

The Socio-Economic Impact of South Sudanese refugees on the  
Host Community in Ethiopia: the Case of Pugnido Refugee  
Camp: Pugnido, Gambella Region.

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Wosenu Mekuria, entitled: *The Socio-Economic Impact of South Sudanese refugees on the Host Community in Ethiopian: the Case of Pugnido Refugee Camp: Pugnido, Gambella* submitted in a partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Master of Art in African Studies complies with the regulations of the University and meet the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **Abstract**

*This study aimed at examining the socio-economic impact of South Sudanese refugees in Pugnido town. With the arrival of refugees from Sudan especially with the outbreak of the Second Sudanese Civil War there was exodus of refugees from Sudan in to Western Ethiopia regions. Thus the arrival of large number of refugees in to the area, particularly in Gambella brought a demographic, political, social, economic and environmental impact in the area.*

*The study aims to understand and explain the socio-economic condition of the study area before the arrival of the refugees and the opening of the refugee camp. The study examined the economic activity, the culture and the history of the Host community, the Anywaa. So this enable to see the continuity and change with in the host community.*

*In the study process questionnaire, interview and observation used to get a clear understanding of the socio-economic impact of the refugees in the area. It explained the social, economic and environmental impact. Since the host community practiced hunting and gathering as one part of their economic activity the deforestation and the loss of wild animals seriously affect their economy. This paper also explain the depth of the host community dependency on refugee food aid which reach almost all members of the host community directly or indirectly.*

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## Acronyms

ARRA	Authority for Refugees and Returnees Affairs
CAR	Central Africa Republic
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
DRC	Democratic Republic Congo
EC	Ethiopia Calendar
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPLF	Eritrean People Liberation Movement
GC	Gregorian Calendar
GPLM	Gambella Peoples Liberation Movement
GNRS	Gambella people's National Regional State
GNP	Gambella National Park
ICARA	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
IDPs	Internally Displaced Peoples
IRO	International Refugee Organization
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PDF	People's Defense Force
SNNPRS	South Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
SPLA	Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement
SPLM/A	Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement/ Army
TPLF	Tigrain People Liberation Front
UN	United Nation
UNHCR	United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republic
WFP	World Food Program

# Chapter One

## Introduction and Methodology

### 1.1. Introduction

Africa is continent where most of the civil wars of the late 20<sup>th</sup> c and 21<sup>th</sup>c were erupted. In West Africa, the long civil Wars of Liberia, Sierra Leone and currently Mali, in central Africa in Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, and in East Africa in The Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Eritrea millions of civilians were displaced and move to another place to escape the danger at home.

The horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular are in the middle of refugee crisis. The drought and famine, civil war before 1991 and the government intolerance of political opposition in Ethiopia before 1991 caused huge displacement and refugee crisis that led to the migration of millions of Ethiopian to the neighboring nations, especially to Sudan, Somalia and Kenya. In a parallel development the Sudanese Civil War forced hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese to flee their home and to seek refugees in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya. This civil war led an influx of South Sudanese refugees in to the western Ethiopia border areas.

There was also another development in the eastern border of Ethiopia in this period. With the fall of the central government of Somalia, which was led by Mohamed Siad Barre, the new period of instability and civil war began in Somalia. The direct out-come is the flooding of Ethiopian and Kenyan border areas by Somalia refugees who try to escape the civil war. This influx of refugee is a burden to the countries which has a weak infrastructure for their citizens and struggle to maintain food security.

It is not only civil war that caused refugee crisis in the region, but also frequent drought also another factor. Since the Horn is one of the most drought vulnerable area and an area which is inhabited by a large pastoral societies, who are dependent on their animals which directly affected by the absence of pasture and water.

When we see refugee migration from Sudan the main cause for South Sudanese refugees to flee their home was the civil war which is the longest in Africa. This civil war started in 1955, even

before Sudan declared independence from Britain. It started by a group of gun men from South Sudan who feared domination and exploitation by the Northerners. The population of the North Sudan are predominantly Arabic in culture and Language, Islam in Religion and racially different from the South which is Christian and traditionalist in religion, black in color, linguistically and culturally different from the north.

The Southerners armed rebels of Anya Nya Forces, which started the war in 1955, continued to fight until the 1972 peace agreement of Addis Ababa ends the First Sudanese Civil War. However, the Second Sudanese Civil War broke out in 1983. This creates a huge humanitarian crisis in South Sudan and many South Sudanese migrated to neighboring nation including Ethiopia. In Ethiopia to deal with the raising number of refugees five refugee camps set by Ethiopian government and United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). These are Dimma, Bonga and Pugnido Refugee camps in Gambella People's National Regional State and Sharkolle and Yarenja refugee camps in Benishangul Gumuz People's Regional State. Following the end of the Sudanese civil war hundred thousands of refugees began to return to their home so the three refugee camps. Only Pugnido and Sharkole Refugee Camps are functioning until now.

It is clear that the refugees brought their culture; material and intangible culture, with them. In their interaction with the host community they exchange different cultural aspects, even though there are some ethnic and racial similarity between the refugees and the host community. The other issue is that the refugee community outnumbered the host community in Pugnido Refugee camp so in this case there was a significant impact on the livelihood of the host community and in their socio-economic conditions. In this thesis examined different cultural and economic impact of the refugee on the host community.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

It is so clear that the arrival of these refugees cause environmental problem and a competition over the natural resource of the refugee camp area with the local community. And in some cases led to conflict which cost lives and still continued to cost. The establishment of the three refugee camps, Bonga, Dimma and Pugnido in Gambella led to land based conflicts and caused environmental degradation. This is not the only thing that cause conflict, the new infrastructure which built for the refugees by international agencies like United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were not accessible for the local communities, who didn't have any of those facilities or even if there are they are not sufficient. In some cases also, members from the host community registered as a refugee using the ethnic and linguistic similarity between the Host and section of the refugee population, to get access to the facilities that were for the refugees. And in some cases to resettled in Europe and North America.

Pugnido refugee camp is one of the three refugee camps in Gambella People's National Regional State with Bonga and Dimma refugee camps. The Camp still continued to function whereas other two refugee camps are closed because of the return of those refugees who sheltered there. In spite of a relative peace in the South Sudan and the closure of other refugee camps in the region Pugnido refugee camp is still home for 28,000 South Sudanese refugees and continued to be function in a regular bases. The absence of permanent peace and the continued Ethnic based conflict in the new state of Republic of South Sudan remains a threat for many South Sudanese and became a reason for the persistence of the operation of the refugee camp.

Meanwhile the camp continued to function the impact of the refugees and the refugee camp on the Host community will remain. It is obvious to see rough relation in general and ethnic based conflict in particular between the local people, host community, and the refugee in and around the Camp. This shows that the need to study the issue with more appropriate and scientific approach, which show the basic causes of conflict. Since there is some ethnic and language similarities between the host community and section of the refugees the conflict with in the camp mostly spill out to the host community and will always have a disastrous out-come.

This study examined the impact of the refugees and the refugee camp on the Host community. And tried to identify the root causes of the continuous Ethnic conflict between the refugees and the Host community.

There are limited research conducted in the area focusing on the two refugee camps that were closed and even these studies that conducted in Pugnido refugee camp undertaken by UNHCR and only concerned on the condition of the refugees with in the camp, it fail to try to examine the relation of the refugees with the local community and identify the root cause of conflict.

I believe that the outcome of this study will contribute to the better administration of the refugee camp area and help to improve the relationship between the host community and the refugees until the refugees of the camp return to their home.

### **1.3. Limitation of the Study**

This research examined the socio-economic impact of South Sudanese refugees in Pugnido town. The target population of this research is the local people, the Anywaa. It doesn't include the highlanders and other new comers in to the area. It doesn't take the refugees as a main target population. However I tried to include the opinion of 4 refugees who resettled within the host community. This is because of the aim of this paper is to understand the socio-economic condition of the host population before the arrival of Sudanese refugees and how the refugees and the refugee camp impacted their life weather positively or negatively.

I do believe that the opinion of the refugees also should be included in this paper. Unfortunately I can't Include the opinion of those refugees who live in the camp that because of the unwillingness of the authorized body to give me permission. First when I visit the head office of Authority for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA) with a latter from the Center of African Studies I was told to get permission from National Intelligence and Security Service. And I was told only after that I could get document or any cooperation from their office. So I had to visit the office of National Intelligence and Security Service with a letter from my department. After submitted my letter to the office of National Intelligence and Security Service I have to wait 45 days to get answer which was a total rejection of my letter. I try to convince via phone one of the secretary but she can't help me and told me there is no way to convince her boss, and since it is as she say 'a security issue' I shouldn't try to move any further, which look like a warning. So it is impossible to meet someone physically and try to explain my case. Just what I needed for my paper is some document from ARRA not from National Intelligence and Security Service. So I have to move by myself and look other alternative that could be 'illegal'.

Even after I left to Gambella to collect data I face challenges particularly to get access to the refugees and the refugee camp. I visited UNHCR Gambella office which I hoped would provide me with plenty of information about the refugees condition, numbers and statistics, their activities and other refugee issues in Gambella in general and Pugnido in particular. I also hoped they will arrange condition for me in the camp to stay for some days. To the contrary to what I expected the office told me there is nothing to give me and can't take anyone by any case to the camp who is not their staff member. And I was advised to visit the ARRA office there in Gambella. Then I visited the office of ARRA but there too there is no cooperation and even I was told that I am potential threat of security in the area and receive some warning.

So I left Gambella to Pugnido at Thursday to use the weekends which will avoid my visibility by ARRA and other concerned bodies that would prevent me from conducting my study. Here, in Pugnido I could get some of my students of whom I used two of them as translators to fill my questioner and interview. With half day orientation and advises on Thursday afternoon I started to fill my questioner Friday morning in Anywaa village of the town. From Friday morning to Tuesday afternoon I was able to achieve my target which was fill up 30 questioners and interview the acting administrators of the town, the crop expert, the natural conservation expert and animal health expert of the Gog Woreda, all of whom were my students at Gambella Agricultural Technical Vocational Education Teaching Collage. And also able to observe the living condition of the host community, the market in the town, some Anywaa refugees living with the host.

In this process I also acquired the necessary cooperation letters from Center African Studies of Addis Ababa University, from the President Office of Gambella Peoples Regional State and Gog Woreda Council. However, all of these letters can't help me to get access to refugees in the camp since all refugee affairs and the camp administration are under the federal government authority.

## **1.4. Objective of the study**

### **1.4.1. General Objective of the study**

The general objective of the study is to examine and investigate the major socio-economic impact of the South Sudanese refugee on the host community in and around Pugnido town

#### **1.4.2. Specific Objective of the study**

In addition to the general Objective the proposed topic will have the following specific objective

1. Understanding the changes that the refugees and the refugee camp brought to the host community
2. Understanding the economic changes that brought by the refugees that affect the host community
3. Identifying the social impact of the refugees that affects the Host community
4. Identifying the magnitude of the social and economic impact of the refugee and the refugee camp on the host community
5. Point out the possible ways to minimize the negative impact of the refugee and the refugee camp on the host community

#### **1.5. Research question**

##### **1.5.1. General research question**

The main research question of the proposed topic is What are the major socio-economic impact of the South Sudanese refugee in Ethiopia Host community, the Anywaa in and around Pugnido town.

##### **1.5.2. Specific Research question**

In addition to the general research Question the proposed topic will have the following specific questions

1. What are the changes that the refugees and the refugee camp brought to the host community ?
2. What economic changes that brought by the refugees that affect the host community ?
3. What are the social impact of the refugees that affect the Local community ?
4. To what extent the social and economic impact of the refugee and the refugee camp affect host community?
5. What are the possible ways to minimize the negative impact of the refugee and the refugee camp on the host community?

## **1.6. Study Area**

The study area is Pugnido town, which found in Western Ethiopia, Gambella Regional State, in Gog *Woreda*. Gambella People's National Regional State share borders with Benishangul Gumuz and Oromiya Regional States to the North, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS) in south east and the Republic of South Sudan in the west.

The Gog *Woreda* is one of the 12 *Woredas* (Administrative divisions) of the Gambella regional state which is settled by Anywaa people. Agro-ecologically, in the area riverside agriculture is common, particularly maize and sorghum widely practiced by local people along Gilo river. As the region is generally not self-sufficient in food, alternative sources of food such as fishing and hunting are important sources of food. Wild food consumption is part of the daily dietary intake.

The exact location of the town of Pugnido is 7.64° North of latitude and 34.21° East of longitude. The town's elevated 459 meters above sea level. The annual rainfall of the town is about 900 mm. The average maximum and the minimum temperature of the town reach about 41° c in March and 20° c in July.

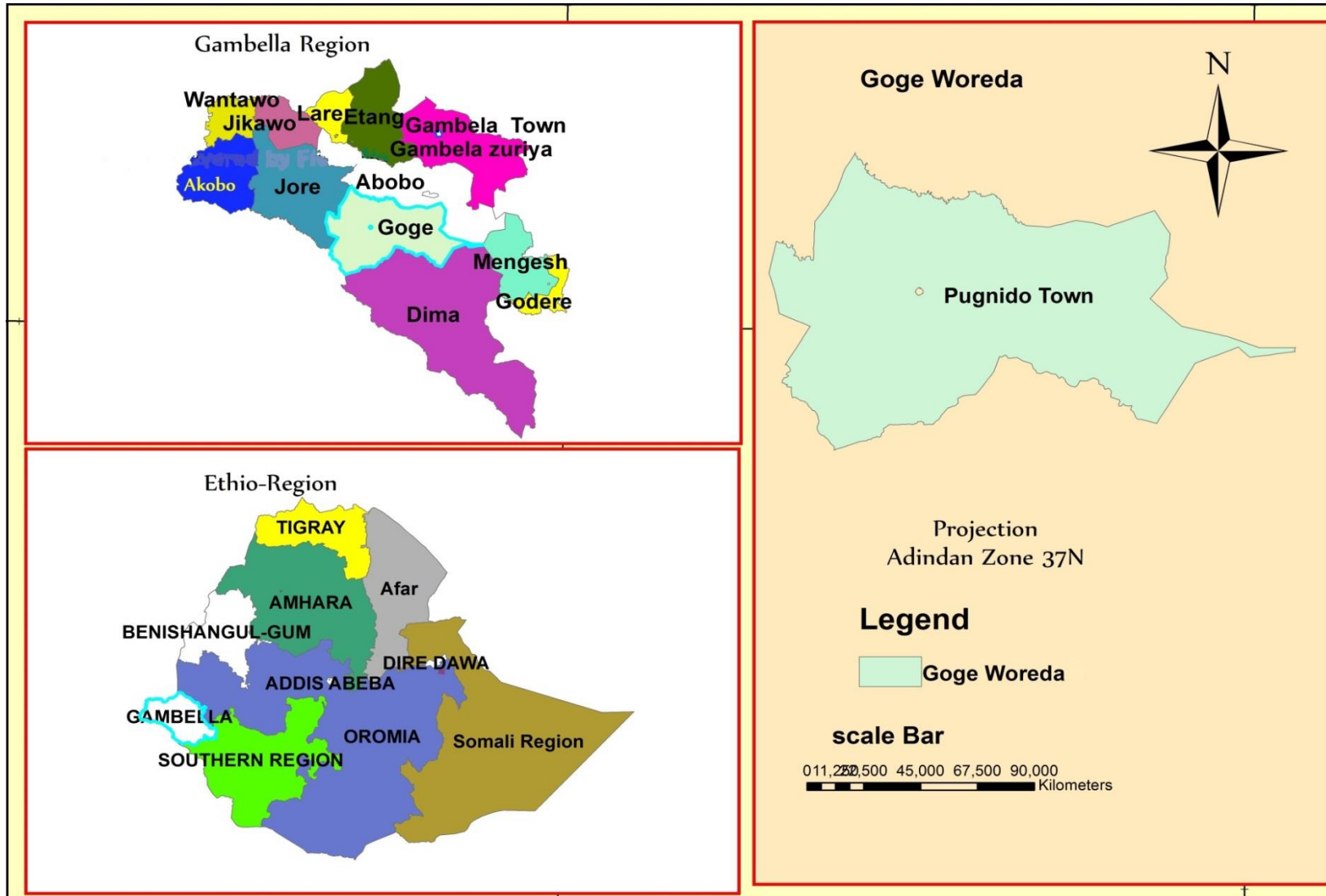
Since my focus is on the impact of the refugee and the refugee camp on the Host community my main focus if the Host community around the refugee camp. Pugnido refugee camp, Pugnido town found 111 km from the regional capital, Gambella town, which itself 777km from Addis Ababa. Pugnido refugee camp is now a home to more than 28,700 refugees and was the largest of refugee settlements in south-western Ethiopia's Gambella Region (ARRA, 2012), where a total of 85,000 Sudanese are sheltered. The camp was first opened in 1987 but closed in 1991 in the aftermath of civil war which broke out in Ethiopia. The refugee camp reopened again with the raising of South Sudanese refugees that cross the Border in to Ethiopia following the intensification of the Sudanese civil war.

## **1.7. Methodology**

### **1.7.1. Research Design**

This study focused on impact of the South Sudanese refugees on the host community around Pugnido refugee camp. It used qualitative research approach. It tried to get a deep understanding of the socio-economic conditions of the host community before and after the opening of the refugee camp. In this way it became easy to see the change and continuity with in the host

**Figure 1 Map of the Study area**



community and the impact of the refugees. In such case qualitative research design be the best way to address the topic. It employs qualitative analysis to analyze the socio economic impacts that affect the Host community around Pugnido Refugee camp.

### **1.7.2. Sampling Method and procedures**

The study used snowball purposeful sampling technique. To get a depth understanding of different impact of the refugees and the refugee camp on the Host community first I identified peoples around the refugee camp who remember the socio-economic condition of the area before the establishment of the refugee camp, that is 1987. I also choose some youths to have a different understanding of the effect of the refugee and the refugee camp on different age groups. Then I filled my questionnaires with the people who were qualified and also conduct interview observation.

### **1.7.3. Method of data collection and Source of Data**

#### **Method of data collection**

The research is based on both primary and secondary information. Primary data is collected from the members of the host community in the surrounding areas of the refugee camp. The main method of data collection is through interview and questionnaire. Observation of the life of the host community is also important to have a full understanding. A personal (face to face) interview using translator used to obtain good information from the respondents. The respondents are asked to provide information through cooperation process. This enables depth and detail information about the research. So, the primary data collected from the participants through administered questionnaire. The research employs two translators. Then it took a half day training before data collection begin.

