

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF REFUGEES ON HOST COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF
SOMALI REFUGEES IN KEBRIBEYAH DISTRICT, EASTERN ETHIOPIA

02667 ✓

BIZUAYEHU ANDARSSA HUNDE

A red handwritten signature, likely of the author BIZUAYEHU ANDARSSA HUNDE, is written in a cursive style at the bottom of the page.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF REFUGEES ON HOST COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF
SOMALI REFUGEES IN KEBRIBEYAH DISTRICT, EASTERN ETHIOPIA

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

OF

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

By

Bizuayehu Andarssa Hunde

June, 2004

Acknowledgement

For the successful completion of this thesis, many have contributed a lot. I want to thank some of the many people who helped me. First, my sincere thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Alula Pankhurst. His comments and suggestions have contributed immensely to the completion of this thesis. I must also appreciate the dedication of Dr. Gebre Yntiso for commenting and suggesting the proposal of this thesis. I must also recognize the material support of Ato Mekonnen Shewa Arrega, ARRA head office; Dr. Amare GebreIgzabher and Ato Mahari Masho from UNHCR-RLO. The same thanks extended to Ato Tsegaye Mehirtu, Ato Tesfamaariam Wolde Tensay and Ato Mulugeta Lema from ARRA sub-office Jijiga and Ato Semu Neguse Woldesalese from UNHCR-SOJ. I also extend similar tanks to Ato Gezahagne Andarssa. I must acknowledge Ato Tekalgne Alemu for his helpful suggestions and comments on the draft of this thesis.

I am especially grateful for the time speared to me and for the ideas shared with me by the people I interviewed and discussed with both at *Kebribeyah* and *Jijiga* level. A list of some of these names appears in Annex-3.

Finally, my sincere thanks and appreciation go to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University that supported me through research funding. Thanks also due to W/ro Haymete Abraha from the College of Social Sciences, Dean Office and W/t Almaz Mekonnen from the School of Graduate Studies with whose guarantee I collected the research fund from the University. Last but not least I owe a permanent gratitude to all those people who assisted me in moral and materials during my stay in the School of Graduate Studies.

Bizuhayehu Andarssa

Table of Contents

	<u>Pages</u>
Acknowledgements	i
List of Figures	vi
List of Maps	vi
List of Annexes	vi
Preface	vii
Abstract	ix
Acronyms	xi
Glossary	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 The Problem	1
1.2 Objectives of the Study	2
1.2.1 General Objective	2
1.2.2 Specific Objectives	3
1.3 Research Methodology	3
1.4 Significance of the Study	6
1.5 Justification for the selection of the study area	6
1.6 Limitations of the Study	7
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1 Conceptualization of Refugee and Hosts	8
2.1.1 The Concept of Refugee	8
2.1.2 Who are the host nations?	11
2.2 Theoretical Orientation	13
2.2.1 The Paucity of Theoretical Literature in Refugee Studies	13
2.2.2 Impacts of Refugee Influxes on the Host Nation: The Debate	14
2.3 Literature on Impacts of Refugees and Relief Operation in SNRS	17
2.4 Refugees and Ethiopia's Experience	21
2.4.1 Refugee Legislation and Exercise in Ethiopia	21
2.4.2 History of Refugees movement in Ethiopia	23

CHAPTER THREE: THE SETTING OF THE STUDY AREA

3.1 The Somali National Regional State	26
3.1.1 The Land and people	26
3.1.2 Administrative set up	27
3.1.3 The Clan System	28
3.1.4 History of war, Drought, Refugee influx and Returnees	29
3.2 The setting of the specific site: <i>Kebribeyah</i> District	30
3.2.1 Geographical Characteristics	30
3.2.2 Socio-economic characteristics of the local hosts	31
3.3 Refugees and the settlement	32
3.3.1 Causes for the Influx	32
3.3.2 History of the Refugee influxes and the settlement areas	33
3.3.3 Socio-economic characteristics of the settlement areas	34
3.3.4 Camp Administration structure and social services	36

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPACT IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Socio-cultural Dimension	39
4.1.1 Refugee-Host Relation	39
4.1.1.1 Kinship	40
4.1.1.2 Inter-marriage	40
4.1.1.3 Social Functions	42
4.1.1.4 Social Conflicts	44
4.1.2 Social Dynamics	46
4.1.2.1 Marriage systems	46
4.1.2.2 Attitudinal and Behavioral change	50
4.1.2.3 Change in consumption pattern	52
4.1.2.4 Socio-economic class change	52
4.1.3 Socio-political impacts.....	53
4.1.3.1 Smuggling and Illegal Mobility of Refugee	54
4.1.3.2 Political Domination	55
4.1.3.3 Fatigue and Grievances	55
4.2 Economic Dimension	56

4.2.1 Urbanization	56
4.2.2 Trade and Business	59
4.2.3 Job Markets and Employment Situations	61
4.2.4 Dynamics of Infrastructure and Development Resources	62
4.2.5 Dynamics of pastoralism and Agro-pastoralism	66
4.2.5.1 Land Encroachment	67
4.2.5.2 Deforestation	68
4.2.5.3 Rural-urban migration	71
4.2.6 Impacts of Refugees on costs of Living	72

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE AND IMPACTS OF THE RELIEF OPERATIONS

5.1 The Role of Relief Organizations	76
5.1.1 The Role of UNHCR	76
5.1.2 The Role of UNHCR'S Implementing partners	79
5.2 Phase out Strategies of the Relief Operations	85
5.3 Impacts of the Relief Operation on the Local Hosts	87
5.4 Hosts' Perceptions Regarding the Role and Impacts of the Relief operations	91

CHAPTER SIX: THE HOSTS' EXPERIENCES AND STRATEGIES TOWARDS THE IMPACTS OF REFUGES AND RELIEF OPERATIONS

6.1 The Hosts' Experiences	95
6.1.1 Disparities by Gender and Wealth	95
6.1.2 Disparities by Age and Wealth	98
6.1.3 Disparities by Area	100
6.1.4 Disparities by social differentiation	105
6.2 The Hosts' strategies	108
6.2.1 Communal Strategies	108
6.2.2 Individuals' Strategies	113
6.2.2.1 Integration in to the Relief Operation	113
6.2.2.2 Pooling Refugees' labor	115
6.2.2.3 Rural-urban Migration	116
6.2.2.4 Involvement in non-pastoral Activities	117
6.2.2.5 Creative Strategies	118

6.2.2.6 Other Strategies	120
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary	122
7.2 Conclusions	124
7.3 Recommendations	126
Bibliography	129
Annexes	

List of Figures

Figure -1 Partial view of *Kebribeyah* Refugee Camp

Figure -2 A Refugee man digging colored soil for selling at the local market, *Deneba Kebele, Kebribeyah*

Figure -3 A typical farmer's compound fenced by acacia tree, *Deneba Kebele, Kebribeyah*

Figure -4 Individual water well (*Ellas*), *Deneba Kebele, Kebribeyah*

Figure -5 Earth dam nearby *Hartsheik* town, constructed by UNHCR

Figure -6 Refugee women taking the wheat grain from the distribution site to the local market, *Kebribeyah*

Figure -7 Impacts of vegetation clearance in *Deneba* area, *Kebribeyah*

Figure -8 Local people taking charcoal and firewood to *Kebribeyah* market

List of Maps

Map -1 Somali National Regional State's Administrative Zones

Map -2 Study Area

List of Annexes

Annex- 1 Description of Refugee influxes in Ethiopia by country of origin and settlement areas

Annex -2 History of Eastern Refugee Population

Annex -3 Lists of Informants

Annex -4 Number of Repatriated Refugees to Somaliland

Annex -5 Number of Dispersed Locals

Annex -6 Lists of Figures

Preface

This thesis is about the socio-economic impacts of Somali refugees and the relief operations on the hosting communities in *Kebribeyah* district of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in eastern Ethiopia. The thesis has seven chapters. Chapter one, the introduction, deals with the problem, objectives and data collection techniques. It also provides justifications for site selection and significance of the study. Limitations of the study and the field situations are also treated in this chapter.

Chapter two provides background discussions by reviewing the relevant literature. It focuses on conceptualizations of 'refugees' and 'hosts' and theoretical orientations regarding the refugees and relief operations' impacts on host communities. It also reviewed the available literature regarding the refugees and relief operations impacts on the hosting communities in Somali National Regional State (SNRS). Ethiopia's experience with regard to refugees' impacts is also treated in this background discussion.

The third chapter is concerned with the geographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study region and the specific site. This chapter also explores the administration structure, clan system, and socio-economic characteristic of the settlement areas. Moreover, the chapter provides brief accounts about the history of war, drought and refugee-returnee cycles in the study area.

Chapter four deals with the refugees' and relief operations impacts on the hosting communities in *Kebribeyah* district. It has two broad sections: Socio-cultural and economic dimensions of the refugees' impacts, on the basis of variables that indicate different types of impacts.

Chapter five provides a general analysis regarding the roles and impacts of refugee relief resources and organizations on the socio-economic lives of the hosts. It also treats hosts' perceptions regarding the roles and impacts of the relief organizations.

Chapter six presents the distribution of the refugees and relief resources' impacts among the various groups of the local hosts. It also explains the local strategies towards these impacts. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the findings and provides the conclusion and recommendations.

Abstract

This thesis intends to explore the socio-economic impacts associated with the presence of massive influx of refugees and relief operations. The study was conducted in *Kebribeyah* district of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in eastern Ethiopia. *Kebribeyah* district has been hosting over 250,000 refugees in three camps since 1988. The prolonged presence of massive influx of refugees and relief resources has brought major changes on the different aspects of the hosts' lives. This thesis, thus, looked at the socio-economic aspects of the changes. To understand the major changes, the thesis used four data collection methods. These were review of literature, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and direct observation.

The thesis employed various indicators both in the social and economic spheres in order to understand the perceived socio-cultural and economic changes on the lives of the host communities. Accordingly, changes in the socio-cultural spheres include social conflicts, erosion of customary marriage practices, changes in consumption patterns, attitudes and behaviors. Positively, the common ethnicity plays a pivotal role in strengthening the relation between the hosts and the refugees.

Economic changes, on the other hand, refer to the development and expansion of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribehay* town, trade and business activities and infrastructure. The various social and human capitals, which refugees had brought with them, have contributed for the local development. Access to various facilities such as water, health, education and road is also created. Negatively, the presence of relief operations and the refugees has put some pressure on resources such as vegetation, water and pasture. This, in turn, affected the pastoral and agro-pastoral activities, and also led to rural-urban migration, brain drain from the government organization to the relief organizations and high costs of living.

Hosts responded in different ways towards these changing opportunities. They used both collective and individual strategies towards these changing opportunities. The collective strategies include peaceful co-existence, peaceful resistance, and lobbying. Individual strategies, on the other hand, include involvement in the employment structures of the relief organizations, registering as refugees, purchasing ration cards, pooling refugees' cheap labor, rural-urban migration, involvement in non-pastoral activities and creative strategies. These strategies allowed some hosts to benefit while others became worse off.

In general, these differing strategies led to a wide range of experience within the host communities based on gender, age, area and wealth. Accordingly, women, children, the elderly and the poor are less able than men, youth, adults and the rich to gain access to beneficial opportunities created by the presence of the refugees and the relief resources. *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns and the nearby local villages respectively benefited better than other parts of the rural areas. However, policies and practices at international, national and regional levels have played a minimal role in linking relief with the local development.

Acronyms

AACC	All African Conference of Churches
ARRA	Administration for Refugee-Returnee Affairs
AU	African Union
BWRD	Bureau of Water Resource Development
CEDEP-ARRA	Consultants for Economic Development and Environmental Protection - Administration for Refugee Returnee Affairs
CM	Care and Maintenance
DPPB	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
EMA-UNHCR	Ethiopia Mapping Agency-United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GOE	Government of Ethiopia
HFH	Hope for the Horn
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICEM	Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration
ICARAI	Second International Conference on Assistance of Refugees in Africa
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IMP	International Migration Policy Program
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
LECDPB	Livestock, Environment, Crop Development and Protection Bureau
LECDPO	Livestock, Environment, Crop Development and Protection Office

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Union
PRM	USA Government Bureau of Population, Refugee and Migration
PHCC	Population and Housing Census Commission
RAD	Refugee and Development
RaDO	Rehabilitation and Development Organization
SC-USA	Save the Children - United States of America
SCF-UK	Save the children Fund - United Kingdom
SNM	Somali National Movement
SNRS	Somali National Regional State
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Administration
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCR-RLO	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees-Regional Liaison Office (for Africa)
UNHCR-SOJ	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees-Sub office Jijiga
USC	United Somalia Congress
WFP	World Food Program

Glossary

Arabiki	Maize
Aross	Wedding
Badiya	Rural area/rural people
Billilliqo	Stolen properties that refugees brought with them from the war torn Somaliland
Birkas	Water wells
Daggal	Conflict
Dayer	Short rainy season lasting from March to May
Dessa	Portable pastoral nomads' house made of tree roots
Diya-paying group	Blood-money paying group
Diqo	Contributions from the brides' relatives so as to make a dowry know as <i>"Hido"</i>
Dumallid	Remarriage Custom, which refers sororate and levirate marriage, practices
Ella	Water well made of concrete and use to collect rainwater
Fatho	Literally means "God have mercy on you ".It is a compensation to be forwarded for victims of conflictual situation when the harm is very simple and does not need medication
Gu	Long rainy season lasting from August to October
Hadud	Sorghum
Haffir dam	Earth dam
Hammal	Porter
Hadrad	Civilization

Heer	Contract/customary law
Harrarsimo	Compensation which is equivalent to 100 <i>birr</i> and given for victims of conflictual situation periodically when the harm is so serious and needs medication and some recovery period
Hido	A dowry to be given to the newly wed couple from the bride's mother. It is a kind of food made up of butter and sliced meat and covered at the top with dates
Huska Gerida	Funeral ceremony
Irbedo	Literally it means "needle" - This is compensation given for victims in conflictual situation. It ranges from 30 to 50 <i>birr</i> . This is given when the harm is somewhat serious and needs medication
Jaill	Love
Jamm'a	A mutual self-help association
Jellaba	Cattle market
Jillb	Sub-clan
Marryan culture	Lawless youth
Magaalla	Town
Oday	Elder
Qaata	Narcotic stimulant leaf (also kat, <i>ch'at</i>)
Qebil	Clan
Sharia	Islamic law
Shir	Ad-hoc conflict-resolution meetings
Sultan	Title for clan leader
Yarad	Bride wealth

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This introductory part deals with seven major issues, which are the pillars of this thesis. These are the problem, objectives, methodologies, and significance of the study and justifications for the selection of the research area. It also explores the limitations of the study.

1.1 The Problem

It has become increasingly evident that the host communities within developing countries are considerably affected by the presence of a massive influx of refugees. Many communities in the developing countries are increasingly confronted with the task of being prepared and able to manage the needs of tens of thousand of refugees. Nevertheless, the presence of a large number of refugees poses serious challenges to hosting people. According to Aukot (2003:74), the refugees' presence results in impacts¹ that have far-reaching consequences for the host country, region, and individuals. Likewise, Phillips (2003:2) pointed out that any influx of refugee population, expatriate staff and international relief effort means a range of inputs that are going to affect the lives of the host communities.

However, there has been little academic research about the impact of massive refugee influxes on host communities. Most of the refugee studies' focus remains on the plight of the refugee themselves rather than the impacts of the unplanned and unwanted movements of refugees on the host population (Vas Dev; 2001:1; Gebre 2003:50; Chambers 1986:1).

This paper, therefore, intends to explore the socio-economic impacts associated with the presence of a massive influx of Somali refugees in *Kebribeyah* district, Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in Eastern Ethiopia. This district has been hosting refugees that had fled the internal armed conflict in Somalia over a decade ago (Hogg 1996:153155; CEDEP-ARRA

¹ Impacts in this study refer to sustained changes in the hosts' socio-economic lives brought about by the presence of the refugees and interventions of the relief operations.

1991:1). Between 1988 and 1992 there were unprecedented waves of refugee flows in the district. These flows resulted in a large concentration of refugees in the district. Nevertheless, there has been little academic research pertaining to the impacts of refugee influx on the lives of the communities in *Kebribeyah* district. Even the available few studies focus on the environmental impacts of the refugees. Studies by CDEP-ARRA (1999); EMA-UNHCR (2002); Desta Kassa (1999) are cases in point. But studies on the social and economic impacts of the massive refugee influxes are almost absent.

Thus, this paper examines the socio-economic costs and benefits associated with the long-term presence of massive influx of Somali refugee on the lives of the hosting community in two specific sites in *Kebribeyah* district. These are *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* localities. Now that in the former site 99.9% of the refugees are repatriated to their country of origin, the study mainly focuses on the latter site and its environs. Moreover, the study investigates the distribution of the refugees' burden and benefits among the various groups of the host community and the hosts' responses towards these impacts.

Although this paper is concerned with the perspective of the host nation and focuses on the host society as the central topic of the study, in no way does it seek to undermine or negate the traumatic and devastating plight of the refugees in the study area.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1.2.1 General Objective

The principal objective of this thesis is to explore the socio-economic impacts associated with the long-term presence of a large number of refugees and the relief operations in *Kebribeyah* district of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in Eastern Ethiopia.

1.2.2 Specific Objectives

The particular objectives of this thesis are:

- To investigate the socio-economic dimensions of the impacts associated with the long-term presence of massive influxes of refugees in *Kebribeyah* district.
- To explore the role and impacts of relief interventions on the hosting locals, the existing strategies of these interventions and to understand the local people's responses to the relief organizations' interventions.
- To examine the distribution of the refugees' and the relief operations' impacts among the local people and to know, which categories of the hosts are winners and losers. To understand the locals' strategies and perceptions towards the impacts of the refugee influxes.

1.3 Research Methodology

It is quite clear that to achieve the aim of the above-mentioned objectives of the study applying a single method may not give the required result. Hence, an integrated approach is chosen as preferable alternative. In this regard, four major data collection methods were applied in undertaking this study. These were review of literature, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and direct observation.

Relevant available literature was reviewed regarding the conceptualizations of refugees and hosts, theoretical orientation on refugees' impacts, general features of the refugees' impacts on the hosting communities in SNRS, refugees and Ethiopia's experience and the socio-economic characteristics of the refugees and the local communities in *Kebribeyah* district.

The in-depth interview approach, on the other hand, was held with relevant groups in *Jijiga* (the capital of SNRS) and at *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* sites. Among others, UNHCR/ARRA officials and staff in *Jijiga* and at the specific site (*Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik*).

Moreover, the SNRS' line bureaus and departments, the *Jijiga* zonal and the *Kebribeyah* district administrations and the local governors from *Kebribeyah* and *Hart-sheik* towns were also contacted. In-depth interviews were also held with key informants representing local residents and refugee communities. Among the local representatives' merchants, schoolteachers, members of producers' cooperatives, youth associations, women associations; elders and farmers were the main informants; with regard to the refugee community the members of the refugee camp committee, clan leaders, refugee elders, and some members from the youth and women associations were interviewed. Useful data were also derived from in-depth interviews held with NGOs operating both at the *Jijiga* and *Kebribeyah* level.

This methodical approach was employed to collect data regarding the socio-economic characteristics of the study area, and the refugee settlements. It was also used to understand major impacts brought as a result of the presence of a large number of refugees on the lives of the local people. In addition, this method was applied to investigate the differential impacts of the refugees on the local people and the locals' strategies and responses towards such impacts. In-depth interviews are also used to look at the role and impacts of humanitarian organizations' interventions on the local people under review, as well as to explore the phase out strategies of these organizations'. The total number of informants accessed by this method was 41.

Unlike the in-depth interview method, the focus group discussion used to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of various informants regarding the socio-economic costs and benefits associated with the presence of massive influx of refugees in the study district. Gathering data on the relation between the refugees and the local people and the role of common ethnicity in shaping the refugees' impacts on the local people was the other purpose of this method. It was also used to explore the locals' differential strategies and perceptions towards impacts brought by the refugee influx and humanitarian interventions. Twenty-five informants were approached by

this method.

During the field investigation, the researcher lived among the study communities and was able to make a close observation on some basic points. These are the social and economic activities of both the local and the refugee communities; interventions of both governmental and non-governmental organizations; the socio-culture and physical settings of the settlements and the study areas; and the refugee-host economic and social relations. All in all, the information obtained through direct observation was found to be very useful in backing up the data obtained through the other data collection methods.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in two phases. The first phase took place from September 10 to October 24, 2003. The main purpose of this phase was to get research permission from the concerned organizations, to identify key informants and translators, and to test some of the research questions with some selected informants. Thus, during this phase the necessary contacts with key organizations and institutions dealing with the refugee issues in the country were made. ARRA and UNHCR offices both in Addis Ababa and *Jijiga* levels are cases in point. Moreover, at the site level, the writer established contact with the administrators of *Jijiga Zone* and *Kebribeyah* district as well as the *Hartsheik* town municipality. The aim of the study was explained by the writer to all of these bodies and they in turn provided him with the necessary cooperation and support. Data concerning relevant secondary sources were also gathered from some of the above-mentioned organizations during the first phase.

The second and major phase of the study was conducted from February 8 to March 23, 2004. During this phase the writer conducted his work with the various categories of informants using questions developed based on the preliminary data obtained during the first phase of the study.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is motivated by three basic concerns. First, due to the long-term presence of massive refugee influxes in the Somali National Regional State (SNRS) and the significant impacts that the refugees have had on the region and the country, it is important to conduct refugee studies. This could help to understand the long-term implications of the refugees' presence for the on going process of development in the host community. Second, the study could provide data for developing strategies and comprehensive plans that include the needs of refugees and local hosts.

Finally, since six refugee camps had already been closed due to voluntary and organized repartition programs in the SNRS, this study could provide some hint for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the refugee impacted areas in the region under discussion.

1.5 Justification for the Selection of the Study area

The underlying reasons for selecting the SNRS in general and the *Kebribeyah* district in particular as the study site are three fold. First, the SNRS has been hosting the influx of large numbers of refugees in eight camps since 1988. Of the eight camps two of them were in *Kebribeyah* district (*Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* camps). As a result, the district was in international headline at some point in the past for hosting one of the largest numbers of refugee influxes in the world. Secondly, some organizations and individuals have made attempts to study the environmental impacts of the refugees in the region and district under review. However, there is a lack of study regarding the social and economic impacts of refugees in the region and the specific study site. Thus, the writer's choice to confine attention to SNRS is to bridge this gap. Finally, the writer's previous acquaintance with the specific site as an employee of ARRA has also played a significant role for the selection of the site.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

In this study, there are some limitations that must be acknowledged. Communication barrier, time constraint, inaccessibility of some sites, informants fatigue and reluctance were the major ones. Since the writer is not familiar with the local language of the study site, using translators was the main option. But this had its own limitation for conveying the right message from the writer to the informants and vice versa. However, this was managed by cross-checking some major points of the discussions with some scholars. It was the writer's interest to understand the distribution of the impacts of the refugee influxes in different parts of the study area other than *Hartsheik* and *Kebribey* towns and the adjacent rural areas. However, due to inaccessibility of some of the sites and time constraints the writer's work is limited to the sites under discussion. What is more, since several researchers conducted research for various purposes in the study area, informants' fatigue and reluctance was a limitation for this study. But the writer's previous experience of the study area and contacts helped him to minimize this problem.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In light of the problem dealt with and the objectives set in the introductory part of this study, this chapter provides background discussions. The literature aimed to address a number of issues. First, in order to explore the study with some clearer understanding it deals with the conceptualization of the concepts "Refugees" and "Hosts". It also tries to see what theoretical orientations address refugee issues and their impacts on host communities. The literature is also concerned with the costs and benefits associated with a massive refugee influx in the host communities. It also reviews relevant studies on impacts of refugees and relief operations on the hosting SNRS. Moreover, it addresses Ethiopia's experience as a refugee host country. Finally, Summary is drawn based on the background discussions.

2.1 Conceptualization of Refugees and Hosts

2.1.1 The Concept of Refugee

A closer analysis of Refugee conceptualizations reveals that there is no common understanding about who should be included within the definition of refugee. As one scholar explained consensus on the definition of the term refugee is still difficult to achieve (*Kibreab* 1987:6). In search for conceptualizations of 'Refugee', this paper reviewed various conceptualizations. Among others, UN 1951, Article 1 (2); UN 1967 Protocol; OAU Convention 1969, Article 1 (2); Latin American Cartagena Declaration of 1984; All African Conference of Churches (AACC) 1971; the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) as well as various Anthropological and Sociological definitions. Thus, it is noted that a person recognized as a refugee in Africa would not necessarily be accepted as a refugee in Europe or

the Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa, 1969, Article 1 (2).³ A similar regional definition was made for Latin America in the Cartagena Declaration of 1984⁴ (Blavo 1999:16).

The popular definition of the term 'refugee', on the other hand, concerns individuals and groups beyond the category of refugees defined from the perspective of International Law. This definition propounded by various organizations and employs a much broader approach to the definition of 'refugee'. The refugee definitions of all African conference of Churches (AACC), the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) and the Mass Media are cases in point.

The AACC definition of 'refugee' embraces any displaced person in urgent need, arising from any kind of tragedy; or any victim of society, irrespective of state consideration (AACC, 1971). The ICEM, on the other hand, contends that a 'refugee' is any person who 'has been the victim of war or a disaster which has seriously disadvantaged his condition of living' (ICEM, Geneva, cited in Blavo 1999:16). The Mass Media conceptualization defines 'refugee' as any person who is forced out of his home by natural disasters such as earthquakes and flooding; by man-made disasters, including all kinds of conflicts, related or unrelated to government, as refugee (Ibid.).

A broader definition for the term 'refugee' also provided by academics and some concerned disciplines. Scholars such as Michael Cernea (1996:284-298) categorized refugees

³ Paragraph 2 of Art. (1) of the OAU Refugee convention defines refugees' as a person who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign dominations 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

⁴ The Cartagena Declaration (colloquium) of 1984's definition of refugee contains the elements of the UN Refugee convention (1951) and the protocol (1967) and adds other dimensions of general conflict to include persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order (cited in Blavo 1999:16).

into two broad types: Internal and International. The former refers to people displaced due to development policies and programs, radical persecution and civil war. Whereas, the latter concerns persons who crossed an international border due to natural disaster and persecution. As far as disciplinary definition of the term 'refugee' is concerned, anthropological and sociological definitions are worth a mention. Anthropologically refugees are defined as people who:

"Have undergone a violent rite of separation and, unless or until they are incorporate as citizens into their host state (or returned to their state of origin) find them in transition in a state of liminality. This betwixt-and-between state may contain social and economic dimensions as well as legal and psychological ones. Moreover, image of dependency, helplessness, and misery are encoded in refugee label "(Harrell-Bond and Vourtiara 1996:1077).

The refugee, according to the sociological definition, is "a person who moves from his country to another against his will. He lacks positive motivation to move and settle elsewhere. Hence, a refugee is characterized by the immediacy of life threatening compulsion deliberately exercised by some agent, and his inability to rely on his government for even nominal protection", (Hansen cited in Mekuria 1998:79). This definition also include victims of natural disasters, but the compulsion to move is not the result of being"... deliberately forced under life threatening conditions, nor are they formally and in principle denied the protection of their government", (Zolberg and Suhrke, *Ibid.*).

2.1.2 Who are the host nations?

Refugee protection is a central aspect of international, regional, and national efforts to protect persons feeling persecution (AU and IMP 2003:12). Protection of refugee covers a wide range of issues such as physical, emotional and psychological stress and torture (Blavo 1999:50).

According to Blavo (*Ibid.*), thus, refugee protection means treating refugees according to international standards. In this regard, the host nations refer to contracting state or state parties that receive asylum seekers and host them in their territory based on the relevant international legal instruments. The legal instruments which form the bases for protecting refugees in Africa are, in the main, the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)⁵ and the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects Refugee Problems in Africa (1969). According to the UN Refugee Convention the contracting state shall as far as possible facilitates the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. They shall in particular make every effort to expedite naturalization proceedings and to reduce as far as possible the charges and costs of such proceedings (UN 1951, Article 34). The OAU Refugee Convention also requires that 'member states shall undertake to apply the provisions of the convention to all refugees without discrimination as to race, religion, and nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (OAU Refugee Convention, 1969 Art 4). According to Blavo (1999:48) these legal instruments coupled with the declaration of Human Rights (1948) provide the necessary guidelines for the development of national refugee policies in the countries of asylum that govern the daily lives of refugees.

However, in spite of the presence of legal instruments for the protection of refugees, there are significant differences among host nations. First, host societies differ in their integrative capacities of refugees into their socio-economic structures, the scale of their homogeneity or

⁵ The UN Refugee Convention establishes three standards of treatment to be accorded by a contracting state: 'the same treatment as is accorded to nationals' of the contracting state; the most favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country'; 'treatment as favorable as possible and in any event not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances (Art 3 and 4, 1951).

heterogeneity and their previous experiences with immigration and migrants. Homogeneous societies are less capable of smooth absorption of non-natives. Such societies are likely to demand some uniformity of values, behavior and culture (Mekuria 1998:82). Second, host nations also differ in their response to asylum and assistance provision as well as in offering national citizenship for refugees (Vas Dev 2001:2). Whereas in Northern countries asylums have been granted less generously based on the fear of negative impacts from refugees presence, the southern countries, particularly Africans, have given generous asylum to millions of uprooted people and continue to do so (Blavo 1999:39; Vas Dev 2001:2). As a result, the majority of refugees are found in the poorest countries of the world with very low average incomes, minimal health care and education, and low life expectancy. In general, whether in the North or South, it is clear that all host governments realize that the large number of refugees pose serious challenges to them. They are, hence, increasingly reluctant to host refugees or in any way act to prolong the length of their asylum (AU and IMP 2003:12; Vas Dev 2001:2).

