban centers. The respondents indicated that the pull factors are similar across all woredas and the numbers of drop outs influenced by pull factors is small. The dropout interview indicated that from the total 120 dropouts interviewed only three or 3% of the dropouts are found to be pulled by factors to the current locations. It also appears that those who are influenced by pull factors do better than those who are influenced by push factors .

2. Trade / employment opportunities (government projects and some private businesses)

Education: Those pastoralists who have educated and relatively better off son ,daughters or relatives in urban and peri urban cenetr , are pulled and supported by them for transition if they are youth and subsidized if the dropouyts are elders.

3. **Access to basic services, such as health and water:** in the rural pastoral areas it is difficult to access animal health and water services upon demand. Howver, these services are relatively available in the urban centers and hence those who have livestock settle proxime to the cenetr so that access the services easily eg, in Dhas woreda

Preference for peri urban / slum areas Dubluk, Bekeharo and Dida Hara livestock market centers have also attracted a larger number of drop-outs from pastoral villages. Some of our key informants suggested that these stated smaller peri urban centers and unplanned urban areas are more attractive to drop-outs because of their proximity and size of the livestock markets,1.2. Who are mostly involved (agro-pastoralist, pastoralist, women, men and age consideration) in dropouts ?Both Agro pastoralists and pastoralists dropouts from the system. The pushfactors in general and drought particularly affect both category of livelihood affected. If there is a drought no rain to cultivate farming and no water and forage for animals to survie eventually human life also not and hence both decide to move out and see other livelihood strategies in peri urban and urban centers. with regard to geneder and age category male and female as well as youth ,women and adults dropout from the system. The following table indicates the situation.

TABLE 6:THE PROPORTION OF YOUTH, WOMEN AND MEN MIGRATING TO PERI / URBAN LOCATIONS

Woreda	Youth	Women adults	Men adults
Dillo	60%	20%	20%
Arero	45%	25%	30%
Moyale	55%	40%	5%
Dire	50%	20%	30%
Dhas	35%	30%	35%
Miyo	50%	25%	25%

4.1.3. Identify the livelihood opportunities they are securing; by those leaving on a permanent basis and those on a seasonal migration?

For the dropouts are not practicing seasonal migration the livelihood opportunities indicated below are as permanent basis.The result of the study revealed that the majority of drop-outs are reliant on poorly paid unskilled labour. Livelihood options adopted by pastoralists in peri / urban settings include;

1. Firewood sales 19%

1. Daily labour 18%
2. Water sales 18%
3. Petty trade 12%
4. Charcoal sales 11%
5. Transport (manual) 10%
6. Local alcohol making(it is a female activity) 8%
7. Broker 4%

Information from the KIs suggests that the overall livelihood of the majority of the dropouts is not in a better situation . 30% the total dropouts changed their life positively through a successful adaptation to an urban setting and livelihood. However, 60% remain and live within a lower economic and social status, and the remaining 10% are socially and economically disadvantaged.

1. Firewood and charcoal sales :

Charcoal and firewood sales (CFWS) as income diversification is not new in Borana. Analyses of household drought coping strategies demonstrate that this livelihood activity has been pursued for the past 40 years to reduce vulnerability and food insecurity during droughts. However, today this activity tends to be a permanent occupation rather than a temporary measure for survival in difficult times. Decline in livestock assets and a lack of alternative income activities are identified as reasons for continuous engagement in CFWS. This finding supports the earlier observation that charcoal and firewood sales are income diversification activities done only out of necessity by poor households (Little, Smith et al. 2001).

1.1. Firewood sales : this is mainly a female activity. The women travel (3-7kms) to bush areas and forest collect fire wood, carry on their back and sell to the preurban and urban centers and generate income . It is a day to day activity and sometimes they collect twice a day . A one time collected wood is sold between Birr 7-12.

1.2. Charcoal sales : this is a male both adult and youth activity. It is made by cooking wood from forest and bushes in a low oxygen environment i.e. barreling undersoil for few days and stops before it all turns to ash. In the process it burns off volatile compounds such as water ,methane,hydrogen and tar, in most cases the process leaves black lumps and powder about 25% of the original weight.packed in sacks and sold to households and hotels and restaurants as fuel for cooking.

2. Daily labour : It is mainly done by male adults and few women also participate. This activity is seasonal. The main task here is constructing residential mud and wood made houses. The dropouts work on mixing mud with straws and paste the mud on the wooden materials of

the house. This is a seasonal activity done manily during rainy season. The daily rate ranges from Birr 25-40.

