

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES**

**THE IMPACT OF REFUGESS ON HOST COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF
SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES IN GAMBELLA PEOPLE'S NATIONAL REGIONAL
STATE**

By

EYAEL TADESSE

June, 2016

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Table of Contents

Contents	Page
Acknowledgement	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Figure.....	v
Acronyms and Abbreviations	vi
Abstract.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1.INTORDUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Key Concepts	5
1.5 Research Questions	6
1.6 Significance of the study	7
1.7 Scope of the Study.....	7
1.8 Limitation of the Study	8
1.9 Outline of the Study	8
CHAPTER TWO	10
2.LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	10
2.1 The Pull and Push Factors of Refugee Influx	10
2.1.1. The Pull Factor of Refugee Influx	11
2.1.2. The Push Factor of Refugee Influx.....	12
2.2. Trends of Refugee Movement in the Sub-Sahara and Horn of Africa.....	13
2.3. Understanding the Implication of Refugee Influx on Host Communities	15
2.3.1. The Socio-Economic Impact of Refugees on Host Communities	17
2.3.2. The Political and Security Impact of Refugees on Host Communities	20

2.3.3. Ecological Impact of Refugee Influx	22
2.4. Burden Sharing as Remedy of Refugee Crisis	24
CHAPTER THREE	27
3. METHODOLOGY	27
3.1 Research Site	28
3.2 Selection of the Study Area.....	28
3.3 Research Method and Design.....	30
3.4 Method of Data Collection.....	31
3.4.1 Semi-Structured Interview	32
3.4.2 Focus Group Discussion	33
3.4.3 Direct Observation	33
3.4.4 Document Analysis.....	34
3.5 Sampling Techniques	34
3.6 Method of Data Analysis.....	36
3.7 Ethical Consideration	36
CHAPTER FOUR.....	38
4.FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	38
4.1. The Impact of South Sudanese Refugees on the Host Community of Gambella	38
4.1.1 Social Impact	39
4.1.2. Economic Impact.....	43
4.1.3. Security Impact.....	47
4.1.4. Environmental Impact	51
4.2. The Nature of Relationship between South Sudanese Refugees and Host Community of Gambella	54
4.2.1. South Sudanese Refugees in Jewi Refugee Camp.....	54
4.2.1.1. Situation of Conflict and Collaboration between Refugees and Host Communities	54

4.2.2. South Sudanese Refugees in Kule Refugee Camp	58
4.2.2.1. Situation of Conflict and Collaboration between Refugees and Host Communities	59
4.3. Roles played by Government and Humanitarian Actors in order to Promote Peaceful Coexistence between South Sudanese Refugees and Host community of Gambella	60
4.3.1. Approaches taken to Promote Coexistence and Mutual Benefit between South Sudanese Refugees and Host Communities of Gambella	60
4.3.1.1. Administration for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA).....	60
4.3.1.2. Efforts made by NGO's; ACF, NRC and ZOA to Promote Peaceful Coexistence..	62
CHAPTER FIVE	65
5. Conclusion and Recommendation	65
5.1. Conclusion.....	65
5.2. Recommendations	69
Reference	72
Annexes	81

List of Figure

Figure 1: Map of Gambella People’s National Regional State (GPNRS)	29
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACF	Action Contre la Faim
ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
EPLF	Eritrean People Liberation Movement
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
GPNRS	Gambella People’s National Regional State
HOA	Horn of Africa
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGPRA	Income Generation Projects for Refugee Areas
LDC	Least Developed Country
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and People’s Region
SPLM/A	Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army
TDA	Targeted Development Assistance
TPLF	Tigrrian People Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
ZI	The Zambia Initiative
ZOA	Relief Hope and Recovery

Abstract

This study explored the impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS). Following the outbreak of the second Sudanese civil war (1983) and the recent civil war of South Sudan (2013), there has been a continuous influx of South Sudanese refugees into Gambella region. The region is situated in close proximity to neighboring South Sudan where the majority of refugees originate. Currently Gambella host close to 300, 000 refugees majority of whom are South Sudanese. Such large-scale refugee influx severely affected the region in general and the host community in particular. The study utilized qualitative method and non-probability sampling technique to select informants. By conducting interviews and focus group discussions with a total of 29 informants from the host community of Gambella, South Sudanese refugees as well as government and non-government actors of relevance, the study has examined the important points delimited in the research. The finding of the study revealed not only the burden or the challenges but also some of the advantages and benefits experienced by the host community of Gambella following the South Sudanese refugee influx. The refugee influx brought social, economic, security, environmental, and demographic impacts in the region. Notably, the positive impact is seen in terms of socio-economic aspects and the negative implication is primarily indicated in terms of widening ethnic divergence among the host community and heightening inter-ethnic conflict between the host community of Gambella and South Sudanese refugees; thereby affected the region's security. Of equal importance is exploring the complex relationship between the refugees and host communities of Gambella. In this regard, the interplay of several elements such as ethnic identity and socio-economic aspects is seen to determine the impacts as well as the level of interaction between refugees and host communities in the region.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The Horn of Africa; comprised of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, is faced with multifaceted problems such as famine, drought, civil war, conflict, and also migration and refugee crisis. Looking at some of the major issues underlying conflicts in the Horn; particularly among those countries in the Sub-Saharan region, competition over resources such as pastureland and water serves as the primary sources of conflict. Though resource competition ignites the majority of conflict in the region, it is further exacerbated by cross cutting issues like ethnic identity, the issue of border security and competition over political power; some of the major factors affecting Africa's stability (Markakis, 2009). In this respect, Sudan could serve as a good example where civil war and social conflict has caused vast number of refugees into neighboring countries such as Ethiopia.

When looking at the South Sudanese refugee crisis, it is imperative to understand the root causes that brought the massive refugee influx in to Ethiopia; particularly in Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS). The two civil wars of Sudan are primarily indicated as causing the refugee movement into neighboring countries including Ethiopia. Although there are diverse and multifaceted narratives behind the Sudanese civil war, the history of colonialism is believed as the underlying reason which triggered the civil war (Basha, 2006).

Although Sudan pursued its independence in 1956, there was already a civil strife between the Northern and Southern part of Sudan prior 1956. However, the end of colonialism had installed a new form of internal colonialism whereby the culture and religion of the North (Arab and Islam) was forcefully imposed upon the South; characterized by its African culture and Christian belief. This was viewed by the South as a transfer of colonial power into the hands of the North. The measure by the Northern government to apply a reintegration policy in favor of Islam, as well as the failure to share power with political elites of the South had marginalized and alienated the South (Motasim, 2008). Hence, tensions and social anxieties created a highly volatile situation in the South. As a result, an intensive civil war broke out between government forces of the North

and an armed rebel group of the South called the Anya-Nya that fought for Southern people's right to self-determination. A struggle against the domination of the North and the role of Islam in the state affairs were the basic issues that started the first civil war (1955-1972) (Basha 2006).

During the first civil war, about a million people have been displaced and half a million people have lost their lives. The war had also produced massive number of refugees into neighboring countries such as Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Ethiopia. Finally, a peace agreement was signed between the government of Khartoum and the Anya-Nya forces in Addis Ababa which ended the civil war in 1972. Although the peace agreement could not bring stability, it somehow brought about some changes as it granted the South some form of regional autonomy (Wosenu, 2013).

However, the signed agreement did not guarantee peace. Shortly after the peace process, the second civil war broke out in 1983 when president Numeiri renounced the Addis Ababa peace agreement, abolished the South autonomy and imposed a Sharia law. In response to this, some officials from the South Sudanese regional government and the South mutinies with support from Ethiopian authorities established the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in Gambella region and this laid down the ground work for the second civil war (1983-2005) (Regassa, 2010). The government of Ethiopia and Sudan fought a proxy war during this civil war and had a rough relation with one another. On the one hand, Sudan provided support for the anti-Ethiopian guerilla fighters like the EPLF, TPLF and OLF and on the other, the Ethiopian government responded by providing shelter and arms for the southern rebels who established the SPLM and ultimately lead South Sudan into its independence in 2011 (Wosenu, 2013).

The second civil war had produced well above 400,000 refugees into neighboring countries. Given the proximity of South Sudan to Ethiopia, more than 300,000 South Sudanese refugees fled to Ethiopia and were predominantly hosted in Gambella region. The civil war has created a massive humanitarian crisis and the presence of substantial number of refugees had result a political, economic, social and ecological effect in Gambella region (Regassa, 2010). When combined the two Sudanese civil wars (1955-1972 and 1983-2005) had displaced an estimate of 4 million people within Sudan, cost the lives of 2.5 million civilians and produced over 750,000 refugees (Wosenu, 2013). However, these were not the only civil wars in Sudan's history. After a long and brutal

independent struggle, South Sudan gained its independence in 2011. Nonetheless, there were still some animosities lingering behind particularly with regard to questions of citizenship and oil resources that became points of contention between the North and South Sudan. The precarious economic and social situation of South Sudan coupled with the dominance of the Dinka ethnic group over the Nuer ethnics in South Sudan as well as the protracted political rivalries between President Salva Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar has pushed the country towards a civil war that broke out in December 2013. These two officials have relied on ethnic mobilization for support which later transformed the political crisis into an ethnic rivalry between the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups in support of Kiir and Machar respectively. As a result, a bloody conflict took place that led to the killing of thousands of civilians, massive human rights violation and produced more than 500,000 refugees into neighboring countries such as Ethiopia; primarily hosted in Gambella region (Gil, 2014).

More than 200,000 South Sudanese refugees have arrived in Gambella since the civil war broke out in 2013. Refugee camps in Gambella are already at their full capacity and such massive number of refugee influx into the region have create additional burden. Currently, the refugee camps in which most of South Sudanese refugees are assisted have reached their full capacity. As a result the refugees have started to relocate themselves amongst the host community. Due to this, the host community in particular bears the burden of sharing their limited resources with the refugees. Overall, the continuous refugee influx resulted socio-economic and security challenges for the host community and the region through time (South Sudan Regional Response, 2015).

Ethiopia is signatory to the UN refugee convention of 1951 as well as the 2004 Ethiopian refugee proclamation and has a duty to provide protection and safety for refugees. (ARRA, 2011) Given Ethiopia's open door policy, the country has now become one of the largest refugee hosting country in the world and stands first in Africa. Currently there are more than 700,000 refugees hosted in 24 different refugee camps across the country. Out of these, South Sudanese refugees constitute the largest number with more than 250,000 refugees hosted in Gambella, in six refugee camps. In addition to this, there are around 41,000 South Sudanese refugees living within the host community of Gambella (ECHO, 2015). Given Gambella's remote location, its limited resource and poor social infrastructure; the massive number of refugee influx from South Sudan has created

sense of resentment and deprivation within the host community which strained the relation between refugees and host communities (Dereje, 2014).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Gambella is one of the most conflict ridden regions in Ethiopia. Looking at some of the major conflicts that had occurred in the region, ethnicity can be said to have played a crucial role. Among the different ethnic groups in the region, most of the conflicts occur between the Anuak and the Nuer community. This is regarding their disagreement over the issue of power representation in higher offices of the region. In the past, competition over resources such as grazing land and water used to be the basis of the Anuak-Nuer conflict. However, as time goes by, the situation changed and turned into ethnic based conflict. Since the outbreak of the second Sudanese civil war (1983-2005), South Sudanese refugees came to Gambella predominantly from the eastern parts of the Upper Nile and Jonglei states; inhibited by the Nuer, Anuwak, Murle, Dinka, Lou, and Maban ethnic groups. The majority of refugees are primarily from the Nuer ethnic group. This is accelerated by the long-standing eastward expansion of Sudanese Nuer into Gambella. Although the Anuak were the largest ethnic groups that represent Gambella region before the 1980's, the second Sudanese civil war and the massive Nuer South Sudanese refugee influx into the region is believed to shift the demographic composition of the region in favor of the Nuer ethnic group of Gambella (Regassa, 2010).

Of equal importance, the recent civil war that broke out in South Sudan in December 2013 also plays a role in terms of adding pressure on the multi-faceted challenges posed on the region in general and the host community in particular. The presence of South Sudanese refugees has changed not only the demographic composition of the region, but it has also brought social, economic, security and environmental impacts upon the host community of Gambella. The massive refugee influx created a lot of pressure on the region's limited resource and social infrastructure. Furthermore, the humanitarian support provided for refugees that overlooks the problems of the host community created sense of resentment among the host community. This has caused a rough relation between the South Sudanese refugees and the host communities of Gambella. However, it has been evident that the presence of refugees does not only pose challenges for the host community but could also have advantages or benefits.

However, the burden and benefits a refugee influx may exert on host communities have been under researched. Particularly studies that assess an all-encompassing impacts (social, economic, security, and environmental impacts) on Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS) are limited. Therefore, the study seeks to fill the research gap by giving emphasis to the multifaceted problems the host community of Gambella is faced with as a result of hosting a large number of South Sudanese refugees. Moreover, it seeks to explain the impact; both the challenges and opportunities experienced by the host community of Gambella following the South Sudanese refugee influx into the region. It tries to shed light on triggering factors leading to recurrent conflicts between the refugees and host communities in the region. In addition, the research can provide a knowledge base for other interested researchers by indicating the growing problem and challenges the host community are facing.

1.3 Key Concepts

- Refugee – *“A person who as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”*. According to the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees.
- Host Community – *“A country of refuge and the local, regional and national governmental, social and economic structures within which refugees live”* (UNHCR, 2011).
- Ethnic Identity – A subset of identity categories to which individuals and groups identify themselves on the basis of shared attributes. For instance; common language, culture, religion, a shared history, common decent/ancestry and home land or shared origin (Verkuyten, 2005).

1.4 Research Objective

General Objective

The general objective of the study is to identify the challenges and opportunities the host community of Gambella experienced following the presence of South Sudanese refugees in the region.

Specific Objective

- To explore the social, economic, environmental and security implications of the South Sudanese refugee influx on the host community of Gambella.
- To identify the role of South Sudanese refugees in the conflict dynamics of the Gambella host community.
- To examine the nature and changes of relationship between South Sudanese refugees and host community of Gambella.
- To assess the role of government and non-governmental actors in enhancing peaceful coexistence between South Sudanese refugees and the host community of Gambella.

1.5 Research Questions

The study tries to provide possible answers to the following questions:

1. What are the impacts the host community of Gambella experienced following the South Sudanese refugee influx?
2. What is the nature of relationship between South Sudanese refugees and host communities of Gambella?
3. How does the South Sudanese refugee influx contribute to the recurrent ethnic clash among the host community of Gambella?

4. What are the roles played by government officials as well as humanitarian actors in terms of mitigating conflict arising between South Sudanese refugees and host communities of Gambella?

1.6 Significance of the study

The impacts brought on the host community which underlies the issue of refugee crisis have relatively received limited attention by mainstream researchers and humanitarian actors. At the heart of refugee crisis is the matter of host community. It is worth noting that although the issue of refugee is a pressing matter that requires urgency, it also has direct bearing on the host community that borne the primary burden of hosting refugees by sharing resource and infrastructure. However, there are limited empirical researches conducted within this arena. The study aims to broaden one's understanding regarding the complex relationship between South Sudanese refugees and host community of Gambella. Existing differences between refugees and host communities such as language, culture and religion determines the nature of refugee-host relation and the extent to which conflict or coexistence occur between them. To this end, the study can unpack the overall issues and factors surrounding the debate of refugee-host relation and the resultant impacts the host community experiences by giving special emphasis on the host community of Gambella and the South Sudanese refugee influx into the Gambella People's National Regional State of Ethiopia.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Ethiopia hosts refugees from different parts of the world. Majority of the refugees in the country are from neighboring countries; Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan. It could be cumbersome to conduct an all-encompassing assessment of the impact of these refugees on host communities of Ethiopia. Therefore, the researcher focused the study on analyzing the impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella. The target population of this study is the host community of Gambella; the Anuak and Nuer host community. The remaining four ethnic groups as well as highlanders are not included in the study. This is on the basis that the two ethnic groups represent the majority of host communities in the region. Furthermore, the researcher selected these groups with the idea that the respective ethnic ties and divergence that exist between the South Sudanese refugees and the above tow ethnic groups could further explain the complex

relationship that emerges between them which is further implicated on the hostile security issue of Gambella. In doing so, the researcher believes that including the opinion of South Sudanese refugees is also necessary to avoid biased judgment. Hence, South Sudanese refugees are also selected in conducting the study.