#### **Source of data**

To attain the stated objectives, the data collected from primary as well as secondary sources. Questionnaires answered by the selected people and personal interviews conduct in order to fill the gaps. The interview will be un-structured that has open ended questions and conducted face to face.

The semi-structured questionnaire was prepared both in Amharic and English. Secondary data was also obtained from UNHCR and other NGOs which work in the area in the relation to refugees. In order to get further information, reports and documents from the Gog Woreda Administration Council, and the Gambella People's National Regional State agriculture office

used to get secondary data i.e. document data. Website and internet source also the other source of data for research.

#### **1.7.4. Method of Analysis**

The proposed study employed and use to analyze the collected data using both descriptive analysis. The result of the questioner, interview and observation analyses based on the objective of the study. Secondary data from different concerned governmental and NGOs will also be analyzed and interpreted. That would be a qualitative analysis to have a deep understanding of the conditions in the area.

## **Chapter Two**

### **People of the Study area**

#### **2.1. People of The Study Area**

Gambella region, which referred as Anywaaland by many scholars found in western Ethiopia along Ethio-Sudan border. The region is one of the remote and marginalized parts of the Country. The infrastructure, social service and economic development in the area is very poor. And the degree of integration in to Ethiopian identity and national politics was too weak (Derejje, 20008 ). This is because of the economic backwardness of the country. Since Ethiopia was/ and still is among the poorest countries in the world there is no good or even satisfactory facilities even at the center, which relatively develop than the peripheral part.

The indigenous people of Gambella Region are the Anywaa, Nuer, Komo, Opo and the Mjanger ( Regional Constitution, 2002). These people are linguistically related to each other and there is also a social, cultural and economic exchange among them. But this does not mean they are similar; there is a clear ethnic boundary between them. The Anywaa and the Opos are predominantly cultivators, the Nuers are pastoralists with little cultivation of maize in the rainy season, whereas the Majanger are hunter and gatherers and known for their skill of beekeeping and wild honey collection ( Derejje, 2006).

However, the expansion of the Ethiopian state in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in to the area added a new category of people to the existing population called *degegna* ( habesha or highlanders) or by Anywaa *Gaala*, by Nuer *Bugn*( Derejje, 2006). There is a clear racial difference between the highlanders and the local people as Derejje stated

*“the boundary between the highlanders and the local population is constructed, physically, in the language of color, the ‘red’ highlanders ( i.e. lighter in skin color) being constructed with the ‘black’ locals”*

The term Highlander in the area apply collectively for different people who came there from different parts of the Ethiopian highland for different purpose. They are from different ethnic groups; from Semitic Amhara, Tigre, Gurage; from Cushitic Oromo, Kambata, Hdiya; from Omotic Wolayita, Kaffa, Sheka, et. ( Derejje, 2008 ) Many of the Highlanders live in urban centers with the exception of the settlers who brought in to the area by government resettlement

projects in 1980's<sup>1</sup>. In urban centers they take position in the civil service structure and dominate the trading activities (Derejje, 2006).

## **2.2. The Anywaa**

The Anywaa are a Nilotic people who lived in the lowlands of Gambella Regional State (formerly an *Awraja*, district, of Illubabor province) in western Ethiopia. The Anywaa people also live in eastern part of the Republic of South Sudan. Basically the Anywaa people are river basin people, they live along the rivers of Baro, Gilo, Akobo and Alwero in Ethiopia and Pibor and Oboth in South Sudan ( Kurimoto, 1996). The neighbor of the Anywaa are the Oromos in the north and east, the Majanger in East, the Nuer in west, Murele in South and Opo and Komo in north.

Economically the Anywaa practice a hoe farming and producing maize, Sorghum and some other crops on the riverbanks. Here fishing is another source of food. In the dry season when food became scarce hunting is main source of meat. Hunting in the dry season will be easier because wild animals visits the river basin for pasture and water(Kurimoto, 1996).

As E. Pritchard sited in Kurimotos's 'People of the River' the estimate of the Anywaa population by 1940 both in Ethiopia and Sudan was between 30,000-40,000. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century there were two government censuses conducted in the area. However the figure of these censuses lacks clarity and didn't give any exact figure (Kurimoto, 1996). According to the 1984 population and housing census the Anywaa population of Ethiopia was 28, 044 , in the following census the, in 1994 Anywaa population in Ethiopia grow to 44,581and in the 2007 census Anywaa population reach 64,986 (CSA, 1989, 1999, 2010).

The language of the Anywaa belongs to the sub-group called Lwo( Luo) of the Nilo-Saharan language family. When we see their relation with other Nilotics they are closely related linguistically, culturally and historically with the Pari, Shilluk, Nuer and the Dinka. In comparison with the Pari, who practiced subsistence economy through agriculture, fishing, hunting, pastoralism and gathering, the Anywaa share large portion of their means of production and source of food. The Pari language also almost similar to that of Anywaa (Kurimoto, 1996).

The Anywaas, unlike the pastoralist Nuers and the agro-pastoralist Dinkas do not keep domestic animals. The agro-ecology of the eastern part of the Anywaaland doesn't allow them to keep

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<sup>1</sup> In late 1980's following the great famine of Ethiopia the government launched a resettlement program from drought affected area to less populated areas of western and southwestern parts of the country.

cattle because it has tsetse flies. Here food obtained from the cultivation of maize and sorghum, by fishing and in the dry season hunting and gathering are an additional source of food. The agricultural activity on the field predominantly carried out by men and women role is high in gathering and fishing using basket. After harvest of crops all the processing left to the women, transporting from the field, grinding and cooking (Kurimoto, 1996).

### **2.3. Ecology of Anywaa Inhabited Areas**

The Anywaa classified their natural environment in to three categories according to the vegetation that found in the areas. These are from the west to east or simply from downstream to upstream *Bap* (grassland and seasonal swamp), *Wok* ( wood land) and *Lul* ( forest). The variation of the vegetation means the variation of the economic exploitation of the naturel resources. Among these three areas *Wok* is densely populated and it only inhabited by Anywaas, *Lul* inhabited by Anywaas and Mejengers and in *Bap* there is a growing number of Nuer pastoralists who move eastward (Kurimoto, 1996).

The economic activity of the Anywaa varies in these areas. In *Bap* since most of the land flooded in the rainy season, parts of *Bap* which does not flooded is suitable for cultivation of crops. In *Bap* pastoralism, fishing and hunting are very important than *Wok* and *Lul* (Kurimoto, 1996).

In *Wok* there are two places cultivated by the Anywaas; the hinterland and the river banks. In the hinterland cultivation conducted in the rainy season and almost all parts of the hinterland is suitable for cultivation in rainy season. The riverbanks are more conducive for cultivation because of fertile soil and permanent supply of water from the rivers. It enables them to produce in almost all season of the year. Here, in *Wok*, cultivation is the main source of food, however, fishing and hunting are supplementary source of food. In western parts of *Wok* the Anywaa keep goats, sheep and some cattle but in the east very few animals are kept (Kurimoto, 1996).

The subsistence economy in *Lul* is highly depends on Agriculture which produced most of the Anywaa food staff. Here there are no domestic animals and hunting and fishing are not significant as it is in *Bap* and *Wok*. In *Lul* the Anywaa cultivates Yam, sweet potato, ground nut and Bambara groundnut. Here there is small amount of wild animals, which is abundant in the in *Bap* and *Wok*. In *Lul* the Anywaa practiced beekeeping which they borrowed from Majanger, who has a good reputation in beekeeping. Here there is evidence that they influenced by the Mejenger in the practice of beekeeping, yam eating and wild animal trapping (Kurimoto: 1996).

Pugnido, where this study conducted, find in *Wok* ecological region. Here, as other parts of *Wok* the economic activities are seasonal cultivation in the rainy season highly practiced. Riverbank cultivation also produced large amount of food crops. Fishing and hunting and gathering also alternative source of food especially in the dry season.

#### **2.4. Economy of Anywaa Crops**

As mentioned above the Anywaa cultivate their land and produced different crops. They producer maize ( *abbai*) and sorghum ( *bel*) predominantly with pumpkin( *ukonno*), sesame( *nyimmo*), tobacco( *thaba*) and gourd(*keeno*). Some of these crops have different local vertices. Until recently sorghum was a staple food but now it is maize which became dominant. This is not because of its test but because it need much less labor to protect the maize than the sorghum in the field before harvest from birds. It also needs much lower labor to grind in to flour. Another factor is the commercial value of maize better than sorghum (Kurimoto, 1996).

Anywaa meal consists of agricultural harvest and wild gathering and hunting. The stable food of Anywaa is a thick porridge known as ***Kwon*** made up of maize or sorghum flour. In Addition to this a soup called ***Kada*** made from different vegetables also part of their diet (Kurimoto, 1996).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century there are some new crops and fruits introduced in to the Anywaa by the British, who had a trading post at Gambella until 1956, by Ethiopian government or by contact to the neighboring people. These new crops and fruits are sweet potato, tomato, cassava, sugar cane, papaya, banana and mango (Kurimoto, 1996).

The agricultural tools of the Anywaa are very simple hoe ( *kweri* or *cala*) and machete ( *gejira*). The hoe made of iron bar with sharp edge with strong stick. It used to clear farm land, for weeding and to harvest root crops. Basically the hoe doesn't dig dipper it just scratch the surface of the soil to remove plants, mostly weed. A stick called *opiidhi* used to make a hole on the ground to sow seeds of maize or sorghum (Kurimoto, 1996).

#### **Shifting cultivation**

Shifting cultivation is common in *Lul* and parts of *Wok* and *Bap*. In *Lul* shifting cultivation started with cutting trees and clearing the area by fire. The clearing mostly started with the beginning of the dry season when the temperature is good to clear the land using fire and to burn cut trees. Then with the beginning of the rainy season at the end of April maize and sorghum will be sown. In the gardens also tobacco and sesame also cultivated in *Lul* (Kurimoto, 1996).

### **Riverbank cultivation**

The Anywaa are known as people of the river, here among the Anywaa riverbank cultivation is the main means of agricultural production. There the seasonal variation of the water level are evident. In the rainy season, that is from June to September, the water level increase sharply. So most of the riverbanks areas will be flooded. This increased the organic matter in the soil and have a direct impact on the fertility of the soil. Even in the flooded riverbanks the Anywaa sow sorghum and maize varieties which have the resistance to the flood( Kurimoto, 1996)

In the dry season the field of the flooded banks cultivated using the water it absorbed in the flooded season and also water from the river that penetrate underground. So riverbank cultivation is the main means of agricultural production that the Anywaa relay throughout the year and it enable them to produce two times a year or even more.

### **Fishing**

Like hunting Fishing conducted in the dry season and is the source of meat for Anywaa. In the dry season with the fall of the water level fish returned from the tributaries, flooded plains and pools to the main rivers. The fish collectively called by Anywaa *Mai* and they use spears (*bidhi*), harpoons (*aroc*) and hand hooks (*goolo*) and women use baskets (*thwoi*). Fishing conducted by individual or group level using hooks, nets, basket and spears ( Kurimoto ,1996).

The catch could be consumed soon or dries and preserved for other time. The dried fish called *Peeto* and used as a means of medium of exchange in the market. Fishing in the past organized by the “father of the land” (*wa-ngommi*) a title inherited by blood from the first settler of the area. Whatever the amount of the fish catch he, the father of the land, will get some amount. However, this privilege was lost during the socialist government of the Darg as a feudal practice (Kurimoto, 1996).

### **Hunting and Gathering**

Hunting, which is called *Dwaar* by Anywaa, carried out using spear, trap and rifle. The most common animals to be hunted by Anywaa are Kudu, Heart beast, Giraffe, Buffalo, Bush back, water back, gazelle and duiker. Elephants does not usually hunted by Anywaa in *Wok*. However, they hunted by those who live in *Lul* where there is no much wild animal to hunt. Since hunting

conducted in the dry season, it carried out in *Wok* and *Bap* areas always when the grass burn and the animals migrated in to the river basins for pasture and water. This time many men participate in a coordinated hunting. If there is a game to hunt in the grass the men set fire and prepare for the animal to come out with ready spear and rifle (Kurimoto, 1996).

With the introduction of firearms in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century hunting became easier especially large animals like elephants. Now a day the significance of hunting as a source of meat decline, the coming of large number of refugees from Sudan and settlers from other parts of Ethiopia highly affected the wild life, their need for fire wood deforested the area which is the shelter of the animals and their hunt even depopulated the wildlife. This population pressure on the environment and the military activity of Sudanese People Liberation Movement(SPLM) and its large scale hunting with automatic gun wipeout large amount of wild life in the area. Kurimoto states it as follows

*“The importance of hunting as a means of supplying meat has greatly decreased. This is because of most population of large animals were destroyed with automatic weapons by soldiers of the Sudanese People Liberation Army ( SPLA) when they set up headquarter and training camps in Anywaaland. They killed animals for food. Some Anywaa queried smuggled rifles from SPLA soldiers or as government militia men and shot animals. The once rich fauna of Anywaaland is now devastated”.*

According to Kurimoto gathering among the Anywaa still continued to play a significant role as a source of food. He classified the wild plants gathered by Anywaa in to three. The first group of plants are herbs and leaves cooked in soup. The second group are fruits eaten as snacks by children. The third group of plants are tuber, fruits and seed cooked as a substitute for the staple food. The consumption of these wild plants will sharply increase during famine.

## **2.5. Social structure**

Anywaa identity is closely associated to some political, religious and cultural practices. Social relationship among them, between leaders and ordinary people, elder and youth, and husband and wife formed and maintained by the medium of bead<sup>2</sup>. By many Anywaa regarded as bead people. Its social role is critical. It role can be contested with the role of cattle in their pastoralist Nuer neighbor. A bead, especially glass beads which they call *dimui* are more valuable and

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<sup>2</sup> The Anywaa jewelry almost all made of bead, even if it is clear to see the western cloth and jewelry, bead jewelry still better used than manufactured jewelry imported in to the area. And almost all Anywaas wear bead: male and female.

determine the social status of a person, the more *dimui* he has the more prestige he gain in the society. It given for a bride wealth, for blood wealth to ransom, etc. ( Derejje, 2008).

Theoretically one characteristic of Anywaas is the village role in the society, with which a person identified and takes his identity as a member of a certain village. This association of a person's identity with his village will continue even after a person leave the place( Derejje, 2008). Derejje in his writing of 'Ethnic self and the National Other' explain it as follows

*“A village is a principal unit of social identification among the Anywaa. Each village consists of families and localized lineage of the fourteen principal clans. The ideal of the average Anywaa is a life-long identification with a certain village. Even when they leave their village, the Anywaa keep the name of their former village. Resettlement in new village requires an elaborated ritual of 'befriending' the new earth. Each Anywaa village as a territory has boundaries, well known by its inhabitants and by other villages. Even the wildness are inside a known territory, belongs to either to Anywaa or to other ethnic group and is to be respected as such”.*

So it is clear that land among the Anywaa is not just an economic resource rather it is related to their social, political and cultural aspect. The advance of Nuer from the west in their territory and the resettlement of highlanders by the government in 1980 in to Anywaa territory threatened their cultural and social identity. This territoriality also directly related to their political organization ( Derejje, 2008).

## **2.6. The Anywaa Traditional leadership**

The Anywaa political leadership is based on two system the *Kuaari* (village headmen) and the *Nyiya* ( nobles). These leadership are in a regular transfer of power. The headmen should maintain support by generosity and by balancing the power between different rival village chiefs. In any case it is possible to remove the headman by revolt (Douglas, 1986, Wondirad, 1978).

Among the Anywaa nobility or kingship are related to the position of the royal emblem<sup>3</sup>. Any king, like the headmen can be ousted by other chief. In most cases the ousted king or headman give up his power without much resistance. Here the Anywaa villages are consists of one clan or a lineage of clan and each village are autonomous under their own headman (Douglas, 1986).

The boundary agreement of 1902 which signed between Ethiopia and the British colony in Sudan placed most of the royal Anywaa in Sudan and most headmen in Ethiopia. However the nobles/

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<sup>3</sup> The Anywaa emblem consists of a royal stool and a costume. And possession of this emblem mean legitimacy to take power.

royals had a clear contact with Ethiopian. They were the beneficiaries of arms trade which mostly come from Ethiopia plateaus. The first to take the advantage was Udiel Wa Ngenya, then Uliimi War Agaany. Akwie later on became a more powerful noble (Douglas, 1986).

In their relation with the neighboring people Anywaas maintain some degree of social relation. With the adjacent Oromos, Nuers and Komos there were Anywaa marriage across Ethnic line, especially with Nuers , trading are common in Anywaa social life. There were some evidence that shows the assimilation of Anywaa in to other societies because of the pressure that they face from the Nuer and highland population ( Douglas 1986).

## Chapter Three

### Concept and Definition of Refugee

#### 3.1. The Concept of Refugee

The modern legal concept of a refugee traced back to 1921, when the League of Nations created a high commissioner for Russian refugees, which led to the development of a specific travel document. However these legal steps were inadequate to deal with the massive refugee crisis as a result of persecutions and displacements of World War II( WWII). WWII caused serious humanitarian and refugee crisis that forced the post war European and US governments to have one binding legal term that governs every nation.

The term refugee doesn't have one single definition. Different professionals define the term from their own area of expertise. Politicians, lawyers, humanitarians, sociologists, Anthropologists, demographers, etc. explains the term from their perspective and there is a need to have a one definition which is inclusive of all. This make the term vague and difficult to give one single definition. So it will be difficult to use one of the definitions from one profession for general purpose, which couldn't be inclusive of all ideas from different field of studies. A full understanding of contemporary refugee issue will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multidimensional nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, understanding, and explanations.

The question of 'who is refugee?' is also critical question that should be addressed. Both the 1951 Convention and the 1969 protocol of United Nation ( UN) related to the issue of refugees and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention for refugee problem try to address the issue. The answer for the question of 'Who is refugee ?' will determine the protection and support that a person could /should get from the asylum country. So it is not an easy question for the country of asylum to decide since it is related to a service that they should provide to an individual or group of people ( Wondim, 2007).

On the political sphere, the question of who entitled to enjoy the right and protection as a refugee continued to be controversial. It is difficult to determine who is and who not refugee. It is further

complicated because different governments call the people referred as refugee in different terms like voluntary migrants, bandits, fugitives, etc. ( Christopher, 1998) . As Christopher stated

*The concept of 'refugee in it-self, is very loose and controversial. That is to say, to determine who is refugee and who is not refugee is a very problematic issue as long as the countries where the refugee flees from often dispute the validity of refugee claim, calling them bandits or simply criminals or migrants*

The claim by the source country make the issue problematic and difficult to decide whether a person is forced migrant( refugee) or not, whether the migrant fulfill the UN criteria to get refugee status. The issue may further exacerbate if there is a political/ economic rivalry between source country and the country of asylum. This kind of cases always leads to claim and counter claim by the country of origin and by the country of asylum (Christopher, 1998). Sometimes this claims and counter claims are too contradictory and confusing.

