

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND IMPACTS OF THE ERITREAN REFUGEES
ON LOCAL POPULATION
THE CASE OF ASSAYITA WOREDA, AFAR REGIONAL STATE, ETHIOPIA

BY
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ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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THE CASE OF ASSAYITA WOREDA, AFAR REGIONAL STATE, ETHIOPIA

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in
African Studies**

BY

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Solomon Messele, entitled: *The Socio-Economic Relations and Impacts of the Eritrean Refugees on Local Population: The Case of Assayita Woreda, Afar Regional State, Ethiopia* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

The outbreak of the 1998-2000, Eritrea-Ethiopia Border War over badme and some Afar inhabited areas of southern Eritrea resulted in reverse cross border involuntary movement or flight or displacement of several thousands of Eritreans among them were the Pastoral and Coastal Afar people. The flight movement of these people was by and large towards Northern Ethiopia and Southwestern Djibouti where the inhabitants are Afar. [The flight was on both directions.] This study focused on the displaced Eritrean Afars and among them too it is limited to the study of only those refugees settled in the Aysaita refugee Camp. It is located near Assayita town, in Assayita wereda, one of the ancient and developed areas in the Afar region. The focus of the study is on the possible positive and negative experiences of the camp residents and their impact these Afar camp residents on the Host Afar society and the local economy and environment of the Assayita town and its surrounding areas and rural communities. Besides, the study also attempted to investigate relationships between the refugee and local Afars, non Afar residents and with officials in the Assayita town and wereda and their relations with INGOs and the Federal and Regional State institutions and authorities. Moreover, it attempted to see the processes of accommodation and integration of the camp residents but the local Afar and non Afar community members and by the local Afar regional state and Assayita wereda and town officials. To find answers/explanations to the stated issues the researcher employed different qualitative methods as well as secondary sources (reports on the refugee support and assistance operations) which were obtained from the Refugee Assistance – programme or refugee administration officials and from both NGOs (WFP, UNDP, UNHCR, APDA and other agencies), and from reports produced by the Government and NGOs operators in the Assayita and Afar refugee assistance workers and from the regional state and NGOs produced published and unpublished reports. The perspective followed in this study is that the Data obtained from the field has been analyzed and combined to form the present monograph. The findings of the research include: significant social and economic impacts on the local environment. The refugees have not been isolated and rather they have used their clan lineage/kin relations and these linkages between the refugees, the Afar community and the Afar authorities in the regional and Assayita administrations has been to the benefit of the Afar refugees. So this has enabled them to benefit from social services of the town and regional administration. They have not been discriminated contrasted to the experience of other refugees. Because they feel that they are at home in Afar region and among their people the Afar. Finally, the findings show that first the war displaced Afar settlement has not been seen as having negative consequences on the society and did not pose pressure on local environmental and other resources and services. There has been no tension between the locals and the camp residents.

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ACRONYMS

AHA	Africa Humanitarian Action.
ANRS	Afar National Regional State
ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnees Affaires
BoFED	Bureau of finance and economic development
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
EUE	Emergency Unit for Ethiopia
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IRAs	International Refugee Agencies
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PPAC	Programme of Plan on Adaptation to Climate Change
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WDR	World Development Report
WFP	World Food Program

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction (*Background to the Study*)

1.1 Pastoral Afar Cross Border Flight/Return Migrations/Displacement/ and Their Settlement in Refugee Camps in Ethiopia.

It has become common to observe that the spatial and social displacement of people has been accelerating around the World and the Horn of Africa region at a fast pace and these movements include enormous numbers of people who are legally classified as displaced. Legally, the displaced people are those people who are involuntarily driven from their original Domicile (Home area) to other areas. Although there is a plethora of study on migratory processes and refugee/returnee (assistance and rehabilitation) organizations – few of these deal with the impacts – such as positive contributions of migrants /movements to the host area and host communities. Movements of peoples or migrations – involve permanent or semi permanent changes in residence and takes account of factors which intervene between the economic opportunities and social conditions of the place of origins and those of the destination (Lee, 1966). Recent studies of cross border war induced pastoralist population movements in the East and Horn of Africa Region states- for these ‘refugees’ , their own strategies were clearly central to the provinces, and they were not simply beneficiaries’ of the UNHCR – governmental or other agency initiatives (See Allen 1996; Getachw 1996; Turton, 1996, Hogg, 1996).