2.2 Theoretical Orientation

2.2.1 The paucity of Theoretical Literature in Refugee Studies

The process of developing any analytical framework includes reflection on theory and methods that are influenced by in-depth knowledge of a specific case or area (Brons 2001:68). However, refugee problems have, so far, attracted limited interest from social scientists and a general epistemological approach is lacking (Mekuria 1988:18). Much of the research conducted hitherto in Africa addresses itself to practical problems concerning asylum, protection and problems of settlement and adjustment of refugees in host communities. What is more, in

comparison with refugees, there has been little academic research about the impacts of refugees and relief operations on host population.

According to Chambers (1986:245-263), refugee relief organizations and refugee studies have refugee as their first concern and focus; but the adverse impacts of refugees on their hosts are relatively neglected. In the same vein, Gebre (2003:50) pointed out that settlers and refugees usually receive aid, research coverage and policy attention while the plight of the host people remains largely unnoticed. The reasons for lack of sufficient literature pertaining to impacts of refugees on their hosts are many. Among others, hosts' plight is virtually ignored by media and also fails to attract public attention. Hosts' plight is often treated as incidental by aid agencies. Moreover, the hosts' environment is usually perceived as sufficiently abundant in resources to accommodate additional population. For practical reasons, many researchers gravitate to easily funded projects and widely recognized problems (Vas Dev 2001:1; Gebre 2003:50) Thus, in trying to conceptualize the refugees' impacts on the host community under question the study considers debates between different scholars and institutions.

2.2.2 Impacts of Refugee Influx on the Host Nations: The Debate

There are two sides of the debate pertaining to the implications of the presence of refugees and relief operation for host communities. These are discussions that emphasize the negative implications, and arguments that favor both positive and negative impacts. The former categories are often called Refugee Aid and Development (RAD) theories. The latter is a new approach in refugee research.

The central tenet of the refugee aid and development dialogue is that large numbers of refugees represent a problem on host communities, rather than opportunities. According to these theories refugees generally impose a burden on local infrastructure and population (Gorman 1994:232; Withtaker 1999:3). Thus, since the 1980s RAD theories called for strategies linking refugee relief programs with local development policies to benefit refugees and hosts alike (Gorman 1994:230-232; Blavo 1999: 70-71). These theories are the result of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARAI)⁶ in 1984. Emerging from this dialogue and from actual practice was a number of central principles (Gorman 1994:228). These are

- Refugee basic needs must be met in ways that do not prejudice the condition of host country nations;
- Assistance should encourage and enable refugees to attain self-reliance;
- Development assistance should anticipate the impact that refugee populations have on the economic and social infrastructure of host countries;
- Refugees and the affected host population should participate in the formation and implementation of projects and policies that are intended to benefit them.

These principles, according to Gorman (*Ibid.*), provided a basic orientation for a strategy of linking refugee aid and development. Nevertheless, a number of factors impeded its practicality.

⁶ The main reason for calling this conference was the concern that the traditional African hospitality is diminishing in many asylum countries because of the deterioration of their own standards of living (*Ibid.*). This coerced The United Nations General Assembly, UNHCR, host and donor governments to elaborate projects and programs of action on the one hand and to have dialogue among researchers, academics and interested parties to rationalize a strategy for linking refugee aid and development, on the other (Gorman 1994:228).

Among others, lack of resources committed by donor, weak coordination between refugees and development bureaucracies, and difficulties in integrating increasing number of refugees into development plans (Gorman 1994:229-231; Balvo, 1999:71). Although the RAD approach is still the subject of debate and discussion, it is now central to efforts to provide durable solutions for the world's refugees (Blavo 1999:71).

The new issues (approach) in refugee studies, on the other hand, refers to observers who are of the opinion that refugees bring both costs and benefits to host communities (Sorenson 1994: 180-182; Kuhlman 1994:121; Gorman 1994:232). According to these writers, refugees generally impose a burden on local economy and population. But they can also benefit hosts through by providing cheap labor to local producers, expanding consumer markets for local goods, and justifying increased foreign aid. Thus, the reception of refugees can sometimes be seen as part of a government's broader plan, (Dely, cited in Withaker, 1999:3). This new approach emphasizes that sweeping generalizations about the possible positive and negative effects of refugees are not valid. This is because very little research has been done on the matter. Thus, a complete verification requires a meticulous survey of the patterns of the impact of refugees on the host community (Gorman 1994:222). Moreover, refugees are assumed to have different impacts, positive or negative on diverse classes, genders, sectors, and regions with in the host community (Chambers; 1986). The situation of the impact is also expected to be dynamic over time. That is, what starts out as liability may turn into a resource, and vice versa (Withaker 1999:3).

By and large, whether or not the varied impact of refugees on host communities is beneficial or harmful has remained a matter of dispute. Within this debate, neither side has come up with conclusive arguments.

2.3 LITERATURE ON IMPACTS OF REFUGEES AND RELIEF OPERATION IN SNRS

The hosting of a greater number of refugees leads either to positive or negative effects or brings about both impacts up on the physical, economic and social environment of the host population (Adelman 1994:xv). However, few scholars have focused specifically on the issues of refugees impacts on host communities. As a result, literature on this issue is scarce.

In view of this, there are very few studies concerning the various impacts of the Somali refugees and the relief operations on the hosting SNRS in general and *Kebribeyah* district communities in particular.

The Somali National Regional State (SNRS) has been hosting a large number of refugees who had fled from Somali as a result of the collapse of the Siad Barre regime and the subsequent civil war among the different war lords for the control of power (CEDEP-ARRA 1999:1, Vol. 2); Hogg 1996:155). At the initial stage of the influx, between 1988 and 1994, there were over 600,000 refugees who had been sheltered in eight refugee camps in the SNRS. Of this, over 250,000 were sheltered in *Kebrieyah* district - in *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* refugee camps. Moreover, in order to address the needs of such a large number of refugees, the UNHCR and many international organizations had established massive relief programs.

However, the attention given to the various impacts of the refugees and the relief operations on the life of the host communities in the study area is low. As a result, there is very little literature concerning the issue under review. Even the available few studies are concerned with environmental impacts and paid little attention to economic, social, cultural and political

impacts. Studies by CEDEP-ARRA (1999), Desta Kassa (1999) and EMA-UNHCR (2002) are cases in point.

The study conducted by CEDEP-ARRA was focused on rehabilitation and reconstruction of refugee impacted areas of *Teferiber*, *Deronaji* and *Hartsheik* in the *Jijiga* zone (CEDEP-ARRA 1999:i). According to the findings of this study, the concentration of a large number of refugee population in the above mentioned areas have resulted in the degradation of the natural resources including forest, range lands, soil and water which are the agricultural bases of the area. Thus, this study identified some major rehabilitation and reintegration activities in the area of income generation, rehabilitation of environment and maintenance and handing over of facilities and services that have been providing services to refugees and returnees (*Ibid.* 42-47).

Unlike CEDEP-ARRA, EMA-UNHCR's study focused on the environmental impacts of refugees on the host communities in *Awbere* and *Kebrieyah* district of *Jijiga* zone. The principal objective of this study was to undertake an environmental status analysis (ESA) for the appraisal associated with the long term presence of refugees in the above stated areas (EMA-UNHCR 2002:2). According to the results of this study, the vegetation cover in the study area has shown considerable depletion. The clearance of vegetation, thus, has been entailing up on the different components of the environment such as soil, wild life, water resources, microclimate, etc (*Ibid.* 46). This is attributed both directly and indirectly to the refugees and the local inhabitants, but there is a slight predominance of refugees' impacts around the refugee camps (*Ibid.*).

Desta Kassa (1999:12) also mentioned that a large number of refugee concentration in *Hartsheik* area coupled with overgrazing, over browsing and trample by a large livestock population have been damaging both the vegetation cover and the soils. Thus, according to Desta

besides the vegetation clearance by the refugees for fuel and construction wood, the unsystematic livestock rearing of the local inhabitants has contributed for degradation of the study area environment.

In general, all the studies mentioned thus far mainly focused on the environmental impacts of the refugees and indirectly tried to see some economic impacts. However, these studies did not exhaustively investigate the various economic impacts caused as a result of the refugees' presence and the relief operations in their respective study areas. Moreover, the social, cultural and political impacts of the refugees on the hosts have not covered by these studies.

There are also some studies which are conducted from the perspectives of the refugees' plight and paid a secondary status to the impacts of refugees on the host communities in SNRS. Abraham Sewenet (1995) and Solomon Tesfaye (2003) are the main ones. Both of these studies paid much attention on the general living conditions, problems and causes of the movements of the refugees in their study area.

Abraham's study conducted on *Camboker* Refugee camp. In his senior thesis Abraham has devoted two pages for impacts brought on the local hosts due to the presence of the refugees. According to his study, the local people had to share their meager resources with the refugees who were their immediate relatives. This, thus, had adverse impact on the living standard of the locals (1995:36). He has also mentioned the appearance of some social problems, which were contradictory to the locals' customs, as a result of the refugees' presence. These were delinquency, theft and alcoholism. Moreover, according to Abraham, the poor hygienic conditions and the congested environments where the refugees used to live were responsible for transmitting communicable and other diseases to the local people (Ibid. 36-37). Abraham's study

also mentioned the heavy environmental degradation due to the clearance of vegetation for energy utilization and construction purpose by the refugees (*Ibid.*).

Similarly, Solomon Tesegaye (2003), in his senior thesis, "The study on the Immigration status of Somali Refugees in Hartsheik Refugee Camp", tried to depict some impacts of the *Hartsheik* refugees on the hosting locals. According to his findings, the refugees' presence has brought certain impacts such as vegetation clearance for energy consumption, the development of *Hartsheik* town, smuggling trade activities and the subsequent high population concentration in the area. Moreover, he mentioned the presence of security problems due to the free movement of the refugee population (2003: 38-40).

By and large, both Abraham's and Solomon's studies have mentioned the presence of social, economic, cultural, political and environmental impacts due to the refugees presence in their study area. However, since these studies conducted from the perspectives of the refugees' plight, they did not pay much attention to the hosts' plight. Each of them stated a paragraph or a couple of paragraphs about each of the impacts they raised in their studies.

Another study concerning the refugees' impacts on the host communities in the SNRS is Richard Hogg's article (1996). Hogg's article emphasizes the impacts of Somali "Refugees" and "Returnees" on one agency, UNHCR. According to Hogg many of those who have fled across the border to escape the fight in Somalia and settled in SNRS are either originally from the Ogaden (SNRS) or have close relatives and clan's men in the area. According to Hogg, these may be returnees or refugees to the UNHCR, but the distinction is artificial. Thus, the presence of a large number of returnee/refugees in the SNRS offers a challenge to UNHCR. This is because the mix of refugees, returnees and local communities in the area had made provision of relief

assistance and operation difficult. So, he recommended UNHCR to assist both sides of the border without discriminating between locals, returnee and refugees so as to solve the refugee- returnee problems in the area. Hogg also recognized the political and economic impacts of the refugees and the returnees on the SNRS (1996: 153-163). However, Hogg's article mainly focuses on the refugees/returnees pressure on the assistance program of UNHCR.

To sum up, as discussed thus far, most of the refugee studies conducted in SNRS paid much attention to the plight of the refugees and the pressure on the assistance program of UNHCR. Very few studies focused on the environmental impacts of the refugees. Studies on the socio-economic impacts of the refugees on the host communities are almost absent. Thus, the main aim of this study is to bridge this gap by studying the socio-economic impacts of Somali refugees and the relief operation in *Kebribeyah* district of *Jijiga* zone in Somali National Regional State (SNRS).

2.4 Refugees and Ethiopia's Experience

Ethiopia has experienced both in-migration and out-migration. For decades, wars, human right abuses, drought and famine have driven millions of Ethiopians from their homes. From being refugee-producing country, Ethiopia has now become a returnee and refugee receiving country. Thus, this section deals with the experience of Ethiopia as a refugee hosting country.

2.4.1. Refugee Legislation and Exercise in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has pursued a generous and open asylum policy for those in need of international protection. It is a signatory to and has ratified the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, its 1967 protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of

Refugees Problem in Africa (Blavo 1999:157, 161; ARRA 1998:1). Since Ethiopia has no national refugee proclamation, the basic refugee protection is articulated in Article 9 (4)⁷ of the Ethiopian Constitution.

However, currently a draft National Refugee Proclamation is talked to the Ethiopian parliament for debate. This draft proclamation consists of 5 major parts and 27 articles that deal with issues concerning asylum and protection to refugees as well as voluntary repatriation. Accordingly, the draft proclamation defines "refugees" according to Article 1 (A) of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol as well as based on paragraph 2 of Art (2) of the OAU Refugee Convention. (Draft Refugee Proclamation of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Article 4 and 19, 2003). However, this definition did not take into consideration environmental and economic refugees.

Apart from the criteria of a refugee, the draft proclamation deals with exclusion, withdrawal and cessation of refugee status. Issues of non-refoulment, expulsion, temporary detention, application procedures for the refugee status and rights and obligations of asylum seekers and recognized refugees are incorporated in the draft proclamation. The role of an appeal hearing council, special protection to vulnerable groups and cases of penalty is also treated in the proclamation (*Ibid.*). In general, this draft refugee proclamation is a breakthrough for Ethiopia, which has been hosting refugees since the middle of 1960.

The authority for Security, Immigration and Refugee Affairs is the sole body responsible for the refugee and returnee matters in the country. Within the Authority, the Administration for

⁷ Article 9 (4) provides that "all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land". (HPRFDRE, Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1st year No. 1, 21st August, 1995).

Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) is responsible to follow-up refugee and returnee issues (ARRA 1998:1).

2.4.2 History of Refugees Movement in Ethiopia

Over three decades, Ethiopia has continued to host refugees from Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya and a small number of refugees from a number of other countries (UNHCR-RLOA 2003:3; ARRA 1998:2). The Ethiopian people have hosted influx dating back to 1960s when large groups of Sudanese fled to Ethiopia due to the civil war that ravaged southern Sudan for decades. There were about 20,000 Sudanese refugees during the stated period. This figure reached over 400,000 around the end of April 1991. The majority of refugees were *Nilotic* Sudanese of the *Nuer*, *Dinka* and *Shiluk* ethnic groups (ARRA 1998:5).

The Somali refugees, on the other hand, fled to Ethiopia between 1988-1995 as a result of the collapse of effective central government in that country and the subsequent war. Nearly 90 percent of all Somali refugees in Ethiopia originated from northern Somalia known as Somaliland (CEDEP-ARRA 1999:1). A massive influx of Somali refugees into Ethiopia first occurred in 1988 amounting to 350,000 and additional 120,000 refugees came in 1991 (*Ibid.*). By 1992, the refugee numbers had reached over 594,000 (Hogg 1996:155). This has led to the creation of eight refugee camps along the border. These were *Aisha*, *Tefferiber*, *Darouwonaji*, *Kebribeyah*, *Hartasheik*, *Camboker*, *Rabasso* and *Darror* (CEDEP-ARRA 1999:1).

Some 8,000 Kenyan refugees sought asylum in Ethiopia in 1993 to escape ethnic strife in *Wajir* district, Northwestern Kenya, to *Moyale* in southern Ethiopia. These refugees were from

Adjuran and *Degodian* ethnic groups (ARRA 1998:6). Insurgency in Djibouti pushed away between 10,000 to 18,000 Djibouti *Afar* refugees into north western Ethiopia in mid-1993 (*Ibid.*).

Ethiopia also hosts about 5,126 Eritrean refugees at *Wa'ala Nhibi* in Tigray National Regional State. These refugees fled to Ethiopia at the height of the Ethio-Eritrean war in May 2000 due to the resentment of forced conscription of their sons into the army and/or, of being forcefully evicted from their farmlands. Most of the Eritrean refugees left their villages of origin in the *Gash* and *Setit* district of Eritrean (UNHCR-RLO 2003:20). Ethiopia has also been hosting urban refugees of various nationalities since 1980s. There were about 369 to 500 urban refugees beginning from the 1980s. Most of the urban cases are recognized refugees (UNHCR 1988:29; 1990:33; 1991:40; UNHCR-RLO 2003:5).

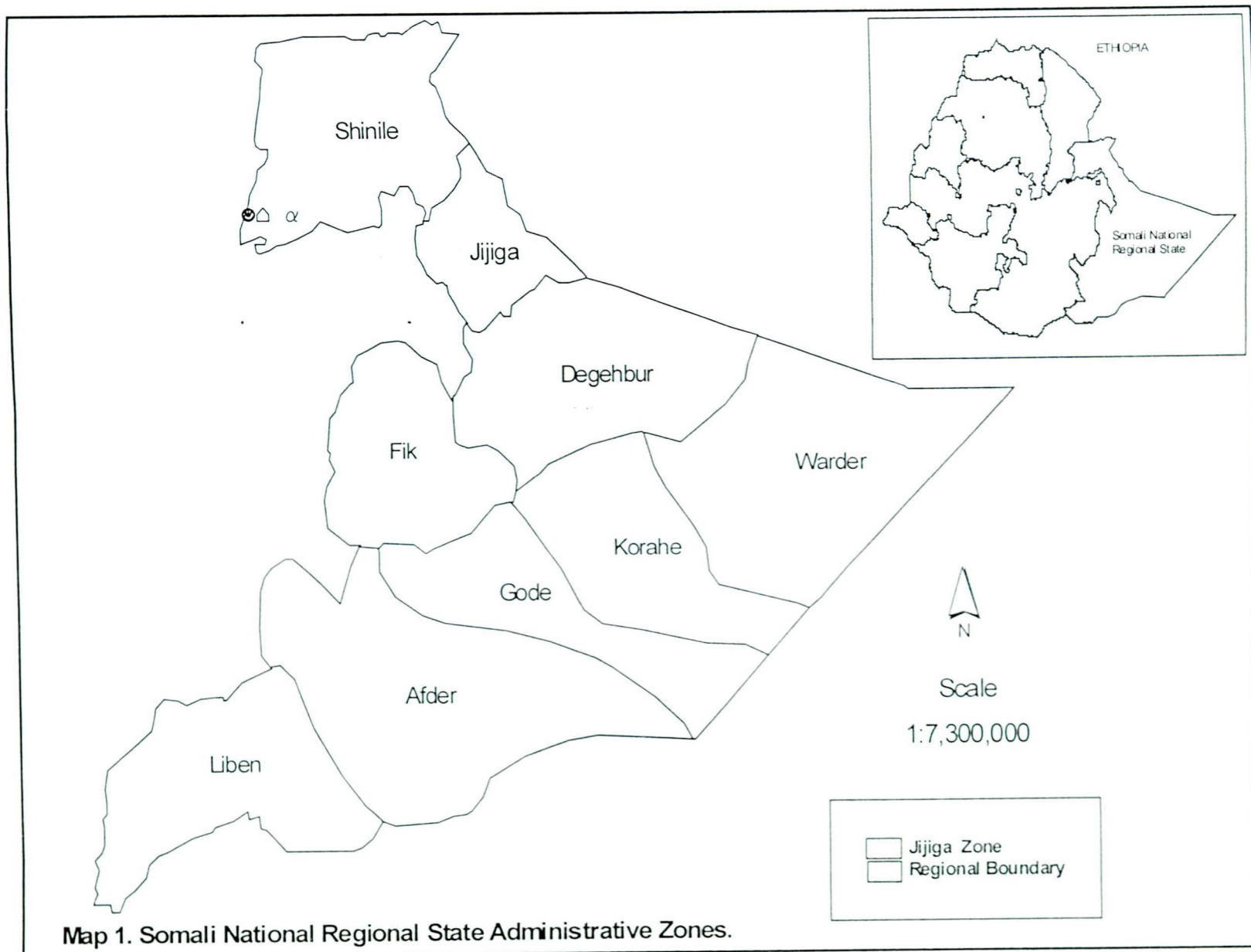
The refugee influxes in Ethiopia increased dramatically in 1991. During this period Ethiopia hosted 1,000, 420 refugees. That is, 600,000 Somali; 400,000 Sudanese and 420 urban refugees. However, starting from 1992, the number of refugees being hosted in the country has decreased. There were about 431,918 refugees on 31 December 1992 (UNHCR 1993:65). This figure decreased to 245,000 at the end of 1999. During this period, Ethiopia hosted refugee influxes of 170, 000 from Somalia, about 70,000 from Sudan, some 5,000 from Kenya, and about 7,000 from Djibouti. As of 31 March 2004 there were 124,948 refugees in Ethiopia. That is, 89,153 Sudanese, 27,847 Somali, 7,466 Eritrean and 482 urban refugees from various countries in Addis Ababa (Refugee Statistics as at 31 March 2004, UNHCR-RLO 2004). See Annex 1.

There are three basic reasons for the gradual declining of refugee numbers in Ethiopia. First there were voluntary and spontaneous repatriations of Somali refugees between 1992 and 1998. Second, a large number of Sudanese refugees were also spontaneously repatriated to their

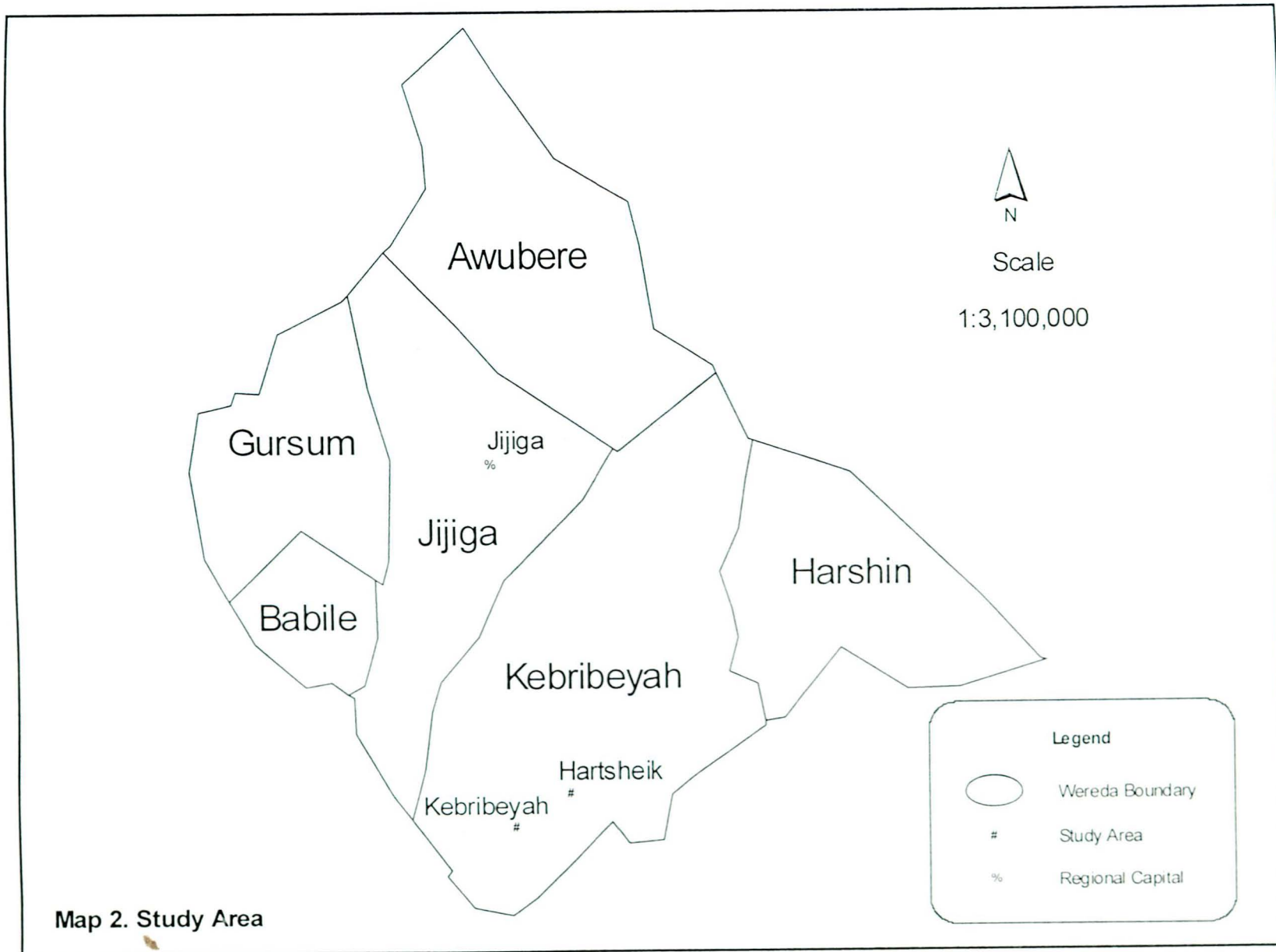
home due to the security problem created in Ethiopia following the downfall of the *Derge* regime. Finally, a large number of local people who had been assisted with the refugee influx in eastern refugee camps were dispersed to their respective villages following the closure of some refugee camps in eastern Ethiopia (ARRA: 2003:1; CEDEP-ARRA 1999:18; UNHCR-RLO 2003:6; UNHCR 1993:65).

Summary

Conceptualizing the concepts "Refugee" and "Hosts" is complex. There are, thus, frequently significant differences in the administrative and policy arrangements set out for refugees by international legal instruments and individual states. Moreover, there are considerable discrepancies within a single host country with regards to different groups of refugees. As can infer from this background discussion, both positive and negative impacts are associated with the presence of mass refugee influx in host communities. However, it is difficult to conclude whether the costs are commensurate with the benefits. This is because there is inadequate academic research pertaining to the refugees' impacts on host communities. Lack of research is also accountable for the presence of theoretical gaps in refugee studies. The SNRS has been hosting refugees since 1988. However, there is no adequate studies regarding the various impacts of the refugees and relief operation on the host communities in the region. Ethiopia has been accommodating refugees from different countries based on the United Nations' Refugee Convention and its Protocol as well as The African Refugee Convention. Until very recently Ethiopia has not had its own refugee law. However, currently draft refugee proclamation is presented for public debate.



Map 1. Somali National Regional State Administrative Zones.



Map 2. Study Area

CHAPTER THREE: THE SETTING OF THE STUDY AREA

The problem and objectives of this study were discussed in the introductory part. In light of the research problem an attempt was made to review the related literature. This third chapter, in turn, provides background information about the geographical, political, social and economic characteristics of the study area both at the regional and site level.

3.1 The Somali National Regional State

3.1.1 The Land and People

The Somali National Regional State (SNRS) is one of the nine states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (HPRFDRE, Negarit Gazeta, 1st year No 1, 1995:102). It is situated in the eastern and southeastern parts of Ethiopia. Oromiya National Regional State in the west and southwest, and Afar National Regional State in the Northeast border SNRS. Internationally it is bordered with Kenya in the south, Somalia in the East, and Djibouti in the North (Bashir 2002:1). The region has approximately an area of 271, 970.91km² and a population of 3.44 million, according to the latest census records of 1997.

Administratively, the region is divided into nine zones and forty-nine districts (See Map-1). About 85.7% of the population lives in rural areas and the remaining 14.3% of the populations live in urban areas. In this region, the overwhelming majority of the population (95.9%) is Somali speaking and belongs to ethnic Somalis. The Somali language is a member of the eastern *Cushitic* language family. Of the total population of the region, 98.7% are Muslims (*Suni*) and the population is in general 50% under 15 of age with a high growth rate (PHCC, Somali Region, Vol. 2, 1995: 5-6 and 43).

Most part of the Somali Region is a semi-desert area of low rainfall and scrubs bush. The average annual rainfall distribution ranges from 300 mm to 700 mm. Moreover, energetic winds,

high temperatures, low relative humidity, insignificant cloud cover are the typical characteristics of the region (EMA-UNHCR 2002:6). The region, with its low and variable rainfall and often poor soils is best suited to nomadic pastoralists (Lewis 1961:31; Hogg 1996:155). Thus, the Somalis are predominantly nomadic people. These nomadic people have a culture primarily centered on camels with a few cattle and goats in more productive areas (Farah 1996:126). The lives of these nomadic people are spent in search of water and grazing land. The Somalis practice agriculture in highland areas with adequate rainfall. Sorghum and maize are important grains grown along the riverbanks of the *Shebelle* River (Hogg 1996:155).

Among the Somalis, polygyny is widely practiced and marriage is largely exogamous. A man can marry up to four wives (Lewis 1969:110). According to Ferrand and Robecchi (cited in Lewis 1969:138), divorce is the prerogative of men only and is easy and common among the Somali.

3.1.2 Administrative Setup

Both the formal government structures and the informal traditional administration are functional in the Somali National Regional State. The government structure includes the decision-making councils at the Regional, Zonal and district levels and the line bureaus or offices for planning, management and execution of the social and economic activities. The SNRS council is the highest political and administrative decision making body in the region (CEDEP-ARRA 1999:13). The informal administration, on the other hand, is a clan based traditional organization where councils of elders decide on social, economic and political issues. It is customary and exercised mainly in the rural parts. The clan authority is particularly important and there could be prior consultation with the leadership (elders) on acquisition and utilization of land (*Ibid*: 14).

3.1.3 The Clan System

The clan system is considered as one of the most distinctive features of Somali social organization and polity (Brons 2001:98). According to Lewis (1961:4), the term clanship refers to "corporate agnatic identity at all levels of political cleavage". Clan affiliation is interwoven with social, economic and political life of the Somalis. The Somali clan system has two main lineage lines, the *samale* and the *sab*. The former are nomadic pastorals where as the latter are settled farmers. Each of them comprises a vast system of segmented units or groups. The basis of Somali system is a patrilineal descent system, which is supplemented by customary law-*xeer* (*Ibid*: 1).

In the Somali clan system, the highest unit is the 'clan family', which is characterized by having a common male ancestor. The main clan-families of the Somali are *Dir*, *Isaq*, *Darood*, *Hawiya*, *Digil* and *Rahanwweyn*. Of these, the first four inhabit Ethiopia. The second largest segmentary unit or group is the clan. It has a considerable political significance and is associated with specific locations frequented by its nomadic members. Clans are divided into primary lineages, units that commonly practice exogamy. The primary lineages, in turn, are made of corporate clusters known as "*diya-paying groups*."⁸ These groups count four to six generations to a common male ancestor (*Lewis* 1961:37; *Farah* 1996:127).