The concept of refugee is highly influenced by international politics. Since refugee issue is also an issue of inclusion and exclusion, identity and difference, citizen and alien, insider and outsider the concept determine who does and who does not belongs to a certain country ( Wondim, 2007).

The issue of sovereignty of a country, with an artificial boundary between African countries, shows the politicization of the issue. Since a constitution is the higher ruling tool of a countries within their territory it will used to decide whether a person is a citizen or not, refugee or not. Constitutions and other laws of a country only applied with in that country and will not apply for those who are outside and have religious, racial, ethnic, etc. similarity with its citizens. For example if an Ethiopian Nuer cross in to South Sudan he, according to international principles and governments rule, will be considered as refugee even if he had a family and tribesmen there. But he will not considered as refugee if he move in to other parts of Ethiopia which culturally and linguistically different from where he lived( Wondim, 2007).

The other issue of sovereignty that affect refugees and IDP is the principles of non- interference in the internal affairs. This allow governments to abuse, control and forcefully resettled refugees and especially in the case of IDPs the control their mobility, prevent international aid, forcefully resettled them, ect. They have the power to control international humanitarian activities and even prevent their access to the refugees and IDPs.

With the complexity and the politicization of the issue, with the growing refugee population and their cause of migration there should be a deep understanding of the issue before giving it any definition. Especially in Africa, which has a large refugee population, pastoral and hunting and gathering society the idea of what is the migration of refugee mean?, what is the feature of pastoral life?, and what kind of mobility existed among hunting and gathering society? should be understand, explain and interpret deeply and their similarity and difference should be treated with caution.

Africa has the largest pastoral population and hunter and gatherer community who are in frequent mobility, in this case it is not easy to distinguish between the seasonal (cyclic) or one direction movement of pastoralist from what we call migration of refugees (Guido, 2002). So this makes the issue of refugee very complicated in Africa especially in the areas like the Sahel and other parts of Africa where there is recurrent movement of people even settled people for a better agricultural plot. Even the settled agrarians in tropical forest region move to a new area looking a fertile land.

### **3.2. Definition of Refugee**

As mentioned above there are different definition of the term refugee. However, some definitions are more inclusive of the different aspects and conditions of refugees than others. In ordinary use the term refers to a person who leaves his/her residential country as a result political or religious danger and try to seek refuge in neighboring country to escape the danger that he/she face at home. Refugee migration could be caused by oppression, threat to life and liberty, persecution, civil war, natural disaster and poverty. In a general sense a refugee should get assistance and protection from the country he/she take refuge ( Guy, 1998). Internationally the concept is not that much different. In this case Hussein Mohamed maintained it as follows

*“In popular language a refugee is any person who leaves the place where he lives to seek safety from the danger. The cause may be socio- economic or political threat. Refugees in the concept of international law are a person who are outside their country of origin, because they fear persecution as a result of revolutionary, a change in political regime, internal instability”.*

The Oxford English Dictionary by J.A. Simpson and E. Weiner Volume 13 defines refugee as follows “*one who, owing to religious persecution or political trouble seeks refuge in foreign country*”. According to this definition of the word, refugee is a person who fled his/her residence as a result of a fear of political and religious persecution which target him/her. The person should be outside of his/her country of origin and get protection and refugee status.

According to Webster International Dictionary volume 2 refugee is

*“ one that flees to a place of safety especially one who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution in his own country or habitual residence because of his race, religion or political beliefs.”.*

The same as others definitions Webster definition of refugee only refers to people who cross an international border. So in all definitions the term refugee didn't include those people who internally displaced within a country as a result of fear of religious and political persecution. This shows that the politicization of the issue and the unwillingness of countries and international organizations to intervene in the issue of internally displaced people (IDP) and to challenge government's actions against citizens and their failure to protect their citizens from religious, racial, ethnic and political violence.

Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, recognizes the right of persons to seek asylum from persecution in other countries. The United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees adopted in 1951 is the centerpiece of international refugee protection around the world today. This convention and the 1967 Protocol related to the status of the refugees based their roots from the post WWII refugee crisis in Europe. The predecessor of the 1951 Convention, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) Constitution of the United Nations, only aimed at addressing European refugees. After three years the 1951 Convention came into force on 22 April 1954, and it has been subject to only one amendment in the form of a 1967 Protocol, which removed the geographic and temporal limits of the 1951 Convention written into the original Convention under which mainly Europeans involved in events occurring before 1 January 1951 could apply for refugee status. The United Nations set United Nations High Commission For Refugees (UNHCR) to practically implement its principles related to refugees and this organization is still the many international body to support and address refugee issues (UNHCR, 2004).

According to the United Nation 1951 convention Article 1 of Sub Article A, 2, the term refugee shall apply to any person

*“As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”.*

Generally this definition has four basic principles

- The person should be outside his country of origin
- The person is unable or unwilling to avail him/herself under the protection of country of origin or to return there
- The person has a well-founded fear of persecution in the country of origin and
- The persecution that he/she escape is because of his/her religion, race, nationality, membership of a social group or political opinion

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted its own convention for the issue of refugee which tried to deal the refugee issues based on the African context. The definition of the OAU considers the condition of Africa and Africans of the time. According to the 1969 OAU convention Article 1 sub article 1 and 2, a refugee is

1. *“ every person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, member of a particular social group or a political opinion, is outside of his nationality and unable or, owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country of his former habitual residence as the result of such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”*
2. *“ term ‘refugee’ shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.”*

In addition to the main points of the 1951 UN Convention’s definition the OAU Convention definition of refugee include peoples fled their country of origin because of external aggression, occupation, foreign domination( colonialism) or other events that affect social stability.

Neither the 1951 Convention for the Statue of Refugees nor the later 1967 Protocol related to the status of Refugee, didn't directly took in to consideration the African condition during that time. Since their main target was to address the refugee issues in Europe little attention was given to the rest of the word. So it became necessary for African leaders of the time to adopt a convention for refugee problems in Africa.

In contrast to the United Nation's the definition, the OAU Convention consider and include those people who displaced and forced to leave their country as a result of external aggression and colonialism. Since cross border conflict and colonialism in some parts of the continent were the main feature of African politics of the time, the OAU's Convention on the aspects of refugees are a better tool to address the refugee issues in the continent.

Generally speaking a refugee is a person

- Displaced from his/her home to the place where he/she could get refuge to escape some kind of threat
- Face a clear and present danger at home, the danger that they face could be racial, religious, political, social, etc.
- who is outside of his/her country of origin and unwilling and unable to go back from where he /she come from

### **3.3. Refugee and Pastoralism in Africa**

Pastoralism is way of life that involves a nomadic movement of a society on a regular basis. The life of pastoralists is depends on their cattle and live in grassland and semi-desert areas where pasture is available. So to feed their cattle and other small animals they have to move from place to place in search of pasture and water that are seasonal in many grassland and semi-desert areas. These pastoralists face many problems like resource based conflicts, war, drought, loss of pasture land for plantation, etc. that forced them seek refuge in to other areas (Taru, 2011).

In comparison with other parts of the world East Africa is a home for many pastoralists like Afar, Somali, Masai, Nuer, etc. Most of these pastoralists found themselves in two countries at the end of colonial period. This became barrier for pastoralist who previously had a free mobility in their land which later divided in to two or more countries by international border. The new

government inherited colonial border and attempt to control the pastoralist mobility for taxation, to use the land for plantation and control cattle wealth. But this actions faced a resistance by the pastoralists. These and the civil wars in the region causes pastoral refugee problem( Guido, 2002).

Even if refugee pastoralist migrate to a neighboring country many of them does not register as a refugee and didn't stay in refugee camp. Subsequently they migrate with their cattle and there is little chance to get place for their cattle in the camp. And since they have their cattle they don't need refugee aid in comparison to agrarian refugees (Taru, 2011).

The artificial boundary in Africa which put pastoral societies in to different citizenship also complicated refugee and pastoralist problem. Whenever a pastoralist society crossed a border in to their fellow tribe's people in other side of the border, there could be a chance to consider as a refugee even if it was a regular mobility of that society. This also experienced in the case when there is a rivalry among countries to win the loyalty of a specific pastoral tribe that live within a two countries and to claim a part of territory that inhabited by that tribe as their sovereign territory(Taru, 2011). The good example is the case of Somalia in 1970's when it claims many Ethiopian Somali pastoralists who were in a regular pasture and water search as refugee to use it as a pre text to invade Ethiopia.

### **3.4. Refugee and economic Migrants**

Refugees are one type of migrants. When we talk about refugee it is necessary to see what migration means and what types of migrants existed. Migration is a human mobility from the area of difficulty to the area where there is a better condition. The pushing factors could be various like failure of agricultural production and soil fertility, drought, famine, natural disasters, wars, domination by others, religious persecution, unemployment, political operation, etc. on the other side there are also pulling factors that attract migrants to a certain area. These pulling factors are fertile agricultural land, low population density, peace and stability, good employment, etc.

It is necessary to understand the difference between migrants and refugee based on the cause, motivation, characteristics of flight and their contact to their home land. Economic migrants are voluntary displaced people and they hope better conditions in the area where they migrated. In

contrast refugees leave their home land unwillingly against their wish. They live in the area where they migrated because it is the only choice that they have. And they live in the area temporarily until condition at home improve and able to return( Assefaw, 2006).

The way how they leave their area also another difference. Migrants know their destinations and prepared for it. They have a plan to deal with the possible challenges in the place of migration and to some level are informed about it. They resettle themselves with in the host community and ready to adopt the social and economic environment of the host community. Whereas refugees, move to get a quick escape from the danger to the nearest area where they could get protection. Most of the time they didn't have any idea about the host area. They are in favor of living with their social and cultural identity, reluctant to adopt the culture of the host (Assefaw, 2006).

Other major difference is that their relation to the area that they left behind. Migrants synchronized themselves with the society that they joined and try to plan their future there. However, refugees in most cases, especially rural refugees, stay in refugee camps and have limited exposure to and contact with the host community and live in the camp temporarily until they are able to get back to their permanent residence (Assefaw, 2006).

### **3.5. Refugee Camps**

The 1980's refugee crisis in Africa led to the emergence of large refugee camps and other types of refugee settlement in host countries. In the continent the establishment of these camps and settlement sites began to replace the old tradition of allowing refugees to settle with in the host community. Basically refugee camps are settlement area where refugees treated and their need fulfilled in isolation from the host community. There is no international definition or criteria that a refugee camp should fulfill. As it is stated in the UNHCR 50 years report

*“There is no clear definition of exactly what constitutes a ‘refugee camp’. The term is used to describe human settlements which vary greatly in size and character. In general, refugee camps are enclosed areas, restricted to refugees and those assisting them, where protection and assistance is provided until it is safe for the refugees to return to their homelands or to be resettled elsewhere”*

Refugee camps set as temporary shelter for refugees and they only has the basic facilities. In spite of this fact some refugee camps function for more than ten years and even more. This is the

true for Pugnido refugee camp. When it was established in 1987 it set a temporary shelter for South Sudanese refugees but until now the camp is home about 28,000 refugees. The camp is now 25 years old and became the only home for many children and young South Sudanese that they know in their life time.

When a camp serves more years it will face different problems like water supply and sewage problems. The firewood consumption of the refugee population also supplied from the surrounding area. This caused deforestation and environmental degradation. This clearly show that refugee camps impact on the host community and the environment. The other problem that emerge by long period of camp operation is the natural increase of refugee population which increase the burden on the host environment ( UNHCR, 2000).

Many camps faced security problem that should be fulfilled by the local authority. Since most of refugee camps established near the border to the country that the refugees fled from, the refugees face a possible cross border attack from where they escape(UNHCR, 2000).

Camps also dangerous places. Armed rebels who fled with refugees could take control of them or use them as a base like in Pakistan the Mujahidin, in Honduras Contras and recently in Congo. For this kind of militants Refugee camps became a base to get popular support from the refugee population, to conscript soldiers and safe haven for them to use the civilian as a shield. This make camps a target of enemy power that try to attack the militants who live in the camp and the people that support them ( UNHCR, 2000).

Sometimes camps suffered from bombardment, shelling and also attacked to take hostage, vehicles and different supplies. As a result of this host governments see refugee camps as threat to their security and diplomatic relation with refugees origin country. And imposed restriction on the mobility of refugees( UNHCR, 2000)

Some argued that camps are not the best way to deal with refugee settlement. They said that camps are problematic and exclude refugees and reduce social interaction of refugees with the host community. According to them self -settlement with in host community is the best way to help them ( UNHCR, 2000).

However, it is very complex to say camps are good or bad for refugees or self-settlement is best idea. The characteristic of refugee flight, the magnitude, the past ties between the refugees and host, cultural similarity, economic condition of the host community, government policies and

willingness, etc. should be consider to decide whether a given refugee community should settle in camp or should voluntarily settle themselves with in the host community ( UNHCR, 2000).

From UNHCR and other international organizations point of view refugee camps are better to manage refugees, to organize food and material aid and to provide different services like health and education. And in the case of repatriation it is easy to organized refugees and to conduct repatriation without much problem( UNHCR, 2000).

In many cases refugee camps became a place of energetic social and economic activities. Large camps especially have a chance to become important trading centers in the host areas. The opening of camp means a need for small business like bakery, shops, restaurants, and other small business. The good example of these kinds of refugee camps are Khoo-Dang camp in Thailand and in Goma east Congo( UNHCR, 2000). This is fact for Pugnido refugee camp which transformed the small town in to one important trading center in the area.

Generally speaking host governments prefer refugee camps than self-settlement because different reason. The first reason is to maintain security by avoiding a possible penetration of armed group with refugees through self-settlement in to their society. The second is because it would be easy to control refugees and repatriate those who live in a camp than those who settled with in the host community. The other reason is the need to attract international assistance by creating a visible refugee camp( UNHCR, 2000).

Article 26 of the 1951 Convention related to the status of refugees grant the freedom of movement for refugees and the right to choose their place of residence with in the territory of the host country. At the same time the host governments have a sovereign power with in their territory and have the right to choose a settlement site for refugees. However this idea look like unacceptable by government bodies who try to control illegal migration and in charge of National intelligence ( UNHCR,2000).

## **Chapter Four**

### **Refugees in Africa and The Horn**

#### **4.1. Refugee in Independent Africa**

It is clear that refugee problem is a problem of the country of origin, which loss its citizens, skilled or unskilled, that would contribute to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Similarly it is also a burden to the country of asylum; to its infrastructures and facilities or the ecology. Since refugees, especially rural refugees, migrate in large number to the neighboring countries, they would need basic necessities for themselves which in most cases expected to be available by the government of the asylum country. Refugee problem is not only the problem of refugee origin and asylum country but also their neighbors. Directly or indirectly it affects the region in which the refugee crisis occurred. It affects the demography, production, culture, stability, etc. of receiving countries.

The burden of refugees in one country is not only measured by costs and numbers, but also by the national economy of the country, adaptability of the host multi-cultural change, the condition in labor market, the limit in the country's capacity to hold refugees, etc.( Hussein, 1995)

In pre-Independence period, refugee movements in the continent caused by and related to independence movements. However, this has changed in post –Independence period when civil wars and border conflicts between countries became the leading causes of refugee migration.

When we see the feature of African refugees there are a number of characteristics that distinguish them from other migrants. One of the major characteristics is in a constant growth since independence. The number of African refugees is in a continuous growth as a result of political instability, civil war, border conflict, ethnic and religious persecution, political oppression, etc. The second characteristics is African refugee movement goes short distance. In most cases refugee migration in Africa end by just crossing an international border to asylum country. Few of them cross in to third country and only 1% of African refugees are resettled in Europe or North America which is very low compared with Asian and Latin America refugees( Reporters, 1983). Other characteristics of African refugees are almost all of refugee movement in

the continent are rural to rural mobility. For example 90% of African refugees by 1970's are rural. And later on by 1986 in East and Central Africa about 87% are rural refugees. Urban refugees only contribute from 10% - 15%. Most of urban refugees are educated people with some kind of academic and professional background. Among them political party leaders, intellectuals from higher educational institutions, opposition party members and leaders, members of liberation movements, skilled workers, students, etc. ( Wondim, 2007).

With the exception of the Yugoslavian crisis of the early 1990's, which was caused by religion, all European refugee crisis in post WWII are based on ideology. Unfortunately in Africa the cause of refugee migration is different from that of Europe and more diversified. In Zaire ( Congo Democratic Republic), Ethiopia and Uganda people flee from oppressive governments to neighboring countries. During this period many people also took refuge because of racial, ethnic and religious violence and others migrated to escape ethnic and religious domination by certain ethnic and religious groups. Inter- state war in this period also produced significant number of refugees ( Assefaw, 2006).

So one major issue that Africa experienced in Post independent period is the refugee crisis in the continent. African refugee crisis also became one major task of the UNHCR. According some sources within ten years since African countries became independent 1955-1965, there were around 730,000 refugees displaced from their habitual residence and fled to the neighboring countries (Harmell ,1967)

According to Harmell one of the major reasons for the African refugee crisis is the emergence of the new independent states with in the continent. However it is clear that the immediate cause of the refugee crisis in the continent is the independence of the countries and their emergence as a new stats. But the fundamental cause of the refugee crisis in the continent is a composition of forced settlement by colonial powers to use the land for their plantation, the artificial boundary of the new states, the ethnic and religious division that promoted by colonial power, the rise of authoritarian government in the new states, the oppression of minorities, etc.( Harmell, 1967).

The creation of the new independent states on the ash of colonialism with artificial boundary is one cause for refugee crisis in the continent. The artificial boundaries didn't consider the ethnic and religious composition of the people of Africa and lacks legitimacy. As a result of these

colonial boundaries many ethnic groups in the continent found themselves in two or more countries( Assefaw, 2006).

The other development in the post independent era is the move of some African countries to create a 'nation state' of European type with uniform language, law, education and in some cases religion. The more pressure the state put to enforce this uniformity policy the more resistance it face from ethnic and religious minorities. This led to armed struggle against the government, then civil war which eventually made millions refugee( Assefaw, 2006).