3. Water sales : this is mainly a female task but adult male are also doing it. The dropouts fetch water using jerry cans from the river and or from public tap water areas and sell to residents, hotels and restaurants in the urban centers .
4. Petty trade : It is dominantly a female activity. They sell different items like tea leaf , sugar, tobacco, Megado (which is consumed by pastoralists with tobacco) and related items in open markets.
5. Transport (manual) : this is practiced by male. They transport goods from one area to the other using hand pushed carts and paid for the service they provided. In most cases they rent the cart on daily bases and some own it.
6. Local alcohol making : women are mainly enaged in this activity. The main drinks are *areki* and *tella* that are accessible to the lower economic category of residents.
7. Broker : It is a male activity mainly enaged in brokering livestock sales and others like howse made for urban residents.

4.1.4. What are the urban livelihood opportunities for agro / pastoralists and snap shot of labour market(demand and supply)?

To identify the livelihood opporunities in the six target woredas, a snapshot of the current labour market was undertaken from; FGDs, KIs, in depth interview with the Micro and Small Enterprise (MSEs) development offices, The Labor and Social Affairs Office, Micro Finance institutions (MFIs), Pastoral Area Development Offices, Trade and Women and Childeren Offices, hotels and restaurant owners, labour brokers, construction companies and households.

Supply

the main supply of labour comes from the Agro / pastoralist currently mainly supply competitave unskilled labour to the market other people comes from different areas looking for daily labour activities. the dropouts will be competitive as they are prepared to work for less when compared to other compititors.

Demand

According to the KIs there are resource and market based livelihood opportunities in all woredas. Such as livestock fattening , poultry and beekeeping / production, mining, limestone and soil selling as well as petty trade, daily labour, hospitality and tea selling and small restuarnts and brokerage. Moreover the exisiting government projects and businesses will also be an opportunity to absorb the labor.

Furthermore, a few KIs indicated that job training for artisan jobs (woodwork, etc.) could be an opportunity for dropout job creation.

Specifically the KIs and FGDs listed and ranked livelihood opportunities based on the resource potentials as well as the market demand for each opportunities by woreda. The following summarises the findings:

1. **Petty trade** is ranked highest overall and specifically in Dire and Miyo.
2. **Livestock fattening /poultry and beekeeping** is ranked second overall and specifically in Dillo, Dhas, Miyo and Moyale
3. **Vegetable farming** is ranked third overall and specifically in Dire and Miyo
4. **Motorbike transport** is ranked joint fourth overall and only identified as an opportunity in Miyo.
5. **Mining / incense** is ranked joint fourth overall and identified as a strong opportunity in Arero less so in Dillo.
6. **Livestock input supplier** is ranked fifth overall and only really identified as an opportunity in Dhas.
7. **Construction** is ranked sixth overall and only identified as a low level opportunity in Moyale and Arero.
8. **Tea room and small restaurant** is ranked last and only an opportunity in Moyale.

4.1.5. What is the likely evolution of the labor market considering current trends and foreseen shocks?

Trends and potential shocks

The study identified that the intensity and occurrence of drought in borana zone in recent years is increasing which impacted to increase the flow of unskilled agro pastoral and pastoral labour to the near by peri urban and urban centers. In past the drought occurrence was once in every five years however currently it happens every two years so that the flow of drought affected people to urban centers shows an increasing trend. Hence, unless there is an intervention that mitigate or reduce the impact of drought on the livelihood of the pastoralists so that enable them to sustain their livelihood in their origin, the drought will be a potential shock that affect the flow of unskilled labour to urban centers.

4.1.6. What are the constraints and opportunities within the labor market?

Constraints in the labour market

The main constraints are:

- **There is low level labour absorption (market) capacity** : some the woreda towns in the target woredas are newly established, not well developed by economic and social infrastructures, some are located at far distance from the main roads, in accessible to

livestock and other markets, low level of social services. The cumulative effects of these factors did not attract new private businesses. However the current efforts done to develop road, telecommunication and power infrastructure by the government will bring new business opportunities to the woredas. This situation makes the trend and number of business in the target woredas are few and with relatively low level of transaction capacity which are limited to weakly market days. The seasonal (high demand during rainy season and when road & telecom projects launched) for daily labour.