By and large, the Somali clan system has been described as a pastoral democracy. Although clans have a sultan as nominal chief, he represents more a symbol of clan solidarity, often acting as mediator and arbitrator, than political power and authority (UNHCR-SOJ 2003:2).

⁸ "Diya-paying group" is the most important social segment in daily life of the Somalis, which identifies the most pervasive and frequently mobilized social relationship. It comprises of a few hundred to few thousand closed patrilineal kinsmen, united by contractual alliance stipulating that they will pay and receive blood compensation (*diya*) together. Membership in this Somali "insurance policy", is especially for nomads, is often the only guarantee of protection of life and property. The 'diaya paying group' is neither a residential unit nor an endogenous unit (*Lewis* 1961:37; UNHCR-SOJ 2003:1).

3.1.4 History of War, Drought, Refugee influx and Returnees

The Somali National Regional State (SNRS) is among the most underdeveloped regions in Ethiopia. This region has suffered from drought and famine, war and the presence of a large number of refugee influxes and returnees during the last three decades. The disastrous drought and famine of the early 1980s and 1990s, the war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1963-4 and 1977-8 for control of the Ogden region had resulted in large outflows of local people from the area (Hogg 1996:153-155; Getachew 1996:116).

The arrival of a significant number of refugees and returnees has placed considerable strains on the region and the concentration of people has brought a significant depletion of the limited natural resources (Bashir 2002:1). The region has been host for Somali refugees for over a decade. A massive influx of Somali refugees, reaching a peak of 628,000 occurred between 1988 and 1991. This led to the creation of eight camps in the region. However, during this fieldwork there were only two camps with populations of 25,606 (UNHCR-SOJ 2003:1). The prolonged presence of such a large number of refugees has coerced the SNRS to pay enormous and incalculable sacrifices in its commitment to the causes of refugees (Bashir 2002:1).

While wrestling to cope up with the refugee situation, an estimated 550,000 Ethiopian refugees hosted in Somalia, were all of a sudden returned to Ethiopia fleeing the civil war in Somalia in 1991. Although part of them went back to their areas of origin in the region, some of them settled in and around refugee settlements (*Ibid*: 2). According to Holt and Lawrence (cited in Hogg 1996:156), the cost of this sudden influx of people and mouths to feed on the local economy, which was already under considerable pressure as a result of drought, was shattering. Moreover, various groups of Somalis were internally displaced by clan conflict and drought, which occurred in the region in 1991 and 1992 (UNHCR-SOJ 2003:1). According to Bashir Abdullahi (2003:3), the Pastoral Development Sector Head of SNRS, the presence of massive

influx of refugees coupled with recurrent drought in the region has completely changed the climatic conditions of the area and has made recovery and rehabilitation extremely difficult.

Partly as a consequence of the perpetual crisis discussed thus far, the region has low social and economic development compared with other regions in the country. SNRS is characterized by limited road and communication infrastructure, limited access to permanent water sources, very low levels of literacy and basic education and very low levels of health and social services. It is estimated that many Somalis who are mainly pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have become dependent on the humanitarian assistance provided by the International Community (UNHCR-SOJ 2003:1; Bashir 2002:3).

3.2 The Setting of the Specific Study site: *Kebribeyah* District

3.2.1 Geographical Characteristics

Kebribeyah district is located in *Jijiga* Administration zone of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS). The district is bordered by *Harshine* district from Northeast and Somali Land from the Northwest. *Jijiga* district and the *Awubere* district border it from the west. *Kebribeyah* also shares a border with *Deghabur* Zone and *Fiqe* Zone from the east and south respectively. *Kebribeyah* (the capital) is located 683 kms from Addis Ababa and 55 kms from *Jijiga* town (See Map-2).

The geographical extent of the district is $8^{\circ}41'24''$ to $9^{\circ}21'00''$ northern latitude and $42^{\circ}54'00''$ to $43^{\circ}33'36''$ eastern longitude (EMA-UNHCR 2002:4). According to the *Jijiga* Zone Livestock, Environment, Crop Production and Protection Office, the altitude of the district ranges between 1000-1800 meters above sea level. Its mean monthly maximum temperature ranges from 25°c to 29°c and the mean annual rainfall is about 520mm. The area gets small rains from March to May known as '*Dayer*' and long rains lasting from August to October '*Gu*'. In general, the

climate of the study area is semi-arid and characterized by the vegetation types such as short shrubs, thorn bush and a variety of acacia.

3.2.2 Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Local Hosts

According to the 1997 census results of the Somali National Regional State's, the total population of *Kebribeyah* district was 162,474. About 23,725 were urban dwellers while 138,749 of them were rural people (PHCC 1994, Vol. 1:10). According to the district administration office, *Kebribeyah* is divided into 50 *kebele* Pastoral or Peasant) Administrations (KPAs)⁹ and two major towns: *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah*. Both the formal government structure and the informal clan based traditional administration system are functional in the district. The key informants of this study noted that the latter is mostly functional in rural areas. More than 99% of the population of the district is ethnic Somalis and almost all of them are followers of Islam. A few ethnic groups such as *Gurage*, *Amhara*, *Tigre*, *Oromo* and people from Southern region inhabit the above- mentioned towns.

The major clan groups in *Kebribeyah* district are *Abscucl*, *Issaq*, and *Akishu*. *Abksul* and *Issaq* are the dominant clans in the district. *Abksuls* inhabit the vast area of *Kebribeyah* town and its environ. *Issaq* is dominant at *Hartasheik* area. In view of this, the current *wereda* (district) council is made up of the foregoing major clans. Out of the nine council members, 5 are from *Abksul*, 3 from *Issaq* and 1 from *Akisho*.

Pastoralism and agro-pastoralism are the major livelihood occupations in *Kebribeyah* district. According to *Jijiga* Zone Livestock, Environment, Crop Production and Control Office, the pastoral way of life is dominant in *Hartseik* area while agro-pastoralism is practiced in *Kebrieyah* area. The major crops grown in *Kebribeyah* area are maize (*Arabiki*) and sorghum

⁹Kebele Pastoral or Peasant Administrations (KPAs) are the lowest administrative organ under the *wereda* or district council on the structure of the Federal Administration of Ethiopia. They have close contact with the grass root.

(*Hadud*). These are the staple foods of the community. Due to high population pressure and the subsequent high demand, the number of *ch'at*¹⁰ farm plots has increased in the district. *Ch'at* is cultivated along waterways and depressions. Other activities practiced by the local people in *Kebribeyah* district include handicrafts,¹¹ sale of firewood and charcoal.

There are also a number of people especially in *Hartsheik* area who have been engaged in petty trade¹² and cross-border trade according to the information of the focus group discussions with the local people.

3.3 Refugees and the Settlement

3.3.1 Causes for the Influx

People move to wards a new destination area in response to the factors that attract them and push from their home country (Weeks 1999:238). Accordingly, *Kebribeyah* district has been hosting refugees who had fled from northern and southern parts of Somali due to certain push-pull factors.

According to the information obtained from the group discussion held with key refugee informants in both *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* sites, the major causes of flight for the refugees was the civil wars that broke out to dispose the Siad Barre regime and the subsequent fighting among the different war lords for controlling power. Moreover, they noted that their ethnic similarities and clan ties with the local hosts attracted them to take asylum in their respective settlements in *Kebribeyah* district.

¹⁰ *Ch'at* (*chata edulis*) is a stimulant leaf. People chew the fresh leaves of *ch'at* for their stimulating effect, often in combination with cigarette smoking. *Ch'at* also plays an important role in people's social life and is some times associated with certain religious activities. It is attributed with giving strength and power for hard work. It has also medicinal properties, keeps people awake, and is a substitute for tea or coffee (Hill, cited in E. Westphal 1975:182).

¹¹ Handicraft activities include blacksmith, pottery, embroidery, mats making; baskets, tailoring, masonry etc.

¹² Petty trade involves trading activities such as retailing of vegetables, grains, bread, *ch'at*, meat and making tea, etc and running of consumer goods shops, small restaurants, and general merchandise shops.

The refugees in *Hartsheik* area were from Issaq clan. They were displaced from north Somalia (Somaliland) due to the civil war held between the Siad Barre government and the Somali National Movement (SNM) in the late 1980s. After the SNM assumed power many refugees were spontaneously repatriated to Somali land. However, the resurgence of inter-clan fighting in Somali land in 1991 had caused a continuing flow of people in *Hartsheik* area and other parts of SNRS in eastern Ethiopia.

Conversely, the refugees in *Kebribeyah* area were fled from southern Somalia with the gradual breakup and disintegration of Somali -a as attacks on the Siad Barre government increased in the capital ,center and south of the country by United Somali Congress (USC) forces. The refugees in *Kebribeyah* area are mainly from *Harti* and *Meriham* clan. Most of them were soldiers of the ex-Siad Barre regime. According to key informants of *Kebribeyah* refugees, on crossing the border into Ethiopia they were ambushed and robbed their properties by the Ogaden *Darod*. As a result, EPRDF escorted them to the present site for their protection

3.3.2 History of the Refugees Influxes and the Settlement Areas

For over a decade, the *Kebribeyah* district has been hosting a large number of refugees in *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* camps. *Hartashik* and *Kebribeyah* refugee camps are found 72 and 55kms from *Jijiga* town¹³ respectively.

Initially, according to Abrham Meles, the camp coordinator, *Hartsheik* Refugee camp was established at *Harshein* area in 1987. However, latter in 1988 the settlement shifted to the current site-*Hartsheik* area and the refugees settled in two separate camps. One group of the refugees settled at '*Duluad*' area 5 kms south of *Hartsheik* town and named "*Hartsheik_ A*". The other group camped at '*Beleyle*' area, 6 kms east of the *Hartsheik* town and called '*Hartsheik_ B*'. At

¹³ *Jijiga* town is the capital of the Somali National Regional State and found 628 kms from Addis Ababa City, the capital of Ethiopia.

the outset of 1988, there were about 246,000 refugees in both of the above camps. According to UNHCR Report (1993:25), this camp had become one of the largest refugee concentrations in the world. As the field findings depicted the camp population also comprised of Ethiopian returnees,¹⁴ and local population -internally displaced as a result of drought and clan conflict, which occurred in 1991 and 1992.

Kebribeyah Refugee camp, on the other hand, was established in 1991 following the refugees' influx as a result of the overthrow of the Siad Barre regime and related clan conflict in Somalia. The camp is located at a specific locality known as *Deneba*, east of the edge of *Kebribeyah* town on the way to *Deghabour*. As of 31 March 2004 the total refugee population of the camp was 11629. According to the camp coordinator, Bekele Mugeru, this figure is static because the population growth rate is not taken into account after the 1977 revalidation exercise. *Keribeyah* refugee camp also composed of three categories of people: The refugees, returnees and IDPs (Internally Displaced People). During the period of this study, registration operations were being conducted by ARRA in coordination with UNHCR so as to screen the above categories of people in the settlement area (See Annex -3 regarding the history of Eastern Refugee Population).

3.3.3 Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Settlement Areas

All the refugees in both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* camps belong to the Somali ethnic groups and are followers of *Suni* Islam. In *Hartsheik* from 1988 to the end of 2003, more than 90% of the refugees' influxes were from *Issaq* clan. Due to the repatriation of a large number of refugees to Somaliland, today there are only very few refugees from the *Issaq* clan. Out of 2250

¹⁴ The returnees are Ethiopians who earlier fled the country due to border war between Ethiopia and Somali in 1977. The clan conflict and war in Somali also affected these people and they fled again to Ethiopia with the refugee influxes. Although large majorities of them went back to their place of origin, some of them settled with the refugees in the camp.

refugees currently sheltered in *Hartsheik-'A'* camp, the *Issaq* comprise only 1%. *Biyomal* and *Hawiye* are the dominant clan groups in the camp. The *Issaq* clans are homogenous with the local hosts with respect to culture, clan, religion and language. However, the *Biyomal* and *Hawiye* are not identical with regard to clan with the host community. They are refugees that fled from southern Somalia.

The *Kebribeyah* refugee population comprised different clan groups¹⁵. According to the camp coordinator, Bekele Mugeru, *Harti*, *Merihan* and *Awlliyan* are the dominant clans and comprised about 81.17% of the refugee population. He further noted that the situation of *Kebribeyah* refugees is different from other refugees in the eastern camps. This is because they do not belong to the same clans as the hosts. That is, the hosts belong to *Abskul* clan while the refugees to other different clans.

According to the information obtained from both refugee camps' coordinators as well as local and refugee informants, most of the refugees are dependent on relief assistance from the concerned humanitarian organizations and international communities. At the camp level, some refugees work in hospitals, schools, feeding centers and programs run by different humanitarian organizations. The refugee employees have no regular salary but rather are given incentives in terms of money. However, the number of refugees engaged in such kinds of job is very few in comparison with the overwhelming majorities. The overwhelming majority of the camp population are engaged in trading activities ranging from petty trading to cross-border trading. According to informants of this study, cross-boarder trade was highly practiced in *Hartsheik* during the 1990's when there was a large influx of refugee population. There are few refugees who practice farming in *Kebribeyah* camp. Small shop business, selling second hand clothes,

¹⁵ The clan groups in *Kebribeyah* camp comprised *Harti* (32.5%), *Merihan* (27.46%), *Awlliyan* (21.22%), *Hawiya* (12.62%), *Rehawin* (1.93%) *Gobeye*, *Shekash*, *Beyomal* (3.0%) and *Abseme* (1.27%) (*Kebribeya* Refugee Camp Monthly Progress Report for February 2004).

firewood and charcoal, shoe polishing, domestic services and selling colored soil¹⁶ by digging from the local environment are some of the business ventures being run by the *Kebribeyah* refugee community members. There were also vendors of food, beverage, incense and tailors, drug store keeper, and merchandise. Others are porters or sell their labor to those who need it. In general, economic security, provided by the relief organizations was complemented by casual employment and self-help activities.

3.3.4 Camp Administration Structure and Social Services

The two refugee camps, *Hartasheik* and *Kebribeyah* composed of formal and traditional administration structures. Formally, ARRA in collaboration with UNHCR is the sole authority to maintain law and order in the refugee camps. It also promotes harmony among the refugees and locals and facilitates logistical requirements for refugees. The refugee camp committee, on the other hand, plays a catalyst role between the refugee population and the camp authority in the formal administration structure. According to Abraham Meles, *Hartasheik* Refugee Camp coordinator, the Refugee Committee organizes people and maintains order during food distribution. It is also responsible to resolve disputes and discusses the outstanding problems facing the refugee population. Members of the refugee committee are provided with incentives in the form of cereals. It is supported by two other independent committees _ the Refugee Women (mothers) Committee and the Refugee Youth Committee. These committees have executive and ordinary members. The sole role of these committees is to run and promote social, cultural and educational activities in the settlement area. The traditional administration is an informal clan based management of the settlement affairs. It is composed of a group of elder known as "*shir*"

¹⁶ Colored soil is a type of soil, which is pink red, used both by the local and the refugee people to paint the wall of living rooms. Some Refugees dig this soil from *Deneba* area, 3kms from *Kebribeyah* town so as to get additional income (see figure -2)

who acts as mediators, arbitrators and give verdict by consensus on social and economic issues in their respective community. The '*shir*' is also responsible to mediate conflict between the refugees and the locals. Each zones in the settlements has its own representative in the '*shir*'

Care and Maintenance (CM) activities have been implemented in both camps for more than a decade. These are provision of health care, education, water supply and counseling services. According to *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* Refugee Camps' coordinators the health services includes curative and preventive medical services. Primary education is provided to the refugee children in both camps. There are also other facilities such as grinding mills, skills training and adult education for women in both settlement areas.

Summary

The SNRS in general and *Kebribeyah* district in particular are characterized by a semi-arid climate. As a result, pastoralism followed by agro-pastoralism is a dominant economic occupation in the area. These areas are also affected by recurrent drought and the Ethio-Somalia wars as well as inter clan conflicts. These difficulties have been compounded by the influx of refugees and returnees from across the border. This has had unintended consequences on an already fragile weak economy. Both modern political and traditional administration systems exist in the area. The modern political administration refers to the government structure that includes the decision-making councils from the regional to the district levels. It also includes the line bureaus and offices, which are responsible for planning management and execution of social and economic activities. Traditional administration, on the other hand, is a clan based traditional organization where council of elders decides on social, economic and political issues. This system often works in rural areas and treats the refugees equally with the hosts according to the Somali political culture.

Refugees are mainly making a living based on the handouts they obtain from relief organizations. Some of them engage in wholesale and retail trades as well as various self help activities. The *Hartsheik* refugees are well known for their illegal cross-border trade. Some refugees also work as employees in a few relief organizations. Each refugee camp consists of different clans. *Issaq*, *Biyomal* and *Hawiye* are the main clans in *Hartsheik* while *Harti* and *Meriham* comprise the largest proportion of the refugee population in *Kebribeyah* camp. These camps were established in economically valuable and fragile ecological zones. In general, both hosts and refugees belong to the Somali ethnic groups. As a result, they share common cultural norms and values in the form of language, religion and clan identity.

CHAPTER FOUR: IDENTIFICATION OF THE REFUGEES' IMPACTS

The main purpose of this chapter is to identify and analyze impacts of the Somali refugees on the hosting local population in *Kebribeyah* district against the background of the literature and the field findings. The chapter provides a broad discussion on the major socio-cultural and economic dimensions of the refugees' impacts.

4.1 Socio-Cultural Dimension

This section has attempted to explore the socio-cultural dimension of the refugee influxes' on the local peoples in *Kebribeyah* district-*Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* areas. Refugee-host relation, social dynamics and, socio-political changes are the major variables employed by the study so as to indicate the socio-cultural impacts. Accordingly, the following analysis and discussion is based on these indicators.

4.1.1 Refugee-Host Relation

An impact of a mass refugee influx on a host society is shaped to a large degree by the relationship between refugees and their hosts (Vas Dev 2001: 10). Moreover, as part and parcel of human relations, refugee host-relation involves integrative and conflictual processes (Mekuria 1988:188). Thus, the aim of this section is to find out if and how the locals interact with the refugees. One argument of this study is that the relationship among the Somalis is an extension of kinship reciprocity. Thus, these exchanges could help to understand the role of common ethnicity in the refugee-host relationship. Kinship, intermarriage, social functions, and social conflicts are the major indicators used to understand the refugee-host relationship.

4.1.1.1 Kinship

A clan in Somali society is kinship based on descent from a common ancestor traced through the male line which defines an individual position in the society (Lewis 1961:4). The refugees in *Kebribeyah* district, thus, sought asylum among a population with whom they trace descent from a common ancestor. According to the information obtained from the local and the refugee informants, the settlements were established based on a specific clan group. In this regard, the local people and the overwhelming majority of the refugees (90%) in *Hartsheik* area belong to *Issaq* clan. However, in *Kebribeyah* site the situation is somewhat different from *Hartsheik*. That is, the local community in *Kebribeyah* is composed of clan groups different from that of the refugees.

The majority of the local people in *Kebribeyah* belong to *Abaskul* clan and the overwhelming majority of refugees are from *Marehan* and *Harti* clans. As a result, the relation between the locals and the refugees is through a clan family known as '*Darod*'. Accordingly, both locals and refugees have to count from 20 to 24 ancestors to trace their link through their respective clan-family (*Darod*). In comparison with *Hartsheik*, thus, kinship is not so strong in *Kebribeyah* area. As a result, both hosts and refugees do not expect the same degree of support from each other that hosts and the refugees have in *Hartsheik*.

4.1.1.2 Intermarriage

Intermarriage is one important sign of interaction, social proximity and of acceptance between hosts and refugees (Mekuria 1988:181). In view of this, intermarriage is common among

Somali clans save an occupational group known as '*Gobeye*' or *Midgan*.¹⁷ In both study sites, intermarriage between hosts and locals is common. Information obtained from the field research indicated that the practice of intermarriage is higher in *Hartsheik* than in *Kebribeyah*. As mentioned above, this is due to the clan identity or kinship proximity, which exists between the locals and the refugees. In intensive interviews held with various informants, it is found that the local men take the upper hand in marrying refugee women and girls than their counterparts. This is mainly due to the fact that the question of marriage payment is not often raised among the refugees. Whereas when the refugee men or young adults need to marry the local women or girl they are required to have marriage payments. This, therefore, deprived refugees from marrying to locals. However, this does not mean that there is no intermarriage between local women/girls and the refugee men. There are few cases. Some key informants noted that some local girls/women who fall in love with the refugee men practice intermarriage, but not often. Such locals are labeled by the overwhelming majority for marrying without dowry.

While the intermarriage further strengthens the responsibilities and obligations between hosts and refugees in *Hartsheik*, it creates proximity between hosts and refugees in *Kebribeyah*. In general the intermarriage causes resources inflow from hosts to the refugees and vice versa. It also strengthens the extent of relationship between the two groups.

¹⁷ The *Gobeye* are the marginalized occupational groups among the Somali society. They are blacksmiths by profession. According to the Somali oral wisdom, the *Gobeye* are named after weapon (gun) that they had used for hunting wild animals, in the earlier period of the society's history. However, at some point in time the *Gobeye* were found eating animal corpses and starting then they became marginalized by the rest members of the Somali. Dining, playing and marrying with the *Gobeye*, thus, was considered as evil till recently. But today, according to some informants, this belief is being declining. However, still today for *Gobeye* women/girls it is difficult to have marriage partner from other Somali clans. As a result, marriage, in most case, is endogamous among the *Gobeye*. (Source: Field findings). According to Lewis (1955:51) *Midgen* are hunters and leather-workers, making ornaments, straps, amulets, prayer-mats, and saddles. They hunt with bow and arrow poisoned with an alkaloid extract (*Wabayo*) obtained from a species of euphoria. The *Midgeen* are occupational and non-territorial groups.

4.1.1.3 Social Functions

As part of the wider Somali culture, both the locals and the refugees attend some social functions together. Among others, weddings (*Aruss*) and funerals (*Huska Geridda*) are the main ones. According to the key informants of this study, these social organizations are self-help mutual associations and locally referred to as "*Jamm'a*". Both the wedding and the funeral have their own "*Jamm'a*". Basically, "*Jamm'a*" is divided into two: men's '*Jamm'a*' and women's '*Jamm'a*'.

As far as funerals are concerned, the purpose of the men's "*Jamm'a*" is digging graveyards, erecting a tent for sheltering mourners, contributing money for the deceased family and burying the corpse. The women's '*Jamm'a*', on the other hand, is responsible for cooking food, making tea and performing other domestic tasks so as to serve the mourners and the deceased family members. It has also its own contributions in the form of money to help the families of the dead person.

During wedding, the members of men's "*Jamm'a*" cover some expenses of the "bride service" and also provide the groom with various presents. The women's "*Jamm'a*" also backs the bride's mother in preparing a dowry known as "*Hido*".¹⁸ This "*Jamm'a*" is also responsible for sharing the expenses required to prepare such a dowry and in purchasing different kitchen and house utensils. This contribution is referred to as "*Diqo*".

In general, these social functions provide a setting where both refugees and locals meet and interact. These functions, however, are not strong enough to hold the social relations between

¹⁸ "*Hido*" is a dowry to be given to newly wedded couple from the bride's mother. The '*Hido*' is kind of food made up of butter and sliced meat and covered at the top with date. In general, the bride's mother is required to prepare four '*Hidos*' with the help of her relatives or members of the women's '*Jamm'a*'.

the two categories in comparison with intermarriage and kinship. They are rather strong among the members of each community. In comparison with *Hartsheik*, the role of these social organizations in creating strong relation between the locals and the refugees is weak in *Kebribeyah*. In *Kebribeyah*, refugee youths have established an informal mutual self help association so as to cope with the economic problems under which they are found

According to some informants, this association is responsible for covering the wedding expenses of the bride's/groom's family by collecting contributions from its informal members. The purpose of the association is, thus, to reduce the traditional marriage expenses, which were the responsibilities of the partners' family and their relatives. What is more, the informal social group visits the newly wed couple during the seven days' honeymoon. The group takes *chat*, sugar, tea, cigarette and other items with them. These are essential for entertainment during the honeymoon. Singing and dancing is common both during the wedding and the honeymoon periods. These refugee youths often use audiocassettes for dancing instead of chanting as traditionally practiced during wedding and honeymoon occasions.

All these refugee youth's practices are being appreciated and practiced by the local youths. However, some local elders rejected the practices considering that they are against the customary marriage practices. According to these elders, deviating from the traditional ways means abolishing the norms and values, which have been handed down from generation to generation. However, there is somewhat good interaction and cooperation between the refugee and local youths. Both groups take part in wedding ceremonies and compete in soccer and other sports. They also participate in various training and workshops conducted by GOs and NGOs.

4.1.1.4 Social Conflicts

In anthropology and in the social sciences conflict is a broad term. Approaches to conflict, thus, vary considerably according to the theoretical significance attached to the disputive relationship (Seymour-Smith 1986:50-51). Competition, antagonism, quarrels, contradiction, opposition, disputes, etc., thus, are interchangeably used as aspects of conflict. However, the focus of this study is on the disputive or competitive aspects of conflict between the refugees and the locals in *Kebribeya* district.

Conflicts between the refugees and the hosts in *Kebribeyah* district, according to the informants of this study, are rare. However, when conflict occurred, they are related to issues such as firewood collection, fetching water, polluting the local's water wells (*Ellas*-), theft of crops and group disputes as well as competitions for pasture.

Since firewood is not available at accessible distance, both locals and refugees travel 5 to 10 kms to collect it. However, sometimes, some refugees to avoid fatigue from traveling long distance destroy and take the nearby farmers' fences for firewood. This practice in some cases entails conflict between the two groups. One local farmer explained this situation as follows:

"Refugee women and children often destroy our fences and use it for firewood. Usually they attack the nearby villages to their settlement. This is to save the energy and time that is needed to collect firewood by traveling from 5 to 10 kms. As a result, we (locals) are now abandoning fencing our compound. This has exposed us to hyenas that take our goats and sheep during the night. Some of us have begun to rear dogs so as to protect our selves from this problem" (Abdi Ahmed Dahr. *Deneba Kebele, Kebribeyah*). See Figure -3

Moreover, during severe water shortage, refugees illegally fetch water from the local individuals' water wells (*Ellas*). In addition, refugee children use the local *Ellas* as swimming pools and sometimes they put stones inside it. During dry season they also defecate inside the

Ellas. Thus, according to local informants, besides from causing conflicts between the locals and the refugees, these practices are the main factors for spreading water borne diseases among both the local and the hosts (See Figure -4). Crop stealing is another source of conflict. According to Yusuf Ahmed, an informant from *Deneba kebele* in *Kebribeyah* area, refugee children take crops, which are ready for harvest from the locals' farm plots during the night. Spontaneous group disputes between the refugee and local youths also sometimes happen. This is usually due to conflicts in groups interests.

Elderly informants explained that the conflict between the locals and the refugees do not reach a level of widespread violence and cause a very serious destruction of properties and loss of human lives. In case an injury on human beings is caused due to conflicts there is a traditional means of resolving the conflicts and compensating the victim and his/her families or relatives. Elders from both locals and refugee communities play a cardinal role in mediating the disruptive relationship.

According to Elmoge Ibrahim Hassen, farmer in *Kebribeyah* area, if the injury is so simple and that will not expose the victim to a further harm, there is no compensation. But the elders say to the victim "*Fatho*"-God have mercy on you. However, if the harm is somewhat serious and needs some sorts of medication and recovering time, the victim will be provided with '*Irbedo*' - literally "needle". This is a compensation of money amounting from 30 to 50 Ethiopia *birr*. If the harm or injury is so serious and requires a long period for recovering, the offender (his relatives) provides the victim with "*Harrarismo*" periodically till the victim recovers. This compensation is equivalent to 100 *birr*. The elders would fix the period of payment. In case of life claim, the compensation reaches 20,000 *birr* or camels that are worth this value. This, however, is not a

problem between the refugees and the hosts.

In a nut shell, the overall relationship between locals and refugees is not such hostile although locals complain of the presence of "refugee fatigue" due to some costs associated with the prolonged presence of the refugees in the area. However, the relation is somewhat friendly, sympathetic and accommodating. According to Reshid Abdi, vice administrator of Kebribeya district, the ethnic identity, religious homogeneity, and the Islamic tradition (Sharia)¹⁹ inter alia, have contributed to the smooth coexistence between the locals and the refugees. In fact, in *Kebribeyah* areas due to clan differences, the relationship between the refugees and the locals is not strong, it is much more co-existence.

4.1.2 Social Dynamics

According to Robertson (1984:593), social dynamic is an alteration in a pattern of culture, social structure and social behavior over time. In view of this, local people in *Kebribeyah* district have experienced considerable socio-cultural changes as a result of the long-term presence of the refugees. This thesis, thus, looked at some of the perceived effects of the refugees that the hosts experienced in both study sites. The marriage system, consumption pattern, attitudinal and behavioral changes as well as socio- economic class are the major indicators used for analyzing the social dynamics in *Kebribeyah* district.

4.1.2.1 Marriage System

According to key informants, in traditional Somali society the sanctity of marriage was and is a treasured value. Marriage is arranged and involves the families of the partners. It is also

¹⁹ According to some informants of this study, the Islamic tradition ordains sympathetic treatment as well as the care and rehabilitation of people who are forced to abandon their home on account of persecution.

based on marriage payments in the form of bride wealth, bride service and dowry. What is more, levirate and sororate customs (*Dumallid*) are common.²⁰ However, the presence of refugees has contributed to the erosion of customary marriage practices in a number of ways.

Based on the information obtained from the group discussions held with local informants, marriage practices among the refugees have somewhat deviated from the customary ways. In the first place, marriage, among refugees, is practiced without any forms of payment. The maximum requirement for marriage among the refugees is a "tent" and "ration card." If the partners satisfy these two things, the marriage is acceptable. Second, marriage among the refugees is also based on the preference of the partners' instead of parents' arrangement. These practices, thus, lured local people's attention especially the younger generation. As times go, locals begun to practice such types of marriage. They practice these through intermarriage with the refugees who have an old hand in the customs under-review. Youths who are not married before, adults and some elders who need additional wives are the main practitioners of the new marriage traditions among the local people.