A great majority of South Sudanese refugees are hosted in Gambella People's National Regional State. South Sudanese refugees come from different ethnic groups but this study only selected those refugees from the Nuer ethnic group. The refugees are hosted in six refugee camps in Gambella. However, the study only selected those refugees from two refugee camps; Jewi and Kule. This is on the basis of the host community; Anuwak and Nuer surrounding the two refugee camps respectively. Such ethnic divergence could therefore illustrate the extent to which ethnic differences that exists between refugees and host communities determine the type of relation that prevails between them as well as the benefit or burden which can be reaped or incurred.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

According to Bryman (2008), limitations jeopardize a research. Therefore, a researcher is required to remain cognizant of the possible limitations prior conducting a research. The primary challenge in undertaking this research is concerning the volatile security situation of Gambella. Given the security issue of Gambella particularly the time upon which the data collection took place, getting the permission and willingness of the informants was a difficult task. About two weeks prior the process of data collection i.e. late January, there was a sudden ethnic tension that arose between the Anuak and Nuer community and more than a dozen people have lost their lives. Although the tension that arose was between the two ethnic groups, there is always a possibility that it transcends into involving the South Sudanese refugees as well. Hence, these made the process of data collection a challenge. However, having a field assistant who is familiar with the region and the people reduced some of the limitations with regard to data collection.

1.9 Outline of the Study

The study is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one briefly dealt with background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope and significance of the study as well as limitation and key concepts of the study. Chapter two deals with review of related

literatures on the topic of research and incorporates conceptual framework in light to refugee-host relation as well as the diverse impact of refugee influx on host communities. Chapter three presents the methodology and strategies employed in conducting the study. Chapter four discusses the empirical findings and analysis of the study. Chapter five, the final chapter presents summary of the study and draw some recommendations from the finding.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this chapter is to discuss some of the major issues and concepts associated with the problem encountered by refugees, and the impacts that come along with their presence upon the host country in general and the host community in particular. It provides conceptual insights with regard to some of the driving factors that lead to mass refugee influx which affects the receiving country and the host community either negatively or positively, which is also the main theme of this research. It also tries to look at both the costs and benefits endured by the host community resulting from large and sudden refugee influx. To convey the shared experiences that are most common within the host community, different case studies from different parts of the world are reviewed. Some of the major discussions are presented as follows.

2.1 The Pull and Push Factors of Refugee Influx

The definition given by the 1951 United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees; which provides the legal framework for the international protection of refugees can provide a general understanding of the term “Refugee”.

“As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside his country of 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” (1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article 1(2)).

The main distinguishing element that refugees share is the absence of national protection of their rights and freedoms. Refugees have various essential needs ranging from personal safety to means of survival, such as shelter and food as well as respect for their fundamental human rights; one of the elements which has been ignored for the most part. Hence, the shortcoming of national protection gives way to the international protection in terms of ensuring the fulfillment and enjoyment of these rights which ought to be respected. Although the responses of international

protection varies depending on the nature of the country admitting refugees, the state acceding to the convention is obliged to afford the protection of basic human rights without discrimination and provide security from forcible return (non-refoulement) of refugees among others (Gowlland, 1994). However, there are certain circumstances where these principles have been eroded.

2.1.1. The Pull Factor of Refugee Influx

As mentioned above, a combination of several factors such as violence, human rights violation, and persecution have led to mass displacement of people from their home of origin. For instance, taking a look at the current migration/refugee crisis in Europe, millions of people; majority of them from the Middle East and Africa, have risked their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea in search of safety and security. This journey has cost the lives of many and resulted massive humanitarian crisis (Purvis, 2015). Although the aforementioned variables are usually the explanatory grounds on which massive displacement occurs, there are additional elements that serve as pull factors causing refugee inflow. For instance, according to Edward Newman: “...*Globalization, technological progress, and interdependence: easier and cheaper transportation across greater distances, a greater awareness of better opportunities “elsewhere”, a reduction of physical boundaries to movements in some regions of the world*” are basically those identified as pull factors serving as the basis for the broader context of migration flows (Newman and Selm, 2003, 4).

The factors that Newman mentioned are further accompanied by issues such as ethnic ties between the receiving and sending country. For instance, if we look at the Somali refugee displacement since the early 1990’s, majority of the refugees are hosted in Ethiopia and Kenya where they have similar cultural and clan ties with the hosting community. Such scenarios are most common whereby refugees are perceived as indigent as the local populations and as such, there is the likelihood for peaceful co-existence between refugees and host communities (Hammond, 2014).

On the same token, geographic location is another indispensable element in explaining refugee movements. The United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) classifies refugee location as Urban and Rural. Such classification affects the type of settlement, either managed camp or self-settlement among others. Although managed camp is the predominant type of accommodation particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa where refugee camps are usually located in rural areas, there is a growing trend of refugee preference to live in a self-settled type of

accommodation preferably in urban areas. One of the reasons for this is that it gives refugees enough freedom to move freely and engage in income generating activities. As such, regions with a possibility to provide such type of accommodation attract refugees; Turkey for instance is one good example in this regard (UNHCR, 2015).

2.1.2. The Push Factor of Refugee Influx

According to Kunz's Kinetic model of Refugee Movements; there are three distinguishing elements characterized as push factors which cause movement across border. These are, Anticipatory Refugee Movements (able to plan departure having anticipated danger), Acute Refugee Movements (immediate flight requiring emergency), and Intermediate Refugee movements (coming in between). While Anticipatory Refugee takes place prior to the deterioration of the security or political climate impedes the departure of refugees, subsequent cycles of violence or displacement provoked by violence or political change could explain acute refugee movements. The third model is quite different as it embodies the quality of both anticipatory and acute movements. The Jewish refugee crisis during WWII, provides a perfect example whereas perceived threat (Anticipatory movements) led to the Jewish displacement to nearby countries. However, this shifted into acute refugee movement when the state of asylum itself came under political turmoil (Kunz, 1973).

Accordingly, several factors have catalyzed the mass influx of refugees across national boundaries. To mention some; civil strife, massive human rights violations, political unrest, ethnic cleansing, and religious persecution are some of the main contributing factors which have uprooted millions of refugees from their place of origin. For instance, the civil wars in South Sudan, Central African Republic, and Syria, ethnic cleansing in Rwanda, religious persecution in Afghanistan, and political turmoil in Mozambique and Burundi have generated significant proportion of the refugee population in the world. Nonetheless, it is hard to say that refugees are evenly distributed across the world and as a result, some countries have borne the brunt of hosting a disproportionately large number of refugees which could also apply for least developed countries such as Africa (Salehyan, 2007).

2.2. Trends of Refugee Movement in the Sub-Sahara and Horn of Africa

The Horn countries and regions of Sub-Sahara have for long been characterized as conflict prone regions whereby instability, draught, and famine frequently occur. As a result, millions of Africans were forced to flee their region in search of better conditions in neighboring countries and abroad. The region also host large portion of the world's refugee population which compounds its deteriorating socio-economic conditions. With the aim of providing solution to the African refugee crisis, the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, serve as a regional compliment to the 1951 United Nations Conventions relating to the status of refugees. It has stimulated the development of constructive refugee laws, policies and practices in Africa. Accordingly, it provides the following definition as a supplement to the UN Convention.

“The 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” (The 1969 OAU Convention).

Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed some of the most long standing refugee crises in the world. It has been among the top ten refugee producing and refugee hosting regions. Out of the top ten countries where people flee as refugees; five are in Sub-Saharan Africa and four of the top ten refugee hosting countries are also in these region. For instance, Somalia is one of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa that is identified as the largest and longest-standing refugee producing country in the region. Similarly, South Sudan is also one of those countries where as the civil war of 2013 solely have generated more than 550,000 refugees. However, it has also been hosting more than 220,000 refugees from Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States of Sudan (Amnesty International, 2015). These situations highlight the intricate nature of Africa's refugee crises which has grown at an exponential pace.

Countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya have been places worst hit by draught and famine. Majority of its population live at subsistence and there is a growing vulnerability of food insecurity which is further exacerbated by long standing political and ethnic conflict (Smith, 2012). Most of the violence that occurs in these countries is triggered due to porous borders, weak governance

and economic structures. Somalia has remained the worst affected region in the Horn due to draught, civil strife, political unrest, and religious extremism (al-Shabab). The problem of refugee crisis is escalating and the overall humanitarian situation in these countries has continued to deteriorate and has become the concern of the regional and international communities' (Margesson et al., 2012).

The fact that countries of the Horn simultaneously host internally displaced persons (IDP's), returnees, refugees, victims of trafficking, and labor migrants makes the nature of migration crisis in the region a complex and dynamic phenomena. Since 2012, the number of refugee presence in the region has shown a sharp increase whereby majority of these refugees live in precarious conditions sharing the meager resources of host communities such as Ethiopia and Kenya (Martin and Bonfanti, 2015). It is worth noting that with the growing competition for meager resources more tensions arise between refugees and host communities. Particularly in land-poor or land-scarce regions; for example in Rwanda and Burundi, there is a greater chance for a hostile relation between refugees and host communities (Baker, 1994).

As evident in most cases, when there is a greater degree of closeness between refugees and host communities in terms of ethnicity and kinship which strengthens their social ties, the possibility for a harmonious relation prevails (Hansen and Oliver, 1982). Hence, differences that exist on the basis of ethnicity will provide the groundwork for violence as it affects the refugee-host relationships. However, this is not the only case according to Chambers. The economic status of the host community is another determining factor affecting the relationship of the two. When the host community is poor and less skilled than its counterpart, the former is more at a disadvantage and he referred to this as "hidden losers". Nevertheless, this is not the case according to a study conducted by Kibreab regarding the social and economic interaction between Ogaden refugees in Qoriooley, Somalia. His finding suggests that refugee labor has led to the increase in food supply, expansion of the agricultural market and increased opportunities for employment in spite of the differentiated economic status (Waldren and Haschi, 1994).

The problem of refugee crisis in the Horn is compounded by the growing disparity in terms of refugee population. Some countries have excessive amount of refugees which is mostly attributed to the close proximity of neighboring countries. For instance, Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya is

known as one of the biggest and oldest refugee hosting camp in the world where most of the refugees originate from adjacent countries such as Somalia (Grayson, 2013). Somali refugees, the second largest refugees in Ethiopia next to South Sudanese are also hosted in Dollo Ado, Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2012). The refugee crises in both cases impinge additional burden on the already scarce resources of the regions as they are located in remote and underdeveloped areas where there is a preexisting economic vulnerability.

The growing trend of refugee crisis in the Horn, has undeniably affected those countries hosting inordinately large number of refugees. It has been an additional burden on their multifaceted problems. Host communities in particular are overburdened as they are the first to put up with the repercussions of refugee influx. As the arrival of refugees put pressure on the already overstretched basic services of host communities', the prospect for peaceful coexistence becomes even blurry (UNHCR, 2015). Hence, there is the need for implementing a more comprehensive policy with the aim of assisting and enabling those countries to rise up to their challenges in general and the problems faced by refugees as well as host communities in particular.

2.3. Understanding the Implication of Refugee Influx on Host Communities

Despite a large body of work conducted on topics concerning refugees, the community that hosts a significant amount of these refugees hardly receives enough coverage. As the center of this research is to explore the major impacts of refugee influx on the host community; this section primarily assesses the socio-economic, ecological as well as political impact of refugees on host communities. As defined in the Oxford Dictionary; the term 'Impact' is to mean "*a marked effect or influence*". Hence, this term is used in this research as to refer to both the positive and negative influences of refugee influx. Accordingly, this segment of the research will be primarily focused on academic researches conducted around the impacts of refugee presence on host communities. In doing so, it will try to review existing case studies on this particular issue that are considered most relevant for discussion.

Although there is a formed assumption that refugee influx presents a challenge instead of opportunity for the host community, recently this perception has begun to shift and both the cost and benefit of hosting refugee has started to be acknowledged. Aside from imposing a burden on local infrastructure, resource and the environment, refugees can also benefit the host community

by providing cheap labor, expanding consumer markets and draw in an increased foreign aid into the host area. Refugees are assumed to have a diverse impact on different section of the host community based on class, gender, age and region. Nonetheless, such cost and benefits are not universal as some benefit more while others become worse off based on these distinctions (Whitaker, 1999).

In order to assess the impacts caused by refugee influx, there is the need to consider range of factors such as time frame and duration within which the refugee inflow occurs. It is also important to identify the short-term and long-term impacts because in most cases the refugee presence in the host state becomes protracted and this could influence the socio-economic and political change that occur for better or worse. Another point worth mentioning is that, the socio-economic backgrounds of refugees and host communities play a significant role in terms of explaining the cost that could be incurred or the benefit that could be driven. For instance, homogenizing factors such as, forms of livelihood activities and social status of having shared culture, ethnicity, language, and religion are believed to facilitate interaction between the two communities. In situations where these factors cease to exist; social distance, broader division, and antagonism could occur (University of Oxford, 2011). Therefore, such characteristics of the host and the refugee community influence the degree and type of impact that come as a result of refugee inflow.

As mentioned in the previous section of this research, when there is high vulnerability within the community that host refugees in terms of access to the provision of basic services, their presence could have a negative impact. Such impact could be more pronounced within host communities facing socio-economic vulnerability. Hence, the presence of refugees becomes a burden on their resource that is already overstretched. This becomes even more problematic when the duration within which refugees' settlement is extended or in other words when it becomes protracted (Davies, 2012). According to the definition given by UNHCR regarding protracted refugee situation, it is a situation where refugees from the same nationality of 25,000 or more have been in exile in a given asylum country for five years and longer (UNHCR, 2015). Hence, in a given circumstance, it is common for the host community to become weary of refugees' presence and their interaction could turn sour.

Since the general objective of this research is assessing the impacts; the challenges and opportunities of South Sudanese refugees on host communities of Gambella, for the purpose of keeping the discussion within the scope of the research, the following sections deals with the socio-economic, political/security and environmental impacts of refugee influx on host community by assessing different experiences and case studies.

2.3.1. The Socio-Economic Impact of Refugees on Host Communities

As mentioned in the preceding section, the impact of refugee influx on host communities could be both positive and negative. However, this depends on a number of factors such as the propensity of refugee-host relation, the urban-rural interaction, and the political economy of the host country in general and the community in particular. Large refugee influx puts strain on the social and economic fabric of host communities as they compete with the local hosts for resources such as water, food, land, and other social services such as housing, education and health facilities. Their presence also has possible impact on the ethnic balance of host communities. This is also reliant on several factors such as the degree and pattern of homogenizing factors at play; having similar cultural and linguistic background as the host community (Gomez and Christensen, 2011). These factors determine the nature of interaction between the refugees and host communities and are potential sources of either animosity or peaceful co-existence between them.

In this regard, a case study conducted by Whitaker provides a good input. In her study, Whitaker discusses the impacts of refugees on the Tanzanian host community and examines the distribution of burden and benefit between the two. The refugee crisis that resulted in Tanzania was sudden as more than one million refugees from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo sought shelter in Tanzania. This occurrence has led to a population increase and disrupted the food security of the host community. However, the refugee influx brought along some advantages such as local market expansion, provision of cheap labor, medical, educational, and water facilities especially for those host community living close to camps (Whitaker, 2002).

As noted in her study, the situation of Tanzanian community before the arrival of refugees was characterized by stagnant economic activity. For instance, it was difficult for farmers to sell their harvest in the local market due to low demand but the refugee influx has alleviated this problem by stimulating the local market. Another advantage was the presence of foreign aid in the region

which came as a result of the refugee influx. This has benefited the local people as it availed them with opportunities of employment. Although it has improved the livelihood of many Tanzanians, the refugee presence on the other hand has raised the cost of living. There was a spike in the price of basic food items and rent, there was also a growing contestation for land usage for the purpose of farming and livestock grazing between refugees and host communities (Whitaker, 2002).

Whitaker explains in her study that these costs and benefits are dependent on the host's socio-economic status. Wealthy and surplus farmers benefited more from the refugee presence while, poor/subsistence farmers were less beneficial. Another impact of refugee presence on Tanzanian host community is the drop of wage paid for labor. Since most subsistence farmers and poor Tanzanians relied on additional employment to earn extra income prior to the refugee influx, when prices for goods rose and wages fell, their lives became particularly worse off (Whitaker, 2002). Consequently, the distribution of burden and benefit varied across Tanzanian host communities and it cannot be said to have been evenly distributed.

Another finding that corroborates Whitaker's analysis is a study conducted on exploring the socio-economic impact of Liberian refugees on host communities of Budubaram; one of the poorest community in Ghana. In this study, the analysis similarly suggest that the Liberian refugees who were from a different social and ethnic background had brought to the Ghanaian's both advantages and disadvantages. What is unique in this case is that the refugees were not just isolated in a camp settlement that separates them from the surrounding community but were allowed to integrate within the host community which constitute for more than 60% (Boamah, 2008).

The majority of host communities in Ghana were farmers. Meanwhile, agricultural activities were the dominant activity of the region. One of the benefits of the refugee influx for the hosts was transforming the region into an urban area. This was partly because of the sudden population increase and the region's proximity to the capital, Accra. Furthermore, the refugee presence benefited the host community by providing cheap labor, expanding the economy; enabling more and more Ghanaians to engage in trade and commerce, brought an improvement of the host infrastructure through foreign aid, enhanced the provision of education and health; which were restricted prior the refugee influx, and improved the standard of living in the region. However, there were some drawbacks and one in particular is that, it has disrupted food security and food

sufficiency of the host community. This problem was caused when most farmers who were engaged in agricultural activities shifted into other lucrative activities such as trade and commerce. As a result, there was a reduction in food production which adversely affected the host community. Another issue is that, the refugee influx has raised the cost of living as the price for land and rent skyrocketed (Boamah, 2008). Nonetheless, the finding suggests that these shortcomings were offset as the benefit that the host experienced outweighed the cost.

