

The Endangered Livelihoods of Hawd Nomadic Pastoralists: Push Factors to Forced Migration to Hargeisa City, Somaliland.

Dr. Ahmed Ismail Ali (DVM, Msc Vet., MPH)

Department of Veterinary Science/ Gollis University, Somaliland

Supervisor: Gerald Ainebyona

Research Coordinator, Gollis University School of Graduate Studies & Research (SGSR)

ABSTRACT: *The study was conducted in Hawd region where prolonged drought claimed almost the entire livelihoods of nomads. Its general objective of the study was to assess the endangered livelihood of livestock pastoralists and the push factors to urban migration in Hargeisa. Mix Methods research design was used to analyze data. The research tools used included; in-depth interviews, Key Informant Interview, Questionnaires as well as participant observation. The study found that most nomads in Hawd and those who were forced to migrate to Hargeisa city considered nomadic life as a hell on earth. It was found that government of Somaliland tried to introduce sedentary life in nomadic regions with limited success. The study also found that when prolonged drought hits Hawd nomads, they divide their remaining animals into groups and send them to different clan pasture lands to save them from death as one of the coping strategies.*

Keywords- *Endanger, livelihoods, Hawd, Nomadic, Pastoralists, forced, migration, Hargeisa, city, Somaliland.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The migration cases of livestock herders is a global concept. Herders all over the world live more or less the same under privileged lives. It is like they live the hardest lives unimaginable to the basic standards of humanity. Blench (2001) noted that “pastoral societies have risen and fallen, fragmented into isolated families or constructed world-spanning empires and their demise regularly announced, often in the face of entirely contrary evidence of their persistence.” It could be realistic to mention that their survival strategies correlate with the geographical space between life and death. According to evidence, pastoralists have always weighed the likely losses from the migration against comparable losses where they stay on suboptimal land in case of stock death increase (Johnson 1975 cited in Blench, 2001).

The CORAID and the Forum for Social Change (FSS) (2009 cited in Riche, 2009) indicated the Boran of Ethiopia also depend on livestock for most of their livelihoods. They occupy the grazing land equivalent to 1,871,190ha, bush and woodland about 155,050ha and cultivated land about 342,040ha ... whereby livestock holdings determine the level of household wealth. All pastoral land of Borana is troubled by severe drought too, meaning that they lose animals in large numbers due to severe shortage of water and pastures for their animals. A lot of Borana livestock herders have been observed moving to the shanty towns of Ethiopia having lost their animals. A good number of them cross the Ethiopian boarder to Hargeisa to start new settlements often venturing into small scale business or to become street beggars. One could argue that the Borana of Ethiopia's livelihood survival could be more endangered than its neighbours or neighbouring country like the semi-arid Somaliland which is the reason why they migrate to countries devastated by drought. This case of Ethiopian herders is largely the same story of most of the livestock herders in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa. A recent research on urban migration in sub-Saharan Africa found that “farmers and pastoralists often moved to peri-urban areas while continuing to cultivate or to keep livestock herds. Thus getting closer to markets and have better access to basic services such as health care and education” Potts, 2008 cited in Stites et al., 2014).

Comparable evidence discloses that animal husbandry is the most form of livelihood for Somaliland that is often characterized by devastating drought that affects the livestock economy. The latest research by (IOM, 2018) reveals that “over 60% of populations in Somalia are dependent on livestock for their livelihoods. The sector provides food, employment and incomes and contributes 40% of GDP and 80% of the foreign exchange currency earnings, excluding cash remittances from Somalis in the Diaspora ...” It is also confirmed in other published documentation that “pastoral production has a strong export orientation ...whereby Somaliland’s 80% of foreign exchange earnings come from livestock exports (UNDP figures for 1998 and Gaani, 2005 cited in Birch, 2008).

Cyclic severe prolonged droughts in the Somaliland pastoral regions make livelihood capacity for pastoralists very impossible. Alarming humanitarian crisis was echoed in Somaliland and Puntland livestock pastoral areas scaring the existence of pastoral communities to urban areas where they think life is better. For example, an estimated 1.7 million people were reported in need of humanitarian assistance experiencing severe water shortages and low livestock production when the Hawd livelihood zones were undergoing increased migration of people and animals (Humanitarian Bulletin, 2016). There are both pull and push factors forcing herders to urban neighborhoods that are widely documented. For instance, pastoralists seek employment opportunities and livelihood diversification upon stock losses and “land degradation, development-induced displacement, natural disasters, repeated drought, urbanization, and lack of recognition of rights” (Kipuri 2010; Nathan, Fratkin, and Roth 1996 cited Stites et al., 2014). The Karamajong of North Eastern Uganda are a case in the point.

According to (Hussein, 2005), Somaliland people cannot forget the painful history of prolonged droughts in the seventies, eighties and nineties. A combination of shortage of rainfall and man’s activities reduce the vegetation cover leading to shortages of water, food, forced sale of livestock at the lowest prices, loss of human lives and migration to urban centres (ibid). In fact, for Birch, households within the pastoral system are experiencing out-migration of younger people, leading to a decline of the available labour resulting from quick moneys they obtain from charcoal burning compared to livestock which require to be grazed for a number of years to gain financial returns (2008). It may therefore be convincing state that the cyclical nature of Somali migration “tends to be deliberate, strategic and anticipatory ...” (Kunz, 1973 in IOM, 2014). This could imply that livestock rearing is likely to diminish in the few years to come. With the harsh climate change that complicates the survival of livestock, recurring movements of pastoralists to neighbouring cities is not uncommon in Somaliland. With the common belief that city life provides better alternatives, most livestock herders are forced to move to Hargeisa city to search for scarce alternatives.

In related literature, the history of deepening food security of livestock crisis in pastoral regions of Hawd and the rest of Somaliland is recurrent and irreversible. The same story that was documented and lived in 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009 in the Horn of Africa (International Federation of red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2011) that consumed life and livelihood has been worrying Somaliland as a country.