There are three views among the locals regarding the costs and benefits associated with these new marriage practices. Some informants viewed the change as constructive since it gives freedom for individuals, especially for females, to select their partner and it also reduces the expenses required for having marriage partner. One informant justified the benefits the locals get from the intermarriage on the ground that:

"Marriage is an expensive affair in Somali society. It incurs enormous costs that the poor cannot afford. That is, the traditional marriage payment demands bride wealth and bride service and this

²⁰ Levirate and sororate are remarriage customs. The former refers to the remarriage of a widow to her deceased husband's brother. Whereas, the latter is a custom by which a deceased wife is replaced by a sister (Harris 1988:327). In Somali tradition levirate marriage also includes the deceased husband's relatives such as uncle and nephew.

discourages many people, especially the poor, to engage in married life. Thus, the presence of the refugee women/girls avoids this problem and creates ample opportunities for local men. What is more, those who need to marry a second and third wife also take this opportunity into advantage. So, the presence of refugees helps some locals to escape the traditional costly marriage payments." (Ahmed Ali Abdi, *Kebribeyah* Refugee School Director).

Other informants, especially elders, strongly protest against the change by scapegoating refugees. According to these people the marriage which is practiced without payments and based on preference has certain drawbacks. Above all, it is a disaster for the overall traditional marriage practices in the society. The customary marriages practices, according to these people, are not easily exposed to divorce and do not easily pave ways to have second and third wives. This is because the marriage requires heavy expenses in the form of marriage payment. Moreover, in the case of divorce, it needs the approval of the relatives and families of both parties. If divorce is inevitable, according to the customary marriage, the defaulter will compensate the marriage expenses to the other partner. However, with regard to the newly introduced marriage practices there are no factors of such kind that protect the marriage/married life. As a result, divorce is common and its rate is high. Elders also blame refugees for the extinction of customs favoring remarriage practices-levirate and sororate on account of the beginning of the preferential marriage practice. One informant has summarized this justification as follows:

"Though intermarriage with the refugees has benefited some locals, it is a disaster for the majority of the locals and the Somali tradition as a whole. In Somali culture marriage is planned and celebrated. It also involves the families of the partners. Moreover, a bride could collect a number of camels and other marriage payment (*Yarad*). In violation of this tradition, thus, some local girls and women also marry to refugee men. Moreover, since the intermarriage usually is without marriage payment and based on preference it is not long lasting. People get ample chance to committee another marriage. This escalates the divorce rate in the community." (Gedi Hassen Ismael, chairman of Kebele 01, *Kebribeyah* town).

There is also a third and neutral party that disagree with the above notions. According to Nemu Abdi ,Kebribeyah Distict's Women Affairs Head , significance of "marriage payments" is declining from time to time on account of the ever-growing poverty conditions or impoverishment of the Somali society as a whole, but not due to the presence of refugees. She also noted that intermarriage between the locals and the hosts is not a matter of "marriage payment," rather it is love (*jail*).

However, this third argument is opposed by a number of informants during the group discussion. The opponents of the this argument questioned that if it is "love" that matters for the issue under question, why is it that the number of local men who marry refugee women is increasing from time to time rather than their counter parts do. They added that the local people are acting according to the tradition and still demand high bride wealth. They also argue that the refugee women and girls need the intermarriage with the local men as well. This is because on economic reasons. That is, refugees need to lead a stable and economically well supported life by marrying to the local men who have a better income than them.

In general, as some observers stated, refugees breached these traditional values due to two main factors: economic problems under which they are found and the humanitarian organizations' interventions in the name of "human rights" advocacy. Economically, the refugees lead their life based on the handouts given to them by aid organizations. These resources are meager to cover their monthly expenditures let alone to settle marriage payments. As far as humanitarian organizations' interventions are concerned, refugees are sensitized and obliged to abide by international laws that advocate various human rights - such as child rights, women's rights, and refugee rights and so on. These, thus, allow refugees, especially youngsters, to exercise some form of freedom radiating out from the traditional ways. By and large, the majority of the informants argued that intermarriage is accountable for eroding the customary marriage laws.

4.1.2.2 Attitudinal and Behavioral Changes

Culture has strong impact upon human social behavior. What we eat and drink, what we believe, what music we enjoy and a number of other actions depend largely upon our culture (Myers 1983:171). In view of this, the paper attempted to explore what kinds of behavioral changes have resulted due to the long-term presence of refugees' in the study area. As it is inferred from the group discussions held with both local and refugee informants, there are some changes with regard to the subject under discussion.

Accordingly, sexual promiscuity, mischief, alcoholism and *ch'at* (*qaat*) addiction as well as dependency syndrome are the major social problems that affected the attitude and behavior of the local youths. Many host informants blame refugees for the widespread sexual promiscuity and the exercise of pre-marital sex. According to these informants, these behaviors were not part of the society's culture. *Hart-sheik* town Women's Affair Head, Africa Mohamed Sugal explained, let alone practicing such evil things, walking and talking with women/girls without enough reason is a taboo in the society's tradition and the Islamic order (*Sharia*). She added that these days things are complicated and changed from the normal circumstances. Men and women walk together on the roadside. They sit together to chew *ch'at*. Courtship has also become common. This informant, thus, concludes that all these antisocial behaviors were introduced to the local culture due to the refugees who have urban backgrounds and consider these practices as a mark of civilization (*Hadrad*).

According to some key informants, hard work was the ethos of the community before the coming of refugees. But this culture changed into mischief after the appearance of the refugees. People began to make a living by cheating. What is more, there were very few people who used to chew *ch'at* before the coming of refugees. However, nowadays the overwhelming majority of

the community is addicted to *ch'at*. Many farmers and pastoralists spend their time in town and refugee camps chewing *ch'at*. According to Abdi Ismael, *Hartsheik* Area Administrator, some locals who have integrated themselves with the refugees' assistance program became accustomed to free handouts and gave up self-initiatives. This dependency has caused a moral breach. Gambling and alcoholism have also become common among some local youths. On top of this, the mushrooming video shows, which were unknown to the local society before are blamed for the misbehavior of the local youth. In an intensive interview conducted with key informants from both elder and young population of the host community, especially in *Hartsheik* area, it was suggested that youth spent most of their time watching video films, which are crime oriented and that provoke sexual desires. Since some of the films are translated in to the local language, the youngsters easily understand the theme and tried to make it practical. The video shows are used as income generation for some refugees and locals who have been engaged in the business. According to some elderly (*oday*) informants in *Hartsheik* area the youngsters who watch video films very often misbehave and are involved in antisocial behaviors such as theft, gambling and pre-marital sexual affairs. In addition, the attitudes of youth towards their elders have changed. They do not respect and care after the elders. According to elderly informants of the local community, these are some of the factors, which are responsible for the formation of groups of lawless youngsters (*Maryaan* culture) and for breakdown of the traditional social structure of the community and behavioral changes among the young generation.

In general, in group discussions held with local informants, some informants blame refugees for a number of social problems created in the society. However, a significant proportion of the informants did not agree with this notion. They rather saw the changing social dynamics as an inevitable result of the drastic population increase in the area.

4.1.2.3 Change in Consumption Patterns

Before the coming of the refugees, the local people used to consume agricultural and animal products. According to some key informants, maize and sorghum from agricultural products; milk, butter and meat from animal products were common foods for the community. However, today, these products are not abundant.

A number of factors are accountable for the scarcity of the foregoing products. First, deforestation, soil erosion and rangeland degradation became common phenomena in the local environment due to the concentration of large influx of refugees in the area. As a result, water and fodder became scarce resources and animal husbandry began declining. Moreover, due to the erosion of the topsoil and shortage of rainfall, crop failure became common in the area. Second, a number of farmers and pastoralists began to migrate to towns by withdrawing from such activities in search of better opportunities. Third, some farmers preferred to buy wheat grain at cheap price from refugees rather than wasting their time in agricultural activities, which are not more reliable and productive. Last but not least, even those locals who have engaged in animal husbandry do not consume the products of their animals. For instance, locals produce milk for markets where there is high demand for it. Thus, butter production almost ceased in the community.

On the whole, these days, the host community highly depends on market food items rather than producing for themselves. Among others, vegetable oil, pasta and wheat grain are the major food items refugees often consume by purchasing them from the local markets.

4.1.2.4 Socio-economic Change

In anthropological theories of the evolution of human societies, the emergence of social classes is usually attributed to the increasing specialization in the division of labor (Simer-Smith 1986: 38). The division of labor varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of societies

Thus, population growth leads to greater specialization, because the struggle for existence is more acute when there are more people (Durkaheim 1933:262). In line with this notion, the presence of refugees in *Kebribeyah* district is associated with the formation of some new socio-economic groups.

According to the intensive interviews conducted with key informants, due to the development of towns, business and trade activities, some socio-economic groups emerged. Affluent merchants, unemployed and urban poor are cases in point. The emergency of cross-border trade and some business activities have created a certain groups of people who lead a better life than the common people in the community. These people run different business activities ranging from retail business to hotels, restaurants and huge stores and also involved in import-export activities. The development of *Kebribeyah* from village to town and the emergence of *Hartsheik* as a new town also led to the emergency of a new urban poor group, which is unknown to the locals before. That is, people who came from different corners of the country seeking for jobs and humanitarian aid formed the unemployed and destitute social group. As a consequence, the distribution of wealth in the community became disproportional and the gap between the poor and the rich is widened. In sum, the overwhelming majority of the community of *Kebribeyah* district leads a hand to mouth life as a poor section of the society while few affluent people lead comfortable life.

4.1.3 Socio-political Impacts

In the opinion of many local informants, the refugees are guests who have left their countries for reasons of clan conflict and political crisis in Somalia. They also thought that the refugees will return to their home when they are able. According to local informants this belief coupled with common cultural links and shared religious values motivated to assist refugees with

of the refugees on the security and safety of the community. As a result, the socio-political implications of the refugees are often associated with an illegal arms markets (smuggling), illegal mobility of refugees, political dominance and rising of refugee fatigue and host grievances. This study analyzed some of these implications as follows.

4.1.3.1 Smuggling and illegal mobility of Refugees

According to local people and government officials, refugee camps in eastern Ethiopia are not closed entities. This is because the camps are located in a cultural and economical linked zones covering Somaliland (North Somali) and the Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in eastern Ethiopia where international borders are more a notion than reality. In addition, refugee camps serve as temporary staying place for some members of pastoral families (transnational clan groups) who return to the camps during dry season.

As a consequence, there is a free movement of refugee population in and out of the country. This created suitable conditions for involvement of both locals and refugees in smuggling firearms and other illegal business activities. According to some key informants, the presence of underground firearm markets in the refugee camps created easier access to some local people. This in turn became a major threat for the security and safety of the overwhelming member of the community. There was also a time that refugee camps served as a shelter for extremist Islamic group members like *Alithad* which is believed to be part of the *Binlada* network. Some local delinquents and deviants who are liable for some social and security problems in the community used refugee camps as hiding places.

Refugee camps have eclipsed most of the local villages, as they became major centers of power and authority for the clans, which control the traditional territories where the camps are located. What is more, the homogeneity of locals and refugees, especially in *Hartsheik* area, led some refugees to become involved in the local political structure ranging from the lowest administrative structure (*Kebeles*) to the highest political structure at the regional level. According to the key informants, the refugees used this opportunity to rob the local resources and create political crisis in the area. In general, there was a time when refugees overwhelmed the locals and reduced them to a demographic minority and became politically dominant.

4.1.3.3 Fatigue and Grievances

Shared identity is often used to create social proximity and facilitate communication as well as to resolve conflicts between the locals and the refugees. However, due to the prolonged presence of Somali refugees among the hosts in *Kebribeyah* district and on account of various socio-political problems discussed thus far, the significance of ethnic identity or shared values began to decline and reaches a point where they could not guarantee continued sympathy from hosts. As many key informants disclosed, the locals are feeling 'refugee fatigue' due to the foregoing reasons.

Apart from this, the refugees are settled among impoverished and under developed hosts. This made hosts evaluate the humanitarian aid given to the refugees bypassing them and the cost associated with the refugee presence and consider the refugees advantage over the hosts. This creates grievances among the hosts who began blaming the government bodies for failing to develop the area and take a remedy action to protect the costs induced due to the refugee presence. They also requested compensation for what they have lost due to hosting large number

In sum, this section was concentrated on the socio-cultural impacts of the Somali refugees on the hosting locals in *Kebribeyah* district. In order to see these impacts the study initially focuses upon the host-refugee relationship. Indicators such as kinship, intermarriage, social functions, and social conflicts were used to investigate the relationship between the two categories and to understand the role of common ethnicity in the relationship. Accordingly, though gradually the relationship turned to fatigue and grievance on the part of the host, it was and is good. The major reasons for these fatigue and grievances were the changes such as erosion of customary laws, rampant antisocial behaviors, security and safety problems, as well as changes in the consumption patterns.

4.2 Economic Dimension

The impacts of refugees are not limited to socio-cultural spheres. It has also a serious impact on the economic lives of the host communities. This part of the thesis, thus, examines the economic dimension of the refugees' impacts. Urbanization, trade and business activities, job markets and employment situations, infrastructure and development resources, livelihood occupations and costs of living are used to indicate the economic impacts induced by the presence of the Somali refugees in the study area.

4.2.1 Urbanization

Urbanization refers to the change in the proportion of a population living in urban places; it is a relative measure ranging from 0 percent, if a population is entirely agricultural, to 100 percent, if a population is entirely urban. An urban place, on the other hand, can be defined as spatial concentration of people whose lives are organized around non-agricultural activities (Weeks 1999: 401). In view of this, *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* towns in *Kebribeyah* district have

number of refugee population and a subsequent inflow of population influx from other parts of the country.

According to the intensive interviews and group discussion held with inhabitants and officials of the above towns, during the 1960s and 1970's *Kebribeyah* was a small hamlet made of thatched roofs and there were few inhabitants. The economic activities of the hamlet were limited to livestock and crop productions. The hamlet was known for its cattle market (*Jellabba*). Owing to the significance of this cattle market, merchants used to come from different parts, both from in land and outside the country. *Hartsheik*, on the other hand, was a small village with no proper road and public buildings and social services.

These settlements, however, gradually developed into towns due to the appearance of massive influx of refugee. Mayors of these towns stated that the growing demand for consumption goods by aid workers who had been engaged in different refugee assistance operations initiated the opening of small hotels and encouraged transport facilities linking these towns with *Jijiga* town and the nearby refugee settlements. Moreover, a number of businessmen and job seekers were lured to these towns from different parts of the country. The expansion of illegal cross-boarder trade also led to the rapid growth of these towns. In comparison with *Kebribeyah*, *Hartsheik* has shown radical development in terms of spatial size, economic and social services, physical buildings, concentration and heterogeneity of population. In general, the development of these towns has brought both costs and benefits.

According to key informants of this study, for the host community the development of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns has brought a number of positive changes on the lives of the community. In the first place, access to various social services and facilities are created for both town and rural peoples. These days, the towns have many shops, bars, hotels, dispensaries, te

Kebribeyah road and the rehabilitation of *Kebribeyah-Jijiga* road facilitate the link between the locals and other towns and regions in SNRS. Third, the towns, especially *Hartsheik*, had become a 'melting pot', to which people migrate from the different parts of the country. These towns have also become centers for the seat of local government authorities. *Kebribeyah* is the capital of the *Kebribeyah* district and *Hartasheik* is also a seat for governors of the *Hartasheik* area's administration. A number of local people are also involved in the market economy ranging from retail trade to wholesale trade.

Conversely, local inhabitants and government authorities cited multidimensional costs associated with the development of *Hatsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns. First, in order to satisfy the huge fuel wood and constructional material demands of the town people, both locals and refugees cleared vast areas of forest lands. This practice has been affecting different components of the environment, such as the soil, wild life, water resources, microclimate, etc. Moreover, poor sanitation condition of the towns is labeled to be responsible for the causes of various health problems. These towns, especially *Hartsheik*, are full of used plastic bags and other waste materials. Due to shortage of decent toilets, people defecate in the open air. As a result, environmental pollution and related health problems are common in the towns.

The development of these towns is also accounted for the emergence of various social problems. These are prostitution, alcoholism, gambling, *chat* chewing, delinquency and theft. The first two emerged due to the establishment of bars and hotels in both towns. Prostitution and alcoholism were unknown to the community before. People who have been engaged in these businesses are those who came from other parts of the country. However, some local men and youths are attracted by the situation and involved in the practices. This resulted in the spread of venereal diseases, which the communities argue is new. Many local youths both from town and

also became rampant in these towns. Some of the unemployed people engage in theft and various delinquent activities so as to earn income and support their antisocial behaviors. These towns also serve as a corridor for illegal trade activities (smuggling).

Hartsheik and *Kebribeyah* towns also became place of extremes, for the very poor and very rich. That is, due to the development of multifaceted business activities, people began maximization and the norm of redistribution and sharing began shrinking. This put some people on the top of the ladder of the socio-economic status while others began to deteriorate from their previous positions. As mentioned earlier, the concentration of high population in the towns also created urban poor who lead a hand- to-mouth living. Begging and streetism have also become the characteristics of these towns.

4.2.2 Trade and Business Activities

Key informants from local governors and inhabitants of *Kebribeyah* district noted that when initially the influx of refugee came to *Hartsheik*, most of them brought some furniture and various materials with them. Some others brought office furniture and equipment as well as properties such as detached doors, windows, roofs and a number of other properties which were stolen from various buildings, offices and residences of the war torn Somaliland. These properties and materials are locally known as *billiqo* - Stolen. The presence of such materials and properties created favorable conditions for the development of a new market in the present *Hartsheick*. People used to come to this market from different parts of the country to purchase these "*billiqo*" materials.

Due to the revival of relative peace in Somaliland, the "*billiqo*" trade began to decline gradually and paved the way for a *Hartsheik-Berbera* illegal trade route in the form of contraband. The contraband business includes outflow of live animals, charcoal and animal skins

and inflow of various currencies, made *Hartsheik* popular all over the country and attracted a number of peoples ranging from common citizens to affluent merchants from various parts of the country. This illegal business also made *Hartsheik* grow very rapidly and it became a center of concentration for affluent business people who engage in wholesale trades. These wholesale trades led to the construction of a number of huge stores and buildings as well as the introduction of new technologies in telecommunication and power supply, particularly at *Hartsheik*.

On the contrary, the development and expansion of trade and business activities have brought a number of costs for the country in general and for the respective communities in particular. In the first place, the contraband business has made a number of legal business people go bankrupt all over the country. Second, the involvement of a large number of people in such an illegal trade activities has reduced the income which had to be collected through taxation from legal business people, for both the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Somali National Regional State. Ismael Gedi, an informant from *kebribeyah* area, described this reality saying that "Prior to the coming of refugees *Kebribeyah* district were used to collect income tax from cattle market in thousands birr per day from the cattle market (*Jellaba*), but today it is difficult to get a hundred *birr* because of livestock smuggling."

The expansion of the black market was the other side effect of this illegal business. Quite a large number of people were involved in exchanging American dollars. The Somali Shilling, Saudi Dinars and other currencies were also means of exchanges in the market. These currencies were played a major role in depreciating the value of the Ethiopian *birr*. Some informants noted that there was a time merchant's resisted using Ethiopian *birr* in the local market. As a result locals were forced to collect a Somali shilling whose value is more depreciated than its equivalent Ethiopian *birr*. Moreover, the black-market created conducive condition for disseminating

market was conducted with in the camps.

At large, as most of the key informants disclosed, the illegal business costs are not commensurate with its benefits. While a few people became beneficiaries of these activities, the lives of the majority of the communities deteriorated and the cost of living sky rocketed. This created discrepancies between the rich and the poor as well as between town and rural areas.

4.2.3 Job Markets and Employment Situations

The influx of refugees into *Kebribeyah* district altered the job markets for host communities in different ways. As discussed previously, with the increased local markets, there was an upsurge in business and trade conducted by both the hosts and the refugees. Countless shops, restaurants and commercial centers were developed at both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* areas. Especially, in *Hartsheik* quite a large number of people were engaged in such business ventures. Trade also increased significantly at the village level. Before the refugees' presence, rural people had no immediate access to markets. Thus, the coming of refugees created some markets closer to the local villages. *Istabudh*, *Kumbuq*, *Risle*, *Labashaag* and *Garbiare* are cases in point. This also created job opportunities for some people at the village level.

As the experience of *Hartsheik* depicted, when refugees repatriated to their country and the *Hartsheik-Berbera* illegal trade route closed, many hotels, restaurants, commercial centers ceased to function. Currently, most of these business activities are closed. People who had been engaged both in retail and wholesale traders became out of business. Many petty traders are also affected by this situation. As a result, currently there are a number of people who are underemployed and deteriorated from their high socio-economic status down the ladder. The number of beggars in the town has also increased. One informant described this situation as follows.

opportunities for both the locals and the people who came from different parts of the country to *Hartsheik*. Many locals were engaged in different kinds of petty trades on account of high consumers demands. There were also locals who opened bars, restaurants, and built huge stores and shops for serving the needs of the large number of consumers. However, the decline of refugees numbers due to repatriation operation and the closure of the *Hartsheik-Berbera* trade route have caused many people to drop out of business. Today many of the huge stores which were centers for the wholesale trades are closed. Most of the merchandise shops and petty trade activities have declined due to lack of consumers. In general, *Hartsheik* which was once a source of income for many people in the country now it can not able to feed even its inhabitants" (Shuay Ali, *Hartsheik* town Municipality Social Sector head).

4.2.4 Dynamics of Infrastructure and Development Resources

As reviewed in the literature, refugee influx affects the infrastructure and development resources of host communities in both positive and negative ways. Positively, it is argued that the refugees themselves bring human capital in the form of labor, skills and education as well as material wealth. In view of this, positive changes have been exhibited in the spheres of health, education, and transportation as well as food security.

Due to the presence of a large population including refugees in the study area, both the refugees and the locals established a number of pharmacies and clinics as well as private drug stores. This created alternatives for those people who have a better income and who need immediate access to health services. Since these facilities were concentrated at the heart of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns, they used to provide emergency services, especially during the night.

The refugees' presence also encouraged the locals to send their children to school. Many local informants witnessed that prior to the refugees' presence, few local boys used to attend schools. Thus, the presence of refugees' created a competitive atmosphere and motivated many locals to send their children including girls to school. This radically increased the participation rate of local children and the education coverage in the area. Moreover, a number of private tutorial schools were opened in both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* areas to support the academic

performance of the local children.

Transport operation was also developed due to the presence of refugees. A number of vehicles were brought with the refugees into the area. These vehicles played important roles in freight and passenger transportation. There was a regular connection to Jijiga, the capital of SNRS and Hargessa, the capital of Somaliland. Moreover, some mini-buses were engaged in offering services for refugee operations employees (ARRA staff) on a contract basis. Trucks were also used for transporting construction materials in the area.

Although international assistance is intended for the refugees in the camps, it flows out into the host community via the local market. Some local and refugee merchants by purchasing wheat grain from refugees export to Somaliland and transport it to different parts of Ethiopia. Local consumers also purchase both food-and non-food aid items, which are made available at the retail market by the refugees. According to Tsegaye Mehretu, Eastern Ethiopia Refugee Camps Coordinator, the circulation of aid food in the study area had contributed for food security (See figure -6).

With regard to human capital, refugees also brought cheap labor and skills as well as material wealth and remittance. The cheap labor of refugees benefited locals to expand their *ch'at* and crop farms. Refugees usually engage in digging, weeding and harvesting tasks. They also used to look after cattle. In the towns, refugees serve as shopkeepers and domestic servants. Refugees also work for cheap payment in a number of day-laboring activities (*Hammal*).

Another contribution of refugees is the various skills and technologies they brought with them. Most of the refugees in *Hartsheik* were from urban backgrounds. They had different entrepreneurial skills. Some were engaged in hotel and restaurant business, some others in repairing and maintenance activities such as electronic equipment, furniture, vehicle and shoes as well as tailoring. They were also responsible for the introduction of satellite telecommunication,

The remittances, refugees receive from their relatives in the Diaspora, is also another positive reward for the local people. Since refugees are the top consumers of the local market, they spend their remittances by purchasing both food and non-food items. What is more, they also redistribute it to the local people with whom they have common clan ties.

Negatively, the refugee presence also affected infrastructure and development resources from different perspectives. To begin with, the massive influx put heavy pressure on the existing limited infrastructure both at the local and regional level. For instance, the *Karamar* Hospital, the only referral hospital in the region, has been over burdened by refugee patients. According to the hospital medical director, Dr. Muhammad Olad, the hospital often treats refugee patients who suffer from TB, abnormal delivery accidents and other chronic illness that need a long period to recover. Since refugees occupy more beds and are given priority, the locals, in most case, are exposed to private clinic exploitation. What is more, the hospital is obliged to accommodate a large number of patients including the refugees using its limited manpower and facilities.

According to the SNRS Health Bureaus' Disease Prevention and Control Department Director, Dr. Abdurhaman, refugees often use toilets in the open field. This results in pollution of the local water wells (*Ella*), which in turn causes parasitic diseases such as ascaris and amoebas. The director argued that these diseases were not known before. Respiratory diseases, which are caused due to dust, are also common. This is the result of the destruction of the refugee-impacted areas' vegetation cover by the refugees. According to Dr. Abdurhaman, since Ethiopia in general and the SNRS in particular were not ready to accommodate such a large number of refugees, the health problems have affected the locals very much more than expected.

Refugees are also blamed for the depletion and destruction of some natural resources. According to Abdurham Ali, planning and program service head in the water Bureau of SNRS

refugees for over 16 years. As a result, some of the water wells collapsed due to over use and there are a number of wells being drained. This practice is highly depleting the water resource, which is so precious and scarce in the region. A survey of *Hartsheik* Refugee Camp in 1991 revealed that 800, 000 liters of water per day were needed for *Hartsheik* Refugee Camp alone (Brons 2001:205). Refugees' reliance on forest resources for firewood and housing construction has also brought a devastating impact on the local vegetation cover. Economic activities like charcoal making and firewood selling led to the clearance of dense vegetation areas.

Aside from the above-mentioned negative impacts, the refugees' presence has also caused shortage of educated manpower. Due to attractive salaries, many government employees had joined humanitarian organizations, which have been working in the area. Thus, on account of the brain drain, many organizations have lost their qualified personnel. The SNRS, which has been suffering from lack of skilled manpower, has lost many of its qualified educated personnel ever since the onset of refugee operation in the region. One of the badly affected institutions due to the brain drain is the *Karamara* Referral Hospital in *Jijiga* town. This hospital lost its educated manpower in two ways. Initially, the hospital used to send various health personnel to different refugee camps in the regions so as to solve the then existing manpower shortage in the refugee operations. According to Dr. Mohammed Olad, medical director of *Karamara* Referral Hospital, since these staff usually serves more than six months in the refugee operations, the hospital's duties were put on the shoulder of few personnel. In addition, the attractive salaries NGOs used to pay mad many qualified employees to resign form the hospital.

By and large, the locals claim that the benefits obtained from the refugees' presence are not commensurate with its costs. The infrastructure built in the refugee camps such as health

Hartsheik, for instance, could not provide services to the local people even long after the refugees were repatriated to their home country. According to some informants, this is due to three major reasons. First, these infrastructure are located 5 to 6 kms from *Hartsheik* town. Second, the physical buildings are poor and below standard to provide proper services. Finally, since the concerned organizations' (ARRA and UNHCR) phase out strategy did not take the manpower, material and running costs into account, these infrastructure are kept without services since 1999. However, UNHCR and ARRA officials do not agree with these arguments. They rather blame the regional government for lack of initiatives in running the facilities that it had taken over from them. One official from ARRA justified this on the ground that:

“The facilities and buildings of the ex-refugee camps were handed over to the Somali National Regional Government (SNRG) through the concerned bureaus of the region .However the initiative and the commitment of the regional government to run these facilities is low. The region has not earmarked the required budget and qualified personnel for running these services .As a result some services ceased to be given for locals after the refugees repatriated to their country .For instance, the facilities of the former *Hartsheik-B* Refugee Camp have not been functional ever since refugees repatriated to their country.”(Tsegaye Mehiretu, Eastern Refugee Camps Coordination Office Coordinator).

4.2.5 Dynamics of Pastoralism and Agro-Pastoralism

According to the *Jijiga* Zonal Livestock, Environment, Crop production and Control Office, the economic occupations of *Kebribeyah* district mainly embrace livestock and mixed agriculture productions. However, in the past few years, these economic activities have been deteriorating. The movement of refugees and returnees in the district has mainly exacerbated the decline of these activities. Many informants argued that the refugees' impacts are associated with land encroachment, deforestation and rural-urban migration. In this part of the study, thus, we will see the impacts of each of these factors.

4.2.3.1 *Land*

Local informants asserted that a large tract of land is allocated for refugee settlements in both study sites. *Deneba* settlement in *Kebribeyah* and *Belleyele* and *Dullad* settlements in *Hartasheik* areas cover vast hectares of land which had been used by locals for both crop and livestock productions. What is more, the earth dam construction also alienated a vast area of land. The development and expansion of both *Haratasheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns also brought a similar impact on the livestock and crop production activities. While these towns are inhabited by some thousands of people, they stretched on vast areas in unplanned manner.

The encroachment of such a vast area of land by the aforementioned reasons, thus, caused a dramatic cut in the size of grazing ground and loss of strategic pasture. This in turn decreased the size of individual household herd and farm plot holdings. According to Ato Wolde Berta, Crop Production and Control Department Head of the *Jijiga* Zonal Livestock, Environment, Crop Production and Control Office, an individual household had 200 to 800 sheep prior to the coming of refugees. But now it is difficult to find a person with 10 sheep. The decrease in livestock production also leads to a shortage of milk and meat, which were staple foods once for pastoral people in the area. Even the available few milk and animals are kept for the local market so as to cover the monthly expenditures of a household. Crop production has also shown a radical decline. The same informant described that traditional crop production performance in the study area before the 1990s on the average was 14 and 10 quintals maize and sorghum per hectare respectively. However, these days the production performance shows 4.5 and 3.5 quintals for maize and sorghum on the average per hectare respectively. According to Wolde Berta, the clearance of the vegetation cover and the subsequent soil degradation as well as recurrent drought are the main factors for the radical declining of crop productions in the study area. In so far as vegetation clearance is concerned the refugees' presence is the main factor. That is, vegetation

charcoal. As a result, these days, both pastoralists and agro-pastoralist have become dependent on markets and humanitarian aid for their foods.