During this period there are two types of refugees in Africa. The first group of refugees are rural refugees that crossed a border in to a neighboring country. This group of refugees crossed a border in to the territory of other state which has some common features with their home country like climate, ethnic, racial, etc. but this common feature does not mean always the case for this group of refugees. The second group of refugees are a small number of scattered urban refugees who has some academic and professional background ( Harmell, 1967).

Rural refugees some efforts made by the asylum countries and the international organizations. To solve their problem the governments of asylum countries set up refugee camps in their territories. However addressing urban refugees are not easy. It is not simple to fulfill their needs like employment, housing, food, etc. but this is because of economic conditions of the asylum country and most of the public service are opened to citizens only ( Harmell, 1967).

The move by OAU to adopt a convention to solve African refugee problems was the first step. This is an attempt to address African issues with African solution.

In the years that follow independence Africa became one of refugee producing continent. When we see refugee generation countries in the years 1964-67 the leading countries are Angola, Congo, Guinea, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sudan.

**Table 1: Leading refugee origin countries in African from 1964-67**

Country	Year				
	1964	1965	1966	1967	
Angola	225,000	250,000	270,000	303,800	
Congo		58,700	47,000	74,800	
Guinea	6,000	30,000	51,000	61,000	
Mozambique		10,000	17,000	20,800	
Rwanda	154,000	166,000	155,500	159,000	
Sudan	13,000	20,300	83,000	115,000	
	398,000	535,000	623,500	734,400	2,290,900

Source : Harmell ‘Refugee Problem in Africa’

As the table above show in the years from 1964-67 Angola, Ruanda and Sudan were the top refugee generating countries in Africa. In Angola the intensification of anti-colonial war against the Portuguese displaced many Angolans from their home and forced to flee to their neighboring countries, most of them in to Congo ( DRC ).

In Rwanda a period of violence followed independence, with exiled Tutsi attacking from neighboring countries and the Hutu retaliating with large-scale slaughter and repression of the Tutsi. Pro-Hutu discrimination against Tutsis continued, this driven out many Rwandese from the home to other countries. In Sudan the civil war pushed many civilians to Uganda and Cong ( DRC). This refugee crisis in Sudan continued until 1972. The Sudanese refugee case will be discussed in detail below.

In those years the leading refugee receiving countries are Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda,

From the leading receivers of refugee Congo ( DRC) was on the top. Congo was a destination of many Angolans refugees who fled the war between the Portuguese colonial rule and the liberation movement. It also was a destination of Sudanese refugees who escape the civil war there. In Uganda the arrival of large number of Sudanese refugees put the country in the second place of refugee asylum countries in that period. Burundi became the third leading refugee recipient country in Africa with a total number of 34,000 in 1964, 78,000 in 1965, 65,000 in 1966 and 79,000 by 1967.

**Table 2: The leading refugee receiving countries From 1964-67**

Country	Years				
	1964	1965	1966	1967	
Burundi	34,000	78,000	65,000	79,000	
CAR	-	3,300	20,500	43,000	
D.R. Congo	287,000	286,000	317,000	357,000	
Senegal	6,000	30,000	51,000	61,000	
Tanzania	12,000	25,000	28,000	33,300	
Uganda	59,000	113,000	137,000	156,000	
Zambia	-	-	5,100	5,600	
Total	398,000	535,300	623,600	734,900	2,291,800

Source : Harmell 'Refugee Problem in Africa'

The above mentioned countries were the leading refugee receiver and generating countries in the continent in the immediate post independent years. However these are not the only countries that receive and generate refugees. There were many countries that receive and generate small number of refugees. Since the number of refugees was small the governments of asylum countries dealt with the refugees by themselves without any international organization and didn't report to other bodies. Only in some cases these governments need assistance from UNHCR, local and international organizations. Those countries which received limited number of refugees in the same period following the leading asylum and origin of refugee countries are Togo, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia and Botswana ( Harmell, 1967).

The refugee crisis is not only the issue of the refugees themselves but also the issue of the host population. The coming of refugees in to given area mean more load to the existing infrastructure of the host community and on the environment. The refugees do not only face humanitarian problem but also the problem to adjust themselves to the new social and economic conditions. The possible negative impact of the refugees and maladjustment to the new social and economic environment leads to negative attitude towards refugees among the host population. Harmell explain this as follow

*"The refugee problem concerns not only refugees themselves but the people of their new environment. The bad effect of the refugee's maladjustment adds to and aggravate among the host population an already existing and natural attitude of reserve towards anyone unknown. This result in a worsening of the relationship between the refugees and the host country , to the disadvantage of both. The problem is not new but it is a new to those*

*who experience it for the first time”.*

It is clear that refugee crisis in Africa didn't caused by one single problem, it is a product of complex factors of lack of political stability, absence of democracy, intolerance, absence of competent administration, inequality among citizens, ethnic and religious domination, human right violation, political oppression, etc. in most cases the refugee problem caused by two or more factors in combination. So addressing one single factors will not help to solve the problem permanently ( Harmell, 1967).

Hemell added the need to consider difference in varies refugee crisis. According to him in what condition the refugee pass through should be taken in to account. Comparing the European refugees problem with that of African is inappropriate. Europe is a densely populated continent with industrialized cities. There is a good means of communication and transportation. So refugee migration here most probably uses the transportation facilities and end up in urban areas where different facilities are found. Whereas in Africa the population is sparsely populated, mostly settled in rural areas with little or no infrastructure and there is large unsettled land. The continent has poor infrastructures in communication, health, transportation, education and government administration in some cases limited to urban centers, etc. Here refugee migration in most cases doesn't use any vehicle of other means of transportation other than foot or animals back, there is poorly constructed roads between countries and few urban centers in the content compare to the population. There is little chance to end their migration in urban centers where some facilities will be available( Harmell, 1967)

The difference in the characteristics of refugee crisis in different parts of the world shows us the variation in which refugee assistance should be administered and the way the refugee and the host relation should be govern. The activities of all international originations in relation to refugees have to consider the condition and the characteristics of refugee flight, host refugee ties, the culture and economic condition of refugees, etc. ( Harmell, 1967).

During Cold War the internationalization of local conflicts and the intervention of foreign super power, the USA and USSR, further complicated the characteristics and exacerbated the refugee crisis in Africa ( Assefaw, 2006).

Table 3: World – Africa refugee population 1974-2004

Year	World refugee population	African refugee population	Africa's share in %
1974	14,195,451	1,105,217	7.79%
1977	8,485,347	1,692,041	19.94%
1980	15,965,250	4,045,200	25.34%
1983	7,186,200	1,921,000	26.73%
1986	11,698,000	3,112,950	26.61%
1989	15,093,900	4,524,800	29.98%
1992	16,647,550	5,340,800	32.08%
1995	15,337,000	5,222,000	34.01%
1998	13,469,000	2,922,000	21.69%
2001	14,921,000	3,002,000	20.12%
2004	11,498,100	3,295,900	28.70%

Source: Assefaw Bariageber 'Conflict and Refugee Experience'

The above table shows African refugee population is in a constant growth since 1960's to 1990's. By the 1974 the refugee population in the continent was about 1.1 million but this figure triple itself by the mid 1980's and reached 3million. The refugee population reached its climax by 1992 when there were about 5.3million refugees throughout Africa. But since then there is a slow decline and by 2004 it was about 3 million. It is not only the number of African refugees that grown during this period but also African share of the world refugee also grew. By 1974 African share of world refugee population was about 7.7% this raise to 34% by 1995. By 2004 28% from world refugee population live in Africa. This show that the number of African refugees increase whereas there were no much growth of world refugee population.

## **4.2. The Horn of Africa**

The Horn of Africa is one of the poorest and least developed parts of the world. The region includes Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Sudan, Kenya and Somalia. Since all countries in the region are poor they have insufficient infrastructure to their citizens. So it is clear that losing a citizen as a result of refugee flight will be a loss of man power to the country. And also the coming of refugees in to their territory mean a burden to their existing poor infrastructure ( Assefaw, 2006).

The 1970's and 80's experienced high Cold War tension and proxy wars in the Third World countries, especially Africa was a battle ground for the rival East and the West blocs. This reflected on many civil wars between socialist governments and Western backed rebels and between pro-West governments and socialist rebels. The wars that supported by the two blocs may short lived but its impact on the local stability has been observed for long. Moreover these wars displaced millions from their home and made them refugees ( UNHCR, 2000).

During late 1970's and early 1980's the Horn was shown a scene of large scale refugee movements, civil war, famine and internal displacement. As the involvement of super powers of the time in the region increase the conflict and humanitarian crisis exacerbated.

In spite of the difference among the Horn countries in their experience of political violence and refugee migration, there are some common features. The governments in the region are characterized by their inability to maintain effective control over their territories, oppressing political oppositions and by their determination to solve rebel problem in their country by means of force ( Hamrell, 1967).

The unique feature of the refugee crisis in the Horn from other parts of African is all countries of the region except Djibouti, simultaneously origin of refugees and host of their neighbor refugees. In Ethiopia following the fall of the monarchy in 1974, the socialist government, the Darg, took power. The Darg intolerance of political opposition, the civil war in the north and the drought produced hundreds of thousands of refugee in to the neighboring countries. The Ethio- Somalia border war displaced hundreds of thousands of ethnic Somali refugees. By the 1980' there were about 1.1 million Ethiopian refugees in Sudan, Kenya, and Somalia. By 1988 there were about 660,000 Ethiopian ( including Eritreans) refugees in the Sudan and about 365,000 in Somalia. In

this period many Ethiopians( including Eritreans) fled their country and sought refuge in Sudan, Somalia and Djibouti. In the same period Ethiopia also host refugees from Somalia and Sudan ( Assefaw, 2006).

When Somalia launched an invasion on Ethiopia and controlled large part of Ogaden in 1978 a war broke out between the two countries<sup>4</sup>. At the end of the war Ethiopia became victorious and push out the invading Somalia force from its territory. Following this hundreds of thousands of Ethnic Somali people of Ethiopia fled in to Somalia fearing an action by the Ethiopian forces. And about 45,000 fled to Djibouti ( Assefaw, 2006).

Soon after, the government of Somalia called for international intervention in the refugee crisis. The UNHCR then set up a refugee camps. However since the people are nomadic it was difficult to the commission to manage he refugees and for the refugees themselves to adjust themselves to sedentary life in camps ( Assefaw, 2006).

The other feature of this refugee crisis was the number game, the difference between the estimated number of refugees in the camp by Somalia government and the commission. While the UNHCR estimated the number of refugees about 80,000 Somalia government claim there was about 800,000 Ethiopian refugees in its territory. By 1981 when a second influx of refugees crossed in to Somalia, the Somalia Government claims that the number of Ethiopian refugees in its territory was about 2 million. Whereas the UNHCR estimated their number between 450,000-600,000. Before the war the estimated number of all ethnic Somalia population of Ethiopia about 1 million ( Assefaw, 2006).

The UNHCR conducted census of Ethiopia refugees in 1982 according to which there were about 700,000 Ethiopian refugees those live in Somalia. The presence of large number of refugees meant that large amount of aid to the country. The refugee aid given by UNHCR, World Food Program(WFP), International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) and other international organizations successfully support the refugees, so did the economy of Somalia. The assistance directly and indirectly impacted the country's economy and by mid-1980's it contribute 25% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Somalia Economy( UNHCR, 2000).

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<sup>4</sup> Ogaden is a Somali inhabited area in Ethiopia

The first Ethiopian refugees arrived in Sudan in 1967 from north part of the country particularly from Eritrea. And the first camp for Ethiopians set in Sudan by 1970. Though the radical change of Ethiopian refugee influx come after Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. The post revolution government's intolerance of political opponents, the political instability and the war in north driven out many Ethiopian from their country. By 1978 there were about 200,000 Ethiopian refugees in Sudan. Soon after the government lunch a massive military Champaign in the north Ethiopian refugee population grow to 400,000. By 1984 the number of Ethiopian refugees in Sudan reached 500,000 (UNHCR, 2000).

**Table 4: The main refugee generating countries of Africa from 1970- 2000**

No.	Country	Year							
		1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	
1	Angola	497,000	449,000	529,100	450,000	56,000	283,900	340,000	
2	Burundi	-	141,100	144,000	-	267,500	389,200	420,000	
3	Ethiopia	54,500	47,450	1,932,000	1800,000	679,500	610,400	370,000	
4	Mozambique	-	-	200,000	250,000	174,500	234,500	35,000	
5	Ruanda	144,000	174,200	101,000	50,000	22,200	225,700	425,000	
6	Sudan	142,000	100,750	11,000	140,000	745,000	398,600	15,000	
7	Somalia	-	-	-	280,000	834,000	535,900	420,000	
8	Uganda	-	-	198,000	110,000	112,000	26,00	240,000	
9	Congo(DRC)	-	40,000	68,000	-	340,000	71,000	320,000	

Source : Wondim Asress "The State, the Crisis of State Institution and Refugee Migration In the Horn of Africa"

From 1967 on there were some changes among the leading refugee generating countries. Table 3 show that the leading refugee generating countries in Africa from 1970 to 2000. From the top four refugee generating countries in this period only Angola which is not found in the Horn. Ethiopia were the leading refugee generation and almost there were two million Ethiopian refugees by 1985. This is the result of civil war in the north part of the Country and the famine that driven out many Ethiopians.

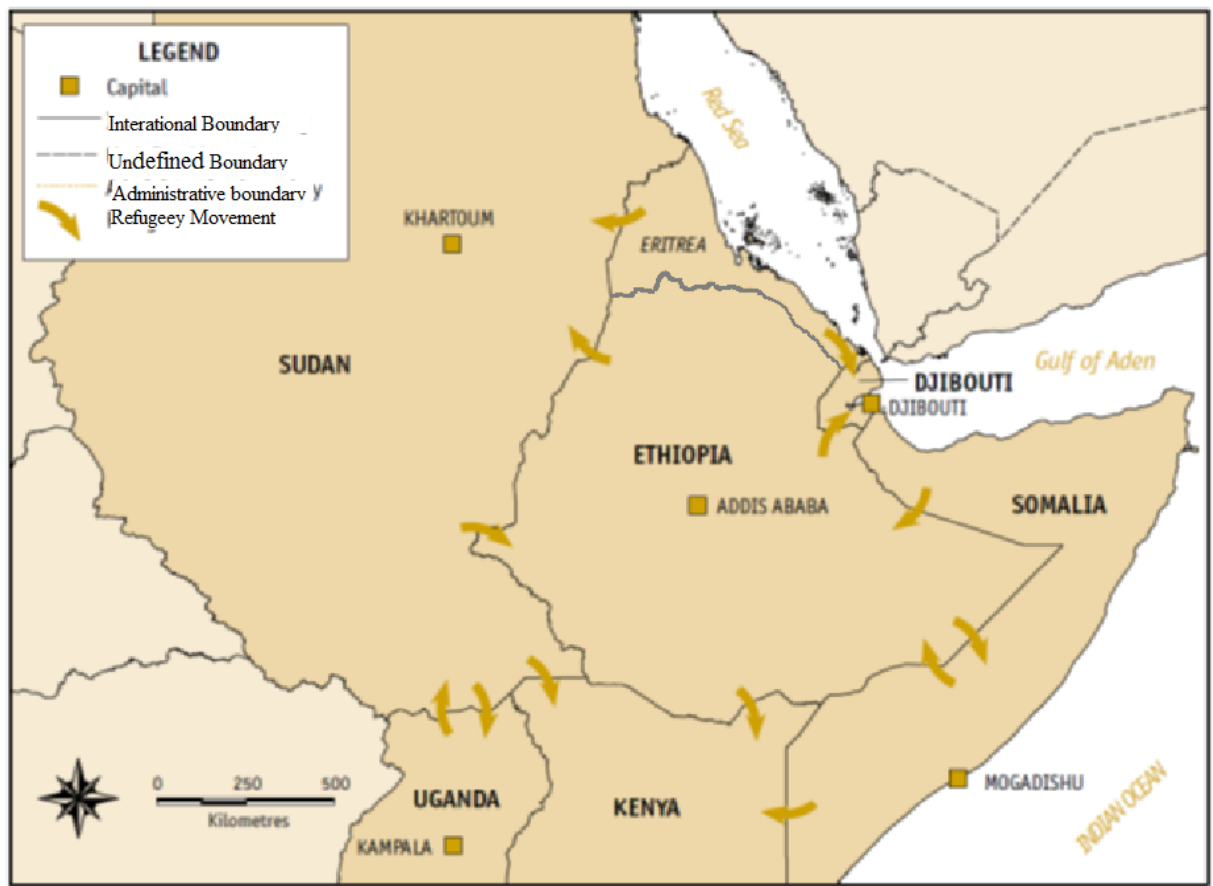
From the mid 1980's on Somalia became one of the major refugee source countries in Africa. With the raising of political instability and the failure of the central government to maintain peace and security hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees fled the country mainly to Ethiopia and Kenya.

**Table 5: Distribution of refugees in the horn in thousands**

No	Country	Origin of Country	Year								
			1991	1992	1993	1994	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
1.	Djibouti	Somalia	105	85	17	20	20	20	21	21.6	20
		Ethiopia	15	11	16	12	2	2	1.9	1.6	2
2.	Kenya	Somalia	92	320	219	206.3	150	150	164	141.1	160
		Ethiopia	11.8	80	26.5	16.5	5	5	8.1	8.2	8
		Sudan	-	20	31.6	27.2	30	40	48.2	64.3	55
3.	Somalia	Ethiopia	35	10							
4.	Sudan	Ethiopia	690	730	597.7	579.9	390	360	377.3	377.4	375
5.	Uganda	Sudan	75	90	180	180	200	-	189	200.6	200

Source : Wondim Asress “The State, the Crisis of State Institution and Refugee Migration In the Horn of Africa.

**Figure 2: Refugee Migration in the Horn**



Source: UNHCR 50 years report , 2000

### **4.3. The Sudanese Civil War**

Even before independence of Sudan the Southerners who fear the Northerners domination and discrimination in the future independence Sudan rebels and began a resistance movement in 1955. There were three basic issues that caused the civil war that didn't answer in the years that followed independence. These issues are autonomy for the South, Islam role in state affairs and domination of the north culture. The first demand that the rebels raised in their struggle was federal state system with autonomous power for the south. However the north established a centralized unitary state at Khartoum which undermine the southern need for autonomy ( Assefaw,2006 ).