Another study conducted on the area of refugee-host relation is an assessment of the Congolese refugees on Ugandan host community. This study explores the issue of protracted refugee situation and reflects the shift in perception of host communities. Following the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, massive number of people sought refuge in neighboring countries such as Uganda. As stated earlier, when there is a shared commonality between hosts and refugees, there will be a better chance for peaceful co-existence. As such, the study revealed that Uganda is quite a good example for other refugee hosting countries because it is one of the countries that promote self-reliance strategy for refugees. Such approach benefited the refugees by recognizing their right to work and move freely. However, even though foreign aid was more of host oriented, the large number of refugees has had a strain on the host resource. In addition, as the duration within which the Liberian refugee settlement extended and shifted towards a protracted situation, the host community became more reluctant in allowing them into its economy and social frontier because of the former's potential to reap more benefit than the host (Kreibaum, 2014).

On the same token, looking at the current humanitarian crisis in the Middle East that is considered as the worst to occur, some of the countries in close proximity to Syria; one of the worlds' largest refugee producing country, are the worst affected by the current refugee crisis. Turkey, the world's largest refugee hosting country is hosting 1.7 million Syrian refugees (Amnesty International, 2015). More than 60% of Syrian refugees are now living within host communities whereas in some towns the refugees have outnumbered the locals causing a serious socio-economic strain on the host community. Their presence have increased competition in the labor market, raised the cost of living; predominantly increasing prices for rental houses and stretched social services like health and education to their maximum. Jordan on the other hand, which has one of the smallest economies in the Middle East, has been adversely affected. Refugees are hosted in areas where

there is absolute poverty and the community that hosts them is faced with serious social and economic adversities (UNHCR, 2013).

Similar to Jordan, Lebanon; which is not even a signatory to the UN refugee convention is another most affected country due to the refugee crisis of the Middle East. The growing refugee influx has put innumerable pressure on host livelihoods such as access to food, health and education services, and employment. Refugees in Lebanon are also hosted in some of the poorest communities whereby their presence has doubled the cost of living in the area. The hosts have to compete with the refugees to access basic services, social and economic facilities, as well as compete for job employments which were already badly affected and further compounded their vulnerability (Marsi and Srour, 2014).

What can be drawn from these case studies is that, it is the interplay of several factors that determines the possible outcome of refugee influx on the community that hosts them. Social and economic backgrounds of both hosts and refugees play significant role in terms of analyzing the burden or benefit derived from the refugee-host interaction. Moreover, the type of location i.e. urban-rural dynamics as well as terms of duration; short-term or long-term refugee settlements are some of those key elements shaping and reshaping the positive and negative impacts of refugees on host communities.

2.3.2. The Political and Security Impact of Refugees on Host Communities

In some cases, the presence of refugees has negative security and political implications on host countries in general and host communities in particular. For instance, refugee influx could alter refugee camps into breeding grounds and safe havens for rebel groups and militias which could directly or indirectly threaten the security of both refugees and host communities (University of Oxford, 2011). In some occasions, refugees use host countries as a facilitation ground for the spread of arms and ideologies thereby creating tension within the host communities as well as in the bilateral relations between neighboring countries. For instance, Afghan refugees in Pakistan played a big role in radicalizing the Pakistani population through proliferation of arms in response to the resistance against the Soviet Communist regime in Afghanistan (Gomez and Christensen, 2011). In relation to this, Gil Loescher analyzes the political and security ramification of refugee influx as;

“Too often refugees are perceived as a matter for international charity organizations, and not as a political and security problem yet refugee problems are in fact intensely political. The presence of refugees accelerates existing internal conflicts in the host countries. During the 1980’s for example, the proliferation of arms following the influx of three million Afghans contributed to a resurgence of Pathan conquest in Pakistan. Elsewhere, Palestinian refugees upset delicate domestic balances in Lebanon and Jordan” (Loescher, 1994: 14).

Another example is when Rwandan refugees in Uganda formed the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), representing the Tutsi ethnic groups and invaded Rwanda. This occurrence has increased the political and security threat of the country and the host community (Gomez and Christensen, 2011). The security implication of refugee influx on the host community could also be portrayed in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya. This camp has been one of the oldest refugee camps hosting predominantly Somalian refugees that accounts for more than 500,000 (Kirui and Mwaruvie, 2012). It is hence obvious that Somalia’s instability would potentially create political and security concerns for adjacent countries in close proximity such as Kenya and Ethiopia. As such, the insecurity problem posed on Kenya and the host community has been argued as;

“Proximity of Kenya to Somalia Republic makes insecurity a challenge to development. With the political instability in the Republic of Somalia and the resultant influx of refugees, a lot of insecurity in the district is now being experienced. A lot of resources have been diverted to attending refugees and in stemming the problem of insecurity. Sophisticated weaponry has found their way into the district promoting banditry, cattle rustling and general violence in the district” (Kirui and Mwaruvie 2012: 163)

On a similar note, as evident in the case of Ethiopia and Ghana, there is a growing reluctance within the host community to allow refugees take part in the political realm. Particularly in the case of protracted refugee situations, there is a tendency whereby refugees will be able to locally integrate. For instance, in the case of Ghana, an empirical study conducted on refugee integration into the host community revealed that there was much greater reluctance in allowing Liberian refugees to politically integrate. The community perceives this situation as; giving refugees the opportunity to integrate politically would mean giving them more power to make political decision in their own favor. This would ultimately disrupt the basis for participation in political activities and exert too much pressure on the future cohesion of the country (Agblorti, 2011). Similarly, this is also a common phenomenon in Ethiopia. The refugee influx of South Sudanese into the

Gambella region has resulted in a political contestation between refugees and host communities over political entitlement and power. Derege argued that;

“...These competing narratives of political entitlement-historical and demographic have been one of the drivers of conflict in the Gambella region, especially after the establishment of the Gambella regional state as one of the constitutive units of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia since 1995. In Ethiopia’s federal system, regional administrative power is allocated in direct proportion to the population of the country’s ethno-cultural communities. The relative numerical superiority of a certain ethno-cultural community would therefore, entitle it to more seats in regional and national parliament than the other” (Dereje 2014: 3).

2.3.3. Ecological Impact of Refugee Influx

One of the negative impacts brought on the host community or the host region due to a massive refugee influx is the pressure it poses on the environment. The presence of large number of refugees creates environmental degradation such as deforestation, soil erosion, destruction of wild lives, depletion of water resources and environmental pollution. Large scale refugee influxes most likely increase population pressure on the fragile environment causing scarcity in natural resources of host areas. This have both short term and long term impact on the host country and might indirectly affect food security of the host community (Washoma, 2003).

Environmental degradation and resource depletion often cause conflict between refugees and host communities competing for scarce natural resources. For instance, the massive refugee influx in Tanzania implies environmental induced conflict between the host community and refugees. The negative impact of large scale refugee influx on the environment of the host community is attributed to settlement patterns. In the case of Tanzania, the negative environmental impact is driven given the proximity of the refugee camp to the forest reserves which accelerated environmental degradation. As a result, refugees tend to clear the wood for construction and cultivation. Such activities have resulted in deforestation and depletion of forest and water resource. Deforestation cause soil erosion thereby reducing the soil nutrient available for agricultural crops and in the long run it affects the agricultural production and food security of host

community. As a result, violent conflicts driven by resource depletion have been reported to have taken place between the refugees and host community of Tanzania (Berry, 2008).

Negative environmental impacts are thought to provoke competition between refugees and host communities over scarce natural resources. However, the type of livelihood of refugees and host communities is believed to determine the extent of resource competition. For instance, the arrival of South Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia; Bonga refugee camp indicates increased environmental degradation after the refugee influx. Refugees and host communities in Bonga are sort to similar livelihood activities like hunting and farming. The refugees were inclined to clear forests for temporary cultivation. Both refugees and host communities rely on wood for fuel consumption and construction, they also rely on hunting. These activities accelerated the level of environmental degradation. As a result, there was severe negative impact on forest depletion, soil erosion and destruction of wild lives (Martin, 2005). The resultant environmental change is therefore one factor leading to frustration and hostility between refugees and hosts.

Although environmental scarcity may not serve as a direct source of conflict, it plays a crucial role in terms of intensifying conflict. Environmental issues such as natural resource scarcity; land degradation, soil erosion and water scarcity are factors often cited as amplifying violent conflict between refugees and host communities. Large scale refugee movement into an area places considerable stress on natural resources thereby creating both environmental and social impacts. The rapid population expansion caused into the host area due to refugee influx will create pressure on the often already fragile environment. Such scarcity induced insecurities are likely to intensify perceived differences and inequalities that exist between refugees and host communities thereby creating unproductive conflict (Martin, 2005). However, as indicated above, differences of livelihood occupation between refugees and hosts might further determine the extent of environmental challenges because in some instances, host communities themselves are also responsible in causing damage to the environment.

It should be kept in mind that environmental impact depend not only on the type of livelihood activities that exist between refugees and host communities but also on the size of refugee influx, the time duration within which refugees stay in the host area and the extent of mitigating measures implemented by the government and refugee supporting organizations. However, the

environmental damage that is caused as a result of refugee influx is undeniable no matter how many factors determine its outcome. Some of the major environmental problems associated with refugee influx are; scarcity of natural resources such as land, water, wild lives, deforestation due to the pressing need for fire woods and woods for shelter (construction material), and also environmental pollution often result due to waste disposal and air pollution caused by use of chemical and other toxic substances for different purposes (ARRA, 2011).

These findings indicate the urgency of the matter and require concerned bodies like that of host governments and humanitarian and NGO actors to give due emphasis for the growing environmental concern. To this effect, by taking the local context into consideration, UNHCR and other relevant bodies have started to include and implement environmental dimensions in their refugee response packages such as awareness and conservation programs for both refugees and host communities (Washoma, 2003).

The above case studies are pertinent in analyzing the various impacts of refugee influx on host communities and suggest the need to explore these issues in depth. One important lesson that can be drawn from these is the necessity to identify the different variables that leads to the aforementioned problems as it could create long term implication for the host community in particular. These findings thus, call for the urgency of providing solution to alleviate some of those accentuated ramifications of refugee influx. Hence, the remaining last section of this research tries to compliment the above literature by shifting its focus on exploring plausible panacea to the problem under study.

2.4. Burden Sharing as Remedy of Refugee Crisis

In providing a working definition of refugees, the 1951 refugee convention also established the principle of responsibility or burden sharing; indicating that no one state should bear the sole burden of hosting refugees and that the international community must work together and share its responsibility to address this issue (Amnesty International, 2015). However, this is not the case in reality. Majority of the world's refugees; above 86% are located in developing countries, which indicates the need for a more robust policy (ibid). In 2014, 42% of the world's refugee population resided in Least Developed Countries (LDC) including Ethiopia, putting additional strain on their national economy (UNHCR, 2015). It is irrational for these countries; most of whom are the

poorest, to deal with the world's multiple refugee crises on top of their precarious socio-economic and political conditions.

Identifying the underlying problem which contributes to the rising number of refugee crisis is also one part of the solution. In some cases however, there is a flawed response by the international and regional actors in terms of consolidating peace and security, leading to the recurrence of conflict and further escalating the magnitude of protracted refugee situation. There is a tendency where most donors' support fall short of the host community's expectations since most of their programs are not host oriented (UNHCR, 2006). In such cases, refugees and hosts often compete for resources and when assistances only target refugees, resentments towards one another grow and tension takes precedence.

As evident in most cases, there is a possibility that refugee influx creates additional pressure on host communities. Thus, a more collaborative action from both refugees and host communities is also required with the aim of improving and benefiting the livelihoods of both communities (Grindheim, 2013). Development assistances need to target both communities. This is the best approach that could enhance the benefits and mitigate the negative impact of refugee influx. For instance, Targeted Development Assistance (TDA) is one of the initiatives implemented by UNHCR and other donor agencies for host populations affected by refugee crises. TDA was envisioned with the assumption that not only would it benefit the host community, but would also prepare refugees for repatriation, local integration, or resettlement; the three proposed solutions of UNHCR to refugee crisis (Gomez and Christensen, 2011). A few good practices of these initiatives include:-

1. **Income Generating Projects for Refugee Areas (IGPRA):** This project has been an instrumental device in improving the livelihood of Afghan refugees and Pakistani host community. Its main goals were; creating means of employment for refugees and local poor through labor-intensive projects; bring change to the environment and repair the damages refugees brought on the infrastructure, and create lasting assets; especially for rural hosts through building irrigation and designing flood control mechanisms.
2. **The Zambia Initiative (ZI):** As a multi-sector rural development program; the ZI was launched in 2003 with the aim of targeting both refugees and host communities. Poverty

reduction is one of the major objective of the program but also targets at improving social services such as; education, health, infrastructure, forestry, and water resources.

3. **Naturalization and Local Settlement of Burundian Refugees in Tanzania:** This process includes a naturalization process of 162,000 Burundian refugees. This process was believed to contribute to the peace process of Burundi. Besides this objective, the program includes improvement of infrastructure and expansion of social services. These steps were set to minimize the socio-economic and political impediments of refugee influx on host communities.

Keeping this in mind, there is also the need to acknowledge the critical role of host states in terms of managing the possible outcomes of refugee influx. Host states need to closely follow up the propensity of refugee-host relation in order to maneuver spontaneous change of attitude or perception that could deflect the state of order. For instance, discrimination and xenophobic violence could suddenly flare up in one side or the other which, if not properly managed, could have a long term repercussion (University of Oxford, 2011).

Hence, states should look out for wider socio-economic conjunctures that propel displacement and refugee crises as a primary matter of concern. In terms of managing such drawbacks when it occurs, they should find a way to combine forces so as to circumvent the overarching problem that could affect every part of the world in one way or another. Overall, the co-operation and collaboration of host government and international community on one hand and refugees and host communities on the other, is highly essential to facilitate a “win-win” situation. It is through a comprehensive approach that negative impacts or burdens could be transformed into benefits or opportunities.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses the procedures that were employed in conducting this study with the aim of exploring the relationship between South Sudanese refugees and the Gambella host community with a special emphasis on the challenges and opportunities faced by the host community as a result of the refugee presence. In order to provide a detailed description of the research; the method of data collection, sampling techniques and sample selection procedures, units of data analysis as well as a brief explanation of the research site are all incorporated in this chapter.

The purpose of conducting a research is to seek out new knowledge or add to existing knowledge and broaden an understanding of a particular issue through collecting and analyzing information (Creswell, 2012). In doing so, there is the need to identify an approach or a method that implies how to go about or carry out the research and make sure that the method is the most appropriate for conducting a given study. A research method is a strategy of enquiry that entails the techniques or tools that are used to collect data or gather information (Kothari, 2004). It is therefore important to examine the general assumptions or the underlying principles of research method that will guide a given study.

Finding out the perception, believes and experiences of the Gambella host community and analyzing the background issue of South Sudanese refugees as well as the implication of their presence on the host community is the primary emphasis of this study. Hence, the method employed in conducting the study is Qualitative research method. Qualitative research method is one of the three main research methodologies. Some of the basic tenets behind this approach are description of words and their meanings as well as understanding concepts and characteristics of a certain phenomenon (Berg, 2001). It seeks to explore issues and develop a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon through analyzing the opinions of participants as opposed to making statistical analysis.

3.1 Research Site

In order to obtain first-hand information and make a clear analysis of the problem under study, the researcher conducted field work by going to the research area and observed the overall situation of the research targets; Gambella host community and South Sudanese refugees.

The research site chosen for conducting this study is Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS). Gambella is located in the Southwestern part of Ethiopia. The region approximately covers a total area of 32, 033 km² and comprises the main highland river flood plains of Baro and Akobo river to the east. The region is bordered by the Republics of Sudan and South Sudan in the southwest, Benishangul Gumuz and Oromia regions to the North, and Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPR) to the southeast (Abraham, 2003). The region has thick forest vegetation which is suitable for livestock and farming cultivation which is the main source of livelihood of the community (GRS, 2001).