4.2.5.2 Deforestation

The most serious environmental problem created by the refugees in the district is reported to be that of deforestation. Environmental impact studies carried out by EMA-UNHCR (2002) and CEDEP-ARRA (1999) in some selected refugee impacted areas including *Kebribeyah* district revealed the absence of any form of vegetation in the radius of 10-20 kms of the refugee settlements. According to these studies, the principal inducing factor for the destruction of forest within the study area is the presence of refugees. The SNRS Environmental, Livestock, Crop Production and Control Bureau also stated that the concentration of large number of refugees in very small areas has put too much pressure on the local environment. The Bureau added that the refugees' concentration was compounded by the massive movements of displaced locals and returnees to refugee settlements, where the basic services were better. According to the bureau under discussion, the refugee settlements were established in denser vegetation cover. In general informants noted four basic factors for the deforestation. These are clearance of forests for establishing settlement and construction purpose, fuel, sale of fuel wood and charcoal and the expansion of *ch'at* plantation.

During the initial stage of the refugee influx, a vast area of forestland was cleared for the construction of refugee settlement in both *Hartasheik* and *Kebribeyah* area. As *Kebribeyah* inhabitants explained, prior to the refugees' presence, the vegetation cover of the area was relatively dense. One had a chance to access or see a vegetation cover within 1 and 1/2 km radius of *Kebribeyah* town. The same holds true for *Hartasheik*. They added that the area between

witnessed that they used to walk inside dense vegetation to reach the refugee settlements which were located about 5 to 6 kms from their residence. On top of this, a vast area of vegetation was also cleared for road construction. *Hartsheik - Kebribeyah*, *Kebribeyah-Jerrer* valley and *Hartsheik-Alai bedi* as well as different feeder roads to the refugee settlements are the main ones. The expansion of both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns also claimed a removal of a significant amount of forest. Forests are also cleared to satisfy the ever-growing construction demands for individual household, public buildings, staff residences and stores. As one study depicted in *Hartsheik* area alone about 10, 108 m³ of construction wood between 1989 and 1991, were used to construct shelter for about 50,540 households (CEDEP-ARRA, 1995:5). Moreover, pastoral nomads from both the refugees and the local communities use tree roots to construct their mobile houses (*Dessa*). According to Ahmed Ali, Natural Resource Department Group Leader in ELCDPB of the Somali National Regional State (SNRS), this practice prevents regeneration of trees in the area.

Both refugees and locals also meet the demand for fuel wood from the surrounding vegetation. Information obtained from group discussion held with both local and refugee informants depicted that charcoal and fire wood are the most common energy sources for both locals and refugees. A study conducted by CEDEP-ARRA has shown that about 954, 745m³ of wood was estimated to be consumed by the refugees between 1991 and 1998 (*Ibid.* 6).

This initial removal of wood for personal or household usage quickly develops into full-scale commercial activities by producing charcoal and fuel wood both for the local markets and export. To satisfy the growing demand of fuel wood of the town population, the settlement areas and people in North Somali, a large number of people, both from locals and refugees were engaged in vegetation clearance and charcoal making (see figure -7). The *Jijiga* Zonal Livestock.

have begun to export charcoal illegally to North Somali and some Arab countries. According to the office, these people purchase the live tree or vegetation from the farmers and change it to charcoal using modern chemicals instead of the traditional production methods. Areas such as *Gillo, Guye, Dawlle, Jingedda, Ararso* and *Grebehare* are well known for this practice.

Owing to its growing demand, both in and out the country, *ch'at* plantation is increasing from time to time. This practice has demanded the clearance of vast areas of vegetation. *Ch'at*, both as a cash crop and consumption, motivates both merchants and farmers to be involved in such activities. Refugees contribute for this practice in three ways. That is, by providing cheap labor to local farmers, by consuming and by directly planting *ch'at*. The likelihood of firewood and charcoal selling and *ch'at* plantation continues even after the refugees were repatriated to their country.

To come to the main point of discussion, all the aforementioned practices led to the destruction of forest lands and exposed the soil to wind and water erosions. Some informants noted that the area is enveloped with dust virtually all round the year. This in turn reduced the pasture cover and soil fertility of the area. Soil erosion was also aggravated by those refugees who have been engaged in selling some colored soils, which are used for painting residential rooms. As a result, according to local informants, cattle began to die due to shortage of grazing land. The supply of meat and milk is also radically deteriorated. Moreover, loss of the soil fertility coupled with shortage of rainfall in the area became responsible for the recurrent crop failure in the study area.

By and large, nowadays, the size of herds and crop productions has been radically reduced. As far as crop production is concerned few farmers are currently involved in maize production. Even these farmers in most cases do not harvest what they sow for two basic reasons.

second refugees steal the crop during the night time from the field.

4.2.5.3 Rural-urban migration

Ever since the coming of refugees in to the area, a large number of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists migrate to *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* towns. Local hosts and officials cited two main reasons for the withdrawal of these people from their occupations. These are, inter alia, the expansion of illegal trade, and decline of agriculture and livestock productions.

As discussed elsewhere in this study, the expansion of *Hartsheik-Berbera* illegal trade corridor has caused a large population inflow to *Kebribeyah* district. As focal points *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns were inhabited by a large number of people who came from different areas of the country for seeking jobs and to engage in different area of trade activities at the two towns. The pastorlaists and agro-pastoralists of the *Kebribeyah* district are also part of this web of population movement. Some key informants reported that young people, who have a big responsibility in running the pastoral and agro-pastoral occupations, comprised the largest number of those people who migrated to the town.

The mobility of these people harmed the economic sectors which are already in danger of extinction. Elders who stayed back in the villages are being troubled by shortage of persons to look after cattle and crops as well as one who leads cattle to pasture and water areas. What is more, as it is discussed before, the crop and livestock productions have been deteriorating from time to time principally due to refugee induced impacts. The likelihood of these activities continuing as a livelihood strategy is becoming questionable. This is because many pastoralists and agro pastoralists are migrating to different towns including *Jijiga*, the regional capital, by withdrawing from these occupations. Some of them move to towns to establish their own

of them move in search of relief handouts.

All in all, pastoral and agro pastoral economic activities are highly affected due to the presence of high population concentrations in general and the presence of large numbers of refugee influxes in particular. The environment, which was once conducive to such economic activities, is now changing to hostile one. The climatic condition of the area has completely changed and this has made recovery and rehabilitation of the environment extremely difficult.

4.2.6 Impacts of Refugees on Costs of Living

Hosts in *Kebribeyah* district argued that the presence of refugees affected the costs of living both in positive and negative ways. Positively, there is an improvement in expenditures such as health, clothes, electronic materials, house utensils and a number of other items (goods). Conversely, increment of costs of living is shown on food items, construction and firewood, water and housing.

According to some key informants of the local people, the presence of refugees has brought a radical improvement in the local health service and a subsequent price reduction in health expenditures of the community. As these informants disclosed, the refugee health centers provide free medical service to the local people. Previously, the locals had to go to Jijiga in search of medical service. This had made them to spend for transport, hotel rent and medical fees. The refugees' presence also helped the opening of both private and government sponsored clinics and health centers in the district. Some of these centers were established by the assistance of UNHCR. Since the government health centers work on costs-sharing bases, locals get medical services at a reasonable price. However, due to shortage of drug supply and qualified manpower as well as the charge to the medical services, they prefer to be treated in the refugee health

that need referral to *Karamara* hospital.

However, there are some locals who oppose the above argument. According to these informants the medical services given to the locals by the refugee centers is something political. They justified this on the ground that locals are not treated in the same manner as the refugees. Since priority is given to the refugees, treating locals is a secondary and neglected issue. This coupled with very poor services given by the government clinic and health centers, thus, exposed the local people to the exploitation of private clinics found in the district. Though the private clinics provide good health services and have adequate drug supplies, their costs to visiting, treatment, laboratory and drug supply is too expensive for the majority of the local people to afford.

In comparison with other parts of the region or the country, *Kebribeyah* district has a better access to cheap items such as clothing, electronic materials, house utensils and a number of other non-food items. This is due to the illegal trade or smuggling in the area for long period of time. However, according to local informants, this does not mean that all locals have access and can afford to purchase these items.

Negatively, the hosts accused refugees for the increment of costs of living in the district. Hosts complained that deforestation and its subsequent effects have made crop and livestock production deteriorate. According to locals, thus, this reduced the local food supply in the form of milk, butter, and meat as well as maize and sorghum. This in turn has changed the consumption habits of the locals, which was based on primary agricultural products to secondary (factory) products like pasta, vegetation oil, and rice and wheat grain found in the local market. As the informants stated, these food items cost beyond the capacities of the local people to afford.

The rapid growth of the town population of whom significant proportions are refugees has caused an increment in housing rent. According to local informants at *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* towns the housing price before the refugees' presence was from 5-10 birr per month. But now the monthly rent for a single room is from 30 to 50 birr.

The rapid clearing of forest resources has also caused a radical price increase in fuel and construction woods. These days people have to travel 5-10 kms to fetch fire and construction wood. This coupled with the export of charcoal has caused a high increase in the price of both fire and construction woods. According to local informants, a camel load of fuel wood, which used to cost 2-3 *birr* before 10 years, now requires 15 to 20 Ethiopian *birr*. A sack of charcoal, which cost 5 *birr*, now costs 20 *birr*.

Water is a scarce resource in Somali Regional State in general and in *Kebribeyah* district in particular. According to key informants of this study, the prolonged drought in the area and the acceleration of deforestation by the refugees have reduced the ground water recharging capacities due to high run off. What is more, there is a depletion of the ground water in the area due to high over use by the refugees. As a result, to day there is a chronic water shortage in the study area. Though UNHCR is tankering water to *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* towns regularly, this is not adequate to meet the needs of the town inhabitants. Thus, this situation created a price increment in water supply. Previously the cost of a jerrycan water was 50 cents - 1 *birr*. Nowadays, one has to spend up to 3-5 *birr* per Jerrycan. During drought period it is difficult to get water even for such an amount.

Summary

In the hosts' view, the costs of refugees outweigh their benefits. They justified this on the basis that costs such as, erosion of customary marriage practices, rampant antisocial behaviors, security and safety problems, the violation of some values and norms, and subsequent changes in the attitudes and behaviors of some locals as well as changes in the consumption patterns have brought major negative changes in their socio-cultural lives. Economically, deforestation, internal displacement, smuggling, deterioration of standards of living and other unforeseen impacts have also brought a radical change on the economic lives of the local people. These days, according to locals, a large number of the local people are not self-sufficient. Pastoralism and agro-pastoralism, which are the mainstays of the local economy, have been severely affected by the presence of massive influxes of refugee in the district for a long period. As a result, most of the locals have to depend on relief rations and provision of free communal services found in the refugee settlements. This dependency syndrome, in turn, has caused deterioration in the traditional coping mechanisms and declining of scarce and precious resources of the area.

There are also some constructive changes on the socio-culture lives of the host community. These include the development of social proximity and interaction among different ethnic groups (heterogeneity), promotion of trade and intermarriage practices. In the economic spheres the availability of some facilities such as water, health and education as well as the development and rehabilitation of some infrastructure such as roads, schools, health centers, water wells and earth dams are the positive aspects of the refugees presence.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE AND IMPACTS OF THE RELIEF OPERATIONS

Chapter four examined the impacts of Somali refugees on the socio-economic aspects of the hosts' lives in *Kebribeyah* District. In this chapter an attempt is made to present the implications of the relief operations for the host communities in the study area. Analysis is provided on the interventions of UNHCR and its implementing partners. This chapter consists of four main parts. These are the role of relief organizations and agencies, phase out strategies of the relief organizations, impacts of the relief operations, and hosts' perceptions regarding the impacts of the relief operations.

5.1 The Role of Relief Organizations and Agencies

UNHCR has a clear mandatory responsibility within the United Nations systems to provide protection and assistance. It performs this function in close collaboration with other UN agencies, NGOs, and Government organizations that have expertise in particular sectors such as food, health, water supply, education, road construction, environment rehabilitation, etc (UNHCR 1993:92). In light of this, this section tries to look at the role of UNHCR and its major implementing partners in the relief operations, which are being carried out in SNRS in general and in *Kebribeya* district in particular.

5.1.1 The role of UNHCR

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the United Nations refugee agency. Since 1 January 1951, UNHCR has been mandated by the United Nations' statute to lead and coordinate international action for the worldwide protection of refugees and the resolution of refugee problems. UNHCR guided by the 1951 United Nations Convention relating

to the status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol (*Ibid*: 169-170).

According to UNHCR sub-office *Jijiga* (UNHCR-SOJ) protection officer, John Kilo Wako, UNHCR's primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and well being of refugees. However, in support of its core activities on behalf of refugees, UNHCR is also involved with other groups: returnees, and internally displaced peoples (IDPs). UNHCR also prevents forced displacement of possible refugee flows by encouraging states and other institutions to create conditions which are conducive to the protection of human rights and the peaceful resolution of disputes. In pursuit of the same objectives, UNHCR seeks to consolidate the reintegration of returning refugees in their country of origin, thereby averting the recurrence of refugee-producing situations.

The same person stated that in seeking durable solutions to refugees' problems, UNHCR attempts to help those who wish to go home to do so, and tries to assist them to reintegrate into their home communities. Where this is not feasible, it works to help them integrate in countries of asylum or, failing that, to resettle them in other countries. In general, UNHCR tries to address the refugee problems in its totality from exodus to return and integration. It has also acquired the additional role of assisting internally displaced people and protecting refugee flows through institution - building and training in countries likely to produce refugees.

In light of the above mentioned roles and missions, UNHCR has been operating three major programs in Somali National Regional State (SNRS) in general and Kebribeyah District in particular, since 1988. According to UNHCR and ARRA *Jijiga* sub-offices, these programs include Care and Maintenance (CM), Repatriation, Reintegration and Rehabilitation. The CM program mainly consists of relief provisions such as food and non-food items; water, sanitation, health care, community services, education and legal assistance. All these provisions directly concern the refugees. In fact locals also benefited from such provision both directly and

indirectly. Directly they access some services such as water, health, sanitation and education through UNHCR and ARRA. Indirectly, they benefit from services such as food and non-food items either by purchasing them from the market or by sharing from their kin refugees.

Repatriation, on the other hand, is considered as one of the durable solutions to the Somali refugees' problem in SNRS. As a result, since 1977 UNHCR's main objective concerning Somali refugees is to continue promoting and implementing voluntary repatriation. According to ARRA-Jijiga sub-office, between 1997 and October 2003, some 214,251 refugees were repatriated from the eastern refugee camps. Of these about 45,798 were from *Kebrieya* district, *Hartsheik* site. There were also about 17,786 dispersed locals. About 857 people were dispersed from *Hartsheik* site, *Kebribeyah* district. As a result five camps were closed in SNRS. One of these camps was *Hartsheik-B*, from *Kebribeyah* district (See Annex-4 and Annex-5 for the detail).

The third major program, reintegration and rehabilitation aimed to settle down the returnees and the dispersees in their places of origin and to rehabilitate the refugee and returnee impacted areas. According to UNHCR-SOJ protection office, the focus of this program is on water development, health services, road construction, education and environmental rehabilitation. According to UNHCR –SOJ, although some of these activities are long-term in nature and go beyond the mandate of UNHCR, it was recognized that the prolonged presence of refugees/returnees caused environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources. UNHCR was therefore obliged, particularly in the absence of other developmental agencies to repair the damage in favor of the refugees, IDPs and the local communities whose resources have been utilized. *Kebribeyah* district is, thus, one of the areas where reintegration and rehabilitation programs are being carried out.

In general, UNHCR run these programs through its implementing agencies and directly implementing part of other programs by itself. Among those programs directly implemented by UNHCR include logistic support and storage of non-food items prior to their dispatch to settlement areas. As the UNHCR-SOJ stated, the logistic service refers to water tankering, support for cargo, road maintenance, and upgrading and maintenance of trucks, machines and vehicles under UNHCR custody. Most of the refugee operations run or implemented by UNHCR'S implementing partners. The following sub-part, thus, deals with the roles of the major UNHCR'S implementing partners in the refugee operations.

5.1.2 The role of UNHCR'S Implementing Partners

A refugee crisis usually involves dozens of relief agencies. In other words, implementation of comprehensive responses to a refugee problem requires the co-operation of a broad range of actors. Accordingly, in its efforts to protect refugees and to promote solution to their problems as well as to reintegrate the returnees and the dispersees into their respective community as well as to rehabilitate the refugee/returnee impacted areas, UNHCR works in partnership with governmental, international and non-governmental organizations.

According to UNHCR-SOJ, UNHCR has been working in collaboration with various organizations since the inception of relief operations in SNRS. As the sub-office disclosed, during the initial stage of the refugees' presence, the relief operation was conducted by a group of NGOs which were responsible for different relief interventions - health, water, education, nutrition, protections, etc. However, currently the relief operations and partner organizations are declined due to the repatriation of a large number of refugees form the region and subsequent closure of five refugee camps. As a result, UNHCR today works with a few partners from government, non-government and international organizations. The following discussion is

concerned on the role of these organizations.

A) Government Partners

UNHCR has been working with various governmental organizations, which were and are responsible for various interventions in the study area. These are ARRA, on behalf of the Government of Ethiopia (GOE), and at the regional level from SNRS include Bureau of Water Resources Development (BWRD), Livestock, Environment and Crop Development and Protection Bureau (LECDPB), Health Bureau and Education Bureau. However, this study did not exhaustively deal with each intervention, which is being run by these organizations. Due to lack of adequate data from most of the above stated organizations, the study tried to provide brief accounts of their major works.

The Administration for Refugee-Returnee Affairs (ARRA) is an official government counter part of UNHCR. According to Tsegaye Mehretu, Eastern Refugee Camps Coordination office Coordinator, ARRA is responsible for general camp management, security, protection, repatriation, and food and non-food item distribution, maintenance of water supply system in *Hartsheik* and *Kebrbeyah* refugee camps. ARRA is also in charge of sanitation, health and nutrition as well as formal education in the refugee camps. Furthermore, ARRA promotes harmony among the refugees and locals in the area. On behalf of the GOE, ARRA is accountable to waive all duties and levies on all imported items used to assist refugees, returnees, dispersees and locals. It also facilitates logistical requirements for the above mentioned categories of beneficiaries. Deploying professional and skilled manpower for its intervention is also the duty of ARRA. In general, According to Tsegaye Mehretu, ARRA avails the above services in collaboration with UNHCR, WFP and other pertinent organizations. Today ARRA performs more than 80% of the refugee operations at the camp level.

At the regional level, in SNRS, the Bureau for Water Resources Development (BWRD) is responsible for maintenance and rehabilitation of bore holes in *Jerrer* valley. This valley is a source of water for *Kebribeya* and *Hartasheik* refugee camps as well as the hosting communities. The Regional Livestock, Environment and Crop Development and Protection Bureau (LECDPB) was accountable for environmental protection and rehabilitation and energy saving stove production and distribution in the study area. The Regional Health Bureau, on the other hand, is in charge of rehabilitation and upgrading health centers in the refugee camps and local villages of the area under review. The Regional Education Bureau is also responsible for construction of additional classrooms and rehabilitation of existing schools in the district. It also provides periodical training for local and refugee schools' teachers.

In a nutshell, all these government organizations run their activities with the funds assigned from UNHCR. While most of the regional government partners work with UNHCR on an on-and-off basis based on the life span of a given project, ARRA has been a long-term partner for UNHCR.

B) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Various Local Non-Governmental Organizations (LNGOs) and International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) have been working in partnership with UNHCR since the inception of relief/refugee operations in the study area – 1988. Informants of this study noted that at the initial stage of the relief operation, there were a number of INGOs that were responsible for different interventions – water supply, water system maintenance, nutritious supply and transport operations. However, the number of INGOs began to decline gradually on account of the spontaneous and voluntary repatriation of the Somali refugees to their country and because of the direct involvement of ARRA in implementation of more than 80% of the relief operations in the

refugee camps. UNHCR also directly implement some activities such as water trucking and logistic provisions. The participation of LNGOs in the relief operation was absent during the initial stage of the refugees' presence in the study area. They came into the scene very late and their number was few.

During the fieldwork, I observed a few local and international NGOs operating in the relief operations in the district. Some of them were being phased out from the operation. They were implementing specific UNHCR-funded sub-projects. While Hope for the Horn (HFA) and Rehabilitation and Development Organization (RaDO) are the LNGOs, Save the Children USA (SC-USA) and Save the Children Fund United Kingdome (SCF-UK) are INGOS. The NGOs' operations cover both the local and the refugees. However, most of the NGOS' works address the needs of the refugees.

Hope for the Horn (HFH) is a local NGO working to address and find sustainable solutions to the recurrent droughts in SNRS by the construction of water storage system and range-land improvement. According to HFH's Jijiga branch manager, Ali Ahmed, the organization's partnership with UNHCR focuses on environmental rehabilitation interventions in refugee-impacted areas. These works include reforestation of the degraded land through production and distribution of seedlings; production and distribution of energy saving stoves; awareness raising on environmental protection and management of natural resources; water conservation by rehabilitating the earth dams constructed by UNHCR and by building new earth dams; and soil conservation. HFH has been working in cooperation with various regional governmental and international organizations such as Water Resources Development Bureau (WRDB) and Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau (DPPB) from SNRS and UNICEF, and a number of other NGOs.

Rehabilitation and Development Organization (RaDO) is another LINGO which has been working in the refugee operation since January 1998. According to the field findings, this organization has been providing physical rehabilitation services for the disabled refugees and locals in the study area. The services include identification of disabled persons; production, distribution and repair of orthopedic devices and correction of clubfeet. It has also been providing physiotherapy treatments and consultation, capacity building training as well as disability awareness and community sensitization.

The types of disabilities treated by RaDO include amputation, polio, orthopedic deformities, post trauma problems, leprosy, central nervous system problem, cerebral palsy, mental handicapped, respiratory problems and a number of diverse cases. The orthopedic devices include prosthesis, long leg braces, short leg braces, orthopedic shoes, walking aids and wheelchairs. RaDO provides these services through its orthopedic workshop at *Jijiga*, mobile physical rehabilitation team and community health agents in each refugee camp. RaDO has been working in cooperation with ARRA and UNHCR.

While the local NGOs' interventions focus on rehabilitation, the international NGOs such as Save the Children USA (SC-USA) and Save the Children Fund United Kingdom (SCF-UK), mainly work on social mobilization, non-formal education and reproductive health. Most of the interventions of these organizations are focused on the refugee communities. According to SC-USA *Kebribeyah* representative, Ahmed Mohammed, SC-USA has been providing social mobilization, capability building, informal education and child protection and support programs in *Kebribeyah* district since September 1999. The social mobilization program includes initiation of the refugee communities especially women to participate in the implementation of various activities. Sports, drama, and a number of other recreation activities are also part of the social mobilization program. The capacity building program, on the other hand, deals with

empowerment of women, provision of materials, tools and training, which are essential for the different kinds of interventions of the NGO. Literacy activities such as adult education, youth education and girls' education as well as *Kuranic* School for children are part of the non-formal education of SC-USA. The child protection and support programs focus on awareness raising regarding the rights of children, harmful practices and beliefs to children development as well as opportunity of education to children. Awareness raising on traditional practices that has detrimental effects on girls' health and developments is also part of the NGOs interventions. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and early marriage are cases in point. Locals also benefit from some of these interventions. SC-USA also provides skills training in woodwork and masonry for the refugee youths. In general, SC-USA works in close co-operation with UNHCR and ARRA. Its major funding source is the USA Government Bureau of Population, Refugee and Migration (PRM). According to Ahmed Mohamed Save-USA has planned to replicate most of its major programs among the locals in *Kebribeyah* district.

Save the Children Fund- UK (SCF-UK), on the other hand, has been working in the areas of reproductive health since 2001. As the field findings depicted the organization intervened in family planning programs and awareness rising on Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and early marriage practices. These interventions cover both the local and the refuge communities. This NGO works in collaboration with UNFPA, UNHCR and ARRA.

C) UN Agencies (International Organizations)

WFP, UNFPA and UNICEF are the main UN agencies, which have been operating in the refugee program of the study area. WFP is responsible for the supply of basic food rations for general distribution, repatriation and successive feeding programs in all the refugee camps and food for work project planned to take place in selected refugee/returnee impacted areas. UNFPA

provides funds for the implementation of reproductive health activities. UNICEF is responsible of electromechanical equipment for *Jerrar* valley pipeline construction project. According to UNHCR-SOJ, pipeline project to bring water from bore holes at *Jarrar* valley to *Kebribeyah* town along the 21-kms distance, is one of the key multi-section projects designed by UNHCR and its partners. This project is completed and currently refugees and locals in *Kebribeyah* town and along the route of the pipe line are benefiting from the water supply.

5.2 Phase out Strategies of the Relief Operations

It is quite obvious that refugee/relief operations have been implemented for over 16 years in SNRS in general and in *Kebribeya* district in particular. During this period UNHCR and its partners have been providing various socio-economic services to the refugees and the local people. The prolonged presences of the refugees and the relief resources, thus, have brought both costs and benefits to the local people. Above all, a large number of refugees have already repatriated to their country. This has led to the closure of five refugee camps. Moreover, UNHCR has a plan to close the remaining three refugee camps within the near future. Two of these camps are found in the study area. However, the local population and the returnees continue to require the refugees' services after the refugees return to their country. Moreover, the locals demand the rehabilitation of the environment and infrastructures affected by the prolonged presence of the refugees. Having all these in to consideration, thus, it is wise to raise the following cardinal questions. What are the exiting strategies of UNHCR? Are these strategies sustainable? Who will be in charge of implementing or running the operations, which had been excreted by UNHCR and its partners'?

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, it is imperative to look at UNHCR'S past experience in the ex-refugee camps and its future plans. With regard to its past experience,

UNHCR used to hand over the socio-economic infrastructures and facilities that had been used by the refugees to the Regional Government and local administration through concerned line bureaus and departments. According to UNHCR-SOJ program office, UNHCR also tried to build the capacity of the host communities through training and by providing essential materials. It also upgraded and rehabilitated some infrastructure and facilities. Moreover, UNHCR reintegrated IDPs and returnees, who had been dispersed from the ex-refugee camps into their respective community. UNHCR also encouraged some NGOs to run some of the ex-refugees' facilities by providing them with operation expenses.

Nevertheless, informants from Regional Government Bureaus and the study site expressed the view that most of the ex-refugees facilities ceased to function soon after the handing over. Informants mentioned various reasons for the disruption of these services. Among others, lack of trained manpower, operational cost or regular budget and materials that are essential to run the facilities. Moreover, NGOs that took over some ex-facilities from UNHCR are not capable to run them due to lack of adequate experience, professionals and materials. Some of the facilities are found at a remote distance from where the majority of the local communities are found. *Hartasheik* refugees' camps are cases in point. In *Hartasheik*, for instance, the former *Hartasheik-B* refugee camp's facilities have been without function since 1999 due to the above-mentioned reasons. As a result, UNHCR could not ensure the sustainability of most of its projects or works.

In its effort to ensure long term use of the various services and projects, UNHCR has designed some actions for the future. These are, among others, empowering and building the capacity of the respective community members and authorities, promoting the participation of communities, regional bureaus and NGOs in planning and implementation of projects as well as in decision making, designing projects based on regional and national development plans. It has

also planned to establish cost recovery system and to earmark operation expenses for one-year duration for some projects. Maintaining and upgrading facilities before handing over, initiation of involvement of development agencies in reintegration/rehabilitation projects, establishing a technical committee for coordination and implementation of the reintegration/rehabilitation programs, are also part of UNHCR's future plans. This organization has also intended to hand over some facilities to the respective regional bureaus such as water, education, health and roads. According to UNHCR's plan the rehabilitation programs will be transferred to UNDP.

5.3 Impacts of the Relief Operations on the Local Hosts

The discussion in Chapter Four was focused on the socio-economic impacts that were associated with the refugees' presence in the study area. In this part of the study, I have attempted to investigate some major impacts of the relief operations on the socio-economic lives of the hosting locals. As informants of this study noted the relief operations have both positive and negative impacts.

Positively, the presence of relief organizations has made some facilities and services accessible to locals. These facilities and services include Water supply, health and education services. Employment opportunities, upgrading and development of some infrastructure and environmental rehabilitations as well as capacity building and awareness raising are also the positive aspects of the relief operations.

According to key informants of this study before the presence of refugees' locals used to get water from locally built *Ellas* (water wells), which collect water during the rainy period. However, the presence of relief operations created another alternative. That is, tankering water from *Jarrer* valley (*Kaho*), about 20 kms from *Kebribeyah* town. UNHCR and UNHCR- funded NGOs have been tankering water to both locals and refugees on the specific distribution points

on a daily basis since 1988. Pastoralists and farmers from the nearby villages of *Kebriveyah* and *Hartsheik* towns fetch water from the central distribution points. Moreover, recently *Kebriveyah* town has become the beneficiary of piped water through the assistance of UNHCR, UNICEF and other partners. *Hartsheik* town is also expected to be the beneficiary of such a system without delay.

To make water supplies more reliable in the refugee impacted areas of the district, UNHCR has also introduced a new technology for rainwater catchment--*Hafir* dam (earth dam). It has constructed two earth dams in *Hartsheik* area. Another two *Hafir* dams are being constructed in *Kebriveyah* area by HFH through UNHCR funding. These dams used to collect running water during the rainy seasons and serve as a water source during the dry period. The *Hafir* (earth) dam encouraged some locals to adopt the technology. Currently in *Hartsheik* there are few individuals who have their own private *Hafir* dams. These people became rich by selling water (see figure -5).