The second question was role of Islam in the state and constitution. The southerners proposed a secular constitution and a state which doesn't favor Islam. In spite of this the north adopted Islam as a state religion and incorporate Islamic principles in to constitution. The third was the issue of National identity. The south argued and needed the national identity of Sudan to be mixture of different cultures and recognition of the culture of different tribes. But the north tried and was successful to build Sudanese identity as an Arab state on the basis of Islamic culture which totally denies the cultural diversity of the country. In the years followed independence the north carryout different activities to Arabized and Islamized the South (Assefaw,2006 ).

The first post independent government couldn't solve the problem in the south, moreover high inflation forced it to give up power to the military by 1958. The military's mechanism to address the problem of the south was by more forceful Islamization and Arabazation ( Regassa, 2010).

In 1962 intensive civil war broke out in South Sudan between government force and the armed rebels of Anya Nya I Forces. By the mid 1960's Anya Nya could purchase armament from Congolese rebels and international arm dealers. The movement also able to capture armament from government soldiers. In this period the Anya Nya became strong and launched series of attacks on government posts, military garrison and government installation in many parts of the south ( Regassa, 2010).

The government response to the series of Anya Nya attack was brutal. The army targeted unarmed civilians, burned their villages and devastated their means of livelihood. In Juba, now the capital of the new Republic of South Sudan, the army killed about 1400 civilians. It was evident that with the intensification of rebel attack on government there was parallel government brutal military action on the civilian population of the South. The action and reaction exacerbated the humanitarian crisis and civilian cost of the war. This civil war produced millions of Internally Displaced Peoples (IDP) and hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled Sudan to the neighboring countries (Assefaw,2006 ).

By the 1965 there were 70,000 Sudanese refugees in neighboring countries this number grown in to 86,000 by 1966. By the 1969 the refugee population from Sudan raise in to 172,000. These refugees distributed in Ethiopia 20,000, Central Africa Republic (CAR) 19,500, Congo (DRC) 66,000 and Uganda 71,500. Since the most war affected region was the area nearby to Uganda and Congo (DRC), these countries received large number of Sudanese refugees ( Assefaw, 2006).

In 1972 a peace agreement in Addis Ababa ends the First Sudanese Civil War that started in 1955, which signed by the Khartoum and Southern Sudan liberation forces (Anya Nya I movement). Following the peace agreement the Nueri government granted regional autonomy for South Sudan that satisfied the demand of South Sudanese people and the Anya Nya I Movement. There were also other changes for the south in this period. New secular Constitution adopted, government soldiers reduced from south, Anya Nya soldiers integrated in to the national army, refugees repatriated from neighboring countries and different development activities started in the south. During this period Sudan became the second largest World Bank assistance recipient country. The outcome was evident; development in Agriculture that made the south self-sufficient in food, more schools and new vocational institutions(Assefaw,2006 ).

There was a policy shift in late 1970's towards the Islamic principles in Khartoum government circles. This policy shift of Nueri brought back the exiled politicians like Sadiq Al Mahadi of the Umma Party and Hassan Al Turabi leader of Muslim Brotherhood. Both of them are Islamic fundamentalist and strongly opposed any autonomy for the South and the Addis Ababa peace agreement. Nueri also invalidated the secular constitution. By the end of 1970's there was a new development in the Sudan that brought a social, economic and political changes. This is the

discovery of oil fields in the South. In the following years the northern became richer by the oil from South and changed its policy towards the south that made the north control and oppression even harsher (Assefaw,2006 ).

In 1983 President Numeiri repudiated the Addis Ababa peace agreement, abolished the South autonomy and imposed a Shari'a law on the South population. This was followed by the rebellion of the 105th battalion soldiers. With their firearms the battalion crossed in to Ethiopia where they established Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) by Col. Dr. John Garang, This became the starting point for the Second Sudanese civil war ( Regassa, 2010).

During this period Sudan had a rough relation with Ethiopia, both fought a proxy war by supporting each-others guerilla fighters. On one side Sudan provide training, passage and financial support for the anti-Ethiopian government guerilla fighters like EPLF, TPLF and OLF. Whereas the Ethiopian government responded by arming and providing safe areas for the southern rebels who established the SPLM in Ethiopia which became the only movement in the struggle and lead the independence of South Sudan( UNHCR, 2000). This proxy war continued until the Sudan supported Tigrian People Liberation Front (TPLF) took power in Ethiopia in 1991. .

The northern troops and Arab militias raided the south. The reaction from SPLA was decisive because by then SPLA had armaments that it took from Sudan army and Ethiopian governments also provide it with sufficient supply of ammunition ( Assefaw,2006).

In 1985 president Jaffar Numeiri was removed from power by a coup lead by Let. General Swar Al Dahab. Then the general pass the power to a civilian government that headed by Sadiq Al Mahadi. However the civilian government was unable to address the socio-economic problems of the country and came under an increasing criticism (Assefaw,2006 ).

By late 1980's SPLM became powerful and advanced itself in to a strong military force that can resist large government army. It controled towns and defended large area which it took from the Sudanese army. By then it pushed its military operation in to north up to Khordofan, Blue Nile and even to Darfur. This brought the civil war in Sudan in to a large area that directly affect more civilians and increased the outflow of Sudanese refugees (Assefaw,2006 ).

During the First Sudanese Civil War the refugee outflow pattern from Sudan was to South mostly to Zaire and Uganda, but this pattern was changed since mid 1980's . By late 1980's 350,000 out of 450,000 Sudanese refugees fled to Ethiopia. This is not only because of the support to SPLM/A by Ethiopian government but also because of the area where the rebellion started in Sudan and most affected by the civil war was close to Ethiopian border (Regassa, 2010)

In 1989 a bloodless military coup by Brg. General Omar Hassan Al Bashir that got the support of Hassan Al-Turabi, the fundamentalist leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF) took power. After this Bashir banned constitution, dissolved the parliament, banned political parties and trade unions and shut down independent newspapers. The government intensified the war in south as a *Jihad* ( holy war) against the Infidels (unbelievers)(Regassa, 2010).

It is estimated that as many as 200,000 Southern Sudanese and Nuba children and women have been taken into slavery—mainly to North Sudan—during raids perpetrated in Southern Sudanese towns and villages. On the pretext of fighting Southern Sudanese rebels, the National Islamic government of the Sudan has deployed its regular armed forces and militia known as the People's Defense Forces (PDF) to attack and raid villages in the South and the Nuba Mountains for slaves and cattle ( UNHCR, 2000).

In the second half the 1990's there was a significant decrease in Sudanese refugee population. By 1996 there were about 450,000 refugees this number reduced to 352,000 by 1999. This was a result of two factors. The first factor was the civil war in the northern Congo that forced tens of thousands of Sudanese refugees to return in to Sudan. The second factor was the strength of the SPLM/A. The military capacity of the SPLM grow stronger and was able to provide protection for many civilian in large areas ( Assefaw, 2006).

The civil wars in the Sudan were distractive and too cost in terms of human life. Both the First and the Second Sudanese Civil War displaced 4 million internal with in Sudan, cost about 1million and 1.5 million civilian lives respectively and produced about 300,000 and 450,000 refugees( Assefaw, 2006).

## **Possible impact of refugee on the host population**

Since UNHCR is the main UN body to address refugee issue it is in charge of helping them. It set up camps in cooperation with other international organizations and national governments, usually in rural areas. In the process of establishing refugee camp there are different issues that should be consider. One of the issues is the life condition of the local people. If the life condition of the host community is poor that means there should be some intervention for their living, not only aid activities for refugees but also some development work for the host. Since the objective of refugee organizations and the camp set by them is only target the refugees, there is little chance to improve the life of the host( Samuel, 2002).

In the case of poor host community, the food and material aid, shelter, and other facilities for refugees, which in most cases may not available for the host, could create a jealousy between the host community and the refugee population. If here is a good living condition and facilities for the host community more probably there will be a better attitude and acceptance to refugee by the host( Samuel, 2002).

The need to address host-refugee relation leads to the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa I and II ( ICARA I and II) this conferences not only focused on humanitarian assistance and living condition of refugees but also assistance should be development oriented and should take in to account the condition and the need of the host community( Samuel, 2002).

The attempt to link humanitarian activities for refugees with development of the host community will compensate the loss of the host community as a result of the refugees and the refugee camp. Their loss could be pasture or farm land, forest, water wells, infrastructure, etc. The problem related to development works for the host community is that most of refugee camps located in the periphery area of the asylum country. The countries and the humanitarian organizations have little interest to build a development projects, especially in Africa the governments have limited capacity even to fund projects at the center. So there is limited interest by the government and aid organizations to spent money for projects outside refugee camps, which always set for a limited period, or that could benefit the host. As Samuel stated

*“a major characteristics of African refugee camps is that they are located at peripheral border areas of asylum countries which are insecure and have harsh climate condition, thereby making such places unattractive to*

*central governments and development actions in terms of investment. On this basis, it could be argued that where the host government is reluctant to invest in such areas, there is no moral justification in persuading donors to do so”*

According to Samuel even those humanitarian activities for refugees that associated to host development is manly the product of political reason not because of the need to make the host the beneficiary.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Refugees Impact on Host community in Pugnido Town and its Surroundings**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

During the first Sudanese Civil War many Sudanese refugees fled to Congo (DRC) and Uganda from Southern parts of the present Southern Sudan Republic. In this period Ethiopia received not many refugees compared with that of Uganda and Congo (DRC). So there was one refugee camp in Ethiopia at Itang. During the First Sudanese Civil War which fought between the Anya Nya movements and the Sudanese government in Khartoum, from 1955-1972, South Sudanese refugees cross the border in to Ethiopian and temporarily settled in Itang Refugee camp. However, with the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, which ends the First Sudanese Civil War, many South Sudanese refugees repatriated to their home land. In spite of this many people from Nuer tribe permanently settled in Gambella region by displacing the local Anywaa people and caused serious environmental degradation ( Regassa, 2010).

In comparison to the first, the Second Sudanese Civil War has a serious impact in Sudan and the neighboring countries. The adjacent area of Gambella in South Sudan was one of the worst civil war affected region. Especially the civil war from 1983-2005, Lou- Jikony Nuer conflict and the factional fight with in SPLA seriously affect the area. This part of Sudan ,Upper Nile and Jongle states, are populated by Nuers, Dinka, Anywaa, Murele and other tribes and they were the leading Sudanese refugee ethnic groups in Gambella(Estifanos, 2010).

In the late 1980's the refugee population in western Ethiopia in general and in Gambella in particular was large in comparison with the population of the host community. In this period there were about 300,000 South Sudanese refugees in Gambella. They clearly outnumbered the local host population. The coming of large number of refugees in to the area brought adverse political, economic, social and environmental impact in to the host community( Regassa, 2010).

During the 1960's there was no hostility between the Host community and the refugees because of cultural and historical relationship. However, in the 1980's hostility began towards the

refugees as a result of competition over resources and the actions of some misbehave SPLM/A soldiers against the local community. This is not the only source of hostility, the resource and facilities that provided by international aid organizations for refugees like food relief, schooling, clinics, etc. which was inaccessible to the host community made them jealous( Regassa, 2010).

During the Derg era the SPLM received a large amount of military support and allowed to administer the refugee camps and parts of the host community. This support from the Derg was a green light for SPLM leaders and soldiers to act independently and to impose their will and threatened the host community (Estifanos, 2010). As Estifanos stated

*“unlawful activities such as rape, abuse of labour and forceful confiscation of properties, forceful recruitment to be their partner and sometimes killings and other human right violations had been the day to day events realized up on the innocent people of Gambella by ill -disciplined SPLA soldiers”.*

The SPLM was basically dominated by the Dinka and Nuer. So its army in Gambella. This SPLM/A soldiers committed many atrocities on the local Anywaa community which is also the reflection of Ethiopia Anywaa –Nuer relation in Gambella that characterized by some degree cooperation and confrontation in different periods. Whenever there was confrontation and conflict between the Ethiopian Nuers and Anywaa it will end up by SPLM brutal action against Anywaas (Estifanos, 2010).

Even though there were reports about the atrocities of SPLM/A to the Derg administration, the government did nothing to stop, as a result of its strong need to maintain a friendly relation with SPLM. This ignorance of the government considered as a deliberate act in favor of Ethiopian Nuers and Sudanese refugees against the local community. This made the host Community to put Ethiopia Nuers, Sudanese refugees, SPLM and the Ethiopian government in one category as their enemy (Estifanos, 2010). The arming of SPLM by Darg further increased its military power, then its control and abuse in the area. This shows the vulnerability of the host community for SPLM/A action.

The other issue that affected the host community is both the Anywaa and the Nuer live in both side of the border, in Ethiopia and Sudan, and also are refugee in the camps in Gambella. This means that any conflict with in refugee camps along ethnic line which involve Nuers and

Anywaas will spill out and involve the host community and became a serious crisis in the area (Regassa, 2010).

Itang, Pilual, Doone, Oder and Pagak areas severed as a settlement centers for Sudanese refugees in the first Sudanese Civil war <sup>5</sup>. During the Second Sudanese Civil War refugee camps were set at Itang, Pugnido, Bonga, and Dimma in Gambella all of which found in Anywaa area. Ethiopia's open door policy to receive all refugees from Sudan attracted about 300,000 South Sudanese refugees in to Gambella, which outnumbered the host community. Only by 2007 census that the population of Gambella People Regional State reach 306,000 including the Majanger and settlers population<sup>6</sup> (CSA, 2008). From these refugees 82% of them are Nuers and Dinkas. This mean for many Anywaas alien domination (Estifanos, 2010, Regassa, 2010).

Since the adjacent land to Gambella in Sudan settled by Nuers the majority of the refugees are ethnically Nuers. Some of them didn't settle in the refugee camp and start life with their fellow Ethiopian Nuers and were able to get Ethiopian Identity Card. This directly changed the population balance of the region in favor of Nuers (Estifanos 2010).

In May 1991 following the fall of the Darg government SPLM/A and Sudanese refugees fled from Ethiopia this is because the new government of TPLF/EPRDF took power in Ethiopia which supported by and fight a proxy war for the Sudan government at Khartoum. But when the new government show its willingness to allow refugees to live in its territories many refugees return and settles in the camps again (Estifanos, 2010).

### **Itang refugee camp**

During the second civil war the refugee camp in Itang set up with the arrival of influx of Sudanese refugees following the breakout of the second Sudanese civil war. Here the area inhabited by the Anywaa and Opos. Soon after its opening the government of Ethiopia made the necessary assistance for the organization of the camp. It also provided protection for the refugees. However, following government change in Ethiopia in 1991 the refugees in the camp evacuated and the camp closed and never opened. Since then it serve as a transit center for

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<sup>5</sup> These all were temporary settlement site , except Itang which had a camp for Sudanese refugees

<sup>6</sup> These highlander settler population came to the area by the government resettlement program from the drought affected areas of the county following the great famine of 1985.

refugees who crossed in to Ethiopia and settled in to the refugee camps in Bonga, Pugnido and Dimma (Estifanos, 2010).

### **Dimma refugee Camp**

Dimma refugee Camp first opened as a temporary site for South Sudanese refugee by 1986. When Sudan backed rebels, EPRDF, took power in Addis Ababa in May 1991 many refugees back to Sudan. Then the camp closed by UNHCR. But with the continuation of the civil war in Sudan and the willingness of the new government in Ethiopia to give shelter, many refugees made it back to the camp and it reopened by Feb. 1992. In comparison with Bonga and Pugnido refugee camps this camp and its surrounding didn't experienced serious host- refugee conflict ( Christopher, 1998).

### **5.2. Pugnido Refugee Camp**

The study examine the social and economic impact of the South Sudanese Refugees on the Host community of Pugnido town. In this study I examined, understand and explain the social and economic condition of the area before the arrival of the refugees. I also see the changes that brought by the refugees in the area and the present condition.

For this study I used a purposeful snowball sampling by identifying well known people who live in the area since before the arrival of the refugees and the opening of the refugee camp. I prepared 30 questionnaires all of which filled by myself using a translators. This is to avoid any mistranslation or wrong answer for the questions and to see the feeling of the people from themselves. Since my target population is the Host, particularly those elderly who know and remember the pre-1987 period 23 of the respondents are from this group of which I dropped 2 of them for inconsistency. I also try to include the opinion of the youth whom could have a different perspective about the refugee issue. And 7 of my respondents are from the youth.

I also conducted interview with 5 concerned people all of whom were or still work in the government offices in the area. They are the acting administrator of the town Ato Obang Ojulu, in the Woreda's Agricultural Office the crop expert Ato Tafesse Daaba, the animal health expert Ato Ojulu Oman and the natural conservation expert Ato Aman Teke and Ato Eshetu Gudina a former animal health expert of Gog Woreda.

In the Woreda Agriculture office I was able to meet some of my students whom I taught in Gambella ATVET Collage. So I was able to receive a warm welcome from them and good cooperation. The crop expert Ato Tafesse provide me the annual estimated harvest of 2010 and 2012 and the actual harvest of these years by the farmers. And also gave me a detail explanation about the types of crop, productivity, constraints, etc in agricultural production in the area.

Ato Ojulu, the animal health expert, also gave me a detail data about the cattle, goat, sheep and poultry population of the town. He explain the challenges in animal husbandry in the area and main diseases that affect animals and the government policy and plan in the sector. The natural conservation expert Ato Aman made a good explanation of the natural condition of the area, deforestation caused by refugees and the present reforestation activities.

So it is from the questionnaires of both the senior and the young, from the interview, from the observation and different documents that I collect I will try to analyze the impact of the refugees on the host community.

As many literature described the Anywaa are people of the river. Here also in Pugnido they live along or nearby the Gilo River. So it is practical to call them Anywaa in general and those who live in Pugnido in particular from my observation as people of the river. There is no clear document when and how the town came to existence. But one of the interviewee told me that the town emerged following the arrival of missionaries in the area who established elementary school by 1952 and clinics in 1960's. This attracted many local peoples to settle around the school and the clinics. This can be called the base for the emergence of the town.

Pugnido town is one of the administrative divisions of Gog Woreda which has the population 20,190 by 2007 and in the same period the population of the town was 7,258 (CAS, 2008). Now Pugnido town has four *Kebeles* and the set of the Gog Woreda Administrative Council and different government offices like the Woreda health, youth and sport, agriculture, education, police, etc. offices. There is a daily public bus service from Gambella to Pugnido and vice-versa.

With the increasing of large scale plantation investment in the area there is a new development. This is a growing need for skilled or unskilled man power in the area. There is a boost in labour market. So it is clear that it will create an employment for the youths of the area.

Here in Pugnido cultivation is seasonal on the hinterland. However on the riverbanks almost all land is suitable for cultivation and dry season riverbank cultivation is common and a means that the people in the area depend on their food supply.