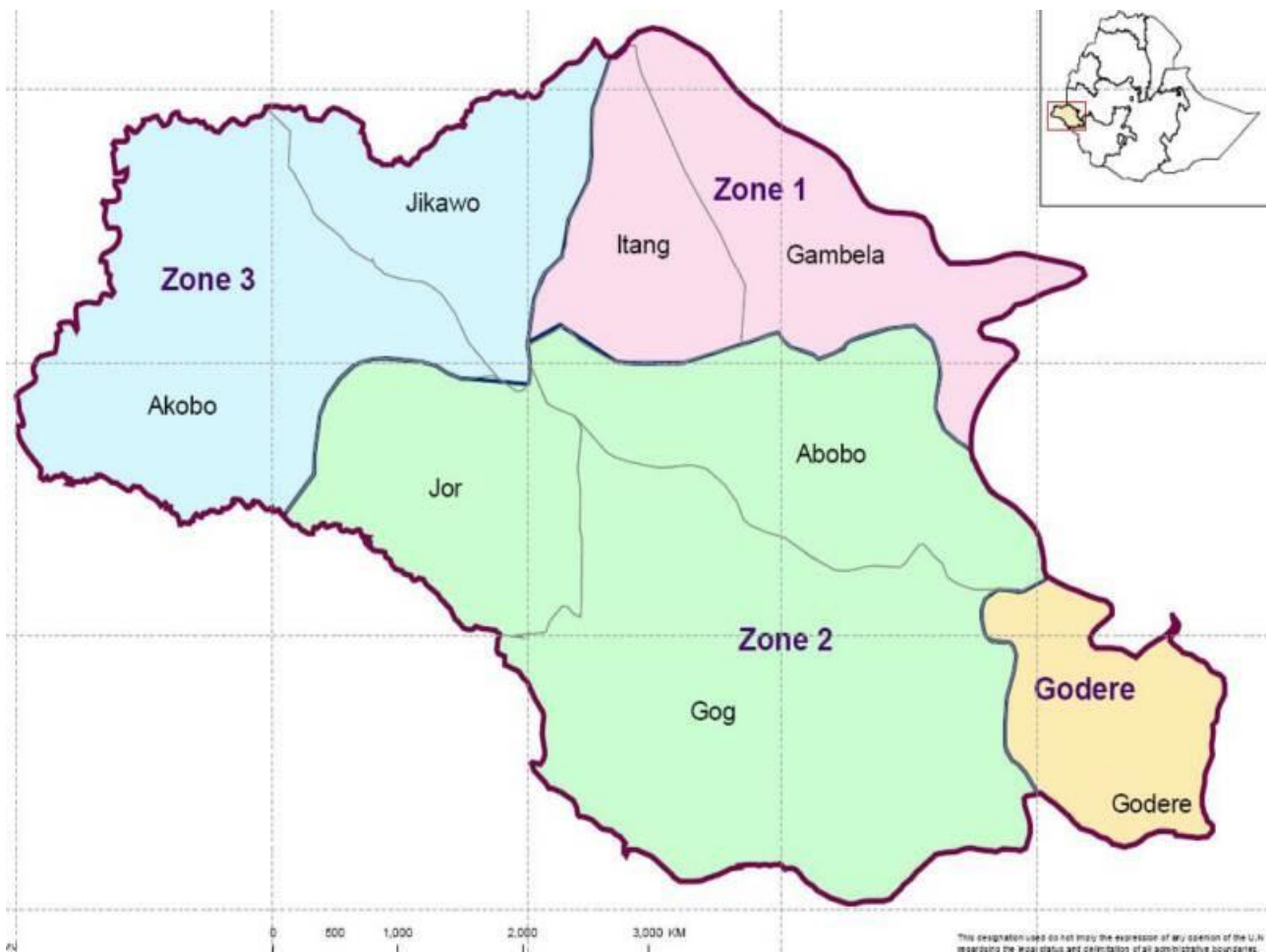
According to the 2007 housing and population census, the total number of Gambella's population is 307, 096. There are five ethno-linguistic groups living in Gambella namely; Anuak, Nuer, Majangir, Opo and Komo. The former two are the two dominant ethnic groups in the region. These five groups of people are linguistically related and there are similar social, cultural and economic ties among them. In addition to these, there is an additional category of people named; Highlander (Habesha) that is brought into the region along with the expansion of the Ethiopian state. In contrast to the five groups of people who are usually regarded as indigenous or local, highlanders are usually regarded as outsiders or foreigners. The term highlander refers to those groups of people who come from the different ethnic groups of Ethiopian highlands such as the Amharas, Oromo, Tigre, Gurage, Wolayita, etc. (Dereje, 2009).

3.2 Selection of the Study Area

Gambella is situated in one of the remote and border location of Ethiopia. Poor infrastructure, competition over resources, frequent ethnic tension and political instability has played a crucial role in shaping the economic and political structure of the region. These problems are further exacerbated due to the massive refugee influx in the region. Gambella has been hosting Sudanese refugees since the first Sudanese civil war. Moreover, the violent civil war in the newly

independent South Sudan has produced thousands of refugees who took refuge in Gambella. Given its proximity to South Sudan, the region in general and the host community in particular have been affected in several ways due to the large influx of South Sudanese refugees over time. After a close observation into the existing literature with regards to the problem under study, the researcher believes that the amount of research conducted on the host community vis-à-vis refugees in the Gambella region lacks adequacy. Hence, this location is selected for reasons that it would provide additional insight and yield new information for further research.

Figure 1: Map of Gambella People’s National Regional State (GPNRS)



Source: Disaster Management and Food Security Sector Information Management 2004 E.C.

3.3 Research Method and Design

Most frequently, research method is classified into three categories, namely; qualitative, quantitative and mixed or triangulation. While the first two have their own set of characteristics, mixed research method is the combination of the two whereby both methods are simultaneously utilized. Although with different techniques, both qualitative and quantitative research methods entail the way in which a study is conducted and the means through which data collection, data analysis and interpretation takes place.

Researchers have made distinction between qualitative and quantitative method of research. On the one hand, quantitative research method is a research technique which is employed to gather numerical data from a large number of people through bigger samples as compared to qualitative research method. The approach requires establishing a theory or general statement in which the researcher seeks to examine using variables which can be measured or assessed on a scale through statistical analysis. In Quantitative research method, the researcher develops predictions or causal explanations in advance of the study and it seeks precise measurement and statistical analysis of data in which the researcher is objectively separated from the subject matter (Creswell, 2012).

At the other end of the continuum, qualitative research method is aimed at obtaining a detailed understanding of a social phenomenon by enabling the researcher to make close observation of the lived experiences of participants by means of employing different techniques of data collection, analysis and interpretation. In employing this research method, the researcher has the responsibility to sort out information and organize the data into meaningful patterns or themes and let meanings emerge from the data. The researcher has the responsibility to voice the opinion, belief and views of participants whereby the role of participants takes precedence. The researcher has the obligation to convey the reality on the ground as opposed to imposing his or her personal believes since the aim of this method is to provide a complete and detailed description of what is observed. This method renders subjectivity as it also allows the researcher to make an interpretation of the data based on his/her understanding of the context (Creswell, 2009).

The idea behind qualitative method of research is to provide a deeper understanding of a case or multiple cases, event or organization. It is hence considered most suitable for conducting this study since the purpose behind it is mainly concerned with addressing the attitudes, believes and

frustrations of participants using human language which otherwise cannot be expressed through numerical terms. Another justification for choosing this type of research method is with regard to its flexibility. It allows the study to shift its phase throughout the process. This gives room for making some alteration or modification whereby the researcher is able to improve the research questions and change a particular element of the study. Such kind of flexibility has enabled the researcher to accommodate in the changes that had occurred during the process of data collection.

As indicated in the previous section of this research, the main objective of this study is identifying the impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella. Therefore, the research design that is believed to suit the study well is a method of case study. It is one of the popular methods of qualitative research whereby it enables a researcher to make a comprehensive study of an event or a social phenomenon through identification of causal factors, classification of different facets of a social unit or social changes. It requires a careful observation and an in depth analysis of a situation or a case through which generalization or inferences are drawn (Kothari, 2004).

Furthermore, it is an important tool for conducting field researches in that it enables the researcher to closely observe the problem under study as well as the pattern of the concerning unit directly. It is also beneficial for a researcher since it allows a combination of several approaches ranging from archival documents, to interviews, focus group discussion, participant observation and direct observation from field visits. Among the three categories of case study research; descriptive, explanatory and exploratory, this study employed the exploratory type of case study as it tries to define a problem, make a detailed understanding of the behavior patterns and changes of the concerned unit and tries to discover insights (Kothari, 2004). As such, through employing a mixture of different approaches the researcher believes that the result would provide a clear insight by making a detailed exploration and a careful investigation of the problem under study.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

The researcher employed both primary and secondary sources of data to conduct this study. Qualitative research method employs a combination of several strategies of enquiry, methods of data collection and data analysis. The most common methods of data collection include interviews and focus group discussion, questionnaires, direct as well as participant observation and document

or text analysis (Creswell, 2009). In order to address the research questions, there was a need to obtain information and gather data from both primary and secondary sources i.e. the Gambella host community and South Sudanese refugees, and also relevant documents and literatures. Accordingly, the researcher has employed interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis and field observation which seemed a more appropriate method for data collection. During field study, by taking the time available and the research questions into consideration, the researcher has made extensive use of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with informants.

3.4.1 Semi-Structured Interview

Interviews are the most commonly used methods of data collection in qualitative research. It can take different forms and are usually classified as structured, semi-structured and unstructured forms of interview. While the former type of interview is usually designed using a more rigid questions with less flexibility in the form of predetermined questions, the later enjoys a greater degree of flexibility and is designed using open-ended questions for participant responses. With regard to semi-structured interview, questions may be designed using some kind of structure and still have open-ended questions in which participants are allowed to provide their own meanings and interpretation beyond the defined questions (Berg, 2001). Qualitative interviews are interactive allowing the researcher to have verbal communication with participants either in the form of one-on-one interview or can take the form of focus groups in a larger group interview. It is a productive tool as it enables the researcher to make sure that relevant issues are brought into the discussion so that knowledge and assumptions are constructed (Mason, 2002).

In conducting this study, the researcher used semi-structured interviews whereby open ended questions with a follow up or probes were designed for gathering more detail during the process of data collection. This was done with a primary aim of generating detailed views of participants that may incorporate any embedded perceptions they may have regarding the problem under study. This was primarily done in order to provide both the researcher and the participants to reshape the direction or flow of the interview so that a rich description of the issue could be made.

The researcher interviewed a total of 29 participants; 13 informants from the host community of Gambella, 12 South Sudanese refugees in Gambella and 4 informants from government and non-governmental offices working on the issue of refugee in Gambella.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is another technique of qualitative research whereby a number of people usually ranging from 6 to 12 are invited to take part in a discussion regarding a particular issue through a facilitator or moderator. It is particularly advantageous because it allows a researcher to obtain a wide range of detailed information during a meeting (Dawson, 2002). In conducting focus group discussion, the researcher needs to make sure that participants with similar attributes or characteristics are selected; meaning there needs to be group homogeneity. This is basically done to ensure flexibility and that there is a free flow of information without any bias. Another important aspect of focus group discussion is that group interaction stimulates further discussion and sparks a new dimension to the original subject matter creating a far larger understanding of the issue (Berg, 2001).

Hence, focus group discussion is another method of data collection which is employed in conducting this study. Accordingly, two focus group discussions were conducted. Both were conducted with the host community of Gambella. In doing so, informants from community elders are selected with the idea that they could provide a great deal of information regarding the impact brought by the South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella by making comparison to the situation prior the refugee influx. The researcher used this technique primarily given the amount of time available. Hence, informants who could provide a range of information experienced by the host community of Gambella as a result of the South Sudanese refugees are selected.

The group discussions were in fact fruitful because it was interactive and brought different ideas and perspectives into the discussion. As observed by the researcher, it was also a productive tool in which it gave room for further elaboration. Although there were situations where some participants inclined to dominate the discussion, the researcher has tried to engage everyone to make contribution to the issue under discussion.

3.4.3 Direct Observation

Given the availability of time and refugee camp security, the researcher was not able to conduct participant observation such as participating in the daily lives of the people under study, attending

conferences or cultural or religious activities. However, the researcher took note of field observation during visits to the refugee camps to ascertain at first hand not of the perceived but the real living situation of South Sudanese refugees and their impact on the host community of Gambella. Similarly, this approach enables the researcher to gather information from the host community of Gambella and assess their feeling, their reactions and response to questions. This provided a great input for the study by providing a detailed information and description of the study area as well as the concerned unit of the study that otherwise could not be obtained through interviews. According to Kothari (2004), the information gathered through this method does not require any response from the informants whereas the researcher is responsible to make his/her own direct observation and interpretation.

3.4.4 Document Analysis

Document analysis is a secondary source of data collection tool in qualitative research. This was extensively employed particularly prior to conducting field study. In developing the body of literature review, a number of documents relevant to the topic of the study were used. To this end, various works of researchers and academicians on similar topics that assess the underlying factors of refugees and their implication on the host community were brought under close scrutiny. Books, articles, journals, reports and audio visual materials on issues of refugee and host community particularly within the context of Africa are also utilized.

3.5 Sampling Techniques

Overall a total of 29 informants are selected from the Gambella host community, South Sudanese refugees and both governmental and non-governmental organizations working on the matter of refugees and hosts in the region. According to Dawson (2002), sampling technique entails a careful selection of a smaller and more manageable number of people to take part in undertaking a research. There are two main types of sampling designs namely; probability and non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling technique is a method identified as a non-probability sampling procedure. The underlying assumption behind this technique is that since there is no guarantee that each item of the population will be included in the sample, the researcher has to use his/her judgment to select a smaller sample out of the entire population that is believed to be representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). The informants are selected through the use of purposive sampling

technique. This was primarily done because the researcher intended to collect data from a particular subset of the population whom are considered more suitable in conducting the study.

Therefore, it should be made clear that participants in the study were selected not randomly but based on the reliable information I had from my field assistant. It was after I arrived in Gambella and communicated with my field assistant that I was able to map out the kind of sample I needed which is feasible to conduct the study. Hence, in terms of obtaining solid information from the host community of Gambella, it was sought best to contact the elder community of the region with the aim of obtaining their perspective regarding the impact brought by the South Sudanese refugees on the host community by making comparison to the situation prior to 1980's. Meanwhile, informants from the South Sudanese refugees are also purposefully selected from two particular camps; Jewi and Kule comprising of men, women, youth and elderly. The reason why these two refugee camps are selected is given the respective ethnic ties and divergence that exists between the refugees and host communities surrounding these camps. Since the former is located on Anuak land while the later on Nuer land, refugees in these camps are selected by the researcher in order to identify the resultant refugee-host relation by taking ethnic element into consideration. Hence, in order to make a detailed exploration of these dynamics, the researcher has intentionally selected this sampling technique.

Furthermore, as Babbie (2007) illustrated, snowball sampling is one of the methods of data collection under a non-probability sampling technique. It is a process employed when locating particular subjects in a study is difficult to do so such as migrants but within the context of this research; refugees. Thus, the researcher is required to collect data on few individuals of the target group then ask those people to provide information or suggest other subjects. As a result, snowball sampling is employed to locate and include the aforementioned unit in the sample.

The total sample size for the study is made up of 29 interviewees. 13 informants from the host community, 12 informants from the refugee community and 4 informants from government and non-government organizations working on the issue of refugee and host community in Gambella are included in the sample. The researcher outlined research questions which were used as a guide during conducting interviews. The interview guidelines are attached as an annex on the research paper.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

Throughout the research the main approach of analysis has been qualitative data analysis. Qualitative analysis is a non-numerical interpretation of gathered data or observation into a meaningful manner with the aim of identifying underlying patterns and relationships (Babbie, 2007). The researcher also made use of thematic analysis; one of the qualitative methods for data analysis. This is done with the aim of reducing gathered data into different categories and homogenous groups in order to isolate meaningful patterns. Thematic analysis is an inductive analysis which enables the premise of the study to emerge from the data and not be imposed by the researcher. This method of data analysis also enables the researcher to conduct data collection and analysis simultaneously (Dawson, 2002). Hence using this approach, the researcher conducted continuous transcribing of field notes mostly done after each interview.

By employing this method, the researcher arranged the data into different categories in order to convey the common and differing themes and ideas emerged from gathered data. The data was then reduced into a meaningful manner by making a detailed interpretation and description of the setting. In doing so, the researcher was able to identify and analyze the common perception of participants. Furthermore, in order to validate the accuracy of gathered data, the researcher employed a triangulation approach. Triangulation is a technique of verifying the finding of a study through the use of different strategies; by incorporating several viewpoints and methods (Creswell, 2009). Hence, the researcher employed this strategy to avoid bias and ensure the validity of the research. As such, the researcher triangulated different sources by incorporating varied standpoints from both primary and secondary sources of information which assist to understand the commonality and divergence of ideas.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

In conducting a research, it is of paramount importance that a researcher pay due attention to some ethical behaviors and field ethics. In conducting this study, the researcher took the rules and regulations of Addis Ababa University as well as the rules under the IPSS hand book into consideration. As such, the anonymity and confidentiality of informants is ensured throughout the research. The researcher explained the purpose of the study in advance and obtained the consent of informants prior to their participation in the study. In doing so, the researcher made sure that

informants took part voluntarily without any deception. They are also informed of their right to disengage from the study at any given time. The researcher did not take photographs or record interviews indiscriminately without obtaining prior permission. The researcher also tried to maintain a neutral position during the study so as to avoid biased judgment. Furthermore, the researcher also made sure to properly acknowledge the work of other researchers or document materials used in conducting this study by employing a careful citation of their works which is indicated in the reference section of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter primarily deals with the presentation and analysis of gathered data. The analysis is done based on the information obtained from interviews and it is also supplemented by literature. It analyzes the impact; the benefit as well as the burden of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella. In doing so, findings obtained from the host community of Gambella, South Sudanese refugees mainly from two refugee camps; Jewi and Kule and finally findings obtained from ARRA; the main responsible organ on the issue of refugee-host relation in Ethiopia as well as the perspective of NGO personnel working on issues related with the refugee and host community of the area are presented in this chapter.