UNHCR is also responsible for introducing energy saving stoves. According to UNHCR-SOJ both of these new technologies helped women and girls to reduce the trips and distance that they had to travel to fetch water and fire wood. WFP, on the other hand, introduced manual and diesel grinding mills into the localities. This organization also helped some food for work activities such as tree planting, check-dams and feeder road constructions. WFP in cooperation with UNICEF, DPPB and some NGOs had implemented life saving projects for people displaced by a drought during 1999-2000 in the study area.

The presence of relief organizations also created employment opportunities. Many relief organizations hired local people in all levels of their structure. ARRA, UNHCR and WFP take the lion's share in employing local peoples in their operations. A significant number of local people have also been working in Care-Ethiopia, SCF-USA, SCF-UK, RaDO, Handicap

International and many other NGOs which have currently phased out from operating in the area due to the decline of refugee related operations in the area.

However, the hosts argued that most of the organizations, which have been engaged in refugee operations, were and are headed by non-local peoples. Moreover, the refugees, people who came from other parts of the country and expatriate staff, occupied the better-paid posts. The hosts also complained about lack of opportunities in various construction tenders with the pretext of under-qualification. In defense, officials from ARRA sub-office in *Jijiga* town stated that:

"Many jobs in the camp were supposedly reserved for the local people; few of the locals are sufficiently qualified for the better-paid posts. The hosts are, thus, given priority in position they are qualified and competent. These include guarding, driving, field staff, administration, camp coordination, counseling, and supervisor and various health services' positions. In response to the tendering, the authorities argued that the locals have no sufficient construction materials and man power that enable them to work according to the specification and the bill of quantities of a given construction task. Even those who had taken the tender and engaged in construction works have practically proved that they are unqualified. As a result, their works became out of use shortly after the handing over. What is more, posts, which are operational in the settlement areas, in most case, are reserved for the refugees. In case of shortage of refugee manpower, they are open to locals." (Tesfamariam Weldetensay, Administration and Finance Head, ARRA *Jijiga* Sub-office).

By and large, the job markets and employment opportunities created for the locals are few. The majority of them are engaged in low-paid jobs and casual employment in the informal sectors.

Many locals acknowledge that the establishment of health centers in the refugee camps has provided them with access to health services, which were almost absent prior to the presence of refugees. Three refugee health centers have been functional in the area for more than a decade. That is, two in *Hartsheik* area and one in *Kebribeya* area. Currently, however, one of the health centers in *Hartsheik* is closed and handed over to the local administration due to the repatriation of the refugees. UNHCR also participated in upgrading and equipping some government health centers in the district. The *Kebribeyah* Local Health Center, for instance, is established and furnished by UNHCR. However, according to some local informants, this health center is not

effectively functioning due to shortage of health personnel and regular drug supply .As a result, the local people use the Refugee Health Center.

Insofar as education is concerned, the presence of relief organizations has contributed for the promotion of education in three ways. First, some local schools were rehabilitated by UNHCR. They were furnished with desks, teaching and learning materials. Second, UNHCR built some blocks in the premises of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* schools. Third, Local schools' teachers also benefited from various skill upgrading workshops and trainings organized by UNHCR and other NGOs.

The presence of relief operations has also contributed for the development of transportation infrastructure. Feeder roads like *Hartsheik-Kebribeyah* and *Kebribeyah-Jarrar* valley were constructed by UNHCR. Moreover, UNHCR has constructed roads linking *Kebribeyah- Hartsheik-Alaybede* to support traditional trade and commerce and to facilitate repatriation operation.

Capacity building, empowerment and skill trainings were also provided for some locals. SC-USA, SCF-UK, RaDO, HFH and UNHCR are some of the organizations involved in the above mentioned tasks. Awareness raising on issues such as early marriage, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), land mine hazards, and environmental conservation are also given by the foregoing organizations.

Negatively, most of the relief operations have been geared to benefit refugees directly. As a result, many relief organizations provide assistance to the refugees bypassing the local communities. This disappointed many hosts. High salaries paid to some professionals also created a "brain drain" from some local organizations. As one informant said "the relief organizations on the one hand advocate capacity building while degrading the local capacity through brain drain on the other." Not to mention, the local roads have been used extensively by

heavy trucks to transport water and food for the refugees for a prolonged period. This, thus, caused heavy degradation and damage on the local roads. As key informants reported these roads require major and minor repairs to make them operational in the future. Moreover, the presence of relief operations and organizations lured some internally displaced people (IDPs) to the study area with expectation that food, water, health and other services might be available. This has created high population pressure around the settlement areas. As stated previously, the concentration of a large number of people in the study area has created various social problems.

In general, the presence of relief operations and humanitarian organizations has both costs and benefits associated with them. However, it is difficult to measure the magnitude of the costs and benefits based on the existing data. Moreover, the costs and benefits of the relief operations are debatable issues between the relief organizations and the hosts. The relief organizations advocate that in spite of some environmental problems, the locals have adequately benefited from the relief operations. Believing that the availability of some facilitates and services due to the presence of the relief operations, the hosts emphasize the negative impacts caused by the relief operations. The following section, thus, deals with the locals perceptions regarding the relief operations.

5.4 Hosts' Perceptions Regarding the Role and Impacts of the Relief Operations

There are diverse views among the informants regarding the role and impacts of the relief operations. Some of them stress the positive aspects of the relief operations, while the majority of them scapegoat the relief operations. Still some others advocate that both costs and benefits are associated with the presence of the relief operations in the study area.

Informants that advocate the positive aspects of the relief operations argued that facilities and services that were not available before are now abundant in the area as a result of the refugee

or relief operations. As these people stated, prior to the presence of the relief operations, the locals did not have immediate access to health, water and road transport services. Thus, the relief operations' presence created access to these services by providing these services to the locals free of charge, through constructing and upgrading some of the services or putting indirect pressure on the local and regional governments to provide similar services for the local communities. Moreover, some feeder roads were also constructed by the relief organizations. These informants also appreciate the relief organizations' capacity building and awareness raising programs.

Those informants opposed the above views, on the other hand, argued that most of the relief operations have been geared to benefit the refugees and provided as long as the refugees are present in the local environment. As a result, most of the services of the relief organization are temporary. According to these people, in comparison with the destruction of the natural resources and the tremendous burden placed on the local services and facilities on account of the presence of the refugees and the relief operations, the contributions of the relief organizations are insignificant. They added that the corrective measures taken to mitigate the above-mentioned constraints by the relief organizations are so minimal and are limited to environmental rehabilitation and upgrading some infrastructures. But the social and economic costs are entirely ignored by these organizations.

These informants also blamed the relief organizations for their poor exit strategy. The phases out arrangements, accordingly, were conducted with negotiation and diplomatic contact with concerned regional government officials and authorities. As a result, the refugee assets such as health centers, water points and movable properties have been handed over to the local authorities without considering how to reuse them for the benefit of local populations. This hindered the sustainability of the infrastructures and facilities of ex-refugee camps after the relief operations ceased. The former *Hartsheik* - B refugee camp in the study area is a case in point.

The facilities of this camp could not be put into service even long after the refugees went home.

Moreover, the capacity building interventions of the relief organizations are focused on simple skills and provision of some few materials that might not help locals to run the existing facilities after qualified staff left the area. What is more, assets and resources used by the relief organizations are not well registered and managed. This paved the way for some NGOs and refugees to take the assets with them when the relief operations or programs phased out. Most of the NGOs provide services in temporary offices either constructed from poor materials or renting from the local people. As a result, they did not build a fixed physical structure, which is going to be used after their program phased out. They also run their services from the distant, *Jijiga* town, either through their representatives from the refugees or by making a periodical short visit.

Another point raised by these informants is the link between the relief operations and the regional development programs. To these people the design of the relief operation did not consider the regional development programs. Locals and regional authorities participation in the planning, implementation and decision making process is minimal and informal. According to these informants, there is no single body or department, which is responsible for refugee/returnee affairs on behalf of the local government or the people in the regional structure. Finally, they stated that the relation between UNHCR and various relief organizations is smooth, but complementarily weak.

The third view tries to compromise the above two arguments saying that the relief operations and organizations have both costs and benefits. According to these informants the positive impacts of the relief operations are undeniable. Achievements in the sphere of health, education and water services are registered by the NGOs operating in the area. The destructed natural resources and burdens posed on the locals' infrastructure are something to be negotiated with the concerned governmental, non-governmental and international organizations. Moreover,

all relief organizations should not be blamed for the destruction and mismanagement of local resources as well as for lack of commitment. Some NGOs even have to be praised for their good deeds. Thus, according to these people the relief organizations have the potential to assist the locals and to contribute for the local development. However, what they missed is commitment and a body that periodically monitors and evaluates their activities and achievements.

Summary

Though the majority of informants of this study insist on the negative impacts of the relief operations, the positive impacts are undeniable. However, in order to reach conclusive results about which of the impacts predominates, we need well developed indicators and adequate socio-economic information concerning these impacts. One common consensus among most informants is that the efforts of the relief organizations to mitigate the destructive impacts of the refugees' are minimal. What is more, the phase-out strategies and sustainability of the relief projects are poor and failed to take the locals' capacity and weak economic conditions into consideration. What is more, the indigenous knowledge also needs due consideration whenever capacity building programs are designed. However, the relief organizations have positively contributed towards the development and upgrading of some infrastructure and facilities. Among others, water supplies, road upgrading and construction, providing medical equipment, construction of classrooms and earth dams, afforestation and awareness raising programs are the main ones.

CHAPTER SIX: THE HOSTS' EXPERIENCES AND STRATEGIES

TOWARDS THE IMPACTS OF REFUGEES AND RELIEF

OPERATIONS

In chapter four and five, I have attempted to look at the impacts of the refugees and the relief operations respectively on the socio-economic lives of the hosts. This chapter, on the other hand, discusses the distribution of these impacts among the hosts. It also examines the rational ways by which locals responded to the refugees' impacts both at individual and collective levels.

6.1 The Hosts' Experiences

Refugees are assumed to have different impacts on the local people. That is, some hosts benefit from the refugee presence while some others shoulder the burden (Chambers 1986: 245-263; Kuhlman 1994:121; Sorenson 1994: 180-182). The main purpose of this sub-part is, thus, to identify the hidden winners and losers due to the presence of Somali refugees and the relief operations in the host community under review. Gender and wealth, age and wealth, area and social differentiation are used to indicate the hosts' experience with regard to the refugees' impacts.

6.1.1 Disparities by Gender and Wealth

The presence of refugees created different opportunities for the local hosts depending on their sex and wealth. According to some key informants, customarily women in Somali society perform tasks such as house building, caring for sheep and goats, and fetching firewood and water as well as a number of domestic tasks. Nevertheless, some women were able to take advantage of the refugees' presence and started some petty trade activities. These are, *inter alia*, firewood and charcoal selling, milk retailing, *ch'at* selling and tea making.

Prior to the refugees' presence most of the foregoing businesses were not familiar to the hosts. *Ch'at* business was practiced by few men. However, these days, women and girls take the upper hand in this business. The *ch'at* business, in turn, led to the opening of a number of tea-rooms which serve as a *ch'at* chewing place. Poor women from both urban and rural areas practice all these activities. Especially the female-headed households are involved in charcoal and firewood selling. *Ch'at* selling and tea making businesses are dominated by poor urban women and girls. The well-to-do women also run wholesale trade and merchandise shops. However, there are husbands or families behind these women. Since *ch'at* chewing is usually taken in combination with a mixture of milk and tea, the demand for milk in the market is high. This created opportunities for some poor rural women to be involved in milk selling business. Aside from its money making role, the tea-making business creates favorable conditions for girls and divorced women to have marriage partners. Schooling is another opportunity created for girls on account of the presence of refugees. Informants reported that before the coming of refugees, hosts were not accustomed to sending girls to school for various cultural reasons. However, refugee girls' participation in school created a competitive atmosphere with the hosts and this paved the way for the enrollment of local girls in schools. Moreover, the involvement of some refugee girls in domestic services allowed some host women to pursue other tasks. Rich women in urban areas have done this. Some services, which have been operating in the area by humanitarian organizations, have been used by some local women. Among other, antenatal and postnatal care, family planning and awareness on FGM are the main ones.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that all host women are positively affected by the refugees' presence. This is due to the fact that both rural and urban poor women shoulder most of the burden of the environmental impact. Due to the clearance of vegetation around their residence place, they need to travel from 10 to 15 kms in search of firewood. Similarly, they walk

further to fetch water during dry season. As a result, they often have less time and energy to pursue other endeavors. Moreover, sometimes they are exposed to rape and sexual assault during this long and tiresome journey. Since men usually spend their time either in the settlement area or in the towns, the household responsibilities and economic decision rests upon women. Some men also control their wives' businesses if they found them to be profitable.

Refugees are also becoming a threat for local women in two major ways. First, since marriage with refugee women/girls does not entail payments, local women mentioned that their husbands would take additional wives from the refugees. Second, since men spend a considerable part of their time in towns, they usually expend a large sum of money on cigarettes, and *ch'at*, which economically deplete the household's income. This practice often affected the families who have already been exposed to poverty. Moreover, men are also susceptible to alcoholism, gambling and promiscuous sexual affairs which in turn bring some health problems both to the practitioners and their families.

According to the information obtained from intensive interviews held with various local informants, the presence of refugees benefited men rather than women. That is, men take the lion's share of the benefits in comparison with the burden that women shoulder. In the first place, the cross-border trade, which was so popular and responsible for high population concentration in the study area, is entirely owned by men. The rich local men own restaurants and some retail trades such as merchandise shops. Some poor men are also involved in some retail trades such as *ch'at* and water selling.

While most of the trade activities in the towns are controlled by the rich men, in the rural areas, some wealthy men use cheap refugees' labor to expand their *ch'at* plantation which has high demand in the local market. They also use refugees' labor to plough, weed, and harvest their crop farms as well as to tend cattle, and to dig water wells (*Ellas*). Wealthy men in urban areas

have constructed shops, stores and houses, which are their main sources of incomes. Men are also dominant in both casual and gainful employment. Moreover, they take the refugees' presence into advantage to have additional wives without marriage payment. This creates opportunities for poor locals who had no adequate wealth to take additional wives prior to the presence of refugees.

Negatively, men are exposed to various anti social behaviors due to favorable conditions created by the presence of refugees. These are *ch'at* and cigarette addictions, alcoholism, and promiscuous and pre-marital sexual affairs. Some men withdrawn from their pastoral and agro-pastoral occupations due to the push-pull factors associated with the presence of refugees. These are mainly the rural poor who are pushed by the degradation of their environment and some of them attracted by refugees' facilities and employment opportunities in the towns. Poor men also represent the largest number of urban unemployed people. As a coping mechanism, some of them are engaged in begging and some others in theft. In general, many locals believe that men benefited more than women as far as the advantages of the refugees are concerned. Among men, the rich are the main beneficiaries. Women are also believed to shoulder on most of the burdens associated with the presence of refugees. The disadvantage mostly goes to the poor rural women and female heads of households in urban areas.

6.1.2 Disparities by Age and Wealth

The refugees' presence also created different impacts on the hosts depending on their age and wealth. In order to examine such an impact, the thesis employed four major age categories. These are infants, youth, adults, and elderly. The elderly and infants are the dependent groups on the youth and adults who belong to the working age group.

Information obtained from both intensive interviews and group discussions depicted that the infants and the elderly are the ones who are badly affected by the refugees' presence. Infants

and children suffer from lack of balanced diet. Prior to the presence of refugees, milk was abundant in the community. So locals had no problem in feeding their children. However, the refugees' presence created scarcity of milk in two ways - the high demand of milk in the market and the decline of livestock productions due to shortage of pasture, which is mainly attributed to land degradation and associated problems. As a result, many infants and children from poor families both in rural and urban areas were exposed to malnutrition. However, the locals did not deny that ARRA and UNHCR as well as other NGOs' played a role in providing feeding services to the local children in cases of severe malnutrition in the area. The writer has observed some local infants and children benefiting from the feeding program of ARRA.

The elderly, on the other hand, are victims of various refugee-related problems. These people usually depend on the young and adult age groups for various services. They need the assistance of these groups for collecting firewood and water, looking after cattle and ploughing farm plots as well as many other services. In case of illness, elders also require the services of the youths and the adults. However, the development of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns and the subsequent opportunities in the form of employment and the availability of other services lured many adult and young populations. This left many elders without caretakers. This problem mainly affected the elderly from poor families because they have no income to hire laborers who are responsible to do such tasks. As a result, some elderly people had to shoulder some of the above responsibilities at an age when they need the help of others. Some of them are engaged in tending goats and sheep. However, elderly people who has a better income or who are from a well-to-do family usually employ cheap refugee or local labor so as to perform the above-mentioned activities. The elderly people also missed the traditional respect they expected to receive from the younger generation. The elderly are considered by the youngsters as traditional people who stick to cultural norms and values and are resistant to change. As some elderly

informants explained when the youth are advised to refrain from violating the traditional norms and values they respond saying -"no problem at all".

The adults and youth, on the other hand, have got a better opportunity than infants and elderly people. They are the number categories who enjoyed the employment opportunities created due to the refugees' presence. They joined in both casual and gainful employment. These groups comprised the overwhelming majority of the wholesale traders and participants in the cross border trading. These are people who had enough capital before the refugees' presence. Moreover, many youth benefited from education opportunities created due to the refugees' presence. As discussed before, the number of local youth participating in schooling was very small. However, the refugees' presence boosted the morale of the local youths to attend school by creating competitive conditions. Youths from wealthy family also attended tutorial classes established by some locals in both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribehay* towns. However, the majority of daily laborers, housemaids, wood sellers and other casual workers are the poor from urban and rural areas. These groups are also those who are highly exposed to anti social behaviors such as alcoholism, delinquency, gambling, theft and pre-marital and promiscuous sexual affairs. They are also victims of unemployment, begging, theft and streetism. The urban youth exposed themselves to various social problems and antisocial behaviors, which are considered by many hosts as the major threat for the disintegration of traditional norms and values. All in all, the elderly and the children from the poor families, both in the towns and the rural areas are considered to be the main victims that shoulder the burden of the refugees.

6.1.3 Disparities by Area

This section discusses the spatial distribution of the refugees' impacts. The discussion uses three major dichotomies to indicate these impacts. These are Rural-Urban, Urban-Urban and

Rural-Rural. The first dichotomy deals with the distribution of the impacts between the rural and urban areas. In this regard the study compares *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns as well as rural areas in the vicinity. The urban-urban dichotomy, on the other hand, compares and contrasts the distribution of the refugees' impacts between *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns. Finally, the rural-rural dichotomy compares the distribution of the refugees' impacts among the rural villages.

A) Rural-Urban Dichotomy

According to the key informants of this study, the presence of refugees' has contributed for the expansion of *Kebribeyah* town and the development of *Hartsheik* town. The illegal cross-border trade and high population concentration in both towns were created following the appearance of the refugee influxes. Aside from the illegal-cross border trade, refugees came with their human and social capitals, which were responsible for the rapid expansion and development of these towns. Various social and economic services, which are new to the hosts, also appeared. A number of local people also joined both in casual and gain-full employments created due to the presence of refugees. What is more, many people are also involved in income generating businesses. Various public buildings and residences were also built in these towns. Education, health and water services were developed. Both the poor and the rich have got access to refugees' services such as water, medication, employment opportunities and educational services. Those people who can afford also use private health services--clinic, drug store and pharmacies. They are also the main owners of many wholesale and retail trade activities in the two towns.

Conversely, rural areas around these towns and the settlement areas suffer from costs associated with the refugees' presence. Deforestation, soil erosion and water drain, among others, are the major ones. These activities have played their own part in the deterioration of the livelihoods of the rural people - pastoralism and agro-pastoralism. The extinction of these

livelihoods is responsible for pushing many rural youths and adult men to migrate to the above mentioned towns and other parts of the region. It has also aggravated the magnitude of rural poverty in the area. The migrants from rural areas also comprised certain segment of the urban poor, unemployed and beggars.

Urban centers also share some of the costs associated with the refugees' presence. Informants noted that the concentration of high population brought some socio-economic problems for both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns. Both towns suffer from prostitution, alcoholism, and delinquency. Begging, streetism and unemployment are also rampant in these towns. Sanitation and housing problems are also common. Moreover, the urban people suffer from shortage of fire and construction wood. Generally, urban centers (*Megalla*) in comparison with rural areas (*Badiya*) are more beneficiaries and less burdened with the refugee impacts. The majority of the rural poor and certain disadvantaged poor from the town suffer from the costs associated with the refugee presence. Most of the informants approached by this study share the above view.

B) Urban-Urban Dichotomy

With regard to the urban-urban dichotomy, *Hartsheik* town was more of a beneficiary than *Kebrieyah* town on account of the refugees' presence. *Hartsheik* was a small village prior to the refugees' presence. Shortly after the coming of refugees, this small village developed into a small town. Informants reported that the stolen properties (*Belliliqo*) and smuggling business activities are the main factors for the rapid development of the town. As discussed previously, the refugees had brought both human and social resources with them. The refugees' Personal goods and some *Belliliqo* properties thus, had created used materials market center at the heart of the present *Hartsheik*. Additionally, since the town is located about 36 kms from Ethio-Somali

border, favorable conditions for the *Hartsheik Berbera* illegal trade route was created.

These illegal business activities attracted a number of business people from different parts of the country. In order to serve the demands of the ever increasing contraband traders and residents of the town, stores, hotels, restaurants, shops and public buildings and residencies were built by wealthy individuals. What is more, transport operations from *Hartsheik* to *Jijiga* and from *Hartsheik* to *Hargeissa* also developed. These routes hastened high mobility of population in the area.

Hartasheik had many socio-economic infrastructure, which are scare in other towns of the Somali Regional State, even the regional capital *Jijiga*. In comparison with *Kebribeyah*, *Hartsheik* hosts refugees that have close kinship ties with the local people. Since locals and refugees belong to the *Issaq* clan, they share the available resources together. What is more, the *Hartsheik* refugees were industrious and business minded since they were from urban backgrounds. Thus, these refugees using their human and social resources had played a great role for the development of the towns. They had contributed to building huge stores, restaurants, shops and maintenance centers for vehicles and electronic equipment.

Kebribeyah, on the other hand, benefited less from the refugees' presence. The refugees in *Kebribeyah* have no immediate clan ties with the local people. As a result, the interaction between the two groups is limited. The relationship is also just of co-existence. The refugees in *Kebribeyah* are in most case the former Siad Bare soldiers. They came with empty hands. As a result, their contribution to the development of the town is not so significant. Rather the *Hartsheik* illegal business played a pivotal role in the development of the town. However, this does not mean that *Kebribeyah* does not benefit from the refugees' presence. The locals benefit from various services given to the refugees. Health services, feeding programs and water supplies are cases in point. Currently, *Kebribeyah* has become a beneficiary of piped waters through

UNHCR assistance. Furthermore, in comparison with *Hartsheik*, *Kebribeyah* residents have immediate access to refugee facilities since they are found at accessible distance. For instance, the refugees' school is established inside the premises of the local school. The refugee health center is also established in front of the local health center. This made conditions favorable to reuse the facilities when the refugees repatriated to their country. All in all, *Hartsheik* was better poised to benefit from the refugees' presence, than *Kebribeyah*. This is because *Hartsheik* had access to various refugees' resources, illegal business route and activities.

C) Rural-Rural Dichotomy

In terms of the Rural-Rural dichotomy, some rural areas substantially benefited while some others were affected negatively by the refugees' presence. Rural areas, which are adjacent to the towns and the settlements, benefited from various services provided to the refugees - water, health, feeding and education. For instance, *Belleyele* and *Dulad* in *Hartsheik* and *Deneba* in *kebribeya* are rural areas where refugees are settled. As a result, most of the facilities of refugees are concentrated in these areas. Aside from this, locals were also employed in some refugee structures as guards and cleaners. What is more, large earth dams were constructed in these areas – two in *Dullad* and one in *Deneba* settlement areas.

Negatively, a number of local villages which are found within a 5-10 kms radius of the two towns and the refugee settlements are affected by the refugees' presence. Vast areas of vegetation were cleared for fire and construction wood from these areas. The refugees also destroyed farmers' fences and water wells (*Ellas*). These areas are exposed to soil erosion and pasture land degradation, which are the main factors for the determination of livestock and crop productions. Areas like the *Jerrer* valley had been a water source for refugees' in both settlement areas and for the residents of *Kebribeyah* and *Hartsheik* towns for the last 16 years. According to

the Regional Water Resource Development Bureau, the water potential of the area is being drained from time to time. Many water wells have already been drained. In a nutshell, many rural villages are badly affected by the refugees' presence while very few villages, which are located at a short distance from the settlement areas and the two towns, obtained relative benefits.

6.1.4 Disparities by Social Differentiation

Hosts' experiences with the refugees' presence also varied depending on social differentiation. In this regard, the thesis tried to consider hosts' experiences in light of wealth, occupation, education and clan. Accordingly, wealthy hosts were able to take advantage of the economic opportunities created by the refugees' presence. They used their accumulated resources to build profitable shops, restaurants, houses and stores. They also invested in businesses such as smuggling, transport operations and earth dam construction. Some wealthy men even rent offices and vehicles to the relief organizations. They also used to sell water to towns people and the refugee relief operations. Conversely, the poor are affected by high costs of living. They are forced to pay much higher prices for basic supplies such as salt, sugar, firewood, and a number of other food and non-food items. Some poor were also able to take advantage of the refugees' presence to sell firewood and charcoal as well as to work as casual employers in some business activities. Generally, the poor were exposed to unemployment, begging, streetism and a number of other social problems while the wealthy enjoyed the benefit from the refugees' presence. The local poor also compete for some labor works with the refugees who request less payment than them.

With regard to occupation, merchants benefited more than pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. Many merchants accumulated wealth due to the illegal business activities, which were rampant in the area. Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, on the other hand, drifted from their

occupations due to the encroachment of their lands for settlement construction and as a result of deforestation and lack of grazing land. These occupational groups also comprised the highest number of the rural-urban migrants. They also consist of the largest number of the urban poor, unemployed and beggars. Moreover, the pastoralists and farmers suffer from unfair terms of trade with merchants.

In comparison with people who work in casual employment, those who are engaged in gainful employment are better placed to benefit from the refugees' presence. The casual workers often compete for jobs whenever there are some on the market. Usually they work for lower payment. The workers in gainful employment, on the other hand, receive better salaries than the casual workers and enjoy a relatively better life than the casual workers. The costs of living are also usually affected the casual workers.

Non-government organizations' employees are also better off than government employees due to the presence of the refugees. NGOs employees enjoy high-salary payments and lead luxury lives. On the contrary, the government employees suffer from the high costs of living created due to the refugees' presence. Most of the government employees do not earn adequate salaries to cover their monthly expenses. Of all the expenses, housing rent, food and firewood expenses challenge the lives of these employees. Among these employees, teachers, local administration workers, guards and cleaners are the categories of the people who suffered most from the high costs of living.

In the context of education, those locals who are high school and college graduates benefited more than non-educated and non-high school graduates as a result of the refugees' presence. The educated group occupied positions such as camp coordinators, administrators, supervisors, field assistants, councilors, and health and nutrition workers. These are highly paid positions. Whereas, the non-educated locals occupied positions such as guards, cleaners,

messengers and daily laborers.

With respect to kinship, Issaq clan's members in *Hartsheik* benefited more than *Abskuls* in *Kebribeyah*. As discussed before, these clans have been hosting refugees for the last 16 years in their specific areas. The Issaq in *Hartsheik* had been hosting the refugees who are their immediate relatives and belong to their clan. As a result, they entertain both the costs and benefits with the refugees. These refugees have played a greater role in the development of *Hartsheik* by contributing their social and human capital. The *Abskuul* in *Kebriveyah*, on the other hand, have been hosting refugees with whom they have no close kinship ties. As a result, they have not benefited from the advantages that one has to get from his/her close relatives. But on the contrary they are relieved from burdens to be imposed on them due to close kinship ties.

To synthesize, the refugees and the relief operations have opened up opportunities for hosts depending on their gender, wealth, age, education, kinship and area. Accordingly, men, the rich, the youth and adults, full time and NGOs workers, as well as urban areas are mostly benefited. Conversely, women, the poor, the elderly, casual and governmental workers as well as the rural areas were burdened with the presence of refugees and relief operations.

Some of the above variables are interdependent. For instance, wealth has strong links with gender and age. That is, men were able to exploit the presence of refugees and relief resources better than their counterparts. Some women became worse off during the refugees' presence. For instance, due to deforestation women travel 5-10 kms to collect fire wood. Among the wealthy, the young and the adults comprise the overwhelming majorities. Elderly hosts were not able to benefit in the some way as the youth and the adults. Men were also dominant both in gainful and casual works. Women were not able to gain as much from these works as their counterparts did. The youth and adults were also dominant in both causal and gainful works. With regard to kinship, the *Issaq* benefited better than the *Abskul*. This is because that the *Issaqs* host their own

close kin. They share the available resources together. Moreover, these refugees were business and industrial minded and had contributed a lot for the development of *Hartsheik* town. However, the Abskuls, in *Kebribeyah* host clan, which are not their immediate kin. Moreover, the *Kebribeyah* refugees are ex-Siad Bare soldiers who came with empty hands. However, the role of kinship dose not affect the hosts' relation with refugees based on gender, wealth, age and other variables stated above

6.2 The Hosts' Strategies

In the preceding section of this chapter discussion was made about the distribution of the socio-economic impacts of the refugees among the local hosts. In this part, the thesis analyzes the differing strategies that the hosts have developed towards the refugees' impacts. According to Withaker (1992:2), in response to the refugees' impacts, hosts devise different strategies to gain access to incoming resources and to maintain access to their own resources. In view of this, the study tries to see the hosts' strategies by dividing them into two major parts: collective strategies and individual strategies. Thus, the following discussion is presented based on this dichotomy.