These studies have also found that their initial conception of the nature of the problem (refugee Crisi and repatriation schemes for Ethiopian Somali and other pastoralist refugees and returnees in the Horn countries) including the Afar – was (were) wrong in other ways that can be applied to Ethiopian (and Horn of Africa countries – border region inhabitant pastoralist populations. First, these pastoralist groups cross border flights or migrations and return pastoralist group movements to their home territories in neighboring country or state were not ‘spontaneous’ but in fact highly planned and organized but by the refugees or returnee pastoralist groups themselves on an individual or collective /group (clan lineage and ethnic group) basis. Second, the flight and return pastoralist group movement across

common state borders were not ‘voluntary’ in any simple sense of the word because they generally represented struggles (by pastoralist border land inhabitants – refugee groups (inhabitants of the arid and semiarid border/frontier region of the horn of Africa states) to improve their situation by taking on the problems “At Home” because the situation in the exile /flight /asylum (Country/state) was one of ‘No Hope’ in the long term.

Third, most of the pastoralist (cross border) involuntary forces migrations or movements were not necessarily ‘repatriation’ because they did not always imply some kind of re-establishment of the bond between State and the refugee or returnee pastoralist population or groups and individuals. In some cases the refugees (pastoralist individuals and groups) had never felt that the bond with their traditional home lands in their two or three National States or Countries of the Horn of Africa - and the bond with their ‘Stayee’ Kin folk – clans and lineages – populations – and the National State governments had been broken ; their (cross border migrations flights -) and returns by crossing the State borders into their home land areas – were seen as maintain and not as re-creating it. In other situations or contexts the National State (Governments) in the Horn region (as well as the arbitrarily drawn State boundaries or borders that divide their peoples and their homeland territories) were (and are still today) often seen (by most of the border land or frontier regions inhabitant pastoralist groups such as Afar, Garri, Boran , Somali and other groups) a marginal element in what these peoples or pastoralist communities or in what these pastoral peoples – conceived of as their community (it never was a ‘patria’) , and neither refuge nor return had thus changed the situation (see Garri case by Getachew 1996; 2001, 2007). Indeed as in the rest of the Horn of Africa region and the rest of the world, many if not most of the pastoralist refugees /or returnee (returning) refugees to Ethiopian Afar region from Eritrea and Djibouti side of the Afar areas or home lands – actually went back into areas not controlled by the Government (Governments).

There are also parallels in this study on the Afar refugees /returnees and IDPs in Assayita *Wereda* in the Ethiopian Afar Region in northeastern Ethiopia and other earlier cases on pastoralist refugees/returnees in southeastern, southern and south western borderlands of Ethiopia-Sudan, Ethiopia-Kenya, Ethiopia –Somalia. Between the patterns of factors

(pull/push) factors that influence refugees'/returnee refugees' (pastoralist individuals and collectives) decisions about return and flight (cross border) return and flight movements in the examples or cases studied by Getachew, Hogg, Farah and Allen 1996 and other recent studies on Somali, Gabbra, Nuer and other pastoralist groups in the Horn of Africa region and those observed by other researchers in western and southern Africa regions and those observed in this case study of Afar refugee/returnees in Assayita area , in the Afar regional state in North Eastern Ethiopia. Moments precipitating flight/or return also occur within the same framework (as Getachew, Allen, Farah propose for Garri, Ugandan and Somali/Ogadeen Cases) proposed.