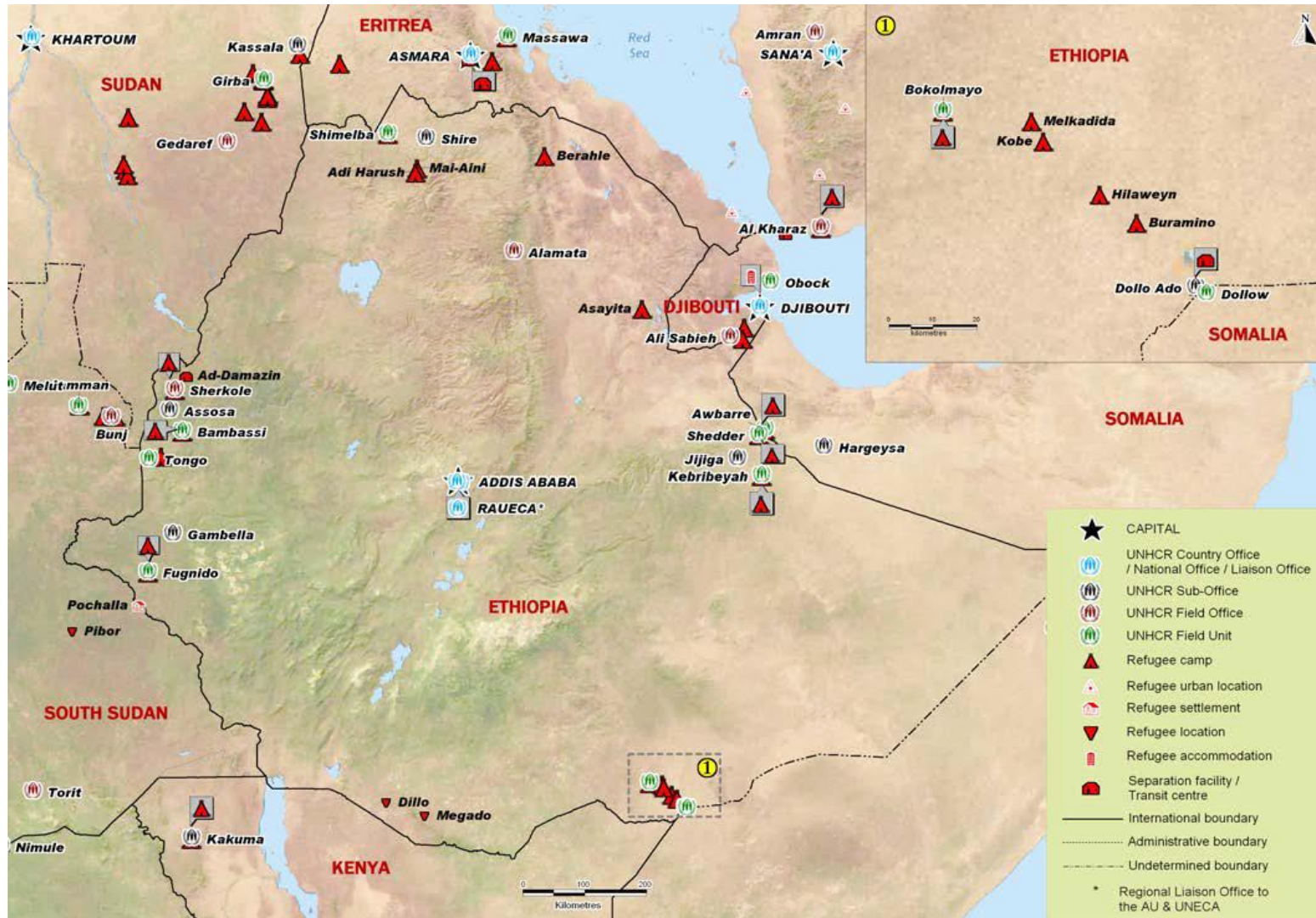
Crops like maize and sorghum cultivated. But sorghum production in large scale as it was in the past. Now the agricultural office provides the farmers with different improved seeds of maize. Pumpkin is also other crop that harvested by the local people in the area. As Kurimoto stated and I observed the people here are more interested on the leaf than the fruit. Now a days tomato, paper, and cabbage are began produce in the area in large quantity by the farmers and by the people who form agricultural cooperative. Along the Gilo River there are many mango trees which supply food in the dry season when there will be little left from the summer harves

The Pugnido refugee camp found 111 km south of Gambella town, which itself 777 km from Addis Ababa. Pugnido is not far from the Ethio-Sudanese border it is only 60 km. The main ethnic groups in the camp are Nuer, Dinka and Anywaa. There were also some refugees from Shilluk and other ethnic groups of South Sudan ( Regassa, 2010).

The camp established in Nov. 1987 by the Ethiopian government and the UNHCR ( Estifanos, 2010). The presence of large number of refugees in Itang, influx of refugees from Sudanese Akobo and the SPLM need to set up a training center in the area made possible the opening of refugee camp in Pugnido. When the camp started operation it received resettled refugees from Itang refugee camp. Later on there was a relocation of the camp to a better place in Pugnido. But this was at the cost of host people mango trees that cut down to set the camp. This marked the beginning of better test of the refugees and the camp by the host community ( Estifanos ,2010).

The relation between the host and the refugees was not smooth. Basically the host community have a good relation with their follow Anywaa refugees in the camp. But relation with other refugees was characterized as hard and confrontational (Regassa, 2010).

Figure 3: Refugee Camps in Ethiopia



Source: UNHCR

### **5.3. Economic Impact**

Soon after the arrival of the refugees following the outbreak of the Second Sudanese Civil War in 1983 the UNHCR with Ethiopian Government set up a camp at Itang. But this camp over populated so seems necessary to open a new camp for the new arrivals. It is because of this need that the Pugnido refugee camp opened in 1987. Following this basic facilities were built for the refugees ( Estifanos, 2010 )

Following the establishment of the camps there was a large scale flow relief of food and material aid. This high amount of aid engulfed the market and had a devastating impact on the local agricultural production. Regassa explain this as follow

*‘The distribution of immense relief food supply for refugees in Gambella region had dramatically changed the traditional livelihood of the local population part of the surplus of relief supplies was sold and flooded the local market’.*

The aid food include beans, rice, wheat flour, biscuits, cooking oil, sugar and varies tinned foods. The refugees sell the surplus of the aid food items in exchange for cloth, vegetable, and different services. Trading in and around the refugee camp attracted many small business owners in to the area. Gambella and other small towns like Abobo, Itang and Pugnido expanded and became trade centers. ( Regassa, 2010). Many local Anywaas started to abandoned their farm and began to settle near to the camp and some of them registered as refugees in the camp. It is not only the aid food that attract the local to the camp but also the facilities like schools and health service( Regassa, 2010).

For their economy both the refugees and the host communities are interdependent. The refugees take some of their aid food to the market. They prefer sorghum and maize than wheat which they get from international aid agencies. So they barter their wheat with the local’s sorghum and maize. They also sell cattle and buy poultry. The refugees also buy different necessities from market like cloth, vegetables, fruits, etc. ( Estifanos, 2010).

**Figure 4: Refugees Sell Their Aid Wheat in Front of UNHCR Rationing Center**



Source: Taken in front of the Anywaa refugees food rationing center at Pugnido town

With the growing demand of cash for buying different products, taxation, education, transport, bride wealth and other services the Anywaas became uncompetitive. The cheap food items in the market had a devastating impact on their agricultural production and forced many of them to move in to refugee camp area( Regassa, 2010).

Many young people left their home looking for education and better income. And others to GPLM and gold mine areas. There was a growing need of man power in the civil service and many Anywaa get jobs as administrators, clerk, teachers , etc ( Regassa, 2010).

Now 9 of my respondents are government employees, two of them are shop owners and 4 of them are students and the rest are farmers. But all of them grown in the peasant community in which almost all community were a farmer in pre 1987 era. Only two of them were a government employee in that period.

The land ownership of the period was a private and all household had its own farm land in most cases along Gilo River. And also had a farm in the hinterland where most of them live to avoid flooding in the rainy season and escape the insects.

As Kurimoto and others scholars agreed that the Anywaa are still predominately cultivators. As many respondents agreed maize and sorghum cultivation and poultry was the main source of food and economic activities before the arrival of the refugees in the area. Some respondents also remember the cultivation of ground nut, and Amula<sup>7</sup> in the area before the arrival of the refugees. They also say some cattle, goat and sheep kept by the host community. As number 7 of my informant described it “ all people in that period practiced cultivation on the rainy season in the hinterland and along the river in the dry season, but there were also some farmer who had some cattle, goat and sheep”

In relation to productivity Gambella refers as one of the fertile region of the country. Almost all respondents agreed that the productivity of the land before the arrival of the refugees was good and enabled the famers to produce enough harvest.

Most of the famers during the period consumed almost all of their harvest and little sold at market. This is because no market there. As respondent number 8 stated that “ we sold some of our harvest at Gambella this is because there was no market here. Here all people, even government employees had their own farm land and cultivate crops so there was no need to buy crops”.

To see the changes following the opening of the refugee camp as a result of refugee impact I ask respondent what kind of economic changes brought to the area because of the refugees. This became one of the controversial questions which received a contradictory answer from different individuals. All people agreed that there is school, clinic, clean water supply and food and material aid for refugees. But there was nothing done for the locals to make them beneficiary from the development activities of refugees. The respondents say their crop destroyed by the cattle of the refugees, refugees also stole their crop on the field and many farmers left their farm to get registered as refugee for aid food which according to them totally reduced the local production.

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<sup>7</sup> A vegetable used to cook a kind of soup

Some remember that there were school and clinic by the missionaries even before the arrival of the refugees for the host community and several people were able to get education and medical service from the missionaries. As number 8 of my respondent say “the missionaries established schools in Gog town in 1942 E.C. (1950 G.C) and here (Pugnido) in 1952 E.C (1958 G.C) and provide elementary education to the people of the area. Later on they established a clinic. The road from Gambella to Pugnido also completed in 1976 E.C (1984 G.C)”.<sup>8</sup>

The Host-Refugee trade and large amount of refugee aid food in the area made Pugnido one important trading center. This attracted many Highlanders and became a reason for the flourishing of the small towns as trading centers. But this also have a negative impact on the local agricultural production. A 100kg of maize that produced by the local people by early 1990’s sold about 5 birr in Gambella town. In comparison the same amount of maize during that period was about 70-90 birr in other parts of the country( Estifanos, 2010).

Pugnido is found in Gog Woreda which is one of the Woredas that have a low agricultural production in Gambella region. In comparison with its neighbor Woreda Abobo, which share almost the same people, population size and agro-ecology the Woreda productivity is low even by the standard of the region. There may be some factors that affect the balance of production in the two areas. The first is some demographic difference. In Abobo there are some highlander settlers. These are all agrarian people with old tradition of cultivation of different crops with a better farm tools that enable them to cultivate more land than the Anywaas.

The second factor is Abobo was and still is the center of government plantation farm which disseminate new cultivation techniques and tools. As a result of this it may not be possible to put Pugnido and Abobo on the same scale.

I couldn’t get the statistics about the population size and amount of agricultural harvest of the period of pre-1987 of both Woredas. But I could get the statistics of three years since 2000 about the agricultural productivity of both Woredas , that are Abobo and Gog,

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<sup>8</sup> The date given by the respondent in Ethiopian calendar it by considering the 7 years and 8 month difference between the Ethiopian and Gregorian calendar I changed it in to Gregorian calendar

**Table 6: Population of Abobo and Gog Woredas**

No.	Woreda	Size of the Woreda	Town	Town Population			Total Woreda's population		
				2004	2008	2011	2004	2008	2011
1.	Abobo	3,116 sq.km	Abobo	2,013	-	5,733	18,114	16,569	18,943
2.	Gog	3,250 sq.km	Pugnido	2,711	-	7,873	19,736	16,823	20,586

Source: CSA 2004, 2008 and 2011 Ethiopian Statistical Abstracts

The impact of the refugees on production was also another problem. Directly or indirectly the arrival of refugees impacted the agricultural production of the host community. The direct impact is since most of the refugees are Nuer pastoralist they came to the camp with their large number cattle. According to my informant their crops destroyed on the field by the refugee's cattle frequently. This significantly affect their production. As other respondent stated the refugees also robbed crop on the field which leads to confrontation and conflict in some cases.

Indirectly also the arrival of refugees affect production. Soon after the opening of the camp there was a flow of large amount of aid food to the area. This enabled the refugees to have excess food to sell in the market to pay for their need of food items and materials which was not on the aid list. This surplus aid food sold in the market at a cheap price. This food items are semi or all processed and cheap compared with the farmers crops which was comparatively expensive and need Labour to processes it in to flour. This directly devalued the farmer's crop. As many informants explains " a 100kg of maize which was about 15 birr before the arrival of the refugees only cost 1.5birr , this forced more farmers of the area to leave their farm and settle along the refugee camp. This further exacerbated the decline of production in the area".

The productivity in the Woreda including Pugnido town have low. This is a product of different factor but it is clear that refugees impact on production is among the leading factors that reduced the Gog Woreda production<sup>9</sup>.

All the elderly people who responded to my questioner owned farm land and those of the youths who doesn't have land is not because of the refugee rather it is because they are government employee and don't need farm land anymore. As respondent number 28 say 'there is a plenty of

<sup>9</sup> Appendix I show the agricultural production and the level of dependency in the area

farm land along the Gilo River but there is lack of interest to invest money and labour. The youth , including myself are not interested to go to farm and plough a land rather stay in the town and looking job at government office’.

Most of the people agrees that neither the refugees nor their camp brought change in their life. Only 5 of them believe that it brought advantage to their life and improved their income. As respondent number 22 say ‘some of the educated people were able to get employment by the aid agencies’ and respondent number 21 say ‘it improve my life and income since am provide a daily labour service for refugees’. In contrary to this respondent number 2 say ‘their arrival was a total loss for the farmers of the area whose production was devalued because of the cheap aid food that flooded the market’.

As many respondents say some farmers in the area were registered as refugees using the ethnic similarity with the refugee Anywaas. Even if they are Ethiopians many were able to get refugee cards. The registration brought them food and material aid which they couldn’t have if they didn’t register.

14 of the respondents, that are 50%, believe that the coming of the refugees and the opening of the camp brought some advantage to the area. For example respondent number 12 and 14 think that the refugee camp create opportunities like education and new job for locals, number 12 also add that ‘it brought food aid that avoid starvation in the area which was a common feature of the area before the opening of the camp’.

About 42% of 12 of my respondent think that the camp and refugees didn’t bring any benefit to the people of the area. They argued that only the refugees benefited from activities of the aid agencies and the facilities. About 8% of the respondents didn’t answer the question.

As food security situation in many Woredas of the Gambella region is one serious issues, it also a problem here in Pugnido. Here food security situation was seriously affected due to different factors. But the major challenge as the agricultural office stated is flooding of crop on the field in the rainy season.

Other factors also contributing to the food insecurity in the region such as size of the land cultivated by individual household very small, using poor cultivating system which is a hoe

inefficient and shortage of supply. Generally the region in general and the Woreda in particular has food deficit.

**Table 7: Estimates of needy population & duration of assistance that they need**

Woreda	Total Woreda populations	beneficiaries estimated in the rainy seasonal Assessment	Severity	Duration assistance required in months
Dimma	13,807	2000	High	6
Gambella	14317	2700	High	6
Abobo	18278	1800	High	6
Gog	19515	3100	High	6
Jor	10855	4000	High	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>59212</b>	<b>13100</b>		

Source: Gambella Peoples Regional State Agriculture Office

**Table 8: Economically active and inactive population of the Gog and Abobo Woreda**

No.	Woreda	Total population above 10	Economically active	Economically inactive
1.	<b>Gog</b>	11,369	8,725	2,644
	Urban	4,009	2,069	1,940
	Rural	7,360	6,656	704
2.	Abobo	11,411	8,667	2,744
	Urban	2,819	1,460	1,359
	Rural	8,592	7,207	1,385

Source : the 2007 Population and Housing Census, CSA

Table 6 and 7 show the dependency rate in Gog Woreda , including Pugnido town.

Another impact of refugees in the area is on animal health. Since the majority of the refugees are Nuer pastoralists they crossed the border into Ethiopia with their cattle. In the past most of the administration activity in the camp was conducted by UNHCR and the government role was limited to provide security. Since they are refugees, the agriculture office of the Woreda only provides vaccination and other treatment for the cattle of the host community. But this, according to Ato Eshetu didn't help to improve the health condition of the host community cattle. The

frequent animal mobility across the border, large number of refugee's cattle in the area, absence of vaccination and veterinarian service for the refugee's cattle and the presence of communicable cattle diseases seriously affect the cattle of host community. As a result of the refugees cattle it was difficult to control Trypanosomiasis, Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia (CBPP), Parasitosis and different animal parasitic diseases.

On other deamination the coming of refugee in to the area further increased the competition over natural resources. The refugees participate in different economic activities to increase their income like by selling timber, wood for construction, making charcoal, etc. . They also participate in fishing, hunting, collecting wild fruits etc. All the above mentioned activities of the refugees caused environmental problems like deforestation, soil erosion, migration and loss of wild animals, etc.

#### **5.4. Environmental Impact**

Whenever a refugee camp set up authorized bodies only consider the availability of water supply and security. Here the interests host community, the natural forest or the possible impact on the environment by refugee settlement never taken in to account. Almost all refugees in Africa, particularly those who live in camps cut trees for house construction and fuel. So it is clear that refugees in any areas use the forest nearby to fulfill their timber and firewood consumption. This deforested a forest nearby and cause a serious environmental problem ( Regassa , 2010).

Soon after the arrival of the refugees at Pugnido the land where the refugee camp set was cleared . Then the refugees built their own homes by cutting trees from the wild. There was also large scale deforestation by the refugees for firewood.( Regassa, 2010).

Hunting and fishing in rivers by the refugees in Pugnido also left little for the host community, and both became difficult when wild animals and fish became scarce in the forest and in the rivers and ponds. Soon after the armed SPLM/A soldiers also hunt animals like buffalo, elephant, giraffe, antelope and gazelle using their modern rifles (Regassa 2010).

The SPLM activities also put a serious threat to the wildlife in the area. The SPLM organized military training centers and soldiers also hunt animals for food, Ivory and Skin. This cause great loss of wild animal population of the country. For the Anywaa people it means that loss of source of food on which they relayed in the dry season when there would not much harvest to consume (Estifanos, 2010).