World Bank Group and FAO (2018) highlights the main and most recent policy framework for livestock chapter of the “National Development Plan 2017–whose main aim is to support a vibrant and commercially competitive livestock subsector that contributes to sustainable livelihoods, inclusive economic growth, and the delivery of essential services.” However, this policy is not likely to fill the livelihood gaps in the pastoral regions of Somaliland, Hawd inclusive. For example, this policy is clear on issues to do with commercialization of animals and veterinary public health; national food security and research but does not address the educational issues of herders’ children who take care of these animals on daily basis. Thus, Somaliland, Somalia and Puntland are recognized as countries with the lowest literacy rates in the Horn of Africa (see, Africa Educational Trust, 2007). As a matter of fact, an economic activity such as livestock herding that not only contributes to the highest Somaliland GDP but also acts as the main local source of food deserves strategic educational prioritization in the national planning aimed at achieving sustainable development.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Food Security Analysis unit-FSAU (2001) Pastoral livelihood in Somalia is not without ‘living with uncertainty’ in which case pastoral systems are resilient to temporary shock and emergencies; but seem less able to deal with longer term critical trends whereby their shift from unmanageable crisis to collapse usually happens very quickly. In addition, the weight of disasters resulting from severe dryness of most of the Somaliland regions is unprecedented. Thus, livestock regions like Hawd have no alternative survival but run to urban centres. Guinand also notes that “urbanisation has gained momentum in Somali Region and can neither be ignored nor stopped anymore ... Growing numbers of pastoral people are forced and seeking to start a living away from pastoralism in urban centres” (2001). In Hawd region particularly, the absence of water and pastures cyclical severe drought kills most of their animals, thus eroding all their livelihood. These pastoralists

become frustrated after losing animals. They lose their minds and run to the nearby cities, most especially Hargeisa to beg from urban people who discriminate them. While there are no efforts made by any authority to rescue their livelihoods or compensate them for their huge losses, there is high risk as they wonder around the cities, they could be easily radicalized into terrorist activities. Thus, their state of mind together with their high possibility of being lured into terror activities threatens national security of Somaliland. This research paper aims to identify alternative and preventive survival measures that could minimize risk of drought and increase means of saving their animals for them to regain their psychology for the betterment of pastoralist communities in Hawd.

III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study is to assess the endangered livelihood of livestock herders and the push factors to urban migration. Specifically, it is aimed at:

- IV. Describing the nature of livelihood that herders live on in pastoral areas.
- V. Stating the herders' justification for continuous rural-urban migration.
- VI. Analyzing the livelihood challenges of herders in Hawd during hot seasons.
- VII. Stating the hardships herders encounter when they get into Hargeisa City.
- VIII. Suggesting possible sedentarization measures that could minimize the herding challenges of nomads in Hawd region

IX. METHODS AND MATERIALS

Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and techniques that were used in data collection in two selected areas. It also articulates the research design, the sampling techniques, and data analysis techniques as well the ethical concerns that were employed to access study participants and there after produce unbiased research.

Study Area

Primary data was conducted in Hawd region of Somaliland as well as Hargeisa city where most of the pastoralists ran to, after having lost their livelihood capacity. This study involved travelling to Hawd to make observations of what it feels to be affected by drought. But, pastoralists currently begging in Hargeisa city were interviewed to weigh their city challenges with those they experienced in the drought affected region. This region was chosen for this particular study because pastoralists inhabiting it report huge deaths of goats, sheep and camels amidst prolonged drought on annual basis. There also many observable pastoralists in Hargeisa city wondering for survival yet unwelcome into the new environment. Also, being my traditional home, I would like to see positive changes happen through better sedentarisation strategies as well as other possible pastoral alternatives that could help reverse the consequences of drought.

Study Population

The studied population include pastoralists whose livelihoods were endangered by the harsh climatic conditions in Hawd region. In order to understand the depth of their livelihood challenges, it was perceived necessary to involve policy makers in the Ministry of livestock government officials that regulates pastoralists, trade and export of livestock products, to understand their contribution to livelihood safety in pastoral regions like Hawd.

Research Design (Mix methods)

Mixed research design was used. The passed researchers never used mixed methods but preferred to separate them or use each one singly. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) also discussed the mixed methods approach but stated it emerged in the mid-to-late 1900s. The methodologies involving mix methods has lately attracted academic discourse (see also, Greene & Caracelli, 1997a; Sandelowski, 1995; Swanson, 1992; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998 cited in Sandelowski, 2000). This design was chosen because it is recommended by many scholars for its capacity to simplify research studies in the contemporary world we live in. Researchers like it on the basis of its philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry indicating that ..., it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies. A combination of the two approaches provide a better understanding of research problems ... (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007 in Cameron, 2015). Other scholarly evidence provide the strength of this design. For instance, it is argued that qualitative methods focus on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of participants to explore meaning, purpose and reality (Hiatt, 1986) while quantitative research attempts to maximize objectivity and demonstrate capacity to predict better results. In short, the scholarly definition of research as the "process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting data in order to understand a phenomenon" (Leedy & Ormrod in Williams, 2007) cannot make sense in the absence of a suitable research design. For the purpose of this research,

a mix design eased some of the local Hawd perspectives and viewpoints that would have otherwise been complicated in the first place.

Sampling Techniques

Sample Size

No research can be successfully conducted without making a sample. According to Marshall, “choosing a study sample is an important step in any research project since it is rarely practical, efficient or ethical to study whole populations” (1996). Samples are usually formed by people inhabiting a certain region but with the same characteristics. They must be going through the same experiences or practicing the same activities in a particular location or study area. The similarity in all of the Hawd pastoralists or those pastoralists pushed to the urban centres by the consequences of drought means that the studied sample results can be generalized to the whole population. According to latest research, the author emphasizes that “defining sampling units clearly before choosing cases is essential in order to avoid messy and empirically shallow research ... due to its unavoidable consideration as it is an everyday life activity rooted in thought, language and practice” (Gabo 2003 in Ali, 2019). Relying on the ideas these giants, 80 people participated in the study, that comprised of pastoralists who migrated to Hargeisa city but also involving those who are still battling with harsh climate in Hawd as well Ministry of Livestock Officials.