Pastoralist Refugees'/Returnees (Afar) concerns for security control over their lives, the desire to construct a possible and meaningful future, and the flow of information, and ideas and resources are all indeed key (and central). Each pastoralist individuals and collectives flight/exile (and return) event by the Afar as individual persons or as collectives (clan lineage group or family/families cross border flight movements) in the Afar areas in their traditional ethnic group territory (found within the boundaries of the three Horn of Africa region countries or states sovereign territories was followed by "Ricochet" Return movements by pastoralist groups or populations (by crossing National State borders/boundaries) unnecessarily (involuntarily) displaced by short –term processes or (political, climatic, environmental and insecurity war) conditions. This (the present study on the Afar of Eritrea- Djiboutian – Ethiopia borderlands and especially of the Eritrean Refugee case study, also found 'relocation –stimulated' or Border- War induced flight' or refugee movements of Afar people (as individuals and clan lineage collectives- who did not want to repatriated or to be moved into refugee/returnee camps – (created by the Ethiopian government and the ARRA and UNHCR) further from the Eritrea – Ethiopia Border. Flight/and return Afar pastoralist/non pastoralist movements along the Ethiopia- Djibouti and Ethiopia – Eritrea and Eritrea Djibouti State borders were also generated by what call 'Community and Alienation" processes , whereby people who no longer identify with – or are no longer identified as belonging by –the Refugee /Displaced Camp Community returned to Afar Rgeion of Ethiopia. Finally, we also found in the present case study on the Afar Refugees in Assayita Camp – what we call 'major FLIGHT' movements, where large

groups of pastoral Afar people – (under take flight across state border and recross) so as to retain and maintain their clan and lineage relationships and social – networks with other Afar clan and lineages – (returnees refugees from neighboring Sate territory located homelands).

The present case study on the refugee Afars in the Assayita Camp in Ethiopia , further emphasizes, however, the impact of the heterogeneous nature of the Afar refugee population on the patterns of flight /and exile and return movement: different individuals, families, lineages and clans – of the Afar population move at the same or different times for different reasons. It also provides further detail on the complexity of how social –political (and economic) spaces in the Eritrea- Ethiopia and Djibouti-Eritrea border conflicts – open through space and time for particular categories /sections of Afar refugees/and returnees to reinsert themselves despite the Border War between the Three States continuing at a macro-level. Another important goal for this study is exploring whether the manner in which the State (Ethiopian Government, Afar Regional state administration and Refugee assistance or International Humanitarian Organizations) and United Nations agencies – intervene/interventions (refugee/returnee relief aid) interventions actually influences the nature and size of these ‘windows’ for Afar refugee repatriations.

Dilemma concerning the role of outsiders in situations of cross border pastoralist population flight or refugee migrations/movements – and repatriations or return movements under Border War or Conflict need to be aired, which are raised by several case studies in Allen 1996, as well as by other studies again in Allen 1994 edited Books. If so many pastoralist populations cross border flights – or refugees – are busy organizing their own return even when Eritrea-Ethiopia Border tension and Afar –insurgent groups – war with these both States continues to this day. Does this not mean that we should accept the Current agenda of the Donors and UNHCR that Refugees should be encouraged to go home since this is the Best ‘Solution’

Do refugees really require asylum if they can successfully (self-exile and) self-return; would not more be achieved in the long term if efforts were shifted to improving the context for return than just helping people in exile; Is this not obviously part of the new Western agenda of African ‘Democratization’ and attention to Human Rights ‘standards’ through Aid Conditionality.

Is assistance to return movements not an ideal candidate for current proposals within the UN System for a new Co-ordination of Relief in emergencies?

Critique of such questions concerning the apparently matched refugee and donor agenda can be derived through two processes. The first is the decision as to whether we seek to address the ‘Refugee Problem or Crisis’ in (the context of pastoralist groups in the Countries of the Horn of Africa Region) (the political and institutional challenges that the continued presence of refugee populations poses for Governments and International agencies) or Refugees’ ‘Problems’ (the difficulties and struggles of refugees to construct a better and more meaningful present and future life). If our comments are to working for and /or with the refugees and hence we see repatriation /flight Not as by definition always the desired outcome and ultimate objective – then we have a clarified framework within which to assess the desirability and appropriateness of different kinds of (refugee assistance) interventions in asylum and repatriation. Second, a detailed consideration of the refugee self- (exile/flight or migration) and self- return process suggests that it occurs successfully because refugees themselves are able to discover and quietly negotiate their own –reinsertion into the home Country (home land territory) as and when opportunist arise: thus by definition large external (refugee assistance) programmes will prove little capable of identifying and exploiting such opportunities. In fact not only the policy instruments available to such programmes usually too blunt to open spaces for (refugee/ returnee reintegration, it is just as likely that the launching of such a high-profile programme would damage existing return opportunities.