A total of 29 semi-structured interviews are conducted with people directly concerned with the problem under study based on an interview guide (See Appendices). These are; members of the host community of Gambella, South Sudanese refugees in Gambella and informants from different government and non-governmental organizations working on promoting the lives of refugees as well as the host community such as the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), Action Contre la Faim (ACF), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Relief, Hope and Recovery (ZOA). The informants provided a clear image as to how to analyze the impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella. The findings of this study reveal not only the burden or the challenges brought on the lives of the host community as a result of the South Sudanese refugee influx but also some of its advantages and benefits created for the host community. A clear description of this finding is discussed and analyzed in the subsequent section of the study.

4.1. The Impact of South Sudanese Refugees on the Host Community of Gambella

Following the second Sudanese civil war (1983-2005) and the recent civil war in South Sudan (2013), the influx of South Sudanese refugees into Gambella brought several impacts on the region in general and the host community in particular. The host communities' experiences of the impacts; the challenges and opportunities of the refugee influx are presented in this section. The findings obtained from the host community of the region indicate that there are both advantages and challenges brought into their lives following the refugee influx. The social, economic, security and

environmental impacts of the refugee influx imposed on the host community of Gambella are separately discussed in the following section of this study.

4.1.1 Social Impact

The presence of South Sudanese refugees in Gambella brought a mixed social impact upon the host community of Gambella. On the one hand, it has improved access to social services such as education and health, and on the other, it has led to a hostile relation between the host community of Gambella and South Sudanese refugees. With regard to some of the benefits and opportunities brought in the region following the South Sudanese refugee influx particularly from the 1980's onwards, the informants explained that the refugee influx has brought certain improvements particularly with regard to health services. Prior to the refugee influx, there was only one health center in Gambella town so people had to travel a long distance to get medical treatments. Since there was a shortage of medical staff, people were not getting proper treatment and as a result many suffered. However after the refugee influx, although there is still problem regarding its efficiency, there is a big improvement in terms of having better access to health services including those inside refugee camps. For instance in Pugnido, the health center in the refugee camp has not just benefited the refugees but also provide services for the host community. It has benefited the host community as it provides them with free medical services.¹

However, the impact with regard to accessing health services can be explained from two dimensions. On the one hand, it has benefited the host community in terms of having better access as compared to the situation prior to 1980's. On the other however, it has made health facilities become more overcrowded. Although refugees obtain certain benefits from the health facilities inside refugee camps, for a serious illness and surgeries they are transferred to the region's federal hospital which is the only facility in the region that manages such cases, so the refugee influx has overburdened these facilities. The health center is not enough even for the host community let alone provide additional service for the refugees. After the refugee influx, there is shortage of health equipment and medical staff whereas doctors and nurses are considerably few as compared to the required services. It cannot be said that it benefits everyone equally because the refugees are usually prioritized. There are certain occasions where health providers refuse to treat the host

¹ Informants: Gatdoar Dang, Chuot Nit

community due to the fact that they reach their full capacity mostly with patients from the South Sudanese refugees. Moreover refugees living in the camp settlement have benefited from water provision, camp infrastructure such as health, medicine and education. The host community perceives these advantages were made at their expense. Crisis is most likely to occur when these are taken away from the host and benefit the refugees. As a result of this, there is usually conflict between the refugees and the host community.²

Similar case studies indicate the negative implication of refugee influx affecting the social fabric and health infrastructure of the host region. For instance, a study conducted by Whitaker indicates the pressure that was added on the existing healthcare facilities following the massive refugee influx from Rwanda on Tanzanian host community in the 1990's. Local health facilities were over stretched due to the fact that refugees equally share district and regional hospitals as referrals. There are some occasions where these facilities did not assist the host community mainly because they run out of medical supplies. Hence, the pressure that was added on the health infrastructure could not live up to the required needs of the host community (Whitaker, 2002). Parallel to Tanzania, the same thing has been observed in Gambella where healthcare facilities that are already in scarcity still continue to struggle to provide adequate services for the host communities. Such circumstances strained the relation between refugees and host communities paving the way for conflict.

Following the second Sudanese civil war and the continuous South Sudanese refugee influx into Gambella, there is a major shift in the social structure of the host community. Prior to 1980's, there was more or less peaceful coexistence among the host community of Gambella. Although there were certain instances where tension arises particularly between the Anuak and Nuer ethnic groups, the refugee influx has widened the gap that existed between the two communities. Before the 1980's, competition over resources such as grazing land and water used to be the basis of the Anuak-Nuer conflict in Gambella. However, following the second Sudanese civil war (1983); there was a massive refugee influx which altered the demographic composition of the region. Since the outbreak of the second Sudanese civil war, South Sudanese refugees came to Gambella predominantly from the eastern parts of the Upper Nile, Unity and Jonglei states which is inhabited

² Informant: Gatdoar Dang

by the Nuer, Anuak, Murle, Dinka, Lou and Maban ethnic groups (Regassa, 2010). However, the majority of refugees were primarily from the Nuer ethnic group. The fact that there is a cross border settlement of the two ethnic groups in both Ethiopia and South Sudan further complicates the relation between Anuak and Nuer host communities of Gambella. Following the refugee influx, the region has witnessed a shift in demographic trend. According to the 1994 census, 40% of the Gambella population is represented by the Nuer as the largest ethnic group followed by 27% of Anuak ethnic groups. This has reversed the previous dominant position of the Anuak.³ Hence, the Anuak contested the census arguing that most of the Nuer community are not Ethiopian citizens rather are refugees and this has led to a hostile relation between these two communities that is still evident to this day (Dereje, 2014).

One of the informants mentioned that *'the Nuer support the refugees, because at the end of the day they are both from the same family tree'*.⁴ Some refugees who have Nuer relatives in the region live within the host community by sharing resource with hosts and there are also some who live peacefully alongside the Nuer host community because they have similar background in terms of ethnicity, culture as well as language, and so they are at peace with each other. However, this is almost non-existent between the Anuak host community and the Nuer South Sudanese refugees. Since the refugee camps are predominantly built on Anuak land, there is always animosity between them. For instance, in Itang *wereda*; 500 Anuak houses were burned in 2015 as a result of conflict between the host community and refugees.⁵ This indicates that unless settlements are done along the same ethnic line there could be no peaceful coexistence between refugees and hosts.

The most repeated negative social impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella is with regards to widening the ethnic difference that exists among the host community particularly between the Anuak and Nuer. As indicated by the informants, it is impossible to conclude that there is cordial relation among the host community because the refugee presence has added additional pressure particularly on the Anuak-Nuer relation. Due to the growing tension between these two ethnic groups, conflicts that involve the host community and the refugees are

³ Before the 1980's Anuak were the dominant ethnic groups in Gambella. See Regassa B. (2010)

⁴ Informant: Chan Chol

⁵ Informant: Chan Chol

currently more common in the region. As a result, more conflict and insecurity have prevailed in Gambella which considerably has a negative impact on the host communities of the region.⁶

Moreover, the informants indicate that there is almost no sign of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the host communities and South Sudanese refugees. This is mainly due to the fact that there is ethnic difference that exists between the host community and the refugee population. As indicated above, majority of the South Sudanese refugees are primarily from the Nuer ethnic group. However, the host communities who live around most of the refugee camps are Anuak. The ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences that exist between them have thus reduced the possibility for a peaceful relation between them. At the initial phase of the refugee influx; prior 1980's, there was somehow cordial relation between the refugees and the host communities but it was short lived. One of the informants who is from the Anuak ethnic group explained:

*“The refugee influx is one of the primary reasons why Gambella is an insecure region. The ethnic tension that you see today is the product of the South Sudanese refugee influx; it is the reason why the Anuak and the Nuer still despise each other. Even though there are good changes and benefits brought along the refugee influx, it becomes meaningless when it is at the cost of people's lives; a lot of innocent people; men, women, children and young individuals have lost their lives since the time of the refugee influx. How do you compare the cost of human lives with material wellbeing? Unless the government send back the refugees back to South Sudan, it is impossible to imagine peace in Gambella”.*⁷

There is however difference of opinion regarding refugee-host relation in Gambella. The difference that exists among the Anuak and Nuer host community is reflected on the type of relation each of them have with South Sudanese refugees. Although the Anuak community considers the refugee influx as a determining factor for the ongoing ethnic tension in the region, the Nuer host community however believes that there is a misconception regarding the impact of South Sudanese refugees on disrupting the social fabric of the host community. One of the informant explained that the ethnic tension that occurs between the Anuak and Nuer has been there long before the 1980's. The refugees are wrongly perceived as causing tension within the host

⁶ Informants: Ubung Uman, Chan Chol, Chuot Nit

⁷ Informant: Ubung Uman

community. This can be verified in that during the initial phase of the refugee influx, South Sudanese refugees were not restricted into camp settlement because they had positive attachment with the host community. They were allowed to go outside refugee camp settlement and interact with the host community but this is different now.⁸ Koang; one of the informants from the Nuer ethnic group stated;

*“Although there is a minimum level of camp restriction, it is not as what used to be back in the days. Refugees particularly on Sundays come to the town either to see their relatives or simply to refresh but the Anuak oppose this; and on some occasions they even attack them because of their conflict with us. Since we have similar language and cultural background with South Sudanese refugees, we have no problem living together. The Anuak however does not have peaceful relation with the refugees mainly because they consider them as causing conflict in the region”.*⁹

This indicates that, there is a wide gap in terms of the host community experiences of social changes. Some groups of the host community have managed to peacefully coexist with the refugees while the other resents the refugee presence. Historical and social changes that had occurred in the region have played crucial roles in terms of shaping the attitudes and perception of the host community. The refugee-host relation in Gambella has become strained over the course of time. Several factors such as competition over limited resources and ethnic divergence has been determining factors in terms of shaping the relation between the refugees and host communities.

4.1.2. Economic Impact

The positive changes brought on the lives of the host community of Gambella following the South Sudanese refugee influx are primarily indicated as job opportunities. Most of the informants described these opportunities as benefiting particularly the youth in terms of providing them with employment opportunities. Following the refugee influx, various NGO's and relief organizations are established to provide assistance for refugees that also benefited the region as a whole. Urbanization penetrated into the region and it has transformed Gambella as it enabled different facilities to be established in the region. Most importantly, the presence of these governmental and non-governmental organizations has served the community as an employment opportunity. Many

⁸ Informant: Chuot Nit

⁹ Informant: Koang Reat

young individuals were recruited by these organizations with good salaries in their pocket, but in the past there was a high rate of unemployment in the region which pushed many young people to move to other parts of the country in search of jobs.¹⁰ Similar cases have been found in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, where the presence of NGO's created employment opportunities for the surrounding host communities (Waswa, 2012). On the same token, the refugee influx in Tanzania brought an increase in the size of the local market stimulating business trades and also transformed small towns into thriving economic centers (Whitaker, 2002).

However there is a mixed perception regarding the humanitarian presence in Gambella region. The dissatisfaction of the host community is not just directed towards the refugee population but on the government and humanitarian aid that seem to fall short of the need of the host. Although it availed the host community with some opportunities, there is a perception that many of the NGO's and relief organization are primarily concerned with refugees. Their programs are primarily centered on providing service for the refugees. Even though it is promoted by both ARRA and UNHCR that relief organizations should make available 25% of the service supply for the host community in order to avoid felling of marginalization among them, in reality this is not the case. Such measures are not effectively being implemented and did not solve the problem of the host community. The host community strongly opposes this because it failed to improve their situation which is not different from the refugees. They felt marginalized and neglected and such feeling creates animosity between the host community and the refugees. Their frustration is grown out of the unequal aid distribution such as food, water, and shelter which has benefited the refugees when in reality they experience the same challenges and difficulties as the refugees.¹¹ There is the need to recognize the very challenging living situation of the host community as well.

However the host community has indirectly benefited from the different aid that is provided for refugees. The presence of food relief that is targeted at the refugees indirectly benefited the host community. Refugees usually sell their ration; like oil, wheat and other commodities to the host community at a low price in the informal market and make money out of it. The host community benefited from this as it availed them the opportunity to buy food stuff at a cheaper price than it is in the market. Farmers who produce vegetables also benefited from this because with the refugee

¹⁰ Informants: Ubung Uman, Koang Reat, Gatdoar Dang

¹¹ Informants: Omok Ujulu, Omot Ochoge

influx there is a demand for their product which previously was not in need by the community since it can be produced domestically. A case study of Alex Garcia gives an idea of the same advantages brought to a host community as a result of a refugee influx. It explains that, due to an increased aid flow in host regions as a result of refugee influx, host communities are able to benefit from selling food items that are not included in the aid package by increasing the price of crops sold by the local community (Garcia, Bartlett, et al., 2011). This trend is evident in Gambella whereby host communities such as subsistence farmers are able to sell their harvests mostly for the refugees because they are in need of vegetables in order to diversify their diet. Moreover, the refugee presence has created market expansion which availed the businessmen with new opportunity. They bring different commodities from Addis Ababa and sell them with a good profit in Gambella.¹²

The other impact described is regarding the population increase in the region. The South Sudanese refugee influx resulted in high population increase in Gambella which is implicated on the growing competition to benefit from the available opportunities. A lot of people migrated from different parts of the country into the region because there are various opportunities like the different NGO's that were established in the region that in turn led to the creation of different businesses such as hotels and restaurants which are in demand man power. This attracted people from different regions with the idea that they could either establish their own business or get employed in one of these sectors. Nevertheless, the main challenge associated with the population increase is the growing demand for goods and services which ultimately cause a sharp increase in the price of goods and services and raised the standard of living in the region. Furthermore, it has made it even harder for residents to benefit from the created opportunities because of the growing competition.¹³

Generally speaking, from the 1980's onwards; there is a sharp increase with regard to the cost of living in Gambella. The refugee influx is seen as the causal factor that led to the growing cost of living in the region. There is a big change in terms of the living situation of the region as compared to the past. One of these changes is in terms of housing. As compared to the past, currently there is high demand for housing which is one outcome of the refugee influx. For instance, a house previously rented for 300 birr dramatically rose to 1000 birr which also applies to prices of food

¹² Informant: Koang Reat

¹³ Informant: Ubung Uman

and drinks. The growing demand for house skyrocketed the price of rent and this change also brought an increase in the price of different commodities like flour, sugar, oil, and clothing among other things.¹⁴ Similar cases are seen in the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana where the refugee influx caused a significant increase in the standard of living which made it harder for the host community to adapt to the changes (Boamah, 2008).

Transportation is also another sector that reveals the change brought by the refugee influx in Gambella. In the past, the community has almost no need or purpose for using means of transportation. But after the refugee influx, different towns and market places were created such as Abobo and Itang, and people were in need of using transportation for moving from place to place. This made transportation (the Bajaj business) a lucrative business for many but it is also misused by many. The amount that is charged is in no way near to fair and drivers mostly do this because the refugees used to pay for any amount they were asked to and so they continued to charge high amount of money on the host as well. Furthermore, there is a challenge in accessing building materials; like cement, nail, and so on, not only because their price is too high but also because these are usually transported to refugee camps as a construction tool which negatively affected the host community.¹⁵

Whitaker in her study explains that not everyone could benefit from the advantages created as a result of a refugee influx due to the varied capacity that exists among host communities. The extent to which hosts could exploit opportunities depends on different factors such as age, gender and socio-economic class (Whitaker, 2002). Garcia supports this by indicating the disadvantages that are associated with the benefit of refugee influx. For instance, the prices for housing, food, hotels and restaurants (non-aid related goods) will experience sharp increase due to high demand for these services by aid workers. In this case, owners and businessmen are poised to benefit more. On the contrary, there is a high demand for aid-related goods like food items. The price decrease for these items will affect producers and traders but will benefit consumers (Garcia, Bartlet, et.al. 2011). On a similar note, in the case of Gambella, the price decrease for Sorghum for instance, benefited the host community (consumers). Since refugees sell this food (one component of their ration) at a lower price than it is sold in the local market, there is less demand for Sorghum and

¹⁴ Informant: Ubung Uman, Omok Ujulu

¹⁵ Informants: Chan Chol, Omot Ochoge

this hurt producers.¹⁶ Similarly, as indicated above particularly the youth are able to benefit more as they have more chance of being employed in NGO's. Hence, some will benefit more and others will lose in the process.