6.2.1 Collective Strategies

The communal strategies are the reactions of the hosting community as a whole towards the refugees' impacts. In this regard, the hosts employed three major strategies: peaceful co-existence, peaceful resistance and lobbying. The principal actors in these strategies are representatives of the local people such as elders, clan leaders, the local and the regional governors.

a) Peaceful co-existence

The hosts had used this strategy at the initial stage of the refugees' presence. Its major principle was to make refugees feel at home by treating and accommodating them as the Somali

tradition and the Islamic order demand (*Sharia*). According to this strategy, hosts believe that the refugees are relatives who left their home due to persecution and are thus seeking peaceful haven among their clans. Moreover, the hosts' view this problem as temporary since the refugees will return soon after peace is restored in their home. Thus, the local vowed with themselves so as to get along with the refugees with tolerance and sharing with them whatever resources they possess. The refugees also appreciated this strategy. One refugee informant explained the hosts' hospitality and tolerance as follows:

“One of the very important useful things that we secured here is the peace that we had missed at home. The host communities treat us in peaceful way in spite of the tremendous costs associated with our presence. They provided us with a large settlement area by displacing the original owners. We also destroyed local fences and water wells, *Ellas*. In addition, we have been consuming their natural resources - vegetation and water for the last 16 years. As a result, a vast area of vegetation is cleared and their water resource is depleting. However, the hosts' tolerance and treatments still are continuing” (Yusuf Wayen Muhammad, Refugee Committee Chairman, *Kebribeyah* Refugee Camp).

By and large, though this strategy allowed the hosts to lead a relative peacefully life with the refugees, it could not protect the ever-growing social, cultural, economic, political and environmental costs associated with the refugees' presence.

b) Peaceful Resistance

Cognizant of the magnitude of the costs associated with the refugees' presence and the drawbacks of the peaceful co-existence strategy, the hosts developed a new strategy known as peaceful resistance. This strategy was based on two major principles. These are cost minimization and benefit maximization.

According to the key informants of this study, the cost minimization principle mainly focuses on conflict resolution and preservation of the cultural norms and values. With respect to this principle, the hosts negotiate with the refugees by calling an informal refugee-host coordination meeting (*shir*). The *shir* consists of elders from both the local and the refugee

communities. The *shir* sees cases produced before it based on the tradition of the Somali culture. Competition for scarce resources and violation of some customary laws are some of the cases often seen by the refugee-host coordination meeting. There is also another coordination meeting (committee), which comprised members from local administration, refugee camp administration (ARRA), UNHCR field office and the refugee committee representatives, which is responsible to see and control various economic, social and political issues in the settlement areas. However, it is the *shir* which is often successful in resolving most disruptive relations between the locals and the hosts.

The benefit maximization principle, on the other hand, implies the hosts' effort in increasing access to various relief resources. The hosts very often take the presence of some relief organizations into advantage so as to upgrade long-neglected infrastructure and construct new infrastructure. UNHCR, for instance, dug some water wells, rehabilitate some roads and construct football fields and furnish some local schools with educational materials and desks. It has also constructed some classrooms. Local health centers also receive material assistance from the same organization. UNHCR also created access to water not only for community members but also to local social institutions like mosques, churches and government offices. Other relief organizations were also involved in assisting the hosts in their capacities, especially by creating employment opportunities. However, as some local informants disclosed, all these forms of assistance often benefit the host communities for a short-term. The services interrupt when the refugees repatriate to their country. The *Hartsheik* experience has proved this. As a result, according to these informants, the onset of repatriation program has made the locals to think over the long-term impacts of the refugees on their socio-economic lives. This thought, thus, pushed the locals to seek permanent solutions with the refugees' impacts.

c) Lobbying

As a durable solution to the long-term impacts of the refugee on the socio-economic lives of the hosts and the natural resources of the area, the hosts were pushed to engage in lobbying activities. According to the group discussion held with the local informants, some groups such as elders, local governors and various regional government bodies have been engaged in lobbying activities. These lobbyists often take different forums - meetings, panel discussions and workshops into advantage in order to brief the sustained changes in the local's lives brought by the long-term presence of the refugees and to request the rehabilitation of the refugee-impacted areas. This is usually forwarded to UNHCR and other relief organizations, donors as well as concerned government organizations both at the national and regional level.

Both the local and the regional governors have held various meetings and workshops with UNHCR, ARRA, NGOs and GOs have been operating in the refugees programs in the area. For instance, in a round table meeting held on October 2002 among the representatives of UNHCR, ARRA, and different governmental and non-governmental organizations in *Jijiga* town, one official from the SNRS made the following speech.

"... In a search for durable solution to the plight of refugees, voluntary repatriation has been implemented by UNHCR in co-ordination with the Ethiopian Government and the authorities of Northwest Somali (Somaliland) since 1997. The achievements of the repatriation operation can only be successful and long lasting if it goes hand in hand with the reintegration of Ethiopian returnees and IDPs in to their villages of origin. Refugee camps and settlements in most cases were established in environmentally fragile areas. ... Growing population (locals and refugees) wreaks havoc to the environmental balance where growth in demand for fuel-wood and grazing land results in deforestation and erosion.... Furthermore, the sudden downsizing of UNHCR in 2004 could have very serious effects on the local economy. Currently, the on going prohibition on smuggling items has an economic impact on illegal traders and their dependent beneficiaries including the local market. ... This requires the rehabilitation of the refugee/returnee-impacted areas to readdress the imbalances that have resulted from hosting large numbers of refugees for more than a decade. Therefore, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that if we are committed to break the various cycle of refugees/returnees and tackle the root causes of poverty which is a key factor for the creation of fertile ground for the creation of refugee/IDPs prone situation. To avoid this there is no alternative other than assisting the impacted areas through area development program. Therefore, the following sectors are proposed for donors' consideration and funding for the rehabilitation of refugee and returnee impacted areas in SNRS: Environmental rehabilitation, road, water, education, health, capacity

building and income generation" (Bashir Abdulahi, the Pastoral Development Sector Head, SNRS, 21 October 2002).

Moreover, the mayor of *Hartsheik* town, Mohammed Ahmed and the Deputy Administrator of *Kebribeyah* District, Reshid Abdi, disclosed that the host community and the local governors have been attempting to draw the attention of concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as international organizations by preparing various development project proposals. These proposals were focused on agricultural and non-agricultural activities, environmental and infrastructure rehabilitation as well as capacity building.

In response to the locals' repeated complaints and requests, UNHCR has initiated some environmental rehabilitation efforts through nursery establishment, reforestation, earth dam construction and energy saving stove dissemination. UNHCR has also been engaged in upgrading roads, health centers and schools. Moreover, rehabilitation and impact assessment studies were made by ARRA and UNHCR in 1999 and in 2003 respectively. While ARRA's study was focused on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the refugee impacted areas, UNHCR's study was targeted on environmental status analysis (ESA) for the appraisals associated with the long-term presence of refugees in *Awubere* and *Kebribeyah* districts. The results of both studies depicted that the long-term presence of the refugees in the study region has caused a devastating impacts in the spheres of social, economic and environment. These studies also made recommendations regarding the rehabilitation and development programs in the refugee impacted areas of SNRS.

Nevertheless, the hosts are still not satisfied with what has been accomplished so far by UNHCR and its implementing partners. The key informants of this study explained that the rehabilitation programs, which are being carried out by UNHCR, especially the environmental

rehabilitation programs, are not effective. Assistance given in other spheres is also limited. In general, the rehabilitation programs of UNHCR are not commensurate with the costs of the refugees. As a result, the locals are continuing their effort in lobbying different governmental and non-governmental organizations so as to rehabilitate the refugee impacted areas.

6.2.2 Individuals Strategies

In the preceding part of this chapter, discussion was made on the strategies, which are used at the collective level concerning hosts reaction towards the impacts of refugees. It is also important and relevant to see hosts' strategies at the individual level. This part, thus, is devoted to discuss individuals' responses towards the refugees' impact. There are a number of responses at individual level. However, the study limits itself to discuss only those strategies, which are widely practiced by many individual community members.

6.2.2.1 Integration into the Relief Operation

According to key informants of this study some locals integrate themselves into the refugee relief operation in different ways. Among others, employment, registering as refugees and purchasing refugees' ration cards. Let us see each of these strategies in detail.

A) Employment

Some individuals took the presence of refugees to their advantage in securing jobs. They engaged in both casual and gainful employment opportunities available in different relief organizations that have been operating in the area. While the educated and the professionals employed in the highly paid jobs, the common people engaged in low-paid works such as guards, cleaners, messengers and daily laborers. Women and girls serve as cleaner and messengers in most of the employment opportunities created by the presence of relief organizations. Young

locals serve as daily laborer in loading and unloading of freight and some construction activities. Local adults usually engaged as guards in refugee camps' offices, health centers, water distribution points, and schools as well as in nursery sites.

B) Registering as Refugees

This is the best and most useful of all the strategies used by the hosts towards the refugees' impacts. According to the intensive interviews held with different informants, the coming of the massive influx of refugee had created conducive conditions for the locals to easily integrate themselves into the refugee assistance programs. That is, when initially the refugees came to the study area, their movement was spontaneous and in mass. What is more, they are identical with the locals in terms of ethnicity. The registration system was also loose and could not easily screen or identify locals and refugees. Thus, these objective conditions helped many local people to be registered as refugees. As result, many individuals became beneficiaries of the refugee assistance that is provided periodically by aid agencies. Some individuals have a number of ration cards, which have different family size. Today these individuals are very rich and run different business activities. According to the informants of this study, the beneficiaries of this strategy include common inhabitants, local government officials and the wealthy people. It is the urban people that took this opportunity into advantage. People who had a political power in the then local political structure are reported to be the principal beneficiaries of this opportunity.

C) Purchasing Ration Cards

Some locals also integrated themselves into the relief program through purchasing ration cards. They purchase the ration cards either from those refugees who made self or spontaneous repatriation or refugees who had some extra ration cards. The value of a ration card depends on its family size. Informants noted that there was a period when a single-family size ration card cost

3,000 to 5,000 birr. But the value of a ration card depends on the duration of the refugee assistance. Moreover, the value may increase during drought period. The purchasers (locals) benefit from every sorts of assistance given to the refugees by aid organizations. The wealthy men both in rural and urban areas are the main beneficiaries of this system. There are also some women who held many ration cards through this system. Most locals use all the three strategies. The first two strategies used by both the rich and the poor in both sites. Urban people still took these strategies better than rural people.

However, integration of the locals into the refugees' assistance program through ration card purchases and registering as a refugee has been a point of discussion and misunderstanding between UNHCR and concerned government bodies. As a result, UNHCR was coerced to make revalidation and screening exercises at various times. Though these exercises helped UNHCR to drop a certain number of ration cards from the relief program, it could not clearly distinguish the genuine refugees from the local beneficiaries and prevent some locals from benefiting the refugee assistances. At the time of this study UNHCR was conducting screening programs at *Kebribeyah* Refugee Camp for the same purpose.

6.2.2.2 Pooling Refugee Labor

Many individuals both in the town and rural areas of the study district put the cheap refugee labor to advantage to expand their business and increase production respectively. Some hosts employ refugees as shopkeeper and in fetching water from the available sources. Some local women also employed refugee women and girls who help them in domestic services. This creates for the local women ample time for social and economic tasks outside their home. A few able agro-pastoralists and pastoralists pooled refugee labor forces for expanding *ch'at* production which has high demand in the local market and to perform agricultural tasks such as digging,

weeding and harvesting. They also use the cheap refugee labor to tend cattle and construct houses. However, as some informants disclosed, this cheap and abundant refugee labor force reduces labor wages and employment opportunities for the poor laborers of the host community.

6.2.2.3 Rural-Urban Migration

Poor pastoralists and agro-pastoralists mainly employed this strategy. As was discussed earlier these people withdrew from their occupations on account of certain push and pull factors. With respect to the push factors, these people moved out of their natal place in response to their deteriorating environment and the subsequent decline of their economic activities. As informants from rural areas disclosed, their environment, today, is not conducive for both pastoralism and agricultural activities. There is no adequate grazing land and the soil is also not fertile to grow crops. Thus, as a survival strategy many rural people migrated to the nearby towns, *Hartasheik*, *Kebribeyah* and *Jijiga*. This evidence supports arguments from the literature on the rural-urban migration. It is clear that rural-urban migration is basically a response to the lack of economic opportunities in rural areas, plus the lack of support to peasants, often allied to other factors (Seymour-Smith 1986: 190; Weeks 1999:238).

The pull factors, on the other hand, are responses to opportunities created in the nearby towns due to the refugees' presence and concentration of high population. As some informants explained, a few well-to-do people migrated to these towns so as to be involved in the available business markets. The poor, the majority, however, flocked to towns in search of employment opportunities and relief handouts. These poor formed a significant proportion of the unemployed, street persons and beggars. In towns, the migration of rural men, usually adults and youngsters, to the towns caused high concentration of female, infants and elderly people in the rural villages.

6.2.2.4 Involvement in non-pastoral activities

The overwhelming majority of the population in the study area are nomadic in their life. However, as a response to refugees' impacts, some of them have been engaging in non-pastoral activities. These are sale of firewood and charcoal, cross-border trade, petty trade and *ch'at* plantation.

A) Sale of Firewood and Charcoal

Both in the towns of *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* as well as rural areas quite a large number of people are engaged in the sale of firewood and charcoal. While the rural people supply these products to town merchants, the latter in turn retail it to direct consumers. The demand for these forest products increased due to the concentration of a large number of people in *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns as well as in the settlement areas, and also the beginning of exporting charcoal to Somaliland. The poor rural and urban women are the principal actors in firewood and charcoal selling. Moreover, organized merchants and some rural farmers who are settled around forest area export charcoal (see figure -8).

B) Cross Border Trade

Though it is illegal, a large number of people have been engaged in this cross-border trade till very recently. Individuals who had already adequate running capital were the principal actors and beneficiaries of this activity. These people have been involved in both wholesale and retail trades. According to key informants of this study, wealthy men in *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns play a big role in the illegal cross border traders. However, currently this activity is reduced due to the closure of the *Hartsheik-Berbera* trade route by the Ethiopian Government and on account of the repatriation of a large number of refugees from the *Hartsheik* settlement.

C) Petty Trade

The expansion of the illegal cross-border trade and the concentration of large population at *Har-sheik* and *Kebribeyah* have made many people become engaged in petty trade activities. These are selling of vegetables, grains, tea, bread, *ch'at*, meat, etc and running of consumer good shops, small restaurants, and general merchandise shops. The petty trade activities are a means of earning for a large number of people. Women are one of the participants in these business ventures. Selling of vegetables, tea, *ch'at* and meat are dominated by them. Men, on the other hand, controlled the grain market and to some extent the *ch'at* selling business. Moreover, merchandise shops and restaurants are mainly owned by young and adult men.

D) Expansion of *Ch'at* Plantation

Owing to rising demands for *ch'at* both in the study area and the neighboring towns of *Hargessa* and *Berber*, a number of individuals have been engaged in *ch'at* production (*Ch'ata edulis*). *Ch'at* is a major means of income.

6.2.2.5 Creative Strategies

Some hosts devised creative techniques to gain access to the refugees' resources. These are individuals who had access to other resources within the local context- education and property. There are individuals, both in *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* sites, who have opened tutorial schools to maximize the opportunities created by the refugees' presence. *Alshegur* Language and Mathematics School, *Al-Fetah* Language School, *Nejah Amharic* School, *Aflah* Amharic and English School and *Sheik Riyad Kurran* School are cases in point. One of the key informants, Ahmed Ali, for instance, is the owner of *Aflah* Amharic and English school in *Kebribeyah* town. Most of the owners of these tutorial schools are teachers from the local primary and secondary schools. Some hosts are also engaged in video show business, which attracted a large number of

youth clients from both locals and refugees. These businesses are dominated by young male youths. The youngsters used the illegal cross-border trade to purchase the essential materials for the business ranging from videocassette to generators and various electronic materials. As some informants disclosed, this business was highly profitable at its initial stage. However, gradually the incomes from such business decreased on account of the involvement of many local and refugee youth.

Some local people started bicycle renting as a source of income. Youths from both the locals and the refugee communities use bicycle riding for exercise and entertainment. Young locals are the principal owners of this business. Games such as bingo and billiards also serve as sources of income for some local people. These businesses run by wealthy hotel and bar owners in both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns. However, since these businesses have a gambling character, they usually lead to conflict.

Some locals are also involved in house renting business. The growing demand for shops and business markets attracted many locals to invest their capital in house construction. Those local men who had accumulated wealth engaged in such businesses taking the refugees' presence in to advantage. These individuals were able to solicit attractive rent fees during the hot illegal cross-border trade. Taking the scarcity of water in the area into consideration, some locals started building water wells (*Ellas*). These individuals were also able to collect a large sum of money by selling water to urban dwellers, merchants and relief organizations. Sheik Mohmamed Ibrahim, for instance, is well known for selling water. He holds a large earth dam at the out skirt of *Hartsheik* town. He has accumulated a large sum of money from this business. As a result, currently he is the owner of many transport vehicles. In general these creative strategies have benefited individuals who have been engaged in such businesses since the coming of the refugee influxes in the area.

6.2.2.6 Other Strategies

There are also a number of other strategies employed by the host individuals to gain access to incoming resources and to maintain access to their own resources. These are, *inter alia*, changes in consumption patterns, schooling and intermarriage. As discussed in Chapter Four, prior to the presence of the refugee influx, the locals mainly used livestock and crop productions for their consumption. But today people rely on factory processed products such as pasta, vegetable oil and other food items available on the market like rice and relief handouts such as wheat grain. Locals also began to send their children to school as a response to the deteriorating livelihood conditions in the local environment. As some informants explained, pastoralsim and agro-pastoralism are not hereafter reliable occupations. Thus, the local children have to engage in other occupations by attending schools. Some locals also practice intermarriage with the refugees. There are of two basic reasons for this practice One to avoid the costly traditional marriage payments and the other is to gain access to the refugees' resources. However, very few individuals often practice the intermarriage.

Summary

Hosts' experiences with the presence of refugees and relief resources varied depending on gender, age, area and socio-economic class. Women, children, elderly and the poor are less able than men, youth, adults, and the rich to gain access to beneficial opportunities created by the presence of refugees and relief resources. *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns as well as the nearby rural villages have benefited better than the other parts of the rural areas in the district. In comparison with *Kebribeyah* town, *Hartsheik* was better placed to exploit the refugees and the relief situation and developed very rapidly. In general, the burdens of refugees affected negatively the vulnerable groups such as women, children, elderly and the rural poor. Most of the

benefits obtained by the other groups were also temporary.

Hosts also used different ways in responding to the impacts of the refugees and relief resources. Generally speaking, the host community uses peaceful strategies towards the refugees' impact, whereas at the individual level, a number of strategies were employed towards the refugees' impacts. These were integration into the relief operation and market economy, pooling cheap refugees' labor and rural-urban migration. Individuals also used resistance and creative abilities in responding to the refugees' impacts. However, most of the strategies were not effective in achieving the desired result. Thus, as some informants reported, the overwhelming majority of the locals consider themselves to be victims of the refugees' burden.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has concentrated on the socio-economic impacts generated by the prolonged presence of massive influx of refugees and the relief operation in *Kebribeyah* district of the SNRS. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into three major parts: summary, conclusion and recommendation.

7.1 Summary

The presence of refugees and relief operations in *Kebribveyah* district has brought a number of positive and negative impacts.

Positively, both *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns developed as a result of the refugees' presence and the emergence of the illegal cross-border trade. Many consumer markets were expanded and developed both at the villages and in the towns. Cheap refugee labor has also benefited some locals enabling them to expand their business and farm plots, build houses, tend livestock, and fetch firewood as well as to perform a number of domestic tasks. Employment opportunities are other benefits from the refugees' presence. School, transport and health infrastructures were rehabilitated and built. Host communities also benefited by gaining access to different facilities such as health, education and water. The refugees' presence has also created extensive relationships between the hosts and the refugees. Attitudinal changes through awareness raising on FGM, early marriage and family planning were also created through the involvement of some NGOs. In comparison with *Kebriveyah*, *Hartsheik* benefited more due to the presence of the refugees. This is because *Hartsheik* was a center for the concentration of refugee and relief resources as well as the illegal cross border trade. As a result, the town had many socio-economic infrastructures, which are scarce in *Kebribeyah* and other parts of the SNRS.

Negatively, the hosting communities in Kebribeyah district have faced severe pressure on the economic, social and cultural lives as well as on their environment due to the presence of the refugees and relief operations. Environmental degradation is the principal negative impact. The vegetation clearance and subsequent loss of soil fertility has led to the decline in livestock and crop production in the study area. Vast areas of vegetation were cleared for firewood, house and road constructions.

The presence of refugees is also associated with some social problems. Drunkenness, mischief, prostitution and juvenile delinquency were rampant in the study area. Theft was also common. Refugees are usually blamed for spreading some venereal and water borne diseases. The refugees' presence is also accompanied by safety and security problems. Illegal arms markets, illegal cross-border mobility of people and sheltering of some local delinquents and terrorist group in the refugee camps were a threat for local security and safety. Moreover, refugees in Hartsheik were able to dominate the local political structure using their clan similarity with the locals to advantage. Moreover, many relief organizations provide assistance to the refugees bypassing the poor local communities. This has created resentment towards the refugees and the relief operations. In general, both Hartsheik and *Kebribeyah* towns are severely affected by the negative impacts discussed so far due to presence of the refugees and the relief operations. In comparison with *Kebribeyah*, Hartsheik is more affected by environmental degradation, and social and security problems. This is due to its nearness to the Ethio-Somalia border as well as the local people's clan similarity with the refugees.

The hosts' experience of the presence of refugees varies depending on gender, age, area and socio-economic class. Accordingly, women, children, the elderly, and the poor are considered to be the vulnerable groups. However, this does not mean that all members of the vulnerable groups are negatively affected by the presence of the refugees and the relief resources.

There are also certain members from these groups who benefited. The same holds true for the privileged groups. With regard to the spatial distribution of the impacts, *Hartsheik* and *Kebribeyah* towns as well as villages near these towns benefited more than other parts of the district. In comparison with *Kebribeyah*, *Hartsheik* was better placed to exploit the presence of refugees and the relief operations.

The hosts' perceptions regarding the costs and the benefits associated with the presence of refugees are different. Some locals perceived the impacts as positive but short term. Others perceived it as entirely negative and still some others considered the impacts as both positive and negative. As a result, the hosts' responses towards the refugees' impacts are different. Generally, the host communities use peaceful strategies both regarding the costs and benefits associated with the presence of refugees and relief operations. However, individual hosts employ a number of strategies regarding the refugees and the relief operations. These are integration with the relief operations and market economy, pooling cheap refugee labor and migration to towns, peaceful resistance and putting personal skills and knowledge to advantage which are strategies used by some individuals to address the refugees' impacts. In general, the overwhelming majority of the hosts are reported to be victims of the burdens associated with the presence of the refugees and the relief resources, while a few locals were able to change the presence of refugees and the relief operations into advantage using their wealth, education and power.

7.2 Conclusion

Many hosts in *Kebribeyah* district equate the presence of refugees and the relief operations with changes, but they often view these changes as that of the worst kind. However, determining the impacts of the refugees and relief resources is a highly complex matter. A number of factors account for this. First, due to limited academic research about the impacts associated with the refugees and relief resources there is lack of readily available data and

problems of measurements. Second, understanding of the refugees' and relief operations' impacts requires understanding of the history of war, famine as well as ecological factors which have been affecting the study area prior to the coming of refugees. Third, some of the socio-economic impacts shown in the study area also existed even in the areas where there are no refugees. Fourth, in some cases hosts are also found to be responsible for some of the changes.

Nevertheless, the results of this thesis do permit some general conclusions. It is quite clear that the influxes of refugees and the relief resources created both positive and negative opportunities for the local hosts. Moreover, changes in the study area are both internal and external. However, the presence of refugees and relief operations has contributed to these changes either by creating new ones or by aggravating some of the already existing changes.

We must also acknowledge that the refugees by themselves are not a threat to the host communities rather it is the assistance policies. Three reasons can be cited for this. First, the refugees are targeted for assistance without regard to the various negative impacts on the host communities. In other words, early protective measures were not taken by the concerned bodies to prevent the refugees' impacts. Second, the assistance policy confines the refugees in the camps where relief assistance was provided. This measure may have benefits from the perspective of the security issues and the administration of the relief operations. However, it prevents involving refugees as productive economic actors. What is more, the assistance policy did not consider the needs of the poor hosts. UNHCR's efforts to link the relief operations with the local development started too late and were minimal. Ethiopia also has no refugee policy that would enable her to maximize access to refugees' resources. Even the current draft proclamation did not consider this issue. Above all, the effort and initiative of the SNRS to utilize the ex-refugee camp infrastructure and facilities is weak.

In general, this thesis has attempted to investigate some important issues regarding the socio-economic impacts of the refugees and the relief resources in the study area. However, it did

not exhaustively explore all the issues that ought to be considered. This is mainly due to the absence of adequate data regarding the socio-economic conditions of the study area before the refugees' presence and lack of adequate analytical tools. However, the thesis I believe provides some hints for further researches.

7.3 Recommendations

This thesis has identified various socio-economic impacts, which are associated with the long-term presence of the Somali refugees and the relief operations in *Kebribeyah* district. The following recommendations are thus, forwarded based on the findings of this thesis.

1. The local people, in one way or another, has become dependant on the various assistance given to the refugees. This has created dependency syndrome. Moreover, the illegal- cross border trade has been a source of income for a number of local people. However, the closure of the *Hartsheik* refugee camp and the prohibition on smuggling activities has brought economic impacts on illegal traders and their families including the local market. This could have serious effects on the local economy. Thus, the concerned bodies both at the international, national and regional levels have to find alternative income sources in the area of income generation schemes or petty trades.
2. Voluntary repatriation has been implemented by UNHCR since 1997 as a solution to the plight of Somali refugees. However, this strategy would not allow UNHCR to break the vicious cycle of refugee-returnee in SNRS and Somalia, unless UNHCR rehabilitates the refugee-returnee impacted areas in order to redress the imbalance that have resulted from hosting large number of refugees parallel with the repatriation operation.

3. The concentration of a large number of IDPs, refugees and returnees in *Kebribeyah* district has put too much pressure on the local ecological equilibrium. Vegetation clearance for construction and fuel, preparation and marketing charcoal, depletion of ground water due to over use, and soil erosion represent a major threat for the environment. Since these problems have long term impacts on the local's development, the refugee impacted areas have to be rehabilitated through reforestation, earth dam construction, provision of alternative energy sources, housing construction materials and alternative income generating schemes (IGS).
4. For the traditional hospitality of Africa to survive, recognition and assistance should be given not only to economic and environmental impacts, but also to the socially based culture and political impacts.
5. One of the perceived problems in the refugee-impacted areas in SNRS is reusing the ex-refugee camps' services and facilities. Thus, the UNHCR and the concerned national and regional government bodies should conduct phase out arrangement of the ex-refugee camps' services and facilities with greater sensitivity. That is, capacity building program, in addition to material and properties hand over, should include essential skills and knowledge transfer as well as provision of running costs for some period.
6. Every nation has the right to determine the intake of refugees and to maximize access to refugees' resources, while recognizing internationally accepted obligations towards asylum seekers and refugees. So, Ethiopia needs to develop a refugee policy that will take into account mainly social, cultural, economic, political and environmental considerations.
7. Finally, in order to solve the refugee-returnee problem in the SNRS and neighboring Somalia, the peace atmosphere in the Horn of Africa in general and in Somalia in

Bibliography

- Abraham Sewenet. 1995. "The Somali Refugees in Ethiopia: With Particular Emphasis to Camaboker Refugee Camp". Senior Paper in Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University (Unpublished).
- Administration for Refugee/Returnee Affairs (ARRA). 1998. Refugee/Returnee Update, April 1998, Addis Ababa.
- Aukot, Ekuru. 2000. "It is Better to be Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": Revisiting the Relationship Between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya, vol. 21, PP. 73-83: Nairobi.
- Baker, Jonathan. 1995. "Refugees and Labor Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review". In Studies on Emergencies and Disaster Relief, Report No. 2, Noraiska: Afrikainstiutet.
- Bashir Abdullahi 2002. "Impacts of Somali Refugees" paper Presented at a Round Table Meeting held Regarding Rehabilitation of the Refugee-Returnee Impacted areas in SNRS, 22 October 2002, Jijiga.
- Blavo. Q. Ebenezer. 1999. **The Problem of Refugees in Africa: Boundaries and Borders.** Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Brons, Maria H. 2001. **Society, Security, Sovereignty and The State in Somalia: From Statelessness to Statelessness?** Utrecht, the Netherlands: Intentional Books.
- Cerneja, Michael. M. 1996. "Bridging the Research Divided: Studying Refugees and Development Oustees". In Tim Allen (ed.). 1996. **In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Home coming in North east Africa.** London: UNRISCD.
- Chambers, Robert. 1986. "Hidden Loser? The Impact of Rural Refugees and Refugee Programs on Poorer Hosts." *International Migration Review*, Vol. 20 (2). PP. 245-263.
- Consultants for Economic Development and Environment Protection (CEDEP) and Administration for Refugee-Returnee Affairs (ARRA). 1999. Study On Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Refugee Impacted Areas of Eastern Ethiopia, Draft Technical Repot, Vol. 2. Addis Ababa: CEDEP Consultants.
- _____. 1999. Study on Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Refugee Impacted Areas of Eastern Ethiopia, Main Report (Final), Addis Ababa.
- Desta Kassa 1999. Preliminary Study on the Status of Environmental Degradation in Hartasheik and Appropriate Solution (Unpublished Document UNHCR-SOJ, Jijiga).