Sampling Procedure

Hawd region of Somaliland has an estimated population of 200 pastoralists according to (Ali, 2019). The ideas from Baker’s second rule of thumb were applied. It suggests that a common standard for program evaluation is 95% confidence with sampling error of 5% believing that this 5% is not likely to participate in the study (2012). Borrowing the scholarly ideas of Marshall, it could be very logical to reason that;

The size of the sample is determined by the optimum number necessary to enable valid inferences to be made about the population. The larger the sample size, the smaller the chance of a random sampling error, but since the sampling error is inversely proportional to the square root of the sample size, there is usually little to be gained from studying very large samples (1996).

Importing Marshall’s theoretical orientation into Hawd pastoralist drought experiences could fit with such long proximity in locating nomadic pastoralist by another. Before going for data collection, I had sampled 113 participants that were calculated using Baker’s Rule of the Thumb Formula $n=385/((1+(385/N)))$ where n is the total sample size and N was the total population ending up with a sample size of 113 as illustrated below.

$$\begin{aligned} n &= 385 / ((1 + (385/N))) \\ n &= 385 / ((1 + 385/N)) \\ n &= 385 / ((1 + 385/160)) \\ n &= 385 / ((1 + 2.40625)) \\ n &= 385 / (3.341) \\ n &= 112.9 \\ n &= 113 \text{ people} \end{aligned}$$

However, it was very difficult to access all the previously sampled participants due to their mobile way of life but I was able to engage only 80 participants successfully. They included pastoralists who migrated from Hawd to Hargeisa city; pastoralists who were still living in Hawd at the time of data collection in January-March when drought was so devastating. Some few officials from the Ministry of Livestock were also involved in the study.

Sampling Technique

Some researchers do not take sampling a key technique in field research. They are usually unaware of the fact that “defining sampling clearly before choosing cases is essential in order to avoid messy and empirically shallow research ... or the idea that sampling is just unavoidable consideration due to its ... everyday life activity deeply rooted in thought, language and practice” (Gabo, 2003). Three sampling techniques were combined to identify the study participants. These included; convenient sampling, purposive sampling as well as simple random sampling techniques. Marshall (1996) recommends convenient sampling technique which involves the selection of the most accessible subjects ... could be applied in both cases (i.e. in the Hawd pastoral communities as well as Hargeisa city since pastoralists in both cases may not be readily accessible) for different reasons. The challenge with convenient sampling is that while it is “the least costly to the researcher, in terms of time, effort and money, but may result in poor quality data and lacks intellectual credibility” (ibid).

Purposive sampling was also applied to capture the key informant and in-depth interviews from various study participants. A personal interaction with some secondary sources has proven that an insufficient number of scholars produced outstanding researched work having applied purposeful sampling techniques (see for example, little usage of the term purposeful or purposive in relation to sampling in grounded theory (only in

Corbin & Strauss, 2008, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) or phenomenology (only in Cohen et al., 2000; van Manen, 2014 cited in Gentles et al., 2015) and more recently (Ainebyona, 2018). In relate literature, purposeful sampling is described as “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry...Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding” (Patton, 2015 cited in Gentles et al., 2015).

On the contrary, other scholarly documentation associate purposive sampling with shortcoming in a sense that it “lacks sufficient conceptual clarity to allow for adequate classification of all available sampling strategies as either purposeful or non-purposeful” (Yin, 2011 cited in Gentles et al., 2015). Multiple sampling techniques have been used to fill sampling gaps. That is why Simple Random Sampling Technique was also considered important to deal with most of the quantitative findings. I concur with scholarly work whereby “mixed-method studies are not mixtures of paradigms of inquiry per se, but rather paradigms are reflected in what techniques researchers choose to combine, and how and why they desire to combine them” (Sandelowski, 2000). A combination of sampling methods and techniques could expand the scope of a study to aid researchers in seeking to capture method-linked dimensions population (see, Greene et al., 1989 cited in Sandelowski, 2000; see also Ali, 2019).

Data Collection Methods

Primary data was collected using triangulation methods and techniques by combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies. According to (Dawson, 2002), “Primary research involves the study of a subject through first-hand observation and investigation”. It was applied based on positivistic ideas which “seek to identify, measure and evaluate any phenomena and to provide rational explanation for it” (Neville, 2007). The following research tools were used for data collection.

In-depth Interviews

Nomadic pastoralists were interviewed in Hawd and Hargeisa city. The conversations were based on a list of structured and semi-structured questions. Inspired by Dawson, the engagement with the participants necessitated that “researchers need to remain alert, recognizing important information and probing for more detail. They need to know how to tactfully steer someone back from totally irrelevant digressions” (2002). Clarifications and further explanations were sought in order to obtain first-hand details about the studied phenomenon. Rapport was created at the beginning of every interview in which the interviewees gained full trust of the purpose of the study. While they were free to share most of their concerns, I listened to every detail, including small details and recorded them. Probing was done without influencing the interviewee as recommend by (Dawson, 2009).

Key Informant Interviews

Prior to the study, some key informants were identified among the community chiefs from the nomadic pastoralists as well as Ministry of Livestock Production of Somaliland who were requested to participate in the study. Due to their status in the community, I applied semi-structured interviews that formed “a list of ... topics that were more flexible giving room to the participant to ... discuss issues she/he deemed important” (Dawson, 2009). I realized that the ministry officials as well as chiefs raised a lot of useful issues or information without being asked. It was discovered that the age differences and status of individuals determined the quality and relevance of the information that made this study so unique. High profile personnel demonstrated authority of information regarding the state of nomadic pastoralists and how drought pushes them out of, and erodes their livelihoods.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was one of the key methods that was applied during the interviews as well as, at the distribution of the questionnaires. All the pastoralists looked very miserably moody. At the time of the interviews, you could tell that nomadic pastoral livelihoods was their only food security indicator. When I located some of the recent pastoral urban migrants, I observed that most of them were talking alone like mad men/women. They looked shy and most of them covered their faces to hide their identity. Although some methodology researchers suggest that “an open posture is best, where the interviewer sits slightly forward toward the interviewee, keeps regular eye contact, and avoids folded arms (Torrington, 1991 cited in Nivelles 2007), such shyness among the begging urban nomadic pastoralists required me to fold my hands at some point. The technique of holding hands did not mean that it would change their research attitude but rather, it was aimed at showing them that I shared their problem since I am a nomadic pastoralist hailing from the same region myself. According to Kothari, “if the observer observes by making himself, more or less, a member of the group