- **The dropouts are unaware of livelihood / training opportunities:** Lack of awareness by dropouts of livelihood and training opportunities. They are not aware what and when the labour market demand in the woredas are.
- **Negative attitude towards dropouts:** Employers in the labour market have negative perception of dropouts across all woredas. Many believe that dropout's are poorly motivated to work and perceive dropouts as lazy and lacking in physical strength. They also perceive that dropouts are ignorant to be recruited .
- **Dropouts have low level of skill :** Across all woredas, dropouts lack appropriate market facing skills required in the urban job market, across all woredas.
- **Job readiness - language, literacy, numeracy and confidence**

Language including illiteracy / numeracy, communication, self-confidence, and motivation are all major issues for former pastoralist trying to enter the urban work force. Their opportunity to acquire these are also limited. Both youth and adults face similar challenges and are forced into unskilled poorly paying daily labor jobs such as; un/loading, mud mixing for house construction, guarding, etc. Females respondents from the FGDs mentioned that their main challenge was also their lack of skills in jobs such as housemaids and caretakers, in cooking and laundry.

In conclusion, the pastoralists that opt to dropout and live in peri / urban centers face a multifaceted constraints from social negative perception to access technical, organizational, financial and social support that excludes them from pursuing more productive livelihood in urban settings.

Opportunities

There are opportunities for dropouts at their existing location. The government policy support for unemployed. The government through MSEs provide training, organizing, linking to financial institutes ,business mentoring and market linkage supports. Moreover, the existence of resource based opportunities in the woredas like livestock fattening and marketing, mining and related activities. Along with this there are also different projects and programs implemented by NGOs to support the pastoralists dropouts.

4.2 EVIDENCE BASED RECOMMENDATIONS AND POTENTIAL SECTORS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DRIVERS

Based on the findings and analysis of the study, FDGs, KIs and Interview the consultant has identified the following recommendations

4.2.1..Sectors with the most potential to be key economic and employment drives

The major economic and employment driver sectors in the target woredas are livestock and livestock products, petty trade , mining , gum and incense. Except petty trade the other all are resource based sectors on which have a potential for local economic development and job creation potential.

Livestock and livestock products

Livestock are capital asset produced in the past and contributing to future product out put and economic growth.Investment in or the aquision of livestock involves saving or borrowing , justified by the expected future return on capital. This sector includes different subsctors like livestock fattening, milk processing , livestock trading, provison of veterinary services, supplyingand producing livestock feed, poultry production and bekeeping activities.

Petty Trade

The key informant discussion reveal that many women groups and mixed gender groups or cooperatives (walda) across the target woredas are involved in NGO-supported petty trade activities. Community members commend petty trade activities for several reasons, including the increased local access to nonpastoral consumer items, stabilization of local prices, and ability to access food items on a loan basis from trader groups, especially during droughts (see picture below). Petty trade will bridge the increasing consumer goods demand of the pastoralists . If the pastoralists (women and youth) organized in groups will create job opportunities for many and will have a spill over effect in developing local economies.

Mining

Gold, salt , construction minerals (sand and calcium carbonate(*Nora*), ornamental minerals like opal are the main potential for economic development drivers in the target woredas. Alluvial gold is widely mined in Arero woreda. The miners came from different parts of the country and as the information obtained from arero woreda PDO office, the area will also accommodate additional miners. Organizing youth pastoralists in group , supporting them through study to identify the potential mining site then linking them with the national bank of Ethiopia that buy gold from informal miners could create leverage for income generation and job creation. Moreover, salt mining in dire woreda is also another potential for economic development and

livelihood diversification. Ornamental minerals in Dhas, Dillo, miyo and dire also are resource based opportunities for the betterment of the local economy and people .

Sustainable natural products

These are untapped non timber forest products utilized sustainably by the pastoralists. extraction, processing, and marketing of gum arabica, resins, aloe vera are the main products available in the target woredas. Investigate and promote legal, marketing, and processing procedures to increase benefits among local communities will have a positive impact in diversifying livelihoods of pastoralists.

4.2.2 Evidence based recommendations as to future economic development programming

- 1.** Strengthen the organizational capacity of PDO,SME promotion offices in the target woredas so that identify and select eligible pastoralists to organize in groups, provide technical, business management, entrepreneurial and marketing training, allotting working premises , support market linkage and development activities . Then engage the organized groups in the sectors that have economic development and job creation capacity indicated above.
- 2.** Develop a pro poor valuechain analysis⁸ and development on the sectors identified above and design intervention areas particularly on the down ward valuechain stages.i.e market driven interventions. This will enable the program to:
 - ✓ prioritize activities targeting attractive markets
 - ✓ support producers to meet market requirements
 - ✓ improve market access
 - ✓ whenever relevant and feasible, to promote the development of common interest organized groups and co-operatives
 - ✓ develop flexible and innovative institutional coalitions which proactively support the groups
- 3.** Promote rural credit and saving institutes for women groups so that access to working capita to start small businesses like petty trade , sheep and goat fattening, beekeeping poultry development and milk sales. Pastoralist women groups has practical experience in such institutions particularly that were supported by care Ethiopia starting from 2008.