This study indicates, however, that in practice elements of international (refugee) and returnee assistance in the Horn of Africa Region States and especially in Ethiopia and neighboring States have actually played quite a useful role, even if it has been and is still today in ways not initially conceived by the International (UN) and Donors and National State Governments Policy makers. (Refugee assistance and development aid policy makers, including the UNHCR and other agencies). This suggests among other things (matters) (as the case studies on pastoralist groups of the Horn of Africa region in Allen edited Book of 1996) addressed among other matters - the ambiguities of - (refugee crisis, relief and repatriation assistance) intervention in complex , unstable and little understood Horn of Africa region states – pastoralist population flight and return movements across state borders situations.

Third, considerations of the dilemmas of cross border pastoralist populations involuntary flights movements and return movements by recrossing state borders as refugees and returnees – as well as those of the pastoralist and non-pastoralist peoples or groups who stayed in their home territories in the war /conflict affected or prone Border lands – such as Ethiopia- Eritrea , Eritrea – Djibouti, Ethiopia- Somalia, Kenya –Somalia – and Ethiopia – South Sudan border zones – suggests what is significant to them is cross State border mobility/movements of peoples – (livestock) and goods, access and use of their traditional territories across the arbitrarily drawn colonial state borders, control of their own lives and not some kind of ‘Durable or permanent’ ‘solutions’ (defined as place of residence) conceived and implemented by International Forces (agencies and Governments and NGOs). A number of analysts have expressed themselves highly disturbed by the very discussion of Horn Africa Region Pastoralist groups such as Garri, Boran, Gabbra, Somali Ogaden , Afar and other refugees (displaced pastoralist groups) self-repatriation initiatives of the kind described in Tim Alen edited Books – Looking For Cool Grounds (1996) and When Refugees Go Home (1994) , Since they believe that they will be a pretext for Governments or State Officials – in the Horn of Africa Region – to deny persecution or danger in the Countries or States of –Refugee /displaced populations- or exiled groups) – country of origin. Evidences provided by empirical case studies such as those in Tim Allen edited Book (1996) from the Horn – which demonstrated that thousands of pastoralist refugees have self

– (exiled) and self –repatriated into War or conflict prone border areas is considered threatening not only to the honoring of pleas for asylum and protection by other refugees who have not returned , but also threatening to the claims of aid agencies, researchers and advocates of the profound nature of their ‘persecution and their exposure to violence in the country of origin. We argue that, “except for running away from the country /State of origin, pastoralist refugees are to be passive victims in the face of cruel authoritarian governments – and cruel government authorities or militaries. They must accept that certain international legal and institutional instruments should deliver them protection and construct their future whilst they remain in Exile – (in the asylum or host country) consciously not involving themselves in affairs at home – or in their home lands in their country of origin.

Yet the very point of the new way of detailed empirical research on cross border pastoralist population forced migration /movement or flights and return or self – repatriation (by East African and Horn researchers on several pastoralist groups (see Tim Allen 1996) was the principal and major finding on refugee /returnee assistance or aid – by international and governmental refugee aid and development assistance work demonstrated – is that refugees or displaced pastoralist population groups in the Horn of Africa countries – do not accept the legitimacy and authority of the frameworks provided for them or imposed on them by international Humanitarian agencies such as the UNHCR and Governmental agencies. Except in so far as it is considered useful in the pastoralist groups own scheme of things, pastoralist refugee groups /populations like other people struggle to preserve some autonomy. And anyway, the international Humanitarian regime simply does not deliver sufficient ‘protection’ or ‘durable solution’ for refugee population or groups and individuals – to rely on it. It is therefore inevitable that pastoralist refugee groups (like that of the Afar, Somali and others in the Horn of Africa region countries – actively set about carving out their own protection strategies and their own futures , which often involves decisions – to self – repatriate at one stage or another. People may decide that returning to face and seek to transform persecutory or violent National State government authorities is the best way to create a meaningful future, and they have a right to do this as much as they have a right to run away/self – exile or take a refuge or a flight from their countries of origin and be provided with asylum rights in the receiving or Host countries of asylum. [the refugee

pastoralist population may return to the Country/countries of origin because they decide that their rights of access/and use - to land , natural resources and other resources- and community membership can only be secured at an acceptable cost to their safety. An international humanitarian system guided towards helping – refugees or displaced peoples – and persons – returning displaced peoples on their own terms would thus have to handle the ambiguities between securing and granting refugees / displaces pastoral population groups and persons power /rights on the one hand , and recognizing on the other that they already have power/rights that they will use in pursuit of their own agendas, and which will ultimately subvert the very international humanitarian programmes which allegedly seek to provide them.