4.1.3. Security Impact

In terms of security, the finding with regard to the impact of South Sudanese refugee presence in Gambella indicates that such impacts are not solely dependent upon the refugee presence. It is also shaped by social and historical changes that has occurred in the region as well as the response by government and humanitarian actors. The finding indicate the role played by humanitarian actors which is compassionate towards addressing the needs of refugees play a role in terms of affecting the region's security. As explained by the informants, with regard to the security situation of Gambella; there is a big gap when making comparison to the situation prior 1980's. After the refugee influx, the region witnessed the growing level of tension particularly between the two ethnic groups; Anuak and Nuer. Tensions and at times violent clashes usually occur with a small thing then grow bigger from there. For instance, one of the informants shared his experience of one incident that happened during a football match between the Anuak host community and Nuer South Sudanese refugees.

*“...Apparently Anuak won the match but the losing team started disturbance by attacking the Anuak football players. However it did not end there, there was a further attack between the Anuak and Nuer residents which was caught up with ethnic differences; because usually the Nuer South Sudanese refugees and the Nuer host community support one another”.*¹⁷

The presence of South Sudanese refugees is more accentuated on widening the ethnic difference that exists between the Anuak and Nuer host community. Most of the problems associated with security issue are in one way or another mixed with ethnic divergence. However, the refugee influx also has negative connotation on other aspects that affect the security of Gambella. Land grabbing for instance is one of the repeatedly mentioned problem that is caused by the South Sudanese refugee influx. Following the second Sudanese civil war, the number of South Sudanese refugee inflow into Gambella grew from time to time and most of the settlements built for the refugees

¹⁶ Informant: Ubung Uman

¹⁷ Informant: Ubung Uman

were on the Anuak land such as Pugnido and Jewi. This trend is despised by the Anuak and given their history with the Nuer community, it laid down the foundation for the growing animosity between the Anuak-Nuer host communities.¹⁸ However, before 1980's due to similar historical and cultural ties, there was good attachment between South Sudanese refugees and the host community of Gambella. Nevertheless, after the second Sudanese civil war and the massive South Sudanese refugee influx into the region, the refugee-host relation changed. The host community felt marginalized given the facilities refugees were provided with, such as food relief, health and education. This has generated feeling of resentment and exclusion among the host community paving the way for conflict (Wosenu, 2012).

The informants explained how resource was being taken away from their land and given to the refugees. Land has a very big value in Gambella and the people have strong attachment with their land. As a result of the refugee influx, there was the need to construct refugee camps. This action however affected the livelihoods of the host community. According to the informants, they felt that they were being marginalized in their own region; their own land. This fuels feeling of resentment and strife among refugees and host communities. Moreover, when actions are taken that affect the lives of the host community, the responsible organ need to provide compensation for lose. In this regard, the informants indicate that there were sporadic measures taken by the regional government and humanitarian actors such as relocation and compensation paid in money.¹⁹ These measures however were not enough in terms of compensating the additional strain that was added on the host community. The long run social, economic, security and environmental implications of hosting refugees were overlooked. Hence, the interplay of these factors brought insecurity and instability in the region in general and in the lives of the host communities in particular.

Another implication of the refugee influx with regard to security is associated with the growing level of crime rate; theft, rape and murder in Gambella region. According to the informants, these are some of the big challenges brought as a result of the refugee influx. It is believed that following the refugee influx there was a high level of crime and theft in the region. This is mainly because the refugee camps have come to be used as fortress for the outlaws. There have been several reports

¹⁸ Informant: Ubung Uman

¹⁹ Informants: Gilo Ujulu, Dut Lul, Koang Reat

of murder and rapes that left victims without justice. This put a lot of strain on the police as it became difficult to arrest the criminals and put the crime rate under control. This circumstance has become a big burden on the host community because a lot of families are still living in fear and many blame the refugee presence for causing this problem.²⁰

Gambella region is one of the most unstable and insecure regions in Ethiopia. The inter-ethnic conflict that frequently occur between the Anuak and the Nuer ethnic groups which is in one way or another associated with ethnic divergence is argued as the primary reason. One of the research questions of this study is whether or not the refugee influx is a causal factor for the recurrent conflict that is seen in the region. With regard to this, there is a mixed perception within the host community of Gambella. There is a clear distinction between informants from the two ethnic groups; Anuak and Nuer. The Nuer host community claims that the refugee influx cannot be held liable for the frequent conflict which is usually along the two ethnic lines and has been going on prior to 1980's. The inter-ethnic conflict that has persisted for so long in the region is the main reason that created the false impression that there is a hostile relation between the host community and the South Sudanese refugees. The host community understands the situation of the refugees. They were forced to flee their country due to political and social crisis and when they arrived in Gambella, the government as well as the host community welcomed them. Initially there was a peaceful relation between the refugee and the host community but gradually it has brought about certain socio-economic impacts. Hence, the contention between the ethnic groups of Gambella is misconceived to have connection with the presence of South Sudanese refugees. According to the Nuer host community, the refugee presence seems to have little impact on worsening the security issue of Gambella.²¹

On the contrary, the Anuak community does not support the fact that the refugee influx is less significant in terms of causing insecurity in the region. There is a sense of deprivation and anger that is felt by many Anuak regarding the refugee influx. The refugee influx has undeniably altered particularly the political and security situation of Gambella. It widened the gap that existed between the two ethnic groups and this led to insecurity and instability to prevail among the host

²⁰ Informants: Gilo Ujulu, Koang Reat, Ubung Uman

²¹ Informants: Koang Reat, Ubung Uman

community which is negatively implicated on the region's security.²² While the Anuak host community is more troubled with the refugee influx and blame South Sudanese refugees for the worsening security problem of the region, the Nuer community; although they acknowledge some of the challenges brought along with the refugee influx, they have no concerns with regard to the security situation being affected as a result of the refugee influx. As explained by Koang, one of the informants from the Nuer ethnic group;

*“Although the refugee influx might aggravate the Anuak-Nuer ethnic tension, the main reason behind the frequent conflict that occurs in the region is the issue of border. Gambella has a porous border with South Sudan. The border could easily be infiltrated by rebel groups or bandits. As a result, the spread of small arms and light weapons have intensified which has become a big security concern of the region. Accordingly, most pastoralists have now become arm traders which became a more lucrative business. Hence, they are engaged in distributing and selling arms throughout the region. This activity was revealed during a time where the traders were smuggling arms by a car but the vehicle got into an accident and they were caught by the police. However this problem is not associated with the refugee inflow because it is a border issue. It is also difficult to contain this because there is a loophole in the security. Border officials are corrupt which indicates the need for a robust policy”.*²³

The security problem is not only associated with the Anuak-Nuer ethnic divergence but also has to do with the dissatisfaction that emanates from the unequal aid distribution and assistance given by humanitarian actors. Similar indicator has also been evident in Dereje's study (2014), which assesses the spillover effect of South Sudan in Gambella stating that; *“The sense of exclusion and relative deprivation of local communities generated by provision of basic services to the refugees is one of the major drivers of tension between refugees and host communities”*. This trend is also explained by the informants indicating the unbalanced humanitarian support given for refugees. The host community argues that the support that is being given for the refugees ought to be inclusive of the host community needs. However, most of the activities of humanitarian organizations neglect the very challenging living situation of the host community. According to Dona Opio, one of the informants; *“Our situation has been overlooked for so long and it is only getting worse. The responsible organ needs to investigate the imbalance of service provision and*

²² Informant: Ubung Uman

²³ Informant: Koang Reat

*the challenges posed by the host community to alleviate our problems”.*²⁴ Such feeling of exclusion has marginalized the host community and prevented the likelihood for peaceful coexistence and positive attachment between the refugee and the host community. As a result, it remains one of the potential sources of insecurity in the region.

However, as observed from the study, security impacts are not the direct outcomes of the refugee influx. It is determined by different factors such as proximity of Gambella to South Sudan which is one of the most unstable regions in the Horn and the cross border conflict that is still affecting the security of neighboring countries in close proximity such as Gambella region of Ethiopia, existing socio-economic differences between refugees and host communities; for example ethnic divergence, and the type of humanitarian support provided for refugees. When supports like food, education and health are only targeted at refugees, feeling of dissatisfaction and exclusion will prevail among the host community. This resentment is then expressed in terms of tension and violence. The host community dwells on the fact that they are at a disadvantage because of such imbalance. This will enhance the likelihood that the host community experiences insecurity due to the refugee influx.

4.1.4. Environmental Impact

Some of the negative environmental impacts brought into Gambella are emanated from the construction of refugee camp settlements. In the process, forests were destroyed and the lives of wild animals were put in danger. Deforestation, destruction of wild lives and environmental degradation are caused by the refugee influx. As a result of the refugee influx and refugee camp construction, some section of the host community particularly the farmer and pastoralist community incurred loss of valuable land for farming and animal grazing. Following the refugee influx, people from different regions of the country migrated into Gambella to benefit from the newly created opportunities causing population growth in the region. This created a lot of pressure on the environment and caused scarcity of natural resources such as land, water, and wild life. A study undertaken by ARRA, indicates that refugees particularly those who live in a refugee camp settlement resort to cutting trees for house construction and fuel wood consumption. This action result in deforestation, soil erosion, shortage in water supply, and destruction of wild lives.

²⁴ Informant: Dona Opio

Environmental pollution is also one of the side effects of refugees which result from garbage disposals and waste accumulation (ARRA, 2011). South Sudanese refugees in Jewi refugee camp for instance resort to cooking their meals using plastic bags and cartoons. The release smoke of chemical and other toxic substances could have a long term impact on the environment.

Similarly; a study conducted by Berry (2008), indicates that the effect of large scale refugee influx is seen in terms of increased pressure on the host environment and natural resource depletion. One of the environmental impacts of the refugee influx in western Tanzania is depletion of forest resource due to increased consumption of firewood, clearing of forests for cultivation and burning of trees for making charcoal. After the refugee influx, the host community of Tanzania has experienced scarcity in water resource, soil erosion and deforestation. Such impacts caused by resource depletion indirectly affected the agricultural production of the host community causing food insecurity in the region. According to Berry, the conflict between the refugees and host communities in Tanzania is environment related conflict. Although the host community themselves play a role in causing environmental degradation, the study reveals that the situation got much worse after the refugee influx and raised the level of conflict in the region.

There is a growing refugee crisis in developing countries and some of the conflicts that are seen in the region are triggered by environmental effects. Sub-Saharan Africa is a place where ethnically diverse communities simultaneously exist. However, the growing resource scarcity contributes to a great extent in amplifying the ethnic differences causing conflict and insecurity. Environmental change catalyzes social segmentation and intensifies the social, economic and cultural differences; fueling hostility among refugees and hosts leading towards ethnic conflict. For instance, in Gambella region, the violence that occurred in the early 19th century, in Itang, Gog and Abobo *wereda* is related with environmental problems. The most reported environmental effect is deforestation. In addition to frequent ethnic tension that arises in the region, the refugee presence in Gambella posed severe environmental concerns for the host community. Conflict between the refugee and the host community usually occur during times when either of the two community stray into the woods to collect firewood (Martin, 2005). Similar cases have been found in this research where the refugees in Jewi refugee camp in particular frequently engage into conflict with the host community. The host community attack refugees claiming that there is growing resource depletion; shortage of water supply and deforestation in the region following the refugee influx.

What determines the level and intensity of resource depletion that cause environmental conflict between refugees and host community is incompatibility of livelihood. For instance, the influx of Sudanese refugees since the 1980's created several environmental impacts in different regions of Ethiopia. The refugees are from different ethnic backgrounds and have different livelihood activities as compared to the host community. Those refugees that were settled in Bonga and Sherkole practice hunting and farming; hence they used to clear forests for farmland and hunt animals for meals. Such practices pose serious environmental concerns for the host community as it caused destruction of wild lives including fish resources and vegetation. This affected the lives of the host community causing food scarcity and resource depletion. However, it has been acknowledged that the destructive nature of refugees is not inherent rather is caused due to their need for survival (ARRA, 2011).

However, environmental degradation is not solely an outcome of activities of refugees. There are other contributing factors like government policies. For instance, Land lease project to large-scale agricultural investment has been taken place in Gambella for about 20 years. One of the negative environmental impacts of such measures has been experienced by the host community who have lost their livestock animals due to water contamination and dried up lands as a result of chemical waste. The host community; particularly in Abobo *wereda*, were affected as a result of environmental damage caused in the region (Yonas and Ezra, 2014).

In order to mitigate the negative environmental impacts hindering refugee-host relation, providing refugees with alternative livelihood opportunities are advocated. For instance, providing alternative fuel sources for refugees proved to be effective as it reduced the environmental degradation caused by charcoal trading and deforestation practiced by refugees in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya (Mabiso, Maystadt, et.al, 2014). Similarly, UNHCR and other implementing partners are incorporating environmental considerations in their programs such as alternative means of fuel wood consumption by providing rations that require less cooking time and fuel saving stoves for refugees (ARRA, 2011). Availing such alternative mechanisms most likely reduces the consequence of environmental impacts on host lives as well as their region.

4.2. The Nature of Relationship between South Sudanese Refugees and Host Community of Gambella

The following section is centered on analyzing the findings obtained from the South Sudanese refugees in Gambella. The researcher conducted a total of 12 interviews with the South Sudanese refugees from two different camps; Jewi and Kule. The former refugee camp is located on Anuak land while the later is built on Nuer land. The reason why these two camps are chosen is because they could elaborate on the Anuak-Nuer dynamic with regards to explaining the relation between the refugees and host communities as well as conflicts and collaborations that occur between the two. As observed during interviews, there is a significant difference of opinion between those refugees living in Jewi and those who live in Kule refugee camp. A variety of key features such as age, gender, household size and duration of time lived in Gambella are taken into consideration when selecting the informants. The interviews are conducted with Nuer South Sudanese refugees based on an interview guide (Annex III).

4.2.1. South Sudanese Refugees in Jewi Refugee Camp

Majority of the South Sudanese refugees in Gambella are women and children; this is also the case in Jewi refugee camp. The camp is located approximately 18k.m from Gambella and has a capacity to accommodate about 50,000 refugees. The majority number of these South Sudanese refugees is represented by the Nuer ethnic group (UNHCR, 2015).²⁵ Hence, the researcher conducted interviews with the Nuer South Sudanese refugees located in Jewi refugee camp. The informants explained a range of things with regard to their living situation at the refugee camp, their relation with the host community and the security situation of Gambella vis-à-vis their presence.

4.2.1.1. Situation of Conflict and Collaboration between Refugees and Host Communities

Most of the South Sudanese refugees in Jewi camp have been transferred from Leitchuor refugee camp because of the flood that had occurred in the area. What is different about Leitchuor refugee camp is that the host communities that live surrounding the camp are Nuers. However, as opposed to Leitchuor, the host communities surrounding Jewi refugee camp are Anuaks. This has created a lot of insecurity among the refugee population because of the inter-ethnic conflict that occur

²⁵ See http://www.et.one.un.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=238:new-camp-opens-for-relocation-of-50-000-flood-affected-refugees-in-ethiopia&catid=82&Itemid=492

between the Anuak and the Nuer host community. This is mentioned by all the South Sudanese refugees that are interviewed from Jewi refugee camp. They explained that even within the refugee camp, there is a growing insecurity which is emanated from a repeated attack at the refugees by the host community.²⁶

Most of the refugees that are interviewed explained that during their stay at Leitchuor, there was a peaceful coexistence with the Nuer host community of the area because they basically share the same language, culture and tradition. The women usually go outside the camp to collect firewood in order to prepare their meals. One of the informants mentioned that:

“The community in Leitchuor was very helpful in that they even share their own materials with us; they invite us to their homes and were very kind and sympathetic towards the refugees. However, it is completely the opposite in Jewi. Here, we are afraid to go outside the camp because the communities are continuously attacking us. A friend of mine has been attacked when she was trying to collect firewood. The Anuak’s hide in the bushes and they ambush as to the point where we don’t even have a chance to defend ourselves. Due to this, now we use plastics and cartoons to cook our meals because we are afraid that if we go outside; we might get killed!”²⁷

The main point of contact between the refugees and the host community is resource. It is also one of the primary reasons why there is dispute between the refugee and the host community. However, there is also scarcity in accessing basic services such as water and food inside the refugee camp. Social services such as health and education are also limited. ARRA and UNHCR are responsible for providing these facilities in the refugee camps. According to Salima; a South Sudanese refugee who lives in Jewi refugee camp;

“There is usually shortage in food and water distribution. It is also the same with health and education facilities. There is not enough medicine and our children suffer from health problems because they don’t get the proper treatment. There is only a primary level of education in the camp so our young adults do not get the education they need”²⁸

²⁶ Anonymous informants from South Sudanese Refugees in Jewi Camp, Interview, February 29, 2016

²⁷ Anonymous Informant: Interview; February 29, 2016

²⁸ A South Sudanese Refugee mother of four, Interview; February 29, 2016

Water is also a big problem in the camp. There is a construction of water pipeline but it has become difficult to finish the construction and make use of it because there has been frequent attack on the construction team. The host community is not allowing the pipeline to be constructed because they assert that they themselves have shortage of water and it is not fair that refugees get this benefit at the expense of the local people. As mentioned above, the health centers in the camp is not facilitated so when there are cases that the health office cannot handle, it is referred to the federal hospital in Gambella and in circumstances like this, tension arises between the refugees and the host community over inaccessibility of services. The refugees acknowledge the fact that their presence has indeed added certain pressure on social services but they claim that it is not their fault. *“We are only here because there is no peace in our country, we have nothing against the host community and the community needs to understand our problems”*.²⁹

Another issue of conflict between the refugee and the host community of Gambella is the Anuak-Nuer inter-ethnic conflict. As a result of the fighting between the Anuak and Nuer host community, there is no cordial relation between the refugees and the host community in Jewi. According to one informant;

“Our presence is misunderstood as creating conflict but we are not the reason. The Anuak-Nuer conflict was already here when we arrived in Gambella. We are simply being attacked because we are ethnic Nuer. It is not right to include us in their fight. Anuak don’t like us, they include us as having connection with the conflict and they attack us blindly. They tend to mix us with the Nuer residents so we get frustrated whenever we go outside the refugee camp because of the fear that they could harm us”.³⁰

Although there are limited circumstances where there is a positive interaction between the refugees and the host communities in Jewi, there are certain occasions where these two communities mutually benefit from one another. As a result of the refugee influx, a lot of humanitarian organizations have been created in Gambella and this has availed the host community with employment opportunity. The host community has also indirectly benefited from the humanitarian aid programs such as food distribution. Refugees usually sell part of their ration to the host community at a low price. Sorghum among others is the most sold food item for the host

²⁹ Informant: Hakim G.