As Ato Aman told me an estimated 37 km<sup>2</sup> forest land was cleared by the refugees for their fuel and timber consumption around Pugnido. In Bonga for example the refugees clear the forests of the woodland for their own firewood and timber for construction and maintenance of houses. In addition, the Bonga camp refugees collected firewood to be sold in Gambella town located 30 km.s away from the camp( Regassa, 2010)

On the issue of environmental impact I was able to observe the scale of deforestation caused by refugees. Large area of forest was cleared and now only covered by shrubs and other small trees. For me it is difficult to estimate the deforested area but there was about 5 km to see large natural trees from the town.

All respondent agreed that there were and there is still a devastating impact of refugees on the forest in the area. Many said the refugees cleared the forest in the area. It is fact that the refugees need timber for construction and firewood for their fuel consumption. This brought a serious danger to the host who depend on the forest for construction, firewood and in dry season for hunting and gathering.

Another impact of the refugee on that related to the environment is loss of wild animals and plants on which the people are relied for their food consumption in the dry season. As respondent number 8 say ‘the area was full of wild animals before the arrival of the refugees. Large animals like buffalo, giraffe, elephant, Antelope, etc. was easily accessible but now it is not possible to see them around here or even in distance places from Pugnido’. This effect also reflected in the loss of high number of the wild population from Gambella National Park(GNP) which known in the past for its large number of wild animal population. The town of Pugnido found nearby the GNP.

But now there is an environmental rehabilitation program lunched by UNHCR, ARRA and other organization to cover the deforested area by refugees with forest. As Ato Aman said there is a plan to reforestation of 37 hectares of land which from the deforested land by the refugees. From 37 hectares 22 hectares was reforested by a coordinated action of the agriculture office, ARRA, UNHCR and UNDP.

**Table 9:** Gog Woreda total Income Rating of the residence household

<b>Income Source</b>	<b>Share/ of each income source/</b>
Crop Production	92 %
Livestock Production	3 %
Wild Food	3 %
Petty trade	3 %
Total	100 %

Source : Gambella Peoples Regional State Agriculture Office

Even if as many respondents say and literature argued that there is decline on the role of hunting and gathering in the study area, it continued to contribute to the Anywaa economy. As the above table shows the contribution of wild food in Gog Woreda is about 3% which is better than livestock production in the area.

Here environmental impact does a direct impact on the economy of the Anywaa. Anywaa predominantly practice hunting and gathering in the dry season. Loss of the forest and the wild animals mean that there will no wild plant and animal on which they previously depend. As Kurimoto stated with the absence of the good harvest and the exhaustion of the summer harvest, in the dry season Anywaas rely on hunting and gathering which is one major part of their economic activities. Geographically Pugnido found in *Wok* region of Anywaa categorization of their habitat. In *Wok* there are many grassland wild animals and the area known for its rich wild animal population on which the Anywaas get significant portion of their meal. So it is clear that environmental impact, deforestation doesn't only mean loss trees for construction and fuel but significant portion of their food source.

### **5.5. Social Impact**

Since the arrival of the refugees in the area there were some changes in the social structure with in the host community. Basically the host Anywaa society is Nilotic people like all of the refugee population in the camp. The language of the Anywaa people belongs to the sub-group called Lwo( Luo) of the Nilo-Saharan language family. In this group we can get other Niloties that are closely related linguistically, culturally and historically with Anywaas. These are the people of

Pari, Shilluk, Nuer and the Dinka ( Kurimoto, 1996). This means that there is some degree of cultural and linguistic sharing. We can see this similarity in history as bond for cooperation. However this does not mean that the people of the area have in a good relation throughout history. There were some incidences and wars fought between these peoples. The other issue that should be considered here is the presence of both Anywaa and Nuer on both side of the border between Ethiopia and Sudan and their political rivalry in the Gambella region.

The host people, Anywaas, hosted the Sudanese Anywaa refugees. Because of ethnic similarity between the Host community and South Sudanese Anywaa refugees in the camp, every conflict and instability with in the camp that involve Anywaa refugees will spill out and will involve the Host community( UN, 2002 ). The refugees are from many tribes in Sudan and the main tribes are Nuer, Dinka, Anywaa, Uduk, Shillik, Brune, Nuba, Murellie, Darfur, Lokoro and some from Uganda, Burundi and Congo (DRC) (Estifanos, 2010).

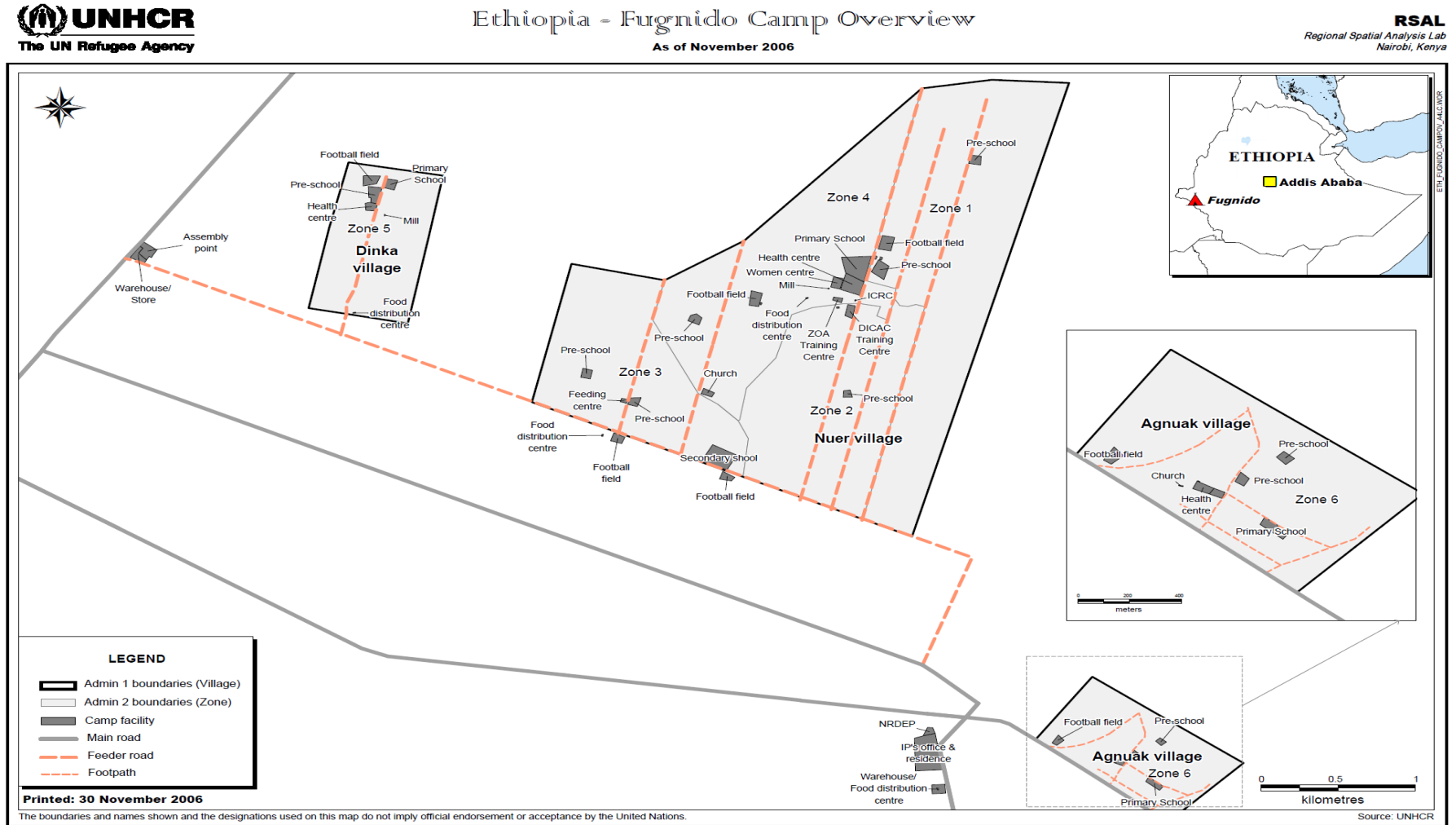
**Table 100: Ethnic Composition of South Sudanese Refugees in Pugnido Refugee Camp**

Nationality	Ethnicity	Total	Percent
Sudanese	Nuer	15079	57.95%
	Anuak( Anywaa)	9289	35.7%
	Dinka	1527	5.87%
	Shilluk	15	0.06%
	Murele	11	0.04%
	Fur	5	0.02%
	Others	93	0.36%
	Total	26,019	100%

Source: As ARRA Report of November 2005 sited on Regassa (2010)

The pre 1987 social condition of Pugnido as it was the fact for other Anywaa settled area was small community organized on the bases of lineage. The community had limited contact with other people. But this contact and relation completely incomparable with what they experienced following the arrival of large number of refugees from Sudan. When respondents describe the pre1987 social condition of the area those respondent from number 1-17 and from 21 -24 agreed that there were a few people in the area and they had a peaceful life. In spite of the presence of

Figure 5: Ethnic Based Settlement inside Pugnido Refugee Camp



Source: UNHCR

some small incidences there was good relation between neighbors. Out of the 21 people 6 of them didn't answer the question. But other say that there was no positive social change after the coming of the refugees in the area. Especially respondent number 5 say ' they brought a serious problem to the area, conflict and murder became common.

At the beginning when refugees came to Gambella there was no hostility between the host and them because of cultural and historical link. But during the second phase of refugee flight to Gambella things changed. With the establishment of SPLM/A in the region and it's act as representative of the refugees change the bases of the relation of the host with the refugees. There were military activity of SPLM/A, its soldiers atrocities against the host community, the facilities that build for refugees, etc. create a sense of jealousy ( Regassa, 2010)

During the Darg era the SPLM received a large amount of military support and allowed to administer the refugee camps and parts of the host community. This support from the Darg was a green light for SPLM leaders and soldiers to act independently and to impose their will and threatened the host community(Estifanos 2010).

Regassa stated it as follow

*“the Anuaks( Anywaas) grew angry against some SPLA officer's arrogant behavior of looting property and raping women. The Anuaks( Anywaas) also became jealous of the resource and facilities of the refugees such as food relief, clothing, schools, clinics and scholarship. During the Darg era many Ethiopian Anuaks( Anywaas) were registered as refugees in Gambella to get access to the facilities of the refugee camp”.*

Most of my respondents , that are 21 of them were able to witness the SPLM activities in the area. Some of them also involved in the conflict occurred between the SPLM/A and the host community. But most of them are reluctant to answer the question on how the conflict occurred, their role if they participate in the conflict and who is responsible.

As respondent number 24 told me that there were many SPLM/A soldiers in the town especially during the Darg era and had a training camp near to the town which only take 30 munities from Pugnido town. He also told me that when they conduct military training it disturbed the nearby villages. Informant number 8 say that the former SPLM/A camp now become a farmers training center.

During the Darg era Gambella was under a joint administration of SPLM/A and the Darg. The SPLM/A was in charge of administering the refugee camps, the surrounding areas and the border region. The SPLM was able to use the food and material aid of refugees for its own purpose. During this period the refugees and the SPLM/A leaders and soldiers enjoyed freedom of movement within the region while there was restriction on Ethiopians in Gambella: both highlander and Anywaas( Regassa, 2010).

I have to avoid from asking question no 14. This is because of the seriousness of the question and many respondents may offend as a result. I was able to observe the suspicious of many respondents especially when it comes to question that involve the past conflict, SPLM and the government.

When I try to examine the SPLA soldiers relation with the host community 9 of respondents out of 21 refused to answer the question. Only 12 of them give answer ever those who answer the question say that there was a good relation at the beginning. But later on it became confrontational and problematic. They say the SPLM/A soldiers were arrogant and misbehaved. According to them as a result of their armament the soldiers were able to act independently. They rape women, kill people, robe property, physically abuse, arrest and jailed citizens, etc. they commit many atrocities.

By 1989 the SPLA soldiers attacked Pugnido village near the camp following the murder of one refugee by Anywaa. And killed about 120 Anywaas of women, elders, children, and militias and left the entire village burnt (Regassa, 2010). Following this incidence the SPLA also attack the town of Itang and fought with the local militia. Here 10 SPLA soldiers and 60 Anywaas and highlanders were killed. There were also atrocities committed by the SPLA in Akodo village near Itang, In Gog and Jor districts and in other different areas. Although, there were reports by local administrators to the government at Addis Ababa nothing was done to stop the SPLM atrocities in the area( Regassa, 2010).

And as respondents say there was no government body that tried to stop their action. As my informant say ‘there were many SPLM/A soldiers. They conduct military training and administration in the area. They cause many troubles for the host community. They kill, rape and robe. They also arrest anyone. I was once imprisoned by the SPLM/A soldiers without any crime.’”

Some of the SPLM/A actions were also to revenge the Gambella Peoples Liberation Movement (GPLM) which had a strong support from the government of Sudan and attacked the SPLA in different times. The Pugnido and Itang atrocities committed by SPLA exacerbated the Anywaas hostilities towards refugees. The government failure made things worst. During this period the government had strong desire to maintain a good relation with SPLM ( Regassa, 2010).

There was a violent attack by the Host community on ethnically Dinka refugees in November 2002 which cost 43 lives. This further complicated the condition and forced UNHCR to pull out its staff from the camp. This made the UNHCR to set up an ethnic based division with in the camp. Three division established Anywaa, Nuer and Dinka zones. Those refugees from Shilluk and other tribes of South Sudan were relocated to Bonga refugee camp (UN, 2004). This restructuring of the refugee camp based on ethnic line reduced inter-ethnic conflict with in the camp and with the host community.

Only 6 of my 28 respondents are now in daily contact with refugees. Respondent number 13 is a farmer and he sells his crops and vegetables for refugees. Now maize is not on the list of aid food for the refugees buy his maize. Respondent number 17 is an old man who prepares and sell tobacco and the refugees are his customers. Respondent number 21 is a daily labourer and he work for the refugees. Respondent number 24 is a *Kebele* chairman and many Anywaa refugees lives in the *kebele*. So he is in daily contact with them for different issues. Respondent number 2 and 27 are shop owners in Anywaa village and as they told me they buy some aid products from the refugees and half of their customers are the refugees.

Some of host community members have a blood relation with refugees mostly with their fellow Anywaa refugees. Particularly respondent 2,8,7, and 27 are among them.

On the issue of whether there a balanced infrastructure for refugees and Host there is a division among respondents. From 28 respondents 8 or 28.5% of them agreed that there is a balanced infrastructure for both the refugees and host. And about 17 of them, 60.7% believe that there is no balanced infrastructure for the refugees and their community. They think more facilities and infrastructure are available for refugees than the host community. In contrary to this 3 or 10.7% believe there is a better infrastructure for the host than the refugees which build by the government. For me this question is difficult. I was able to observer the condition of school, the

clinic, the telecommunication service and the road. All are satisfactory but not good and I can't compare it with the refugee facilities to which I didn't have the access to visit.

As one of my informant say ' in old days we faced many problems, there was no enough services for us. But now there are secondary and preparatory schools, clinics, clean water supply and electricity'.

One of the question that any respondents avoid answering is the causes of the past Host – Refugee conflict, the responsible body and their role in the conflict. As respondent 7 and 8 explain their answer as follow ' the causes and responsible bodies for the past host-refugee conflicts are mostly SPLM/A soldiers. And on the immediate causes of past refugees-host conflict respondent 14, 16and 21 say most of the refugee –host conflict in the past raised from simple buyer and seller disagreement in the market and simple clash in small bars. Respondent 22 and 24 say that another cause of the conflict was the refugee's robbery of the host crop on farm and other properties. According to them 'since they are armed and the government didn't control them they became illegal government on us. They kill, robe, arrest citizens, etc. even if they are refugees in here they had more right than citizens.'

As many respondents say many of farmers in the area were registered as refugees using the ethnic similarity with the refugee Anywaas. Even if they are Ethiopians many were able to get refugee cards. The registration brought them food and material aid which they couldn't acquire if they didn't register.

About 64.2% of respondents answered that they know people from their neighborhood registered as refugees but there is no one from their family member who registered as refugee . About 35.7% of respondent has family member registered as refugee and receiving food aid monthly. Respondent number 10 herself is one of those who register as refugee. She is now receiving food aid. Respondent number 16 say 'even recently many Ethiopian Anywaas who heard the arrival of refugees from South Sudan to the camp flock in large number from different *kebeles* of the *Woreda* to get registered as refugee'.

In their relation with refugees ethnic ties plays an important role. Since the local people are the same as Anywaa Refugees except in citizenship, they have a good relation with them and now

able to live intermixing. The refugee Anywaa settled with in the host community. And I was also able their good relation.

In the host relation with refugees other than Anywaa language have a vital role. In this case only two of my respondents speak Nuer language, one Arabic and one English. For the Arabic speaker he say that some of Dinka refugees speak Arabic and it help him to communicate with them. All of them the Nuer, Arabic and English speakers believe that the language help them to have a good relation with the Dinka and Nuer refugees in the area.

In their social life the majority of my respondents have contact with refugees. They are about 53.5% from them 32.5% have refugee neighbors , 7% are shop owners with significant refugee customers and one respondent are daily labourer who give service for refugees. When we see those who has limited contact with the refugees are about 46.4% of the total respondents.

The refugee population of the area was about 300,000 by late 1980's. So as it is the fact as in other refugee camps in Gambella the Pugnido refugees camp hosted large number of refugees in comparison to the local population. For the question about the number impact and possible cultural domination of refugees on the host community, 24 or 85% respondents answered there is no cultural impact of refugees on their community. Some of them stated the cultural similarity between the host and the refugees as a reason for absence of any tangible cultural impact. Only 14% of the respondents believe their culture influenced by the refugees. They stated the change of the dressing, the widespread robbery, alcoholism, lack of youth respect for elders, etc. as examples.

On the issue of the host impact on the refugee, almost all agreed that their culture didn't and still don't influenced the refugees. Similarly to the above issue same mentioned the similarity of their culture as a reason. Others say their inability to influence the culture of the refugees because of the power relationship or balance during the presence of SPLM/A in the area and the size of the refugee population as the main reasons. Some of them say since the refugees now settle in their camp there is no contact and no influence now.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion and Recommendation

#### 6.1. Conclusion

It is clear that the establishment of the refugee camp in Pugnido attracted many Sudanese refugees in to the area. This dramatically changed the demography of the area and later led to the expansion of the town, the pressure on the natural environment, booming of trade, etc. This was not only the feature in Pugnido but all over Gambella in Dimma and Bonga refugee camps.