1.2 Problem Statement

Population dislocation caused by environmental change by conflict and wars by drought or desertification creates the Problem of Refugees. If people living in a depleted country region see no prospect of feeding themselves (and feed their livestock, or when the land is bad) they will start to move. There will be large scale migration from the degraded area to better areas. This creates population boom which in most cases exceeds the capacity of hosting environment and creates Conflict and competition over the resources. Armed conflict and Banditry in Western Sudan is an obvious example of population dislocation.

Hassan (1992: 81) explains further indirect Population dislocation and the economic problems caused by (environmental degradation) Poor Africa countries are said to receive and host [LARGE NUMBERS of Displaced Population] refugees/ for extended periods of time [are said to experience serious negative environmental, economic, social and political Consequences} face long-term economic, social, political, and environmental impacts.

1.3 Research questions

The vital research questions that have addressed in this study were:

- What are the basic features of refugee-host interaction in the study area?
- What are the bad effects and benefits (impacts) of Eritrean refugee encampment on the local people in the Study area?
- What are the measures that have been taken over by the local administration, international agencies and communities to avert the negative effects of hosting refugees?
- How can the presences or establishment of a refugee camp for Eritrean Afar Refugees affect positively or negatively resource and economic conditions of the host area and population in the short and long –term?

1.4 Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The General Objective of this study is identifying the socio-economic relation and impacts of the presence of Eritrean refugees in Assayita area of the Afar Region. By identifying the perceived negative and positive impacts, this study will suggest ideas on how to respond to some of the problems emanating from hosting refugees.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The four specific objectives include

1. to evaluate the social interactions between refugees and the host population.
2. to describe if there are negative and positive impacts of refugee encampment on the lives of the local people.
3. Identify the efforts and strategies that have been implemented by governmental and non-governmental organizations to overcome the bad effects of hosting refugees.

4. to suggest the way forward such as sorts of interventions, further research and commend ideas for policy;

1.5 Research Methodology and Procedures

This study used qualitative method appropriate to specified research objectives. Primary and secondary sources have been used. Hence the following will describe sampling techniques and procedures, source and method of data collection (interview, questionnaire, observation) and analytical procedures.

1.6 Methods and Sources of Data

The methods and sources for this study are tailored to the objective documentation the forces shaping pastoralist /non pastoralist Afar involuntary pastoralist individuals and collectives – groups involuntary movements –migrations – or flights /exile – refugee movements – for example of the Afar population and their attitudes towards exile /flight and return, in relation to the policy and planning of procedures of the responsible National State Governments, United Nations Agencies and Non Governmental Organizations. To understand the impacts of refugees on the host community or receiving areas environment/al resources and infrastructure and social services providing facilities and so on. It has been essential to obtain access to official and refugee/returnee and knowledge of activities through the rapidly changing situations (political economic and environmental etc) situation over the last 5 to 10 years- requiring the researcher both intense field work (among the Afar Eritrean refugees in Assayita Camp / Assayita town - in Assayita *Wereda* (district) in the self administering Afar National Regional State in northeastern Ethiopia – a *wereda* that borders the Eritrean and Djiboutian States and the use of documentary sources. The Refugee and Returnee/DISPLACED / perspective has been obtained mostly from fieldwork in Afar Region and especially an Afar refugee camp in Assayita District (wereda) an Afar refugee settlement camp – undertaken – focusing mostly in collecting qualitative data or information about the reasons of their flight to Ethiopian Afar region – such as Assayita area about their livelihood situation in their current Refugee Camp / settlement, their attitudes towards

integration in their Host /local community and local areas and about their attitudes towards returning to their home land areas in Eritrean Afar inhabited territories or to Afar areas in Djibouti or move elsewhere. The Assayita Eritrean Afar refugee camp field study examined among other things, the causes and significances of both flight and the return pastoralist Afar people movements – or migrations (cross border migrations in between Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti) and the relief and rehabilitation situations (operations). To access Afar refugee individuals and collectives ‘own perceptions numerous ‘life story ‘interviews were undertaken with a careful Afars filed work studies. Exile and slow progression in a relaxed atmosphere through the sequence of life-events and migrations, flights and returns that the informant had experienced, allowing them to indicate the dominant forces and motivations for their different (individual and collective) actions and attitudes.