⁸ The approach presented in this short guide combines the strengths of value chain analysis with the promotion of sustainable, market-based solutions that respond to the recurrent needs of targeted producers/enterprises whether micro, small or medium scale enterprises. The aim is to improve the way the market system operates, so that key market players, including a development program's target groups, will benefit through increased income and jobs. This is also referred to as "making markets work for the poor." action for Enterprise (2013)

4. Strengthen the capacity of Micro finance Institutes and develop new financial product that are marked to support the identified intervention areas identified in the pro poor value chain development.

4.2.3. Support Permanent drop outs

To provide livelihood support for dropouts in urban and peri-urban spaces within the contexts where they are currently found, the following are recommended policy, development intervention and research options which could contribute towards enhancing the sustainability of the livelihoods of dropouts in urban and peri-urban spaces:

1. Recognition of the existence of dropouts in Urban and Peri-Urban Spaces: As a starting point, there is a need to recognize urban and peri-urban spaces as potential destination areas for pastoralists who exit from rural pastoral systems, not only as temporary spaces but as permanent settlements. It should not be assumed that these spaces are inhabited by non-pastoralists only. Hence, the dropouts should get access to all government support services to improve their livelihood including providing identity cards as well as providing equal opportunities to be recruited for different development projects

2. Strategies to enhance the Asset Status of dropouts in Urban and Peri-Urban Spaces: Interventions should seek to improve the asset status of households since paucity of assets is a main constraint for dropouts to pursue livelihood strategies that can enhance their wellbeing in urban context,. For instance:

a. Financial Service Provision: Financial service provision such as local level saving and credit associations will enable pastoralists settled in urban and peri-urban spaces to gain access to required capital for participation in new livelihood strategies whilst improving existing strategies.

b. Improved access to physical Assets: For example, improved access to agricultural land (in woredas have potential) can enable dropouts settled in urban and peri-urban spaces to adapt agriculture as one livelihood strategy.

c. Developing Human Capacity: Appropriate skill training in various livelihood strategies such as for instance small scale trading, technical skill (carpentry, masonry, cooking etc) can improve how dropouts settled in urban and peri-urban areas pursue those strategies and enhance returns from those activities.

3. Integration into Local Development Strategies: Regional, zonal and woreda development strategies in pastoral areas should take into consideration the role of urban and peri-urban areas in local development and how they can contribute to and benefit from local development to the pastoral dropouts.

4. Gender Sensitive Development Interventions: the support interventions should take into account gendered differences in livelihood opportunities for dropouts in urban and peri-urban spaces and how their roles are redefined within this context. Both men and women have access to new resources and are faced with their new constraints. Therefore interventions should address their needs and priorities accordingly.

6. Pastoral Policy Pertinent to Current Transformations in Pastoral Livelihoods: In developing an Ethiopian Pastoral policy, there is a need to take account of the manner in which pastoral livelihoods. It should be recognized that, as a result of the declining viability of rural pastoral livelihoods, Ethiopian pastoralists are increasingly relying on nonlivestock based livelihood strategies and giving up seasonal migratory strategies to settle in various spaces including urban and peri-urban spaces.

Small and medium towns will continue to grow in pastoral areas and could be important foci for economic growth linking value-added industries with the livestock sector and stimulating regional development. The development of important value-added industries and enterprises in the pastoral sector is highly dependent on functioning towns and rural-urban linkages and we simply do not know enough about how they operate in pastoral areas to promote effective investment policies. Indeed, the whole area of rural-urban linkages and, particularly, the role of small towns in promoting pastoral economic growth and diversification are very poorly understood and shouts for additional investigation and research.

4.2.4. Addressing push factors

1. Strengthening indigenous safety net⁹ mechanisms which remain important, but are coming under extreme pressure

Given the intensity and frequency of drought and lack of enough time for many of the households to rebuild their herd before the drought again hits, coupled with the increased number of community members requiring assistance from the social safety net, there is indeed an extreme pressure on the indigenous safety net. Innovative ways need to be developed to strengthen it and also to reduce the number of expectant households.

mechanism should be worked out to blend the traditional safety net with the modern insurance scheme. The idea of introduction of insurance mechanism for livestock deaths during drought times could relieve some of the burden off the traditional safety net.