he is observing so that he can experience what the members of the group experience, the observation is called as the participant observation” (Kothari, 2004). In addition, Dawson also acknowledged that when the researcher “becomes much more involved in the lives of the people being observed ... hopes to gain a deeper understanding into the behaviour, motivation and attitudes of the people under study” (Dawson, 2002). The contrary would have created bias among the research participants. Fathalla and Fathalla (2004) define bias “as systematic deviation from the truth.” Realizing that I was their brother, the vulnerable nomadic pastoralists opened up to share their most pressing issues. While I was visiting Hawd two weeks ago, I observed that a week of rain recovered some green pastures in few locations within Hawd. These places were occupied by a lot of animals grazing coming from distant places from within and outside Hawd according to some of the informants. The reasoning here could be that there were no other place in Hawd where the goats, sheep and camels could survive other than that place. But, it also implies that the likelihood of overgrazing and excessive land degradation is inevitable.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires just as interviews, are used by most researchers in various public and private as well as international organizations. One scholar defines questionnaire as “all the data collection instruments in which each respondent is asked to answer the same questions in a predetermined order” (deVaus, 2002 in Akinci & Saunders, 2015). Questionnaires were distributed to most of the nomadic pastoralists in Hawd as well as those who migrated to Hargeisa city due to drought’s depressing consequences. Mixing questionnaires and interviews demonstrated a great deal of significance. Whereas “questionnaires can provide evidence of patterns amongst large populations, qualitative interview data often gather more in-depth insights on participant attitudes, thoughts and actions (Kendall, 2008 in Harris and Brown, 2010). Although the participants were required to fill the questionnaires by their own convenience, most nomadic pastoralists did not know how to read and write. This field experience contradicts what Akinci and Saunders describe that questionnaire survey is filled with ease and flexibility “compared to interviews and observations” (2015). Working with a research assistant and myself, questions were interpreted in Somali language for them to understand what we were talking about. The choice of using questionnaire was based on scholarly recommendation that “Questionnaires are a very convenient way of collecting useful comparable data from a large number of individuals” (Mathers et al., 2007; see also, Ainebyona, 2018 & Ali, 2019).

X. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Introduction

This section presents and discusses primary data concurrently. Both quantitative and qualitative data has been discussed as earlier determined in mixed methods approach articulated in chapter three and backed by published sources where necessary.

Demographic Information

Table 1: Age of respondents

| Age Range | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| 20 | 12 | 14% |
| 20-35 | 15 | 19% |
| 36-45 | 19 | 24% |
| 46-60 | 19 | 24% |
| 60 | 15 | 19% |
| Total | 80 | 100% |

It was found that 14% of the respondents were 20 years old while 19% ranged from 20-35 years; 19 in the age bracket of 36-45 (24%) similarly to those between 46 and 60 years while 19% were aged 60. Nomads of different ages were found to have been affected by drought in different ways. For example, while the elderly nomads complained of huge livestock loss, those in the age of 20 were worried of unprecedented food insecurity in both pastoral Hawd and Hargeisa city where some nomads had migrated to.

Table 2: Marital Status

| Item | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| Married | 42 | 53% |
| Single | 10 | 13% |
| Widow | 16 | 20% |
| Others | 12 | 15% |
| Total | 80 | 100% |

Most of the participants interacted with (42 (53%) were married. The smallest number (13%) were unmarried, 20% widowed while 15% did not disclose their marital status (see, table 2). The failure of disclosing one’s status could have been surrounded by potential trauma resulting from the devastating effects in the nomadic Hawd.

Table 3: Gender of Respondents

| Item | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|-----------|------------|
| Male | 37 | 47% |
| Female | 43 | 53% |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

According to table 3, it was observed that 90% of the respondents were male while 60% were female.

Table 4: Education of Respondents

| Education | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|
| Never attended school | 42 | 53% |
| Primary | 31 | 37% |
| Secondary | 5 | 7% |
| Post-secondary | 2 | 3% |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Table below is the respondent’s their educational background and it was observed that 42% were never attended and 37% are primary level while 7% were And Secondary were 3% also Post- secondary.

Table 5: Head of the household

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------|-----------|------------|
| Family head | 48 | 60% |
| Without | 32 | 40% |
| Total | 80 | 100% |

By the time of fieldwork, most of the households in table 5, (60%) had family heads while 40% were without family heads. According to Somali nomadic pastoralists, men are usually family heads which indicates that families lacking a male family head may be more vulnerable to socio-economic abuse of any kind. However, in case of loss of a family head male or divorce involving the separation of wife and husband in some families, a female may be seen as a head of the family.

Pastoral Household livelihoods in absence of Drought

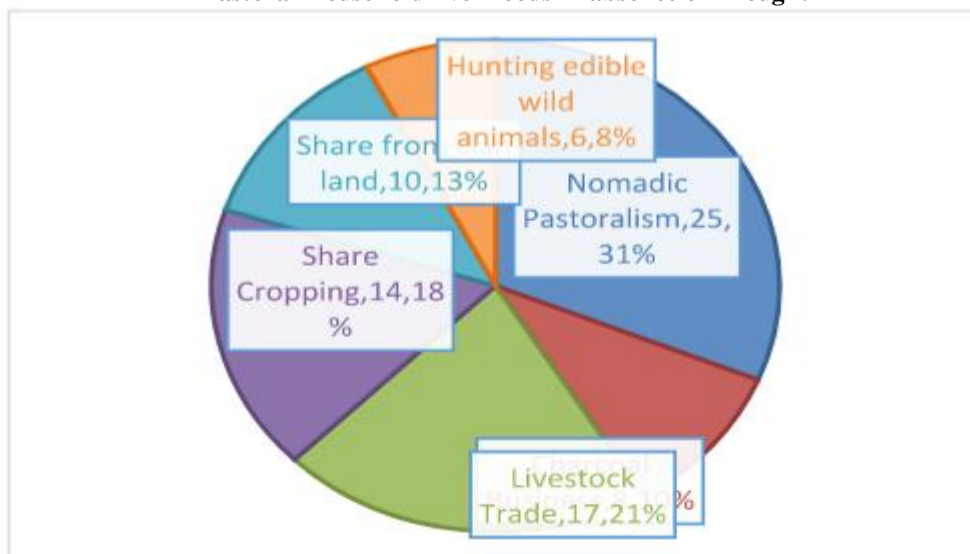


Figure 2: Livelihoods General Picture in Hawd

There are some friendly seasons characterized by short periods of rain between October and February every year. This is a grace season for most nomads in Hawd even though water and pastures for their animals are not enough. They still have to move from place to place with limited loses of animals due to zoonotic