The arrival of the refugees also brought large amount of food aid and materials aid. These food and materials distributed for the refugees by aid agencies and were supposed to be used only by the refugees. However, the refugees sell the surplus food in the local market in exchange for crops that are not include on aid list, for vegetables, and different services that hey get from the host community. These aid food and materials sold in the local market in a cheap price and have a mixed outcome in the area, especially the food.

The first is the food aid that sold by the refugees was in a cheap price so it enable members of the host community to have a good food supply and prevent food shortage and starvation in the area. This is evident in the shops the aid food sold in cheap price than that of locally produced crops of the host community or those food items brought from other parts of the country.

In contrary to the first positive impact the aid food cause a negative impact in long term. Following the arrival of the refugees and the opening of the refugee camp many people from the host community registered as refugees using the ethnic similarity with Anywaa refugees. These people then became dependent on food aid and left their farms. The cheap food also devalued the host production like maize and sorghum and many farmers left their farm and settled along the camp. So gradually the production of the area declined.

The dependency of the host community on the aid food is clear in the area. I didn't see any assessment by the government body or other NGOs the see the scale of host dependency on aid food and material.

Things are changing in the Sudan following the signing of the CPA which ends the civil war there. Since then the UNHCR, ARRA and the government of Sudan and Ethiopia launched a voluntary repatriation program that repatriated tens of thousands of Sudanese refugees from western Ethiopia. The repatriation led to the closure of the three refugee camps Bonga and Dimma in Gambella State and Yerjen in Beni Shangul Gumuz State. And there was also repatriation from Pugnido refugee camp. By now there are only 28,000 refugees in the camp.

By July 9 2011 South Sudan declared independence this is another factor on the refugee repatriation process from the area. With the continuation of arrival of new refugees from South Sudan and the internal instability problem within South Sudan the closure of Pugnido refugee camp will not come soon. But in the case of closure of the camp it will be a serious task for the government to deal with the post closure period. There is a high dependency of the host community on refugee aid. As respondents told me and as I observe there are many people registered as refugees in the area. For these people closure means loss of livelihood on which they are dependent. So it will not only cause an economic problem in the area but social and security crisis.

Gambella is one of the fertile regions of the country. It is suitable for plantation using irrigation because of the fertile soil and presence of many rivers that flow in the area. Now there are many large scale agricultural plantation investments conducted there. As many respondents say the area had a good production before the arrival of the refugees and still has good harvest. But the agricultural tools and the techniques do not help them to plough large areas and to produce a good harvest.

Basically Gambella People Regional State has one of the lowest agricultural productions in the country. On the regional standard the Gog Woreda has a poor production compared with other Woredas of the region which have the same population. Even if it is difficult to put statistics about the impact of refugees on production it is clear that as I stated above it impacts on the production of the local people.

I was able to observe different places in Pugnido town. The school, the market, different residential villages, small coffee houses, etc. In addition in the town wherever I go I saw aid

food, soaps, cooking oil, in the shop and plastic water cans and plastic sheet in different villages. So it is clear to understand the flow of aid food with in the host community and the dependency of the host community on these aid materials and food.

In the town there are two markets places: the main market and the Anywaa market. In the main market place different small shops found. In the shops most of the commodities are aid materials like cooking oil, shop, exercise books, bags, wheat, plastic sheets, etc. which directly brought by the refugees and sold to the shop owners.

In the second market, the Anywaa market people sell their commodities not in the shop rather in open area. Most of the customers and the sellers here are Anywaa. Most of the items here are locally produced commodities like maize, sorghum, tomato, tobacco, fish, dried fish, liquor, traditional jewelry of bead, etc. Many small coffee shop owners and households use the UNHCR plastic sheets which was given to the refugees.

In Anywaa settled part of the town, where I conducted the study, significant number of Anywaa refugees settled within the host community. I was able to interview 5 refugees( Anywaa refugees) who settled within the host community. All of them have citizen neighbors and have a close social life with them. Since both of them Anywaa, the host and the refugees who settled within the host, they have common language, culture and history. It is clearly demonstrate that they have a good relation with the host community members.

As these refugees say they left the refugee camp after the 2002 incidence that led to the temporary closure of the camp. Now it is about 11 years since they left their camp. They agreed that they live in a good condition. They receive their food aid monthly and other material aids too.

From these refugees only one of them is interested to stay in Pugnido. Others have repatriated family members and they hoped to be repatriated in to South Sudan.

Other thing that I observed is that there is a difference in the attitude towards refugees with in the Anywaa community between those who work in the civil service and the farmers. Most of the farmers whom I was in contact were in favor of the continuation of the operation of the refugee camp because of the food and material aid. Almost all of them get the food and material aid

directly or indirectly. Some of them were able to register as a refugee and now they receive a monthly food rationing whereas others indirectly get the aid food in a cheap price from the market or from their relatives or neighbors.

However, those who are in the government civil service and other educated people have a different opinion. They give an explanation about different problems and the burden caused by the coming of the refugees. They also made statements about the impact of aid food on local agricultural production, loss of their working culture of the community. They are not afraid to answer questions related to the SPLM/A and tell the atrocities committed by it. Even if they believe that the refugee camp brought aid food which then sold in local market and made cheap food available to the host community, almost all are in favor of its closure.

Following the signing of the CPA thousands of South Sudanese refugees repatriation in to Sudan by coordinated action of UNHCR, ICRC, ARRA and the governments of Sudan and Ethiopia. The major problem that caused refugee flight in the area was solved with the end civil war and the independence of South Sudan. However, the ethnic tension with in the new state of South Sudan became a threat for many civilians.

From January to February 2013 22.5 % of refugees who live in Ethiopia are from Sudan and South Sudan. There are about 16,000 new South Sudanese refugees who crossed the border in to Ethiopia. These refugees stay in the border town of Wonthawo Woreda. During this period Ethiopia received about 10,170 new refugees from neighboring countries. Out of this 407 are from South Sudan. The commission, the UNHCR, now has a plan to relocate these 16,000 refugees from Wonthawo in to Pugnido refugee camp. This increases the refugee population of Pugnido refugee camp from 28.000 to 44,000 and will have a direct out come in the condition of the Pugnido area.

## **6.2. Recommendation**

Basically a refugee camp set as a temporary shelter for refugees and supposed to serve the refugees for a limited period of time. So do Pugnido refugee Camp. It is clear that with the independence of South Sudan conditions for South Sudanese are improving. The main cause for refugees flight, which was the civil war, was no longer a problem. This means that sooner or later the camp will be closed. However, the closure of the Pugnido refugee camp now is not only the case of refugees but also the agenda of the host.

Closing the camp mean a threat for the income and livelihood of many members of the host community. The government at this point has to work to reduce the dependency of the host community on refugees and the camp. This could be done by providing incentives for the farmers, like providing farm tools, improved seeds, new types of crop seed, helping them to participate in animal husbandry, by providing better veterinarian service, etc. It is clear that the government trying to address with its limited resource but more should be done before the closure of the camp.

The area is food insufficient so there should be material and technical support to the farmers to enable them to be food sufficient. The food deficit of the area are not covered by the aid food which sell in the local market at cheap price. Soon after the closure of the camp it will be felt by the concerned bodies then it will be difficult to address the whole problem in one time with a limited government capacity.

Now the UNHCR, UNDP, ARRA and the Woreda agricultural office conducted a coordinated reforestation project. This reforestation project aimed at rehabilitating the cleared forest by the refugees. But this reforestation projects only covered 22 hectors of land. More should be done in this aspect to restore the forest of the area.

In the town there are many unemployed youths who are looking for job. They ara many compared to the size of the town this is a product of losing the working culture. It is the responsibility of the governed and other concerned bodies to solve the problem by providing the youth training, education and necessary material and finicall support. I observed large scale agricultural investment in the area. This could be an opportunity for unemployed youths of the area to get a job in these farms.

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## Appendix I

### Statistics of crop harvested in Abobo and Gog Woredas in 2008 and 2010

No	Woreda	Crop	2008 year				2010 year			
			Agri. Field that covered by crop(in hector )	Damaged crop (in hector)	Productive field in hector	Harvested crop ( 100kg)	Agri. Field that covered by crop	Damaged crop ( in hector)	Productive field in hector	Harvested crop ( 100kg)
1	Abobo	Maize	2668.5	787	1881.5	20696.5	4200	504.9	3695.1	88,682.4
		Sorghum	393	98	295	2665	569.2	0	569.2	6,830.4
		Rice	10	2	8	200	100	0	100	2,500
		Sesame	905	168.5		2946.8	65	0	65	585.00
		Ground nut	25	5	-	100	3.12	0	3.12	15.60
<b>Total</b>			<b>4001.5</b>	1080.5	<b>2921.5</b>	<b>26598.3</b>	<b>6437.32</b>	<b>739.3</b>	<b>5698.</b>	<b>106,207</b>
2	Gog	Maize	1297	194.14	1102.86	16542.9	1,700	137	1,563	39075
		Sorghum	133.3	39.3	94	752	400	23	377	4,524
		Rice	1.69	-	1.69	33.8	40	0	40	800
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1431.9</b>	233.4	1198.5	17328.8	<b>2,140</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>1,980</b>	<b>44,399</b>

Source: Gambella Peoples Regional State Agricultural Office

### 2012 (2003/2004EC) production year pre harvesting estimation of harvestable crops

Woreda	Crop	Farmland that covered by crop in hector	Damaged crops in hector	Productive farm land in hector	Productivity per hector per 100kg	Expected harvest in 100kg	Damaged crop in 100kg	Harvested crop in 100kg
Gog	Maize	2263.06	1046.60	1216.46	12	27156.72	12559.2	14597.52
	Sorghum	502.17	-	502.17	15	7532.55	-	7532.55
	Rice	72	-	72	17	1224	-	1224
	Sesame	156.51	-	156.51	7.5	1173.83	-	1173.83
Abo bo	Maize	2500	525	1975	18	45000	9450	35550
	Sorghum	400	52	348	12	4800	624	4176
	Rice	31.5	3.75	27.75	20	630	75	565.2
	Sesame	800.25	103	697.25	6	4801.5	618	4183.5

Source: Gambella Peoples Regional State Agricultural Office

### Anywaa Zone 2012 production Year Achievement of cultivated land & production

No.	Woreda	Cultivated land (ha)			Production ( Quintal)		
		Plan	Achievement	% of achievement	Plan	Achievement	% of achievement
1.	Gog	5822	2742.52	47	82921.5	29403.9	35
2.	Jor	3380	1076	32	55110	9360	17
3.	Abobo	7472.35	3272.34	44	117187	39306.75	34
4.	Dimma	3933	7961.9	202	66854	72061.2	108
5.	Gambella	8675	5198	60	116933	29431	25
	<b>Zone total</b>	29282.35	20250.76	69	439006	179563	41

Source : Gambella Peoples Agricultural Office

### Annual harvest of crops of the 2011/12 of the Gog Woreda

No	Crop	Agri. Field covered by crop in hector	Damaged crop on the field in hector	Productive field in hector	Productivity in hector per 100kg	Total expected crop 100kg	Damaged crop in 100kg	Harvested crop in 100kg
1.	Maize	1,500	817	683	18	45,144	14,706	12,294
2.	Sorghum	850	50	800	15	20,625	750	12,000
3.	Rice	240	-	240	17	5,950	-	4,080
4.	Sesame	76.52	-	76.52	7.5	8342.25	-	573.75
6.	Ground nut	76	-	76	6	2860.2	-	456
7.	Sweet potato	20	-	20	200	6600	-	4000
8.	Root crops	20	-	20	100	4000	-	2000
9.	Vegetable	50	-	50	100	9700	-	5000
10.	Fruits	20	-	20	500	20,000	-	10,000

Source : Gog Woreda Agricultural Office



1. የኑሮ መተዳደሪያ የስደተኛ መጠለያው ከመከፈቱ በፊት ምን ነበር ?

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2. አብዛኛው የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ የስደተኛ መጠለያው ከመከፈቱ በፊት በምን ይተዳደር ነበር?

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ሀ. ምን አይነት የመሬት ይዞታ ነበር ?

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ለ. ምን አይነት ሰብሎች ይመረቱ ነበር ?

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ሐ. ምርታማነቱስ?

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መ. የተመረቱ ምርቶች የትና እንዴት ይሸጡ ነበር ?

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3. ምን አይነት የምጣኔ ሃብት (ኢኮኖሚያዊ ) ለውጥ በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ላይ የስደተኛ መጠለያውና ስደተኞቹ አምጥቷል ብለው ያስባሉ?

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ሀ. በመሰረተ ልማት

i. በትምህርት

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ii. በጤና

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iii. በመንገድ

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ለ. የምጣኔ-ሃብት ( ኢኮኖሚያዊ ) ለውጥከመሬት ይዞታና ከተፈጥሮ ሃብት አጠቃቀም

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i. በምርት ላይ ያመጣው ተጽዕኖ

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ii. በንግድ ላይ ያመጣው ተጽዕኖ

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4. የ SPLM እንቅስቃሴ በአካባቢዎ ይታይ ነበር ?አዎ ካሉ ምን ይመስል ነበር ?

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5. በአካባቢው ነዋሪዎችና በSPLM ወታደሮች መካከል የነበረው ግንኙነት ምን ይመስል ነበር?

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6. ገቢዎት የቤተሰቡን ወጭ ለመሸፈን በቂ ነው ?

አዎ

አይደለም

7. የግሎ መሬት አሎት ?

አለኝ

የለኝም

8. የራሶ መሬት ከሌሎት : ምክንያቱ የስደተኞቹ መኖር ነው ?

አዎ

አይደለም

9. የስደተኞቹ መጠለያና ስደተኞቹ በገቢዎና የኑሮ እንቅስቃሴዎ ላይ ምን አይነት ለውጥ አምጥተዋል?

ሀ. የኑሮ እንቅስቃሴዎ ላይ

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ለ. በገቢዎ ላይ

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10. የማህበራዊ ኑሮ ሁኔታ ስደተኞቹ ከመምጣታቸው በፊት ምን ይመስል ነበር?

ሀ. የአካባቢው ነዋሪ ማህበራዊ ኑሮ ምን ይመስል ነበር ?

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ለ. የእርሶ የማህበራዊ ኑሮስ

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11. የስደተኞቹ መጠለያና ስደተኞቹ ወደ አካባቢው መምጣት ምን አይነት የማህበራዊ ኑሮ ለውጥ አመጣ ?

ሀ. የስደተኞቹ ወደ አካባቢው መምጣትና ምን አይነት ማህበራዊ ለውጦች በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ላይ አምጥቷል ?

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ለ. በማህበራዊ ህይወት ላይ ምን አይነት ለውጥ አምጥቷል ?

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12. የኑሮዎ መተዳደሪያ በቀጥታ ከስደተኞች ጋር ያገናኛታል ?

አዎ  አያገናኘኝም

አዎ ካሉ እንዴት ?

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13. የደም ወይም የጋብቻ ዝምድና ከስደተኞቹ ጋር አሎት ?

አለኝ  የለኝም

14. በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብና በስደተኞቹ መካከል በተከሰቱት ግጭቶች ተሳትፈው ያውቃሉ ? አዎ ካሉ፡ የትኛውን ወገን በመደገፍ ?

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15. UNHCR ምን አይነት ሚና እየተጫወተ ብለው ያስባሉ?

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16. የኢትዮጵያ መንግስትና የክልሉ አስተዳደር በአካባቢው የሚኖራቸው ሚና ምን መሆን አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?

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17. ሚዛናዊ የሆነ መሰረተ ልማት ለስደተኞችና ለአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች በእኩልነት አለ ብለው ያስባሉ? ከሌለ መንግስት ምን ማድረግ ይኖርበታል ?

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18. ባለፉት ጊዜያት የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብና በስደተኞች መካከል ለተፈጠሩት ግጭቶች ምክንያት ምንድን ነው ? ተጠያቂው አካልስ ማን ነው ?

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19. የተለያዩ ለስደተኞች የሚሰጡ አገልግሎት ለመጠቀም ከቤተሰብ አባል ውስጥ በስደተኛ መጠለያው እንደስደተኛ የተመዘገበ ሰው አለ?

አለ  የለም

20. የስደተኞቹ ንቋንቋ፡ ከእኝዋ ቋንቋ ሌላ ፡ ይናገራሉ? ከተናገሩ ቋንቋውን መቻሎት ከስደተኞች ጋር የተሻለ ግንኙነት እንዲኖሮት እረድቶታል?

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21. በእለት ተእለት እንቅስቃሴዎ ከስደተኞቹ ጋር የገናኛሉ?

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22. የስደተኞቹ መጠለያ እና የስደተኞቹ መሮር ለአካባቢው ህብረተሰብ የተሻለ እድል ፈጥሯል ብለው ያስባሉ? (የስራ እድልና ገቢያ በመፍጠር: )

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23. ስደተኞቹ በቁጥር ስለሚበዙ የነሱ ባህል በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ላይ ተጽዕኖ አምጥቷል ብለቅ ያስባሉ?

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24. ስደተኞቹ ከአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ባህል የተወሰነ ወርሰዋል ብለው ያስባሉ?

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25. ስደተኞቹ ለአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ባህልና እሴቶች ክብርና እውቅና ይሰጣሉ?

አዎ  አይሰጡም

26. የዲማና የቦንጋ ስደተኛ መጠለያዎች ተዘግተዋል፡ ይህ የስደተኛ መጠለያ መዘጋት አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ? አዎን ካሉ ለምን?

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27. የስደተኛ መጠለያው ቢዘጋ ምን የሚፈጠር ይመስሎታል? ለአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ጥሩ ነው ወይስ መጥፎ ?

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28. በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብና በስደተኞቹ መካከል ጥሩ ግንኙነት አለ ብለው ያስባሉ?

አዎ

አይደለም

29. ጥሩ ግንኙነት ከሌለ: ምክንያቱምንድን ነው?

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30. ወደፊት በአካባቢው ማህበረሰብና በስደተኞች መካከል ያለውን ግንኙነት ካሁኑየበለጠ ላማሻሻል ምን መደረግ አለበት ይላሉ?

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31. በአጠቃላይ የስደተኛ መጠለያውና የስደተኞቹ በአካባቢው መኖር ምን ዓይነት አወንታዊና አሉታዊ ተጽእኖ አምጥቷል? አወንታዊና አሉታዊ ተጽእኖዎቻቸው ያመዘናል?

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**ላደረጉት ትብብር ከልብ አመሰግናለሁኝ !**

## Declaration

I the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor

\_\_\_\_\_

Advisor

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date