3. Support on livestock and livestock products market development and linkages activities

One of the strategies to reduce the impacts of drought on livestock loss is to support the pastoralists to sell their livestock before the drought comes. This will be done if and only iff changing the midns of the pastoralists to see livestock as a commodity and benefit from the market opportunities then support them in investing other livelihood opportunities. To attain

⁹ Busa gonofa

this the pastoralists should understand and compare the opportunity cost of livestock loss and supply to the market to benefit from what the market pays on time. The support will be:

- ✓ Support to organize pastoralist livestock marketing groups that buy and supply livestock to the market
- ✓ Engage women and youth pastoralists in animal fattening (body conditioning) activities and link with regional livestock traders, export abattoirs and butcheries.
- ✓ Create market opportunities for milk and milk products: in terms of milk marketing in pastoral lowlands and its prospects for the future, it is almost entirely in the informal sector and linked to local pastoral towns and settlements. We have no evidence that milk market chains between lowlands and major highland cities (for example, Addis Ababa) are well developed and most milk in urban highland centers comes from smallscale urban and peri-urban producers in the highlands. Milk is important source of household income in Borana pastoral areas (YONAD, 2008)

5. Support the livestock extension services (veterinary services)

In the woredas, except mass vaccination, other veterinary services are poorly available. To reduce the loss of livestock by disease, the services should be expanded in two ways: first strengthening the capacity of the woreda PDO offices to enhance and expand the vet services through the existing structure. second, train youth (TVET graduates) as para vets or Community animal health Workers (CAHWS) and provide with packages and working kits as well as capital and assign by kebeles in the woredas. This will have advantages one accessing the service to the grass root and creating job opportunities for the youth.

6. Promote alternative livelihood startgies

Given the paucity of growth engines, government led infrastructural development in the areas may generate few employment and income opportunities while exposing them to increased competition from the outside, a scenario that would exacerbate economic distress and intensify migration outflows. In target woredas, may offer scope for cost-effective, demand-driven interventions. Beekeeping, poultry, petty trade, utilization of natural products, handi crafts activities can often be targeted. Cultural specificities and natural beauty may in some cases present opportunities for developing tourism.

7. Create awareness on the negative impacts of alcohol and chat addictions as well as divorce on the livelihood of the pastoralists. Among others Support the borana gada system to promote anti alcohol and chat addiction campaign collaborating with the woreda administrations.

4.2.5. Addressing pull factors

1. Support to expand the education system

- ✓ Meet increasing demand for education. Invest in education as a key diversification, economic development, and resilience-building strategy for pastoralists in the target woredas, including distancelearning models using radio programs, mobile tutors, mobile technologies, and more.
- ✓ Investigate which types of education support, and at what levels, offer the best resilience building in pastoral environments like Borana .

2. Spur training and business development for youth and women .

- ✓ Support women and youths as drivers of economic diversification in the target woredas.
- ✓ Create employment programs for youths oriented toward alternative livelihoods.
- ✓ Promote women-owned enterprises and business training. Facilitate low capital start-up enterprises in trade and services through the formation of savings and credit groups for youths and women.

4.2.6.Addressing labour market opportunities

1. Support to expand job opportunities in urban and periurban centers :

- ✓ support to the private sector development activities in urban and preurban areas to boost economic development and job opportunities that absorb labour
- ✓ Support to improve the business enabling environment
- ✓ Promote business linkages and value chain development activities
- ✓ Provide financial and non financial business development services.
- ✓ Support making markets work for the poor.
- ✓ Women's entrepreneurship development.
- ✓ Promoting public-private partnerships.

2. Strengthening the role of preurban centers (small towns)

- ✓ Support the efforts by government and other actors to strengthen the role of small towns to build on the existing marketing and consumption links with pastoral areas.
- ✓ Support and promote rural enterprises to expand businesses and create job opportunities

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ANNEX 1.CHECKLIST FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW (KII)

A. Drop outs

1. The annual percentage of pastoral drop outs in the past three years? The peak dropout seasons in the year
2. list the factors that force people to leave the pastoral livelihood system and become dropouts
3. list of factors that attract pastoralists in the nearby urban areas
4. The trend in the number of people leaving the system as dropouts and the likelihood of them returning to pastoralism.
5. Who support the drop outs and how?
6. The best practices and gaps identified in supporting drop outs
7. Major external support interventions required to support drop outs

B. Labour market assessment (Demand)

B.1. The most important criterion that the businesses in the woredas use to hire employee?

NO	Criterion	MARK AND DESCRIPTON
B.1.1	Years of work experience	
B.1.2	Level of education	
B.1.3	Sex	
B.1.4	Language	
B.1.5	Personal connection	
B.1.6	Other specify	

B.2. How do companies /businesses/get employees

NO	Methods	MARK AND DESCRIBE
B.2.1	By announcing advertisement	
B.2.2	Through labor offices	
B.2.3	Through friends and families	
B.2.4	Other specify	

B3. List the main job types the male and female pastoral drop outs engaged in the urban centers

NO	Business type	Specific job type	Female dropouts	Male drop outs	% of the job of total job type
B.3.1	Petty trade				
B.3.2	Daily labor				
B.3.3	Hotel &restaurant				

B.3.4	Farming				
B.3.5	Brokerage				
B.3.6	Specify Others				
B.3.7.	Specify Others				
B.3.8	Specify Others				

B4. The existing support (opportunities) for drop outs to start a new business in the woreda ?