diseases as well as wild predators that are carnivorous. Despite their economic experiences, nomads in Hawd do not only depend on nomadic pastoralism as their highest economic activity. For instance, figure 2 illustrates that 21% of nomads specialise in livestock trade, 10% charcoal burning, 8% hunting edible wild animals, 10.13% share from clan land while 14.17% do share cropping. It is important to note that these economic activities survive mostly in the rainy season except charcoal burning and hunting which are persistent in all seasons. While carnivorous animals threaten livestock lives, some nomads revenge on them too. Therefore one could reason that both livestock and edible wild are living a vulnerable life in nomadic occupied regions. In addition, the essence of engaging in share cropping where some nomads combine efforts to farm together or call for the share of clan land might be one way of coping with the terrifying consequences of prolonged drought which they must encounter every year.

Livestock Size in 2014 and 2019

Table 6: Livestock Size

| Households | Livestock Species | 2014 | 2019 |
|------------|-------------------|------|------|
| 1 | | 55 | 0 |
| 2 | | 62 | 1 |
| 3 | Camels | 106 | 13 |
| 4 | | 30 | 0 |
| 5 | | 570 | 269 |
| 6. | | 96 | 37 |
| 7. | | 68 | 25 |
| 1. | | 10 | 0 |
| 2. | | 0 | 0 |
| 3. | Cattle | 0 | 0 |
| 4. | | 0 | 0 |
| 5. | | 0 | 0 |
| 6. | | 24 | 0 |
| 7. | | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | | 136 | 12 |
| 2 | | 92 | 10 |
| 3 | | 173 | 23 |
| 4 | Small Stock | 93 | 26 |
| 5 | | 386 | 109 |
| 6 | | 154 | 32 |
| 7 | | 127 | 48 |

It can be observed that the nomadic pastoralists rarely keep cows but love small stock and camels as their livestock tradition (see, table 6). The study found that prolonged drought drastically consumed much of their livelihoods killing their camels and small stock in large numbers. Comparing the livestock size in 2014 and 2019, most of the nomadic household I interacted with lost huge numbers of animals or all of them. For instance, household 6 had 24 cows in 2014 but were all gone by March, 2019 when this study was conducted. Households which lost the biggest number of camels were very traumatized by this tragedy because those who were located in Hargeisa city were looking sad or observed making unconnected statements. Camels are traditional a source of food security, fame and superiority in all Somali families and those who lose them to drought were found to be cursing the forces of nature without reliable alternatives at their disposal. All the households lost more than a half of their livestock in the period between 2014 and 2019 except household 5 which still maintained more than half of the small stock. I can also be noted that while cows hardly survive in semi-desert climate like the one in Hawd and other Somaliland regions, small stock (sheep and goats) may survive more if the drought periods are shorter.

Drought as an Issue to Worry About in Hawd

During the study, it was observed that some people were seated under scattered desert trees or ramshackled hats worried of their survival. You could see negative non-verbal emotions whenever a nomadic

child or woman bypassed dead camels lying on dry ground in Hawd. Worrying of where to search for remaining livestock, most households could not imagine where the next meal could come from. Such nasty livelihood experience could have influenced most of the rural urban migrations of distressed nomadic pastoralists within Somaliland cities such as Hargeisa. In the even where the livelihood situation is traumatizing, nomadic pastoralists could be at risk of unprecedented epidemic diseases.

How it is like to be a Nomadic Pastoralist in a Dry Hawd

Although all households interacted with were originally proud to be nomads, a lot of families who participated in the study said it is human torture to live in dry season in Hawd calling it is hell on earth.

“The sunshine can be so hot that even the air we breathe is not fresh but very hot too, how can our livestock survive in such a climatic disaster? You watch your livestock die before you and no help from nowhere. I was mentally confused of what to do with my life. I lost all my livestock and my livelihood, my family got stuck and I have no money to survive from. At one time, thought of committing suicide or hang myself from a tree.”

A hell on earth is a very dangerous situation to nomadic herders and could be a threat to national development since Somaliland’s economy “depends largely on livestock” (see also, World Bank Group and FAO, 2018). The tragedy that erodes the entire livelihood of the whole nomadic region in Hawd requires special attention involving government intervention through sedentarizing nomadic households.