³⁰ Anonymous South Sudanese Refugee Informant from Jewi Refugee camp; Interview; February 29, 2016

community because the price for it in Gambella town is 200 birr but the refugees sell it for only a 100 birr and sometimes less. In return they use the money they get to buy vegetables to diversify their diet as well as buy other things like medicine.³¹

Moreover, the refugees also get benefit from the presence of humanitarian organizations as they get the opportunity to work and earn incentives. Some of the refugees I interviewed are getting incentives from working in one of these organizations that operate inside the refugee camp. Another advantage is that the refugees can use some of the money they earn from selling their ration, the incentives they get from working in relief organizations or remittances they get from abroad to set up their business like kiosks and tea shops which they can use to support their families.³² During observation, the researcher took note of these conveniences; there are a lot of small shops and tea houses inside the refugee camp. The informants talked about the importance of these services which they could access inside the camp. The availability of these services benefited them from easily accessing these services without going outside the refugee camp and it also benefited the owners as a means of income.

However, it cannot be said that the refugees have a positive relation with the host community. The host community only interacts with the refugees during business exchange i.e. in order to buy rations. Since it is for a mutual benefit, during this circumstance they engage with one another peacefully. Thereafter however, they are still weary of one another. The informants explained that there is no positive attachment particularly with the Anuak host community whatsoever. Since the host community consider the refugees for having an impact on the inter-ethnic conflict between the Anuak and Nuer, it is difficult to have peaceful interaction. In order to improve this situation, ARRA and UNHCR are mentioned as having the primary responsibility to bring some solution.³³ Both organs need to facilitate a negotiation program between the Anuak and Nuer community. They need to create awareness regarding the situation of the refugees and put an end to the continuous vengeance killing between refugees and hosts in the region.

Some of the informants suggest relocation to Kule and Pugnido refugee camps as a plausible solution. This is mainly because in Kule, since the host community is Nuer there is a possibility

³¹ Informant: Hakim G.

³² Informants: Hakim G. Salima Bawi

³³ Anonymous South Sudanese Refugee Informants in Jewi Refugee Camp, Interview; February 29, 2016

for refugees and host community to live peacefully; and in Pugnido, there is better facility including secondary education and better health care inside the refugee camp that is more beneficial. However, relocation by itself could not be the best solution unless there is some kind of agreement between the two ethnic groups. According to Hakim; one of the South Sudanese refugee informants in Jewi;

*“There is the need to facilitate the peace process in South Sudan so that we can go back to our country because we have no future here. It is impossible for us to locally integrate and live alongside the host community even if the hosts are Nuer. This is because since there is no peace among them we can’t escape from being targets. As long as there is no peace between the two ethnic groups, we are not safe here”.*³⁴

Frequent conflict has come to be a common phenomenon in Gambella. The politicization of ethnic identity coupled with competition over limited resources between refugees and hosts has caused instability and insecurity in the region. The refugee influx in the region also plays its own role in terms of explaining the multifaceted problems overshadowing the region and the host community. However, unless the root causes behind these challenges are identified and addressed, resorting to either relocation or repatriation would not guarantee peace in Gambella.

4.2.2. South Sudanese Refugees in Kule Refugee Camp

Kule refugee camp is located approximately 45k.m from Gambella and accommodates about 50,000 refugees. Similar to Jewi refugee camp, the majority of these refugees are from the Nuer ethnic groups where women and children represent the largest number (GIS, 2016). However, one distinctive feature of this camp is that the host communities who live surrounding the refugee camp are Nuer. The finding obtained from informants in Kule refugee camp is almost the opposite to that of Jewi. Some of the defining features with regard to the relationship of the host and the refugee, livelihood challenges and opportunities as well as security implications are presented. The informants in this camp are also selected on the same basis as to the refugees in Jewi: by taking into account age, gender and time lived in Gambella.

³⁴ Informant: Hakim G.

4.2.2.1. Situation of Conflict and Collaboration between Refugees and Host Communities

Most of the informants in Kule refugee camp feel fortunate in that they live in a place where the surrounding community is Nuer in which they share similar ethnic and cultural links. They have positive attachment with the Nuer host community and are able to live in peace. Unlike those refugees who live in Jewi refugee camp, refugees in Kule are not afraid to go outside camp to collect firewood or buy food supplement like vegetables from the host community. There are also some occasions in which they engage with the host community on social affairs like different social celebrations such as weddings, as the host community sympathizes and understands their situation.

*“Whenever we feel the need to go outside the refugee camp, we do so without any fear because we know that the host community accepts us. We hear about the situation of refugees in Jewi camp from relatives and friends and we feel that we are lucky to live in peace with the host community of Kule”.*³⁵

However, it does not mean that the camp is without problems. Similar to Jewi refugee camp, there are shortages of food, water, and education as well as health facilities. There is no secondary education, medicine lacks sufficiency, there is insufficient water provision and there is also shortage and delay in the distribution of food. Nonetheless, the refugees have similar opportunities to benefit from working in aid agencies which also availed the host community a job creation. They have the same opportunity to sell their rations to the host community and benefit from it. They are also able to set up their businesses in the camp like kiosks and so on and earn daily income.³⁶

Hence, the only difference is in terms of refugee-host relation because those refugees in Kule are better positioned to have positive attachment with the host community. Most of the refugees here would like to locally integrate and improve their lives in the long run. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that local integration could end the crisis of the region. Ethnicity comes to be a determining factor in terms of creating conducive environment between the host community and the refugees. However, it also becomes a divisive factor in which it could even aggravate the strained relation between the Anuak and Nuer host community. It is closely tied with the security situation of

³⁵ Informant: Lomong koor

³⁶ Informants: Gabriel Mayuol, Lomong Koor

Gambella in terms of changing the political and demographic trend of the region in favor of one ethnic group; the Nuer. This is why most community of the Anuak strongly opposes local integration as bringing solution to the refugee crisis in Gambella. Hence, a close observation to the multifaceted problem facing the community in particular and the region in general is needed to bring about change within the community as a whole.

4.3. Roles played by Government and Humanitarian Actors in order to Promote Peaceful Coexistence between South Sudanese Refugees and Host community of Gambella

The perspectives of government and external actors working on promoting the lives of refugees as well as providing support and assistance for the host community is presented in this section. The approaches taken by these organizations in order to alleviate the impacts created on the host community as a result of the refugee influx and promote mutual cooperation and peaceful coexistence between the refugee and the host community are discussed under this section. Based on an interview guide (Annex IV), the researcher conducted interviews with four individual representatives from four different organizations. One of the interviews is conducted with a government organ, ARRA; the leading organization in terms of handling the issue of refugees and host community in Gambella. The remaining three interviews are conducted with NGO actors; ACF, NRC and ZOA.

4.3.1. Approaches taken to Promote Coexistence and Mutual Benefit between South Sudanese Refugees and Host Communities of Gambella

4.3.1.1. Administration for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA)

The most central organ to the issue of refugee in Ethiopia is the government organization; ARRA. It has been operating in Gambella since 1993 on behalf of the government of Ethiopia in partnership with UNHCR and other local and international NGO's. It has the mandate to coordinate the guidance, support and assistance to all of the implementing partners working on the issue of refugee. It handles the issue of refugee and host community in Ethiopia and assumes the primary responsibility in this regard. ARRA has a head office in Addis Ababa but is also present in every region of the country where there is a refugee settlement. The regional office in Gambella

is thus responsible for all of the activities undertaken by any of the NGO's working on issues related with refugees and host communities in the region.³⁷

ARRA has been working in Gambella for more than 20 years and its agenda does not entirely focus on addressing the needs of refugees but is also host oriented which is about 25% of the support that is given to the host community. According to ARRA, there is positive attachment between the refugee and the host community because of similar background; but this is only true when settlement is done along similar ethnic lines. The refugee-host relation in Gambella, according to ARRA is more or less positive. The refugee influx might have created certain pressure on the host community of Gambella. For instance, due to the inflow of various local and international relief organizations, cost of living has grown high. It is not easy to fulfill one's need as easily as it was in the past. The creation of these organizations however provided the host community with job opportunities. In addition, the host community benefited from accessing health centers set up for refugees which is to be shared equally by the refugees and the hosts; such as the one in Pugnido.

The host community also benefited from the distribution of food which is targeted at refugees. Refugees usually sell portion of their ration in the local market in order to buy food they do not receive from aid organizations like potato, tomato and other vegetables. As a result, the host community indirectly benefited from buying food such as sorghum from the refugees for a much lower price than in the local market. Moreover, as a result of trading in and around refugee camp areas, business men began penetrating into the market which transformed small towns like Abobo and Itang into trade centers and benefited the region as well.³⁸

*“The conflict between Anuak and Nuer host communities is usually misunderstood to be inclusive of the refugees; they are not the reason why there is conflict in Gambella. We are aware that refugees might get thrown into the conflict and in order to reduce the chances of dispute between the refugee-host communities, they are allowed to move up to 10k.m radius. We can say that their presence has only a certain negative impact on the host community”.*³⁹

³⁷ Informant: Alemayehu Kifle; ARRA: Western Region Refugee Program Coordination Office, Gambella

³⁸ Informant: Alemayehu Kifle; ARRA: Western Region Refugee Program Coordination Office, Gambella

³⁹ Informant: Alemayehu Kifle; ARRA: Western Region Refugee Program Coordination Office, Gambella

In order to facilitate cooperation between the refugee and the host community, ARRA with its counterparts is working towards bringing solution. It is engaged with awareness creation programs in order to shape the attitude of the host community regarding the refugee presence. For instance, there is a program called “people to people”; created with the purpose of changing the perception of both the locals and the refugee population through promoting culture and educating the community.⁴⁰

4.3.1.2. Efforts made by NGO’s; ACF, NRC and ZOA to Promote Peaceful Coexistence

Under the supervision of ARRA; ACF, NRC and ZOA are some of the NGO’s primarily working on issues concerning South Sudanese refugees but to some extent the host community as well. ACF is one of these NGO’s that has been actively working on the refugee crisis in Gambella since February 2014. It provides different kinds of support and assistance primarily for the refugees but also has certain programs on the host community. Implementing nutritional activities, livelihood supports, water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), food security, food for malnourished children, technical support for health providers are some of the programs of the organization. The other actor is a Norway based organization; NRC which has been working in Gambella on the issue of South Sudanese refugees since December 2013. The organization mainly emphasizes on the problem of refugees but retain some of its activities for the host communities as well. It primarily works on providing lifesaving assistance, provision of shelter, promoting education, food security, cash plants, and capacity building. The other organization that works primarily on refugees but also on the host community of Gambella is ZOA; a Netherland based organization. ZOA have been operating in the region since 1994 under the name “Refugee Care”. Initially it was created to provide assistance to South Sudanese refugees but gradually shifted its agenda to involving the host community as well.⁴¹

Interviews are conducted with the Area Manager from NRC, Deputy Country Director from ACF and Refugee Project Manager from ZOA regarding the refugee host relation, the impact of the refugee presence on the host community of Gambella and the approaches employed by these organizations in order to create positive attachments between refugees and host communities.

⁴⁰ Informant: Alemayehu Kifle; ARRA: Western Region Refugee Program Coordination Office, Gambella

⁴¹ Informants: Yussuf Daud from NRC, John Clinton from ACF and Habtamu Haile from ZOA

NRC work on several issues to address the South Sudanese refugee crisis. Though its program is mainly centered on refugees, it is operating by the refugee laws of ARRA and UNHCR which is 25% of service provision for the host community. According to Yussuf; the area manager:

*“The relationship between the refugee and the host community is not stable. This is mainly because of the ethnic clash that frequently arises between the Anuak and the Nuer ethnic groups. There is a misconception that South Sudanese refugees are responsible for the ongoing dispute in Gambella but this is not the case. They are simply being drawn into the conflict because of ethnic labeling. Taking this into consideration, NRC is working to promote coexistence and peaceful relation between the refugees and host communities by engaging the local people into our program. For instance, we ensure that 25% of cash grant goes to the host community, we also provide vocational skill and trainings for the host community and particularly with regard to education, we have been building schools within the host community so as to avoid feeling of exclusion among the host community and promote coexistence”.*⁴²

Similarly, ACF and ZOA are also engaging with the host community to establish a peaceful relation with the host community. Even though their program mainly focuses on providing assistance for the refugees, their programs also include refugee plus host community service provision. ZOA for instance has a livelihood support program aimed at training 90 refugees and 30 host community members with vocational skill trainings such as pottery, bee keeping, bead making etc. in order to assist them with means of income generation and at the same time promotes cohesion⁴³. Positive attachment between the refugee and the host community is not witnessed that much in the region because of the ethnic conflict. However these organizations are working by including the host in their programs. The deputy country director of ACF explained that their program is trying to balance the two sides of the community needs by providing services like capacity building, logistic support, food security, WASH and nutritional activities on 75/25% program basis for refugees and hosts respectively.⁴⁴

The positive and negative impacts of the refugee influx according to these organizations are proportional. The refugee presence has indeed raised the cost of living in the region, it has made

⁴² Informant: Yussuf Daud

⁴³ Informant: Habtamu Haile

⁴⁴ Informant: John Clinton

some facilities like health centers overcrowded, and it also has some negative impacts on the environment such as deforestation. The refugee influx however led to the creation of NGO's in Gambella that raised cash flow in the region and also created employment opportunities for the host community. NRC for instance employs 30% of its staff from the region. It benefited the host community with access to social services such as water, education and health. However, financial and human resource has remained to be a challenge to ensure water and food security within the host community. These are some of the big problems of the host community that challenge situation of peaceful coexistence with the refugees. The big problem however is the unstable security environment of the region. The long term ethnic strife between the Anuak and the Nuer community affected the region as a whole and unless there is a program that brings cohesion between the two, it will continue to affect the work that is being done by these organizations and would be impossible to imagine peace in Gambella.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Informant: Yussuf Daud

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1. Conclusion

The issue of refugee crisis has come to be a detrimental problem for the entire world. Particularly in the past five years, the world has witnessed the growing trend of civil war and massive human rights violation that propelled significant portion of the world's population to flee to other places in search of security and a better life. Africa is one of the continents that shoulder the responsibility of hosting millions of refugees from different countries of the continent. What makes the problem of Africa more complex is the fact that not only it hosts refugees but it is also the place where majority of the world's refugees originate.

The civil wars in Sudan and South Sudan have produced over a million refugees who are particularly hosted in neighboring countries such as Ethiopia. Majority of South Sudanese refugees are hosted in Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS). On top of its meager resources and ethnic conflicts that frequently occur, the South Sudanese refugee influx has become a mounting challenge for the region in general and the host community in particular. The Anuak-Nuer ethnic conflict of the region has been going on for many years but the inflow of South Sudanese refugees who are predominantly from the Nuer ethnic group has put additional pressure on the region's security and socio-economic conditions.