The views of the host or local population members and of local officials in government and agencies about the nature and causes of past and present (forced) involuntary or conflict – natural calamity induced population flight movements – of past and present refugee movements (by Afars) were also useful in understanding what the Eritrean Afar refugees of Assayita refugee camp residents were saying and experiencing, as were written field reports by these – officials. Direct observation of the situation in the field sites in the – Assayita *Wereda*, Assayita town and Assayita Eritrean Afar refugee camp/settlement (for Three Weeks) also proved extremely useful. The combination of documentary sources with interview materials enhances the credibility of both sources, and provides some controls for bias/or distortions. (The Camp Director, School Directors, *Wereda* Administration officials of Assayita Town and *Wereda* administration officials’ deserves special credit for provision of useful – documents on the Afar refugees.) Understandings of the programmes of the Federal State and Afar Regional State and Assayita *Wereda* and Assayita town governments and administrations and the Refugee assistance Agencies were obtained through a combination of interviews with managerial and field staff, and the use of internal and public agency and Afar Regional government. Information on institutions and perceptions and programmes is somewhat uneven between agencies and through time because of the high mobility of refugee assistance officials, the paucity of documentation , as well as the fact that many discussions and documents (regarding refugee assistance and rehabilitation

operations) are confidential , (and in fact the attentions of researchers receive variable welcome). This study like several others on refugee groups studies nevertheless indicates the value of refugee relief agency archives as a source for social investigation in Africa (the Horn of Africa region countries), particularly of a historical and socio- anthropological orientations, though of course with the same caveats as are applied to other sources like the records of colonial officers or archives. Hence the researcher has utilized all available documents of the refugee assistance agencies in the study area to understand and explain on the social economic, environmental consequences of displacement and settlement of Eritrean Afar refugees in Assayita *wereda* in the Afar regional state of Ethiopia.

The writing of this study has been constrained by our desire to positively influence the policies of governments and agencies towards displaced Afar pastoralist groups (refugees) and repatriation. This means that a fuller and more objective analysis, particularly of the nature of institutional planning and assistance, will have to await the end of the current refugee crisis situation in the Afar region of northern Ethiopia and neighboring countries.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Conducting a research on the socio-economic impact of a refugee population on host country's economy is vital to assess and develop state refugee strategies. Ethiopia is currently hosting a large number of refugees (ARRA, 2012). It is obvious that over-utilization of resources as a result of the presence of refugees, the sharing of common goods and infrastructure put an immense pressure not only on the resources but also on the land. The later are frequently seen in the utilization of grazing land, water sources and transport routes which in turn, threatens domestic stability (Han, 2009; Van Hear, 2003; Madanat, 2012). The host communities in different parts of Ethiopia are under pressure from refugee presence and lack of intensive intervention of concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations. The extent of the socio-economic impacts has not yet been studied in these areas. Thus, it has remained somewhat a puzzle as to why the current socio-economic impact has not been given due attention in the country. This is especially true in

the study area where the refugees highly depend on the social and economic life of the local people (Constantinos, 2000). Most studies on displaced people by refugee studies and international attention focus on refugee camps and the needs and problems of the refugees themselves, while the impact that the refugees have on the host community is often overlooked (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2010; Whitaker, 2002). The construction of a refugee camp, and the subsequent influx of thousands of refugees from different ethnic groups and countries, changes the environment of the host community in positive and negative ways. However, little research has been conducted on the socio-economic impacts of the concentration of refugees on the lives of the locals (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2010; Whitaker, 2002). The knowledge of the impacts that is associated with refugees will help those organizations working in refugee related works to implement effective ways and means to alleviate the negative impacts of the refugee concentration on the lives of the locals. In other words, the result of this study will help those organizations working in refugees to design efficient way of decreasing the negative impacts of refugees on local host communities.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The principal concern of this study is to assess the socio-economic impacts of refugees on the locals. The result will hopefully be used as a reference for further investigation. Due to shortage of time this study has been limited to the investigation one case camp refugee residents namely those in the Assayita refugee camp near Assayita town and it does not cover other refugees in the Afar region.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