- Ethiopian Mapping Authority (EMA) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Regional Liaison Office For Africa (UNHCR-RLO). 1999. *Assessment of Refugees Impact on Environment of Southern and Western Ethiopia*, Ethiopian Mapping Authority, Addis Ababa.
- _____. 2002. *The Assessment of Refugees' Impact on the Environment In Eastern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Mapping Authority Remote Sensing Department.
- Farah, Ahmed Yusuf. 1996: "*The Plight and Prospects of Ethiopia's Lowland Pastoral Groups*". In Tim Allen (ed.). **In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Home Coming in Northeast Africa** (1996). London: UNRISD.
- Gebre, Yntiso. 2003. "*Resettlement and the Unnoticed Losers: Impoverishment Disasters among the Gumz in Ethiopia.*" In **Human Organization**, Vol. 62 (1) PP. 50-61.
- Getachew Kassa. 1996: "*The Displacement and Return of Pastoralists in Southern Ethiopia: A Case Study of the Gari.*" In Tim Allen (ed.). **In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight Home Coming in Northeast Africa** (1996). London: UNRISD.
- Gorman, Robert F. 1994. "*Refugee Aid and Development in Africa: Research and Policy Needs from the Local Perspective.*" In Howard Adelman and John Sorenson (eds). 1994. **African Refugees: Development Aid and Repatriation**. Boulder. San Francisco. Oxford: West View Press.
- Harrell-Bond, Barbara and Efithia Vourtria. 1996. "*Refugee*". In David Levinson and Melvin Ember (eds). **Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology**, Vol. 3. New York: Henry Holl and company.
- Hogg, Richard. 1996. "*Changing Mandates in the Ethiopian Ogaden: The Impact of Somali Refugees and Returnees in the Ogaden and Somaliland*". In Tim Allen (ed.). 1996. **In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Home Coming In Northeast Africa**. London, UNRISD.
- House of Peoples' Representatives of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 1995. *The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*, Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1st Year. No. 1 21st August, 1995, Addis Ababa.
- _____. 2003. *Draft Refugee Proclamation Presented at the Ethiopian Parliament for Debate*.
- Kebribeyah Refugee Camp Office, Administration for Refugee-Returnee Affairs. 2004. *Monthly Progress Report for February 2004, Kebribeyah, SNRS*.

- Kibreab, Gaim. 1987. **Refuges and Development in Africa: The Case of Eritrea**. Trenton, New Jersey: The Red Sea Press.
- Kuhlman, Tom. 1994. "*Organized Versus Spontaneous Settlement of Refugees in Africa*." In Howard Adelman and John Sorenson (eds). 1994. **African Refugees: Development Aid and Repatriation**. Boulder, San Francisco Oxford: West View Press.
- Mekuria Bulcha. 1988. **Flight and Integration: Causes of Mass Exodus from Ethiopia and Problems of Integration in the Sudan**. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Myers, David G. 1983. **Social Psychology**. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Organization for African Unity (OAU). 1969. **OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa**, 1969, Addis Ababa.
- Phillips, Melissa. 2003. "*The Role and Impact of Humanitarian Assets in Refugee Hosting Countries*". Working Paper No. 84, Id 21 Research Highlight. Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (UNHCR).
- Population and Housing Census Commission (PHCC) 1999: **The 1994 Population Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Somali Region, Vol. 2, Analytical Report**, Addis Ababa, Central Statistical Authority.
- Robertson, Ian. 1977. **Sociology** (2nd ed.). New York: Worth Publishers, Inc.
- Seymour-Smith, Charlotte. 1986. **Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology**. London and Basing Stoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Solomon Tsegaye. 2003. "The Study on Immigration Status of Somali Refugees: A case of Hartisheik, Somali Region. "Senior Paper in Geography, Alemaya University (unpublished).
- Sorenson, John. 1994. "*An Overview: Refugee and Development*." In Howard Adelman and John Sorenson (eds). 1994. **African Refugees. Development Aid and Repatriation**. Boulder, San Francisco. Oxford: West View Press.
- United Nations. 1957. **Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees**, July 28th, 1951 Geneva.
- United Nations (UN). 1967. **Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees**, Geneva.
- UNHCR: 1988. **UNHCR Activities Financed by Voluntary Funds: Report for 1987-88 and Proposed Programs and Budget for 1989, Part I for Africa**.
- _____. 1990. **UNHCR Activities Financed by Voluntary Funds: Report for 1989-90 and Proposed Programs and Budget for 1991, Part I for Africa**.

- _____. 1993. **UNHCR Activities Financed by Voluntary Funds. Report for 1992-1993 and Proposed Programs and Budget for 1994, Part I Africa.**
- _____. 1993. **The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge of Protection.** HarmondsWorth, Middle Sex, England: Penguin Books.
- _____. 1995. **The State of the World's Refugees: In Search of Solutions.** Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- UNHCR-RLO. 2003. **Durable Solution: Home is Best.** Fact File, Vol. 3, Feb. 2003, Addis Ababa: UNHCR, Regional Liaison Office for Africa.
- _____. 2003. Draft Discussion Paper on Maintenance and Upgrading of Social Infrastructures in the Ex-Refugees Camps and the Camps which will be Closed in 2003-2004. Updated 05 July 2003, UNHCR Sub-office Jijiga.
- _____. Briefing Note on the Somali Refugees, Updated 05 July 2003, UNHCR Sub-office Jijiga.
- _____. 2004. Refugee statistics As at 31 March 2004. Addis Ababa: UNHCR-RLO.
- Vas Dev. Sanjuga. 2001. "*The Reluctant Host: The Socio-Cultural Impact of Refugees on Developing Communities*". Paper Presented at the International Conference "*The Refugee Convention, Where to form Here?*" Convened by the Center for Research; Sydney, December 2001.
- Weeks, John R. 1999. **Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues** (7th ed.). Belmont, CA (USA): Wads worth Publishing Company.
- Westphal, E. 1975. **Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia.** Wageningen: Center for Agricultural Publishing and Documentation.
- Withaker, B. Elise. 1999. "*Changing Opportunities: Refugees and Hosts Communities in Western Tanzania.*" In Chaphill (ed.). 1999. Working Paper No. 11: New Issues in Refugee Research, North Carolina: University of North Carolina.

Annex - 1 Description of Current Number of Refugee in Ethiopia by Country of origin and settlement areas (As of 31 March 2004)

Site	Camp	Assisted Refugees	Country of Origin
West	Bonga	18,151	Sudan
	Dimma	16,392	Sudan
	Fugindo	31,617	Sudan
	Sherkole	18,638	Sudan
	Bambudie	4,355	Sudan
	Sub-total	89,153	-
East	Aisha	13,968	Somalia
	Hartsheik	2,250	Somalia
	Kebribeyah	11,629	Somalia
	Sub-total	27,847	
North	Wa'ala Nihibi	7,466	Eritrea
	Sub-total	7,466	
	Addis Ababa	482	Various countries
Addis Ababa	Sub-total	482	
	Grand Total	124,948	

Source: UNHCR-RLO, Addis Ababa

Annex - 2: History of Eastern Refugee Population

Camp	1991-94	Sep 94 Revalidation n	After Nov. 94 influx	1997 VR	1997 Nov.Revail dation	Final figure Jan. 98	1998 VR	Pop Figure Dec. 98	Pop. Figure Jan. 99	1999 VR	Pop. Figure Jan. 2000	2000		Pop. Figure Jan. 01	2001		Population figure 31 Dec. 2001	2002		2003 As of 31 Aug	2004 As of 31 March	
												VR	DSP		VR	DSP		VR	Pop. Fiture			
H/sheik A	250,926	43,845	53,760	4,922	39,948	39,955	10,918	29,037	31,389	15,766	17,473	5,137	848	11,488	-	-	11,645	-	11,724	7,147	2,250	
H/sheik B	-	-	-	-	11,369	11,357	9,005	2,352	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
K/beyah	12,584	10,100	10,455	-	11,097	11,077	-	11,621	11,621	-	11,622	-	-	11,645	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
T/ber	98,624	41,301	43,818	2,661	45,665	46,331	15,896	30,435	30,435	1,343	29,101	11,237	5,045	12,819	9,938	2,827	11,634	-	11,628	11,628	11,629	
D/naji	117,069	36,855	40,601	2,547	39,762	40,172	13,166	27,006	27,006	1,881	25,136	14,293	2,133	8,700	7,654	895	-	-	-	-	-	
C/boker	66,615	17,231	36,120	-	28,065	28,590	-	28,590	28,590	2,000	26,590	4,000	-	22,349	2,500	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Rabaso	24,181	8,025	28,381	-	16,818	16,814	-	16,814	16,814	2,000	14,811	3,000	-	11,811	2,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Daroc	31,833	12,261	49,355	-	34,150	33,985	-	33,985	33,985	-	33,985	-	-	28,150	28,126	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Aisha	26,694	15,282	15,282	-	15,282	15,282	-	15,290	15,290	-	13,938	5,800	-	13,944	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	628,526	184,900	277,772	10,130	242,156	243,563	48,985	195,130	195,130	22,990	172,621	43,467	8,026	120,906	50,218	3,722	66,956	29,631	37,348	32,720	27,847	

Source: UNHCR SOJ, 2004

- N.B: VR = Voluntary Repatriation
 DSP = Dispersed People (Locals)
 H/sheik = Hartsheik
 K/beyah = Kebribeyah
 T/ber = Tefriber
 D/naji = Daronaji
 C/boker = Camaboker

Annex - 3 Lists of Informants

S/No	Name	Sex	Position	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Abdi Beshar	M	Farmer		
2	Abdi Hassen	M	Vice chairman/Jijiga zone Administration	Deneba/Kebribeyah Jijiga	18/03/04 13/0/03
3	Abdi Ibrahim	M	Get keeper, Kebribeyah Refugee camp office	Kebribeyah	2/03/04
4	Abdi Ismael	M	Hartsheik Area Administrator	Hartsheik	25/03/04
5	Abdurahaman Abdulahi (Dr.)	M	Disease Prevention and Control Department Head, Health Bureau	Jijiga	19/02/04
6	Abdurham Ali	M	Planning and Program Service Dept. Head, BWRD	Jijiga	30/02/04
7	Abrahm Melese	M	Hartsheik Refugee Camp Coordinator	Hartsheik	18/09/03
8	Ader Berie	M	Resident of Kebribeyah town	Kebribeyah	11/03/04
9	Africa Mehammed	F	Women's' Affair Head	Hartsheik	22/03/04
10	Ahmed Ali	M	Natural Resource Department Group Leader (ELCDPB)	Jijiga	21/03/04
11	Ahmed Ali Abdi	M	Kebribeyah Refugee School Director	Kebribeyah	2/03/04
12	Ahmed Ali Gurseye	M	Administration member, Kebribeyah District Administration	Kebribeyah	25/09/03
13	Ahmed Mehammed	M	SC-USA Kebriveyah representative	Kebribeyah	20/03/04
14	Alemseged	M	Administration and Finance Head, Kebribeya Refugee Camp	Kebribeyah	23/09/03
15	Amina Mehammed	F	Pastoralist woman	Deneba/Kebribeyah	15/03/04
16	Bekele Mugeru	M	Kebribeyah Refugee Camp Coordinator	Kebribeyah	18/03/04
17	Boah	M	UNHCR field officer	Kebribeyah	15/09/03
18	Elmoge Ibrahim	M	Farmer	Deneba/Kebribeyah	14/07/03
19	Fatuma Abaulahi	F	Teacher/Kebribeyah Primary School	Kebribeyha	10/10/03
20	Fatuma Adem	F	Farmer	Deneba/Kebribeyah	05/10/03
21	Fatuma Yusf	F	Tea shop owner	Kebribeyah	6/10/03
22	Faysel Ahmed	M	Kuran (Religion) teacher	Kebribeyah	18/03/04
23	Fekade Girma	M	Hartsheik Refugee Camp Administration and Finance Head	Hartsheik	12/10/03
24	Gedi Hassen	M	Chairman of Kebele 01, Kebribeyah town	Kebribeyah	21/02/04
25	Girma Adamu	M	Head Nurse, Kebribeyah Refugee Health Center	Kebribeyah	16/03/04

S/No.	Name	Sex	Position	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
26.	Habiba Ahmed Hirsi	F	Refugee Women Association Representative	Deneba/Kebribeyah	18/03/04
27.	Hadji Mehammed Sheik Hussen	M	Elder/Merchant	Deneba/Kebribeyah	16/03/04
28.	Halima Hussien Yusuf	F	House wife	Kebribeyah	03/03/04
29.	Hassen Abdulahi	M	Head of Crop Development and Control Department (EBCDPB)	Jijiga	15/03/04
30.	Hawa Abdi	F	Hartsheik Refugee Women Association Head	Hartsheik	2/10/03
31.	Hawa Hassen Ali	F	Refugee women Association representative	Deneba/Kebribeyah	27/02/04
32.	Husien Ismael	M	Chairman of Kebele 04, Kebribeyah town	Kebribeyah	26/03/04
33.	Ikrran Sirrad	F	Refugee Youth Association representative	Kebribeyah	3/03/04
34.	Jeih Ibrahim	M	Refugee (daily laborer)	Deneba/Kebribeyah	4/03/04
35.	Kedir Abdi Elmi	M	Teacher/Kebribeyah primary school	Kebribeyah	8/03/04
36.	Kilo Wako, Jhon	M	Protection officer	Jijiga	02/03/04
37.	Lemma Worku	M	ARRA Kebribeyah staff	Kebribeyah	16/03/04
38.	Mehadi Abdi	M	Kebribeyah Health center staff	Kebribeyah	13/03/04
39.	Menik Tadese	M	ARRA Hartsheik staff /logistic officer/	Hartsheik	16/03/04
40.	Mohammed Abdi	M	Refugee Youth Association representative	Kebribeyah	19/09/03
41.	Mohammed Adem	M	Kebribeyah District Development Office Head	Kebribeyah	4/09/03
42.	Mohammed Ahmed	M	Hartsheik Town Mayor	Hartsheik	17/03/04
43.	Mohammed Hussien	M	Merihan clan leader /refugee/	Deneba/Kebribeyah	12/09/03
44.	Muhammed Olad (Dr.)	M	Medical Director (Karamara Hospital)	Jijiga	16/03/04
45.	Muktar Sherief	M	Hartsheik town Mayor	Hartsheik	17/09/03
46.	Mulugeta Lamma	M	ARRA program coordinator	Jijiga	18/09/03
47.	Musema kedir	M	Health Assistant	Kebribeyah	16/03/04

S/No	Name	Sex	Position	Place of interview	Date of Interview
48	Nemun Abdi	F	Kebribeyah Distict Administration Women's Affair Head	Kebribeyah	17/03/04
49	Omer Sheik Yusuf	M	Teacher, Kebribeyah Primary School	Kebribeyah	28/02/04
50	Osman Nuer Adem	M	Elder	Kebribeyah	22/02/04
51	Remha Omar	F	Refugee Youth Association Represenative	Kebribeyah	23/02/04
52	Reshed Abdi	M	Kebribeyah district vice administrator	Kebribeyah	26/02/04
53	Semunegus Wolde	M	UNHCR-SOJ Assistant Programmer		2/03/04
54	Sheik Osman Kedir	M	Elder	Hartasheik	24/09/03
55	Sheik Yusuf Ahmed	M	Head of producers cooperatives	Jijiga	27/02/04
56	Shuay Ali	M	Hartsheik Manucipality Social Sector Head	Hartsheik	17/03/04
57	Tesegaye Mehrefu	M	ARRA Eastern Refugee camps coordinator	Jijiga	15/09/03
58	Tesfa Mariam Woldetensaye	M	Admine finance head (ARRA)	Jijiga	21/03/04
59	Tilahun Zawede	M	Plan program head, Education Bureau	Jijiga	14/03/04
60	Wolde Berrta	M	Crop Development and Protection Dept. Head, Jijiga Zone LECDPO	Jijiga	10/03/04
61	Yusuf Abdi Nur	M	Kebribeyah Refugee Youth Association Head	Kebribeyah	20/09/03
62	Yusuf Ahmed Dahr	M	Farmer	Deneba/Kebribeyah	8/03/04
63	Yusuf Mohammed	M	Development Agent	Kebribeyah	7/03/04
64	Yusuf Wayen Mahmmmed	M	Kebribeyah Refugee Committee leader	Kebribeyah	26/09/03
65	Zawir Abdi	F	Farmer	Kebribeyah	10/03/04
66	Zeinab Ali	F	Kebribeyah Refugee Women Committee Head	Kebribeyah	27/09/03

Annex 4: Number of repatriated refugees to Somaliland

Year	Camp	Heads of Family	Beneficiaries
1997	Hartshek	904	4961
	Daronaji	369	2393
	Teferi Ber	459	2590
	Total	1732	9944
1998	Hartshek (A+B)	3743	19928
	Daronaji	2308	13166
	Teferi Ber	2549	15896
	Total	8600	48990
1999	Hartshek	3175	15766
	Daronaji	276	1881
	Teferi Ber	220	1343
	Cama Boker	545	2000
	Rabaso	481	2000
	Total	4697	22990
2000	Hartshek	1021	5137
	Daronaji	2359	14293
	Teferi Ber	1712	11237
	Cama Boker	1100	4000
	Raba	812	3000
	Darpr	1316	5800
	Total	8320	43467
2001	Daror	1118	7658
	Teferi Ber	1517	9933
	Cama Boker	676	2500
	Rabaso	575	1997
	Daror	6187	28125
	Total	10073	50,213
2002	Cama Boker	4656	19833
	Rabaso	2756	9806
	Hartshek	1	6
	Total	7413	29645
2003	Hartshek	1752	9002
	Total	1752	9002
2004	Hartshek	50	251
	Total	50	251
	G. Total	42,637	214,502

Source: Administration for Refugees /Returnees Affairs (ARRA) Jijiga sub-office (2004)

ex 5: Number of Dispersed Locals

Year	Camp	Head of Family	Beneficiaries
2000	Teferibere	818	5045
	Daronaji	371	2133
	Hartsheik	135	848
	Total	1342	8026
2001	Teferibere	410	2845
	Daronaji	132	904
	Total	542	3749
2002	Camaboker	1	2
	Hartsheik	1	9
	Total	2	11
	Grand Total	1888	11786

Source: Administration for Refugees /Returnees Affairs (ARRA) Jijiga sub-office (2004)

Annex: - 6 Lists of Figures



Figure: -1 Partial view of *Kebribeyah* Refugee Camp

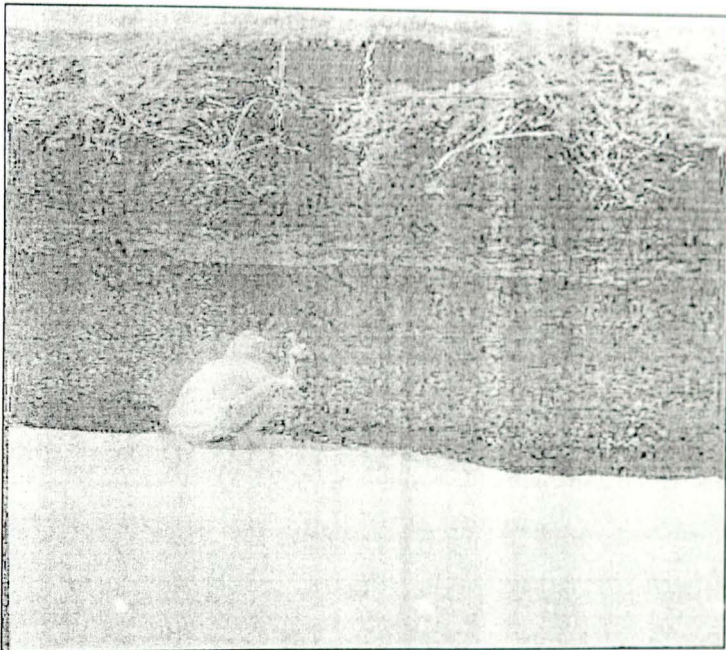


Figure: - 2 A Refugee man digging colored Soil for selling at the local market,
Deneba Kebele, Kebrib

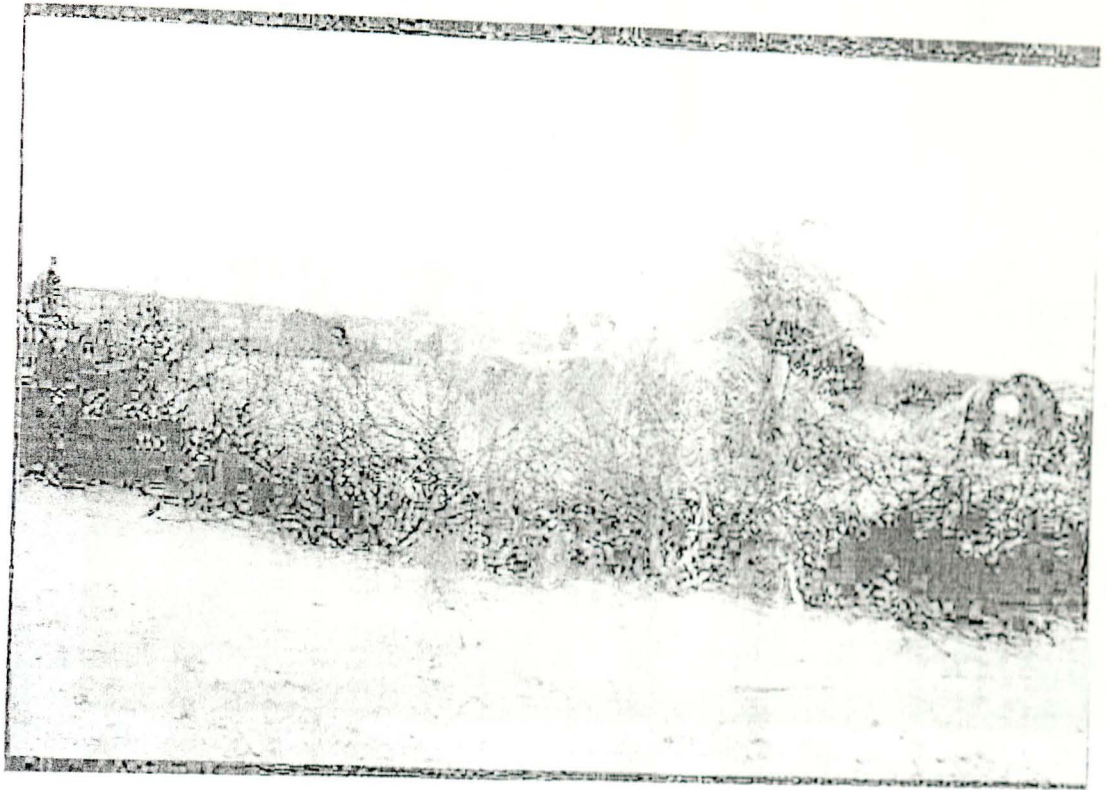


Figure: -3 A typical farmer compound fenced by acacia tree , *Deneba Kebele , Kebribeyah*

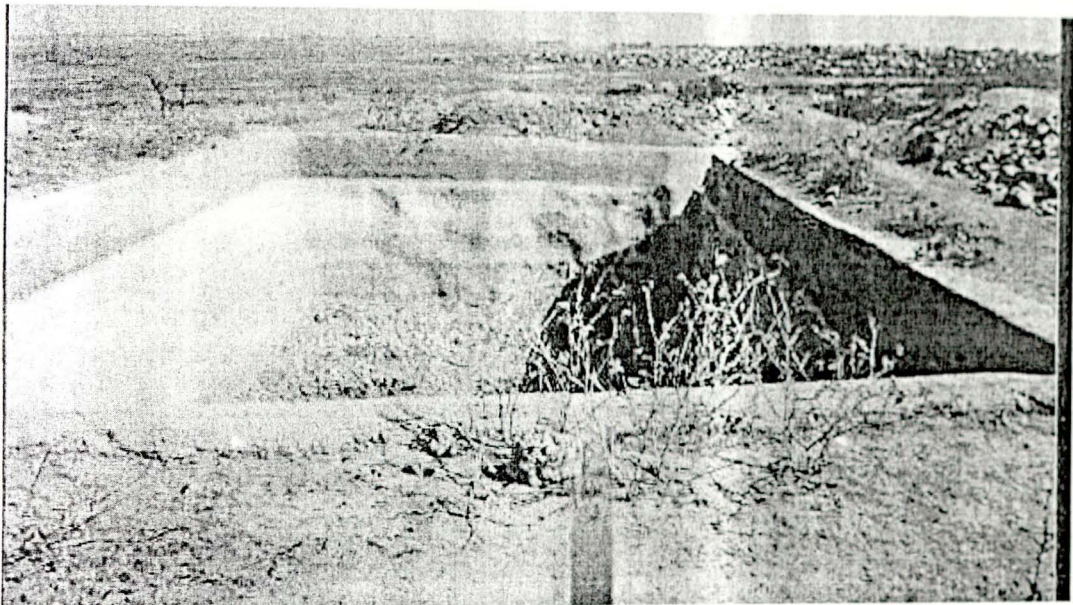
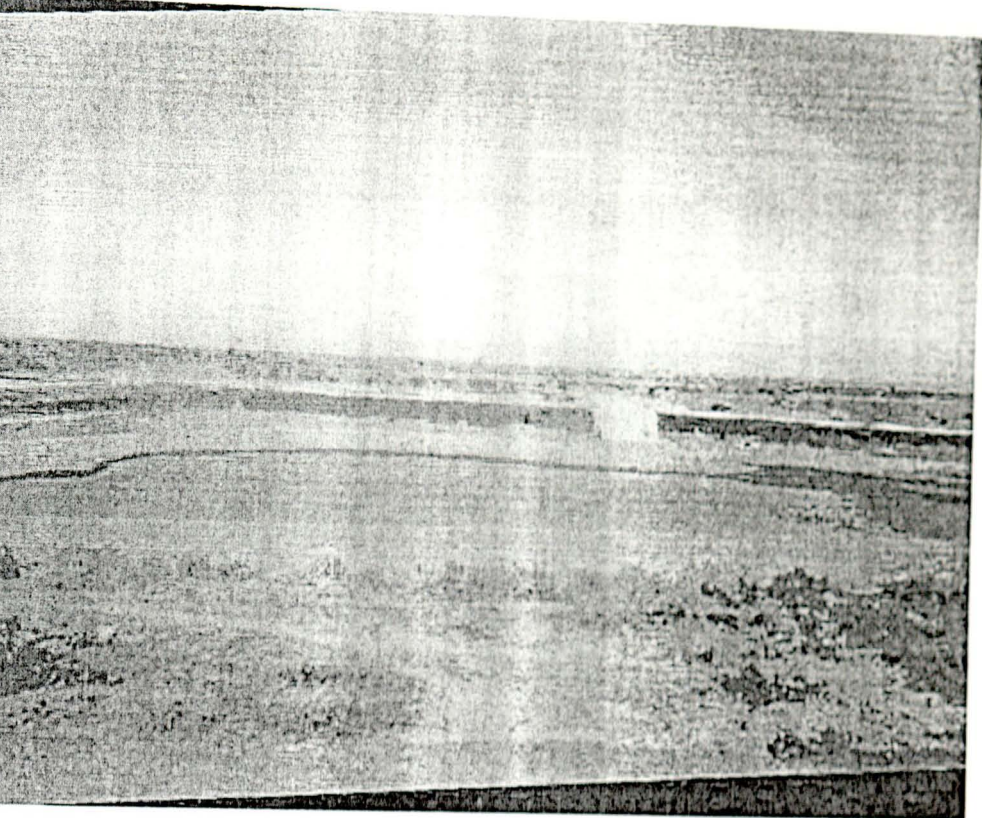
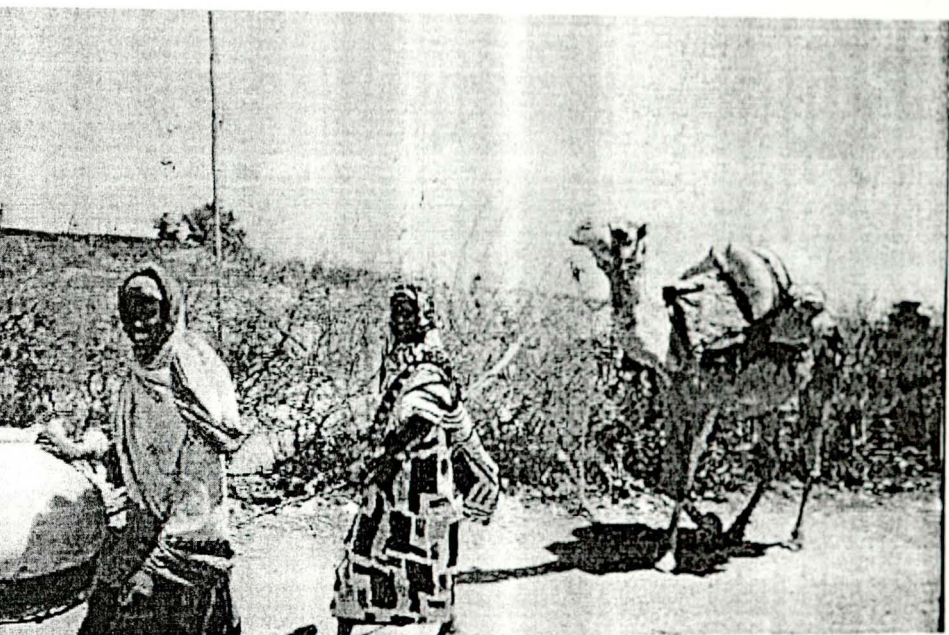


Figure: - 4 Individual water well (*Ella*) , *Deneba Kebele, Kebribeyah*



- 5 Earth dam near by *Hartsheik* town , constructed by UNHCR.



6 Refugee Women taking the wheat grain from the distribution center to the local market, *Kebribeyah*



Figure: - 7 Impacts of Vegetation Clearance in *Deneba kebele, Kebribeyah*

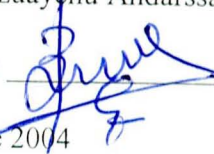


Figure 8:- Local people taking charcoal and fire wood to *Kebribeyah* market

DECLARATION

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

Name: Bizuayehu Andarssa

Signature: 

Date: June 2004