NO	Support	SUPPORT INSTITUTION	
B.4.1	Organizing & Training		
B.4.2	Accessing to credit		
B.4.3	Accessing to premises		
B.4.4	Market linkage		
B.4.5.	Input accessibility		
B.4.6.	Guarantee scheme		
B.4.7	Specify other		
B.4.8	Specify other		

B5. Which are the months of highest market demand in a typical year? List three months of highest demand, and three lowest.

1. JANUARY	FIRST HIGHEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRST LOWEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. FEBRUARY				
3. MARCH				
4. APRIL				
5. MAY				
6. JUNE	SECOND HIGHEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	SECOND LOWEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. JULY				
8. AUGUST				
9. SEPTEMBER				
10. OCTOBER				
11. NOVEMBER	THIRD HIGHEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	THIRD LOWEST DEMAND	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. DECEMBER				

B6. If the pastoral drop out starts a new business which sectors are potential to them to engage in

NO	SECTOR	RANK

B6.1	Crop farming	
B6.2	Vegetable/fruit/tree nursery	
B6.3	Livestock rearing/fattening	
B6.4	Veterinary input supply	
B6.5	Manufacturing/processing	
B6.6	Construction	
B6.7	Hotels and restaurants	
B6.8	Transport	
B6.9	Mining	
B6.10	Others	

B7. The number of pastoral dropouts supported by the government and any other institutes in the past three years in the woreda (organized in SME and others)

In 2014

In 2015

In 2016

ANNEX 2: THE TOOLS FOR FGD

1. List the factors that forced you to leave the pastoral livelihood system.
2. List factors that attract you to leave the pastoral system and live this location.
3. What are the constraints faced in your current livelihood and proposed strategies to alleviate the constraints
4. In what livelihood strategies the dropouts engaged? Women?youth?elders ?
5. What external support you received and who is doing/done this

ANNEX 3: DATA COLLECTION TOOLS FOR THE PASTORAL DROPOUTS INTERVIEW

A. BASIC INFORMATION

A1. Name of drop outs -----

A2. Sex -----

A3. Age-----

A4. Marital status -----

A5. House hold size -----

A6. Do you have land (Y/N) ----- if yes, ha -----

A. EDUCATION & SKILL

B1. Education status -----

B2. Skill (masonry, carpentry, blacksmith, crafts etc) the drop out has-----

B. DROPOUT PARAMETERS

C1. Is this your original location where you started livelihood? (Y/N) if, No

C2. Number of years since the household arrived in the current location?

C2.1	Less than 5 years	
C2.2	6 to 10 years ago	
C2.3	11 to 15 years ago	
C2.4	16 to 20 years ago	
C2.5	More than 20 years	

C4. Are you moved permanently or come seasonally?

		Opportunities secured (alternatives for living)
C4.1	Permanently	
C4.2	Seasonally	

C5. The factor pushed to move/drop out (movement triggers)

	Parameters	Rank
C5.1	Drought	
C5.2	Conflict	
C5.3	Drought and conflict	

C5.4	Other factors	
C5.5	Searching for education	
C5.6	Searching for health	
C5.7	Influence of relatives	
C5.8	To start business	

C6. Decision to move made by

C6.1	Individual	
C6.2	Group	
C6.3	Local government	
C6.4	Other	

C7. They moved with

C7.1	Family	
C7.2	Alone	
C7.3	Alone but family joined later	

C8. Wealth class and livestock asset

C8.1	Wealth class before the drop out	Cattle	Camel	Sheep &goats
C8.1.1	Iyessa/destitute			
C8.1.2	Qole/dega/poor			
C8.1.3	Jidugelessa (middle)			
C8.1.4	Duressa (well-off)			
C8.2	Number of livestock			
C8.2.1	Prior to moving			
C8.2.2	When moving			
C8.2.3	Now			

C9. What were your livelihood strategies before dropouts?