Push Factors for Rural-urban Migration to Hargeisa City

Figure 3: Factors for Forced Rural-Urban Migration

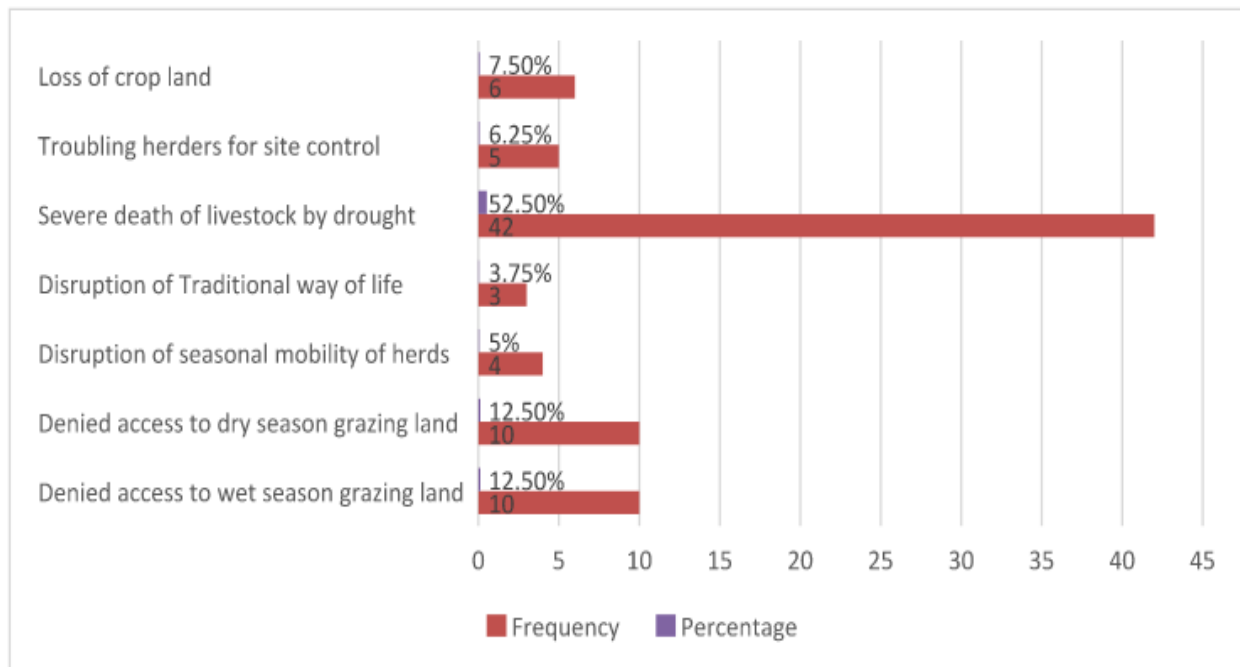


Figure 3 illustrates a number of factors for forced migrations of nomadic pastoralists/ herders. The recent nomadic rural-urban migrations said to be resulting from; loss of crop land, troubling herders for site control, severe death of livestock, disruption of traditional way of life, disruption of seasonal mobility of herds, denied access to seasonal grazing land and denied access to wet season grazing land. It was however noted by most of the household nomads that severe death of livestock by drought (52.50%) made their lives extremely difficulty, making it impossible to live without milk and meat as well as weakening the animals to lose weight or become skinny. The poor health of livestock in Hawd is also attributed to prolonged drought as well as denied accessibility to grazing land through tribal conflicts. The hottest climate leading to extreme water shortage and lack of pastures leave nomads in total confusion and stranded as they sit down and wait to throw away the corpses of their animals. Skinny animals if they survive prolonged drought do not attract international and local market. Thus, seeing most nomads turning rich livelihoods to city begging could be viewed as a threat to national and international food security.

Meeting Livelihood for Survival**Table 7: Meeting Livelihoods**

| Accessing Livelihoods | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|
| By livestock products | 13 | 16% |
| Farming Products | 5 | 6.2% |
| Paid employment | 6 | 7.5% |
| Remittances | 7 | 8.1% |
| Petty trade | 4 | 5% |
| Support from the government | 0 | 0% |
| Support from NGOs | 1 | 1.2% |
| Multi response | 45 | 57% |
| Total | 80 | 100 |

Most nomads in Hawd do not depend on a single livelihood source for their survival. For instance table 7 illustrate the majority of respondents (45%) depend on alternative livelihood sources. Although none of them may not live without livestock products, a mixture of livelihoods support the daily life of nomads in Hawd as in the rest of other Somaliland regions. Some of them (6.2%) said revealed that they access farming products, 7.5 do paid work, 8.1% receive remittances from within and outside Somaliland from remittances, 5% do petty trade, 1.2% are supported by NGOs although they were hesitant to describe the kind/ type of support. While most of them claimed that government of Somaliland ignores their well-being, they were crediting mostly livestock production as the backbone of their national economy. However, in the devastating drought when the livestock are dying due to lack of pasture and water from which to graze, the farming products are not likely to be existing in Hawd and if they do, there is a huge likelihood that they are imported expensively. Thus remittances help most nomads to address some of their household livelihoods.

Biggest challenges of Nomadic Herders in Hawd

Nomadic household vulnerability to prolonged drought was pronounced attributed to additional challenges in Hawd. For instance, most nomads expressed interest in education opportunities. Around 20 nomads shared related challenges over why government of Somaliland does not want to extend educational services to them. In their own words they said “we feed the whole country with meat and milk products but our children do not go to school ... the schools are not available here. If our children can have skills, the nomadic future would be bright and they would be supportive to the environment.” There were some single parents who asked whether Hawd region would ever have healthy animals without formal education as well as veterinary and medical services available to nomadic pastoralists. It is very likely the tradition of seasonal migration to various distant locations leaves their government without reliable decisions to settle them down on alternative farming.

What life is like for Pastoralists Migrated to the City?

It would seem like living in a city is associated with better life. In the same way, nomadic pastoralists who migrated to Hargeisa city had related expectations. However, their expectations have not always been met. When they were asked how like in the city is, one of the begging nomads said, “Life in the city is miserable as we have no way out to change their misery. No one is interested in talking or supporting us.” A lot of nomads in Hargeisa city were/ are not happy that their pastoral livelihood is gone forever and they end up destitute people and street beggars for the rest of our lives. Once could view nomads as running from the rural disaster to the urban one. They run away from total erosion of their livelihoods in their rural grazing land to ‘a no livelihood’ in the city. Nomad city migrants experience double suffering in this case and might be at high risk of poor health and exposure to possible city crime.

Two nomadic women I interviewed at one of the Hargeisa streets was found breast-feeding a baby of around one year. She told me, “... life in big cities like Hargeisa is terrible curse to us ... we lost everything we owned back home, our livestock were killed by excessive drought and we lost our happiness for this very reason”. The harrow of migrating to a traumatizing location is a miserable experience. According to research ethics, researchers are not supposed to exchange any money for shared primary data but the case of this woman was causing emotions to every passers-by and I found it painful to leave her without some money for the lunch of her sick-looking baby.

In a distance of 200 kilometers was another sad-looking woman seated on the road pavement with two younger girls and two boys who were here real children. She narrated, “In the recent past, we were very happy people in Hawd but when we come to the city, we end up street beggars, looking for hand-outs from the city strangers who do not welcome us. ... we are strangers in our own country ... we were very proud of our livestock in Hawd but see now how we have become prisoners of poverty in cities.” The horrific stories of these

women were a perfect proof that the trauma left by unprecedented loss of their livelihoods that was hugely eroded by prolonged drought.