The impacts of refugee influx on a particular host community are complex whereas both positive and negative impacts are observed. Particularly, in a country where multiple ethnic groups simultaneously exist, the presence of additional ethnic group brings change to the demographic component of the region and shifts the population balance in favor of one ethnic group. Consequently, this lays down the basis for dispute and ethnic strife to preside. This is the kind of problem that manifests the socio-economic and political climate of Gambella.

The impact of the South Sudanese refugee influx on the host community of Gambella can be seen in terms of social, economic, security and environmental aspects. Notably, the positive impacts of the refugee influx are seen to have socio-economic nature. The host community of Gambella benefited from infrastructural development, provision and accessibility of social services such as

health and education. Following the South Sudanese refugee influx, the presence of relief and aid organizations created both opportunities and challenges for the host community of Gambella. The host community benefited from job opportunities as a result of the various NGO's that are established following the refugee influx. Moreover, the host community is benefiting from the food aid primarily targeted at the refugee population from which they indirectly benefited from buying food crops such as sorghum from the refugees at a much lower price than in the local market. This somehow alleviated the shortage of food that has been experienced by the host community prior such food aid found its way in Gambella.

Nevertheless, the host community is not equally benefiting from the refugee presence. Given the ethno-linguistic similarity between the Nuer host community and Nuer South Sudanese refugees, the Nuer host community has benefited more as compared to the Anuak host community. This is not just the benefits they get from food, education and health but more importantly in terms of social relation which is implicated on the region's security. As noted in Dereje's research of the refugee impact in Gambella (2014), regional administrative power is allocated proportionately to ethnic composition in the federal system of Ethiopia. Hence, a numerical superiority of a certain ethnic group would secure more seats in the regional and national parliament. Ultimately, this gives the majority ethnic group more power in terms of resource allocation and so on. This is what is behind the regional politics of Gambella. The Nuers are demographically the dominant ethnic groups representing 40% of the regions ethnic composition. Anecdotal evidence shows that Nuer elites took advantage of the refugee influx by assisting many South Sudanese refugees to obtain Ethiopian ID cards causing the shift of population balance in their favor. This indicates the issue of corruption in which Nuer political officials engage in illegal activities by issuing ID cards for the Nuer South Sudanese refugees with the aim of consolidating their power and position in the region. Consequently, this made the Anuak community feel excluded and brought tension between the two ethnic groups.

The negative impact of the refugee influx on the host community is primarily in terms of heightening the ethnic tension between the Anuak and Nuer host community. The Anuak host community in particular feels marginalized because of the growing Nuer South Sudanese refugee presence in Gambella. The finding obtained from the group discussion indicates that the Nuer host community and Nuer refugees support one another. The Nuer host community side the refugees

and vice versa. When dispute arises between the Anuak and the Nuer host community, refugees who live in a refugee camp settlement are targeted. When the refugees stray into the bushes to collect firewood and so on, they are ambushed and attacked by the Anuak host community. This act then further generates vengeance killings in town and around refugee camps among the host community. Such occurrences between the two ethnic groups turn into deadly inter-ethnic conflict resulting into death and destruction of people's lives. These severely affected the region's security in terms of widening the gap that exists between the two communities and consequently cause tension and conflict in the region.

The refugee influx also brought some challenges such as population increase which has direct bearing on resource; resource depletion and deforestation. Furthermore, the refugee influx also has a negative impact on land resource. The South Sudanese refugee influx has had a growing pressure on land. There are around six refugee camps in Gambella built on the lands of the host community. Majority of the population in Gambella are farmers and agro-pastoralists whose livelihoods are affected following the construction of the refugee camp settlements. Moreover, the presence of many rivers and its fertile soil has made Gambella attractive for investment. Due to this, thousands of hectares of land is leased for foreign investors with the purpose of expanding large scale commercial agriculture in the region. This measure on top of the land that is being used as a refugee camp settlement has created land scarcity in the region. For instance, the refugee camps in Pugnido, Itang, Leitchuor, Kule and Jewi that are built on the land of the local people lead towards sense of exclusion among the host community due to the fact that their land is being taken away from them along with their resources.

With regard to the relationship between the refugee and the host community, the study reveals that there is rather a deteriorating relation between the two. There are several occasions in which the host community and refugees engage in conflict. Condemning the continued aid that flows into the refugees' livelihood is one of the reasons which cause conflict between the refugees and host communities. This is due the fact that the lives of the host community are not much different from the refugees. There is a problem of food security, shortage of water, insufficient facility of social services like education and health. The government and NGO officials have been denounced for neglecting the needs of the host community. There should be a collaborative effort by the government and NGO actors that aims to improve the socio-economic and security problem of the

region. However, there is a limited effort which aims to alleviate the multifaceted problem the host community is faced with. Balancing the need of refugees and host communities is hence necessary to ensure peaceful coexistence between them.

The research argues that there is a necessity to balance the positive and negative impacts of the South Sudanese refugee influx on the host community of Gambella. The findings of the study reveal that this is not the case. Although there are some aspects in which the host community experienced advantageous opportunities as a result of the refugee influx, frequent disputes that occur between the host community and refugees has negatively affected the lives of many. The subsequent inter-ethnic conflict that prevailed in the region is tied with the refugee presence in one way or another. Ethnic identity is entangled with the conflict that occurs in the region. Even if the refugee influx is said to have nothing to do with the conflict, the dispute is highly likely to spill over in the form of revenge attack because of ethnic divergence. It is hence considerably important to promote peaceful relation and mutual coexistence between the two ethnic groups of the region.

The recurrent ethnic conflict between the Anuak and Nuer community has been involved with the South Sudanese refugee crisis not just because of ethnic grouping but also concerning the lack of vital resources such as water, food and limited livelihood opportunities experienced by the host community. This has generated dissatisfaction, and it is this sense of exclusion and relative deprivation that usually cause the refugee-host conflict in the region. As a result of this, quite large number of individuals from the host community, refugees and also humanitarian workers are affected. The impact of South Sudanese refugees on the host community of Gambella as well as the relationship dynamic between the host community and the refugees has received limited attention. With this in mind, the study tried to shade more light on these important aspects by identifying the main causes of conflicts between these two communities. Furthermore, it tried to provide knowledge on the linkage between the refugee-host relation and the varied impacts created as a result of this.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the finding and analysis of the research, possible recommendations that are forwarded to improve concerning issues of the host community of Gambella and South Sudanese refugees are presented as follows.

I. Promoting Coexistence and Cooperation between Refugees and Hosts

As indicated in the study, coexistence between refugees and host communities seems to be there when refugee camp settlements are constructed along similar ethnic lines. Otherwise, coexistence between refugees and hosts does not take place much often since there are certain refugee camps like Pugnido and Jewi that are built on the land of Anuak. When the surrounding host community is other than Nuer, there is almost always a conflicting relation between refugees and the host community. Therefore, in order to avoid these circumstances, those working on the issues of refugee and host community like the government organ; ARRA and the different NGO's need to find better ways of promoting cooperation. For instance, providing means of reconciliation that could promote a peaceful coexistence is one approach that should be developed. In doing this, elders and religious institution like churches and mosques should come together to facilitate cordial relation through consultation and negotiation. Moreover, identifying the underlying problem that generates feeling of exclusion among the host community should be identified and addressed. Since majority of the refugees are Nuer, building a refugee camp on Anuak land most likely heightens the region's insecurity. Hence, ARRA needs to make sure the settlement of refugee camps are set up by taking ethnic differences that exists between the refugee and the host community into consideration; this could likely promote coexistence between them.

Most frequently, the government and humanitarian workers are being blamed for neglecting the challenging living conditions of the host community. In order to defy this, both of these institutions should provide and improve their support for the host community. They need to balance the two sides of aid distribution for those of refugees and host communities. Moreover, the direction of ARRA and UNHCR regarding 25% of host oriented refugee policy is not being effectively implemented by the humanitarian organizations which indicate the lack of oversight mechanisms. Therefore, the federal and regional governments should actively engage to make sure the effective

implementation of the policy and should set up a monitoring organ that follows up on the work of these organizations.

It has been evident that the ethnic conflict among the host community has come to affect the refugees as well. Hence, mutual relation and peaceful coexistence should also be encouraged not just between refugees and hosts but also among the host community of Gambella. Socio-political differences that exist between the Anuak and Nuer ethnic groups are deeply rooted. It is observed in the study that even in schools, Nuer children are taught in Nuer language and Anuak children in Anuak language. However, as an Ethiopian national, both the federal and regional government should promote a united front despite ethnic differences. Unless rapid measure is taken, this trend will shape the minds of young pupils to despise one another and achieving peace will be long overdue.

II. Responsibility Sharing

Ethiopia is hosting quite large number of refugees from different parts of the continent. However, some parts of the region such as Gambella have borne the brunt of hosting considerably large number of refugees in its region that further created additional pressure on its already existing resource and security problems. Hence, the government needs to find ways of alleviating such burden imposed on the region by ensuring the equal distribution of refugees across the different parts of the country. The refugee problem of the country particularly in Gambella could also be improved through regional solidarity. The neighboring countries of Ethiopia, such as Sudan, Kenya and Uganda has also the responsibility to share the burden imposed on the region by availing the means for South Sudanese refugees to be hosted in their countries. Moreover, these countries who have been leading the East African Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) peace negotiation in South Sudan should collaborate in pressing the government of South Sudan to solve the civil war that is affecting the entire region as a whole.

III. Facilitating the Peace Process of South Sudan and Improving Border Security

The security of Gambella has for long been unstable due to its geographic area and peripheral location. There is a long standing ethnic tension in the region which has also been aggravated by the refugee influx. Given the insecure Ethio-Sudanese border, controlling the spread of small arms

and light weapons has been difficult to monitor. As a result, modern weapons have found their way in the region particularly in border areas such as Gambella which aggravated the level and magnitude of conflict and causality that is frequently observed in the region. Therefore, the government of South Sudan and Ethiopia should collaborate and work together towards improving the issue of border security.

A durable solution for the refugee crisis in Gambella would be finding a lasting solution for the civil war in South Sudan. This is also the best solution that the refugees themselves suggested. During interviews, the refugees expressed their wish to go back to their country if peace prevails. They explained that they had their lives in South Sudan; families, friends and a place they can call home. Besides, they claim that the inter-ethnic conflict between the Anuak and Nuer is indirectly affecting their lives. They also believe that their security is not guaranteed in Gambella to the point where going out of camp has become almost impossible because of the fear that they might get attacked or killed by the host community. The host community on the contrary believes that their situation is worse off because of the refugee influx. Hence, repatriation is what would serve the interest of both and brings a workable solution to both the refugees and hosts.

Peace is currently under way in South Sudan and some South Sudanese refugees have already been repatriated. However it should be kept in mind that when the refugees are repatriated to South Sudan, the existence of NGO's will come to an end. When the presence of these NGO's ceases to exist, it might create another burden on the region. The host community is somewhat dependent on food aid, and so, food insecurity as well as unemployment might prevail. Thus, both federal and regional government should develop livelihood strategies for the host community to reduce their dependency on aids. Ultimate means of income for the host community needs to be provided such as providing farmers with improved seeds and farm tools, and promoting practical education for the youth and equip them with different skills so that they become more competent in the future.

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ANNEX

Annex I

List of Informants and Interview Date

No.	Name	Date of Interview	Remark
1.	Ubung Uman	March 1, 2016	From the Host Community
2.	Omok Ujulu	>>	>>
3.	Roben Olock	>>	>>
4.	Gilo Ujulu	>>	>>
5.	Umot Uriemi	>>	>>
6.	Dana Opio	>>	>>
7.	Omot Ochoge	>>	>>
8.	Koang Reat	February 27, 2016	>>
9.	Chan Chol	>>	>>
10.	Gatdoar Dang	>>	>>
11.	Baziel Thichuong	>>	>>
12.	Dut Lul	>>	>>
13.	Chuot Nit	>>	>>
14.	Hakim G.	February29, 2016	South Sudanese Refugee in Jewi
15.	Salima Bawi	February29, 2016	South Sudanese Refugee in Jewi
16.	Lomong Koor	February28, 2016	South Sudanese Refugee in Kule
17.	Gabriel Mayuol	February28, 2016	South Sudanese Refugee in Kule
18.	8Anonymous Informants	February 28 and 29, 2016	South Sudanese Refugees inKule and Jewi Refugee Camps
19.	Alemayehu Kifle	March 1, 2016	Law and Protection Department-ARRA
20.	Habtamu Haile	February 26, 2016	Refugee Project Manager - ZOA
21.	John Clinton	February 26, 2016	Deputy Country Director - ACF
22.	Yussuf Daud	February 22, 2016	Area manager - NRC

Annex II

Interview Guide: Host Community of Gambella

Questions	Probe questions/Follow Up questions
1. For how long have you been living in Gambella?	
2. What is your perception regarding South Sudanese refugees?	What is the reason for it?
3. Can you explain the overall living condition before the inflow of refugees into the region?	
4. How did you access basic services such as water, food, firewood, hosing etc. before the refugee presence?	Was it easy or challenging to do so?
5. How do you access these services currently?	If yes, How do you explain the change?
6. How did you access public facilities such as education and health services before the refugee presence?	
7. How do you access these services currently?	Is there a positive or negative change?
8. How do you describe the security situation of the region before the refugee presence?	
9. How do you describe the security situation currently?	What were the changes in comparison to the past?
10. Does the refugee influx have impact on the environment?	If yes, in what manner?
11. How do you describe your relationship with the refugees?	Positive/negative In what circumstances do you come in contact with the refugees and how often?
12. Have your relationship with the refugees changed during course of time?	In what way did it change? What contributed to this change and why?

<p>13. Have you experienced a situation whereby divergences of interest or conflict have taken place between refugees and the host community?</p>	<p>What were the underlying factors? Did these occurrences affect your relationship with the refugees? How?</p>
<p>14. Have you experienced situations of positive attachment with the refugees whereby cooperative and peaceful co-existence have taken place?</p>	<p>What were these situations? How influential were these circumstances in terms of promoting positive relations and peaceful co-existence with the refugees?</p>
<p>15. What are the opportunities and challenges brought along the refugee presence?</p>	<p>What do you think is the reason? Have this contributed positively or negatively to the nature of your relationship?</p>
<p>16. How do you describe the impact of the refugee influx?</p>	<p>Positive/Negative, Why?</p>
<p>17. What solutions would you suggest to promote peaceful co-existence between the refugees and host community?</p>	
<p>18. Would you like to add something in relation to the topic?</p>	

Annex III

Interview Guide: South Sudanese Refugees in Gambella

Questions	Probe questions/Follow Up questions
1. For how long have you been living in Gambella?	
2. What is your perception regarding the host community?	
3. How do you access basic services such as water, food, firewood etc.?	It easy or challenging to do so?
4. How do you access facilities such as education and health services?	Have you been able to access these services outside of camp?
5. How do you describe your relationship with the host community?	Positive/negative In what circumstances do you come in contact with the host community and how often?
6. Have your relationship with the host community changed during course of time?	In what way did it change? What contributed to this change and why?
7. Have you experienced situations of positive attachment with the host community whereby cooperative and peaceful co-existence have taken place?	What were these situations? How influential were these circumstances in terms of promoting positive relations and peaceful co-existence with the host community?
8. Have you experienced divergence of interest or situations of conflict with the host community?	What were the underlying factors? Did these occurrences affect your relationship with the host community? How?
9. What solutions would you suggest to promote peaceful co-existence and positive relation with the host community?	
10. Would you like to add something in relation to the topic?	

Annex IV

Interview Guide: Government and Non-Governmental Actors

Questions	Probe questions/Follow Up questions
A) Occupation : Government organ/NGO	
1. For how long have your organization been working in Gambella?	
2. In what way is your organization providing support?	Is it host community oriented?
3. How do you explain the refugee-host relation in the region?	Positive/Co-operative or negative
4. What is your opinion regarding the changes brought as a result of the refugee influx in the region?	Positive/Negative Do you think it is improving or not? Why?
5. How do you describe the socio-economic and environmental impact of the refugee influx on the host community?	Positive/Negative
6. How do you describe the security situation of Gambella with regard to the refugee influx?	
7. How would you describe the impact of the refugee influx on the host community?	Positive/Negative
8. Have you experienced situations of positive attachment whereby cooperative and peaceful co-existence have taken place between the refugees and host communities?	What were the underlying factors? Do these situations frequently occur?
9. Have you experienced a situation whereby divergences of interest or conflict have occurred between the refugees and the host community?	What were the underlying factors? Do these situations frequently occur?

10. Were there any efforts made by your organization to improve the refugee-host relation?	What were some of these efforts?
11. What solutions would you suggest to promote positive relation and peaceful co-existence between refugees and host community?	
12. Would you like to add something in relation to the topic?	

Declaration

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

Eyael Tadesse Tensu

June, 2016

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate

Dr. Regassa Bayissa

June, 2016