	Items	Describe strategies
C9.1.	Source of food	
C9.2.	Source of cash income	
C9.3	Expenditure pattern how many % to what	
C9.4	Copping strategies used	
C9.5	Why the strategy did not work	

C10. Major reason for choosing current location

C10.1	Access to social services (food aid, social	
-------	---------------------------------------------	--

	Support, school, health, security	
C10.2	opportunities for non-pastoral activities Diversification (petty trade, sales-)	
C10.3	opportunity for daily labor	
C10.4	Opportunities to gain access to cultivable land	
C10.5	affinity to relatives/clan	
C10.6	Other factors	

C11. Social and physical capital they accessed now

No	Items	Yes/no	If no why
C11.1	Access to education		
C11.2	Access to health services		
C11.3	Access to saving and credit		
C11.4	Access to clean water		
C11.5	Access to farming plot		
C11.6	Access to employment		
C11.7	Access to business		
C11.8	Access to food aid		
C11.9	Other specify		

C12: Asset owned

No	Asset type	Yes/no	Description (if any)
C12.1	Radio		
C12.2	wooden bed		
C12.3	working watch or clock		
C12.4	Lantern		
C12.5	plough		
C12.6	Oxen		
C12.7	Mobile phone		
C12.8	House		
C12.9	Other specify		

C13: Are you satisfied in your current livelihood in dropouts

	Degree of satisfaction		
C13.1	Not satisfied	Mark	Why
C13.2	low satisfaction		
C13.3	satisfied		

C13.4	Medium satisfaction		
C13.5	very good satisfaction		
C13.6	Others		

C14. The main opportunities and constraints you faced in labor market in the woreda and proposed strategies to alleviate the constraints

NO	C14.1. OPPORTUNITIES	NO	C14.2.CONSTRAINTS	NO	C14.3. PROPOSED INTERVENTION
C14.1.1		C14.2.1		C14.3.1	
C14.1.2		C14.2.2		C14.3.1	
C14.1.3		C14.2.3		C14.3.1	
C14.1.4		C14.2.4		C14.3.1	
C14.1.5		C14.2.5		C14.3.1	
C14.1.6		C14.2.6		C14.3.1	
C14.1.7		C14.2.7		C14.3.1	
C14.1.8		C14.2.8		C14.3.1	
C14.1.9		C14.2.9		C14.3.1	
C14.1.10		C14.2.10		C14.3.1	

ANNEX 4: LIST OF CONTACTED PERSONS FOR KII AND PARTICIPANTS FOR FGD, BY WOREDAS AND SEX

No	Name	Sex	Position	Area
1	Ato Girma Getachew	M	Goal Borena Manger	Zone, Yabelo
2	Boneya Guyo	M	ACF	Zone, Yableo
3	Adis Gizaw	M	Livelihood officer, GOAL borana	Zone, Yableo
4	Sofia Abubeker	F	CISP	Zone, Yableo
5	Kinfu Mamo	M	Goa HQ livelihood manger	Addis Ababa
6	Ware kash	M	M&E manger , GOAL Borana	Zone, Yabelo
7	Godana Duba	M	Zonal DRM, head	Zone, Yabelo
8	Driba Mengistu	M	Dry land Agri research center	Zone, Yabelo
9	Dr Guyo Kanchara	M	Vice head PDO	Zone, Yabelo
10	Dida Jaldesa	M	Social affairs	Zone, Yabelo
11	Mulatu Regassa	M	Pastoral research center	Zone, Yabelo
12	Ismail Ahmed	M	Mercy Corps Borana	Zone, Yabelo
13	Guyo Huqu	M	Woreda PDO head	Dillo
14	Galgalo	M	Goal Dillo coordinator	Dillo
15	Abdulkadir Ali	M	SME head	Dillo
16	Teshome guta	M	small hotel and tea room owner	Dillo
17	Jateni Galgelo	M	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
18	Guyo waryo	M	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
19	Guyo Melicha	M	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
20	Shakila Jarso	F	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
21	Kalu Tadhi	F	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
22	Qura Dika	F	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
23	Dima sara	F	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
24	Melich Did	M	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
25	Selo Huqu	F	Pastoralist dropout, Goray kebele	Dillo
26	Driba Insene	M	EC share project manager	Dirre
27	Rahma Kote	F	expert , women & children office	Dirre
28	Galgalo Molu	M	Expert , PDO	Dirre
29	Jateni Ana	M	Goal, Dirre	Dirre
30	Bekele Hagos	M	Social affairs office	Dirre
31	Meselle	M	DRM	Dirre
32	Tirunesh Ganta	F	Hotel owner	Dirre
33	Zelalem Bekele	M	Building Contractor	Dire
34	Fate Guyo	F	café & Restaurant owner	Dire
35	Gababo Karu	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
36	Kutlo Hoqu	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
37	Ware Dube	F	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda

38	Waryo Gute	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
39	Halake Gufu	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
40	Waryo Guyo	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
41	Konsole Halake	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
42	Kalicha Wario	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
43	Jaba Wako	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
44	Kalit Semelo	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
45	Huqa Elima	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
46	Okor Wako	M	Pastoral dropout	Dirre, Mena soda
47	Dheki Melicha	M	Expert ,women and chlidren office	Miyo
48	Hassen Abdelnasir	M	Expert ,Social affairs office	Miyo
49	Dr Fetu Mudesir	M	V/PDO head	Miyo
50	Fire Endale	F	DRM	Miyo
51	Boneya Guyo	M	EC share ACF	Miyo
52	Loko Duba	F	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
53	Elmo Huqa	F	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
54	Fatuma Ghama	F	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
55	Aba Guto Kunu	M	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
56	Chachu Huqa	F	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
57	Dhera Jarso	M	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
58	Molu Girjo	M	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
59	Kabala Makusa	M	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
60	Melise Halake	M	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
61	Jilo Abakeno	F	Pastoralist dropout	Miyo
62	Emebet Tashome	F	Shop and restaurant owner	Miyo
63	Demisie Beka	M	Hotel owner	Miyo
64	Melka Teso	M	Labour broker	Miyo
65	Ibrahim Abduba	M	expert ,DRM office	Moyale
66	Nuredin Musa	M	Dry Land expert,PDO	Moyale
67	Mohammed Godana	M	DRM, data analysis	Moyale
68	Ephrem Ambesho	M	DRM, head	Moyale
69	Dr Isa Abdulkadir	M	PDO ,Head	Moyale
70	Sinidu hagos	F	Hotel owner	Moyale
71	Abebe Tamirat	M	Hotel and restaurant owner	Moyale
72	Toal lemecha	M	Labour broker	Moyale
73	Tadala mengistu	M	Café owner	Moyale
74	Getu Degeme	M	Resident (employee)	Moyale
75	Dikecha Bokaya	M	GM ,Xilimedo Kebele	Moyale,Xilimedo
76	Dakicha Boneya	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
77	Shado Boneya	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
78	Molu Dhadacha	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo

79	Galma Guyo	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
80	Abdula Waqo	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
81	Dabasso Guyo	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
82	Dima Jilo	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
83	Boru Halake	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
84	Sara wario	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
85	Doyo wario	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
86	Halake Waqo	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
87	Roba Galgalo	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
88	Sefia Doyo	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
89	Keshu dido	F	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
90	Diqo Gambi	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
91	DidaHamphina	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
92	Qero waqo	M	Pastoral dropouts	Moyale,Xilimedo
93	Dukacha Boru	M	PDO , representative	Dhas
94	Galgalo Waqo	M	expert, womne &children	Dhas
95	Bule Jateni	M	Social affairs office	Dhas
96	Jilo Bule	M	DRM, epert	Dhas
97	Mehadi Teka	M	ACF, team leader	Dhas
98	Gilli Haro	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
99	Shiri Abakale	F	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
100	Diko Konsiti	F	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
101	Galma Sora	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
102	Mohammed Molu	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
103	Boneya Jarso	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
104	Kanu Kumpuri	F	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
105	Dalecha Roba	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
106	Doyo Did	M	Pastoralist dropout	Dhas
107	Hawa Dhedecha	F	Small restaurant owner	Dhas
108	Fatuma Huqa	F	Tea room owner	Dhas
109	Habtamu nega	M	Small reastaurant owner	Dhas
110	Jateni Gorbele	M	PDO representative	Arero
111	Jilo Konsicha	M	DRM	Arero
112	Abdi Boru	F	SME,office	Arero
113	Teressa Kebede	M	Social affairs office	Arero
114	Nur Abdu	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
115	Jemal Dika	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
116	Diqa Huqa	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
117	Melich Molu	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
118	Tume Molu	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
119	Boru Gelgalo	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu

120	Karu Gerbicha	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
121	Melich Debisa	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
122	Elma Bontora	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
123	Dheke Sileti	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
124	Gordo Gelama	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
125	Diqo Konsite	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
126	Sukare Godana	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
127	Ruko boru	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
128	Turu melise	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
129	Fatuma Huqa	F	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
130	Boru gayole	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
131	Dhiba gurguro	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
132	Dulo wanyo	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
133	Aro Huqa	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
134	Guyo Buke	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
135	Xuqo sora	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
136	Abdubo qoye	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
137	Galma Dida	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
138	Boru Guyo	M	Pastoralist dropout	Arero,Haro Dimtu
139	Mestawet tesfaye	F	Restaurant & hotel owner	Arero
140	Gulma Tolessa	M	Hotrel owner	Arero
141	Sado Mohammed	F	café and tea room owner	Arero
142	Godana wario	M	resident taltale town	Arero