Human-induced Drought in Hawd

Human activities are sometimes dangerous to the environment. There is a high correlation between deforestation for charcoal burning and shortage of rain alongside wind erosion. Although I did not personally see nomads cutting down trees in Hawd, I observed charcoal burning points/ locations deep in the villages. Big tracks packed with charcoal were met transporting the resource to Hargeisa city as I was traveling to Hawd for data collection. Most nomads might be notorious for deforestation simply to earn side income alongside livestock products but this vice may be a high rise due to immense loss of livestock as nomads use destructive means of survival during the toughest dry seasons.

Coping with drought

The study found that nomadic pastoralists think and apply some adaptive measures to the prolonged drought challenges. During the in-depth interaction with some of the Hawd victim nomads, I was told that they divide the few remaining livestock into different groups to send them to other clan pasture area to avoid losing all of them during drought season. However, the successful agreement with other clan leaders comes with additional painful conditions that involve exchange of livestock for permission to graze in their land. At times some nomads might experience such grazing conditions in more painful because they anticipate loss of most of their surviving animals to other clans. Therefore, getting their animals taken to other clan pasture land transpires by making very difficult decision with little hope of success.

Competition for limited water catchment areas was another strategic way nomads are coping with prolonged drought. While I was traveling along Hawd grazing areas for fieldwork, I observed thousands of livestock concentrating in specific grazing areas with emotional pastoralists...you can see them competing to direct their animals to Oasis areas for survival of their animals. Such a situation was more risky that it could rise clashes between angry and hungry nomads.

Although government of Somaliland has not extended key amenities like education and healthcare for nomads, it has tried to establish sedentarization as an alternative livelihood source for them. Scholarly research describes sedentarization as “a change for pastoralist households from a livelihood constantly on the move, to a livelihood permanently settled in kebeles – villages (Vralstad, 2010). According to the Ministry of Livestock officials, there has been some unsuccessful efforts to sedentarize nomadic pastoralists in Hawd and other Somaliland regions. Their failure to settle could be emanating from the fact that nomads love their animals more than anything else. By trying to introduce mixed farming involving crop production, government was trying to make the nomadic way of life impossible so that they can keep livestock and do agriculture on the same piece of land to minimize the cost of depending on imported foods. While sedentary life was said to have failed in the rural Hawd, there are some urban nomads who have become less settled. Some of the Hawd migrants who migrated to Hargeisa city earlier than 2019 were allocated some piece of land 15-30 kilometers away from the city to begin a sedentary life. I was luck to meet two of the nomads who established some green houses in the government allocated land who shared some success stories. For instance one of them said, “planting food crops was not part of our culture but we are more surviving than last year when prolonged drought killed all our livestock ... if I sell some food to the rich city dwellers in Hargeisa, I plan to purchase more livestock and resume my nomadic life style ... you know it was the source of livelihood for our existence.” We have heard success stories of sedentary life in the neighbouring Ethiopia among the Oromo community which explains why sedentarization “does not occur in the same way for all pastoralists, and not even in the same way for one pastoral society” (Fratkin and Smith 1995 cited in Ikeya, 2017). While a settled life may be successful in some neighbouring countries, it is still a dream unachieved or less achieved in Somaliland.

XI. CONCLUSION

The rise and fall of nomadic pastoralists has largely been noticeable in Hawd region of Somaliland. Being a region associated with the lowest precipitation, the water and pasture shortage has created scarcity of nomadic pastoral livelihoods. In the past, Hawd was famous its healthy and good-looking livestock for local and international market. However, the human activities seem to have evoked terrible climate change in the region. Thus, cyclic prolonged drought killing thousands of their animals and at times causing to loss of human lives to starvation. The February 2019 drought was the case in point. The shock of climatic uncertainties endanger the entire livelihoods of most if not all nomads. The milk and meat products which these people depend on, have disappeared and thus pressurizing most nomads to make difficult decisions of migrating to neighbouring cities like Hargeisa where they expect to survive as street beggars.

As a result, several nomads are continuously flooding in Hargeisa city. On a sad note, life in Hargeisa city has been viewed as a terrible cure by most of the nomadic pastoralists. A lot of them may be perceiving

their city life as a misfortune. While government of Somaliland tried to establish sedentary life for nomadic pastoralists in Hawd, no success was registered there as most of the nomads thought that it was very impossible. They would have preferred being relocated to vast pieces of land elsewhere so that they recreate livestock rearing. Government of Somaliland pushed the sedentary project only to register very limited success with urban pastoralists somewhere in the outskirts of Hargeisa city.

The coping strategies employed by nomads at the pick of prolonged drought in March 2019 was an indication that nomads and livestock are inseparable. When nomads resorted to a system of dividing their remaining livestock into small groups and sending them to clan pastureland upon request of clan elders; the concentration of the few remaining animals to the scattered oases with daily competitive conflicts over scarce water points among others, were a perfect proof that nomads' livelihoods depend largely on livestock production. That could be the reason why nomads refuted the sedentary life in Hawd. The little government achievement of getting nomadic migrants in Hargeisa city and its outskirts was also not deemed reliable.

XII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The rural-urban movement of nomadic pastoralists has not guaranteed their alternative survival. At the same time, the unprecedented loss of livestock made their life in Hawd impossible and thus migrating to Hargeisa city. At the same time, the new life in the city has been proven less successful or completely unsuccessful. For this matter, the rural-urban migration of nomadic pastoralists can be interpreted as a scary movement from hell to hell. In other words, the livelihood challenges of nomads are currently lacking reliable solutions. Based on the current livelihood context of nomads both in Hawd and Hargeisa city, this study suggests a number of recommendations that may turn out to be part of the livelihood solutions. They include the following:

- a) Reconsidering the establishment of a sedentary life. The limited success of a sedentary life in the outskirts of Hargeisa city could be pointed out as a lesson learnt. Government could use it as a case study to preach the same gospel in Hawd. Government officials need to persuade the nomads that alternative livelihoods can be realized in nomadic regions. It is easily to establish settled farming since it has less been successful in urban Hargeisa.
- b) Government needs to extend education services to the pastoral regions and encourage nomadic children to attend school. Education could provide the nomadic children with life skills related to alternative livelihood strategies before they are consumed their own land degradation human activities.
- c) Some participants were cited saying that there is no policy on livestock production. If this is true that government of Somaliland does not indeed have a policy on this important economic activity that is contributing to national livelihoods, the Ministry of Livestock and trade could use this chance to design a policy that incorporates and calls for a compulsory sedentary life not only in Hawd but all nomadic pastoral regions of Somaliland. This policy could be successful if it is accompanied by tangible follow-ups upon implementation.
- d) Deforestation was found to have worsened prolonged drought as nomads over-cut the trees to produce charcoal for business purposes. This has caused land degradation, dryness of land, shortage of water and pastures for their livestock. Government of Somaliland could have a policy on forest conservation through re-forestation of Hawd region and other nomadic regions of Somaliland. Any policy implemented and punishing culprits could result into positive outcomes such as the resurrection of favourable rainfall patterns as well as ensure livestock survival.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Africa Educational Trust (2007) A Study of the Educational Needs of Young People in Nomadic and Pastoral Communities in Somalila, Somaliland and Puntland. (Accessible at: www.africaeducationaltrust.org).
- [2]. Ainebyona, Gerald (2018) Reintegrating Female Ex-Abductees of the Lord's Resistance Army of Gulu District in Northern Uganda. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*. Vol. 6, Issue 4, pp: (948-966), Month: October - December 2018, Available at: (www.researchpublish.com).
- [3]. Akinci, C. and Saunder, M. (2015) Using Questionnaire Survey to gather data for within Organization HRD Research in M Saunder and P Tosey (eds), *Handbook of Research Methods on HRD*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, Cheltenham, pp. 217-30.
- [4]. Ali, Ahmed, Ismail (2019) Challenges of Nomadic Pastoralists in Availing Primary Education to their Children, focusing on Hawd Region of Somaliland. *American Research Journal of humanities Social Science (ARJHSS)*.
- [5]. Baker, Anita (2012) Evaluation Services. (Available at: www.evaluationservices.co).
- [6]. Birch, Izzy (2008) Securing Pastoralism in East and West Africa: Protecting and Promoting Livestock Mobility. *Somaliland/Somalia Region Desk Review*, April, 2008.
- [7]. Blench, Roger (2001) *You can't go Home Again: Pastoralism in the New Millennium*. London: ODI.
- [8]. Cameron, Roslyn (2015) *Mixed Methods Research: Mixed Methods Research Workshop*. Published by ANZAM.
- [9]. Dawson, Catherine (2002) *Practical Research Methods: A User-friendly guide to Mastering Research*. Oxford: How To Books.
- [10]. Dawson, Catherine (2009) (4th Ed.) *Introduction to Research Methods: A Practical Guide for Anyone undertaking a Research Project*. Oxford: How to Content.

- [11]. Fathalla, Mohamoud, F and Fathalla, Mohamed, M (2004) A Practical Guide for Health Researchers. Nasr: World Health Organization.
- [12]. Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit-FSNAU (2015) Somalia Livelihoods: Kakaar-Dharor Pastoral Livelihood Zone Baseline Assessment. Technical Series Report No. VII 59.
- [13]. FSNAU (2001) Pastoralists under Pressure. Issued October, 2001.
- [14]. Gabo, Giampietro (2003) Sampling, Representativeness and Generalizability. 3110-ch-28.qxd, 6:48PM, Page 435.
- [15]. Gentles, Stephen, J; Charles, Cathy; Ploeg, Jinny and Ann McKibbin, K (2015) Sampling in Qualitative Research: Insights from an Overview of the Methods Literature. Vol. 20, Number 11. Available at: (<http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol20/iss11/5>).
- [16]. Guinand, Yves (2001) Post-drought Somali Region Struggles with Past Emergency Legacy. Assessment Mission: 21-29 May 2001. Published by the United Nations Development Program.
- [17]. Harris, Lois, Ruth & Brown, Gavin (2010) Mixing Interviews and Questionnaire Methods: Practical Problems in Aligning Data. Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation, a Peer-reviewed Electronic journal, Vol. 15, Number 1, January 2010.
- [18]. Hiatt, J. F. (1986) Spirituality, medicine, and healing. Southern Medical Journal, 79, 736-743.
- [19]. Humanitarian Bulletin (2016) Somalia. August 2016/Issued on 1 September, 2016.
- [20]. Hussein, Yassin (2005) Sustainable Pastoral Production System under Pressure: A Case Study of Somaliland's Pastoral Production System. The Department of Economic History, Lund University.
- [21]. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2011) Drought in the Horn of Africa: Preventing the Next Disaster. (Available at: www.ifrc.org).
- [22]. IOM (2014) Dimensions of Crisis on Migration in Somalia. Working Paper, February 2014.
- [23]. IOM (2018) Somalia Drought Impact and Needs Assessment. Volume II, Sector Reports.
- [24]. Kothari, C. R (2004) Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- [25]. Marshall, Martin, N. (1996) Sampling for Qualitative Research. Family Practice, Vol. 13, No. 6. Published by Oxford University Press.
- [26]. Mathers, N., Fox, N. & Hunn, A. (2007) Surveys and Questionnaires. The NIHR for the East Midlands/Yorkshire & the Humber. (Available at: www.rds-eastmidlands.nihr.ac.uk).
- [27]. Neville, Colin (2007) Introduction to Research and Research Methods. Published by Bradford University School of management. (Available at: www.bradford.ac.uk/management/els).
- [28]. Riche, Beatrice; Hachileka, Cynthia, B. and Hammill, Anna (2009) Climate-related Vulnerability and Adaptive-capacity in Ethiopia's Borana and Somali Communities. Final Assessment Report. Published by Save the Children.
- [29]. Sandelowski, Margarete (2000) Focus on Research Methods: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Sampling, and Quantitative Sampling, Data Collection and Analysis Techniques in Mixed-Method Studies. Research in Nursing and Health, 2000, 23, 246-255.
- [30]. Stites, Elizabeth; Burns, John and Akabwai, Darlington, R (2014) It's Better to Sweat than to Die: Rural-to-Urban Migration, Northern Karamoja, Uganda. Somerville: Feinstein International Center.
- [31]. Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (2003) Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- [32]. Williams, Carrie (2007) Research Methods. Journal of Business Research, Vol. 5, Number 3.
- [33]. World Bank Group and FAO (2018) Building Resilient and Sustainable Agriculture in Somalia. Somalia Country Economic Memorandum, Volume I.