2.1 Overview of Displacement

Population movement is usual and not a strange phenomenon in human history. Right from the very beginning, human beings had been in a regular state of mobility to different places for considerable periods of time and for different reasons (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson, 1998). Migration usually renowned as spatial mobility adopts all kinds of physical activities in addition to people over crossing inter-national boundaries (Faist, 2000). The factors that determine individuals and family decisions to migrate include demographic, geographic, socio-psychological and economic factors (Bilsborrow, Oberai and Standing, 1984). Persons who are at high risk of forced migration, mainly affected war civilian populations and stateless persons (Martin, 2000). Climate change is increased conflict over scarce resources, which could lead to larger internal displacement and refugee flows. Finally, some long term effects of climate change may make whole areas not fit to live in, so that populations will have to be displaced (Wood, 1994; Kolmannskog, 2008).

Rogge (1979) classified refugees by considering the motivating agent, the purpose of the migration, and whether the migrants possess refugee characteristics or not. According to him, forced and impelled are the two main groups of migration. It is well known that the ideas of forced and impelled migrations are originated from Petersen and the distinction between the two depends in the degree of free choice a person has when he is participated in forced migration. Forced displacement has many causes and takes many forms. People flee as a consequence of persecution, human rights violations, oppression, war and conflict, ethnic favoritism, discord, development projects, environmental degradation and in general due to natural and human-made disasters (Lee, 1966). Forced migrants are defined as persons who forced to flee their seats of habitual residence on account of actions intimidating to their lives or safety. Many migrants leave on their own plan to run away these life-threatening conditions though in an increasing number of cases. People fled their

homes propelled by governments and rebellious groups with the intention in depopulating or changing the ethnic, religious or other composition of an area. Persons who are at high risk of forced migration, mainly affected war civilian populations and stateless persons (Martin, 2000). Climate change and catastrophic natural calamities, such as drought or earth quake and so on are also likely to reduce agricultural production in Africa and Asia and leads already to high food prices (Wood, 1994; Kolmannskog, 2008). Thus, it is vital to split forced migration while the migrants do not hold some power to choice whether or not to flee, and impelled migration, once they possess this power. Contemporary African examples of impelled migration comprise Somalis or Rwandans fleeing to neighboring states. The majority, but not all African refugees relay into the impelled group. Usually the limit between the two, the time at which the alternative becomes nominal, may be challenging to set. Logically though the difference is precise, and in history it is regularly so, the distinction is real (Peterson, 2009). The other decisive feature by which we can define types of forced or impelled migration is its purpose, distinct not by the migrant but by the stimulating agent. Persons may be encouraged to move simply to abandon their homeland; such exodus, since it does not normally bring about a change in the migrants' way of life, is similar to mass migration and can be included under it. Others are persuaded to go in order that their labor power can be used else- where; and such immigration, which comprises a change in behavior patterns as well as in local, is chosen as innovating (Mason, 2000). It is important to differentiate between two classes, of those who have moved their country -émigré's, who took their expulsion for a time being and stay out of the country for the day when they may come back, and refugees, who intend to settle everlasting in the new destination. In this case, the acculturation of the refugees would most probably be much faster than that of persons still living spiritually in another country (Wood, 1994).

Table 1

A General Typology of Migration

Relation	Migratory force	Class of Migration	Types of Migration	
Nature and man	Ecological push	Primitive	Conservative	Innovating
State(or equivalent)and man	Migration policy	Forced	Wandering	Flight from the land
			Ranging	
Man and his norms	Higher aspiration	Forced	Displacement	Coolic trade
		Impelled	Flight	
Collective behavior	Social momentum	Free	Group	Pioneer
		Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

Source: Peterson 2009.

On the whole, the three groups of forced migrants usually described in the literature are refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and, increasingly, “Oustees (Mason, 2000). Oustees are subdivided based on what they loosed in time of departure, their homes, land or both due to the forced move (Cernea, 1996; Mason, 2000).

Refugees: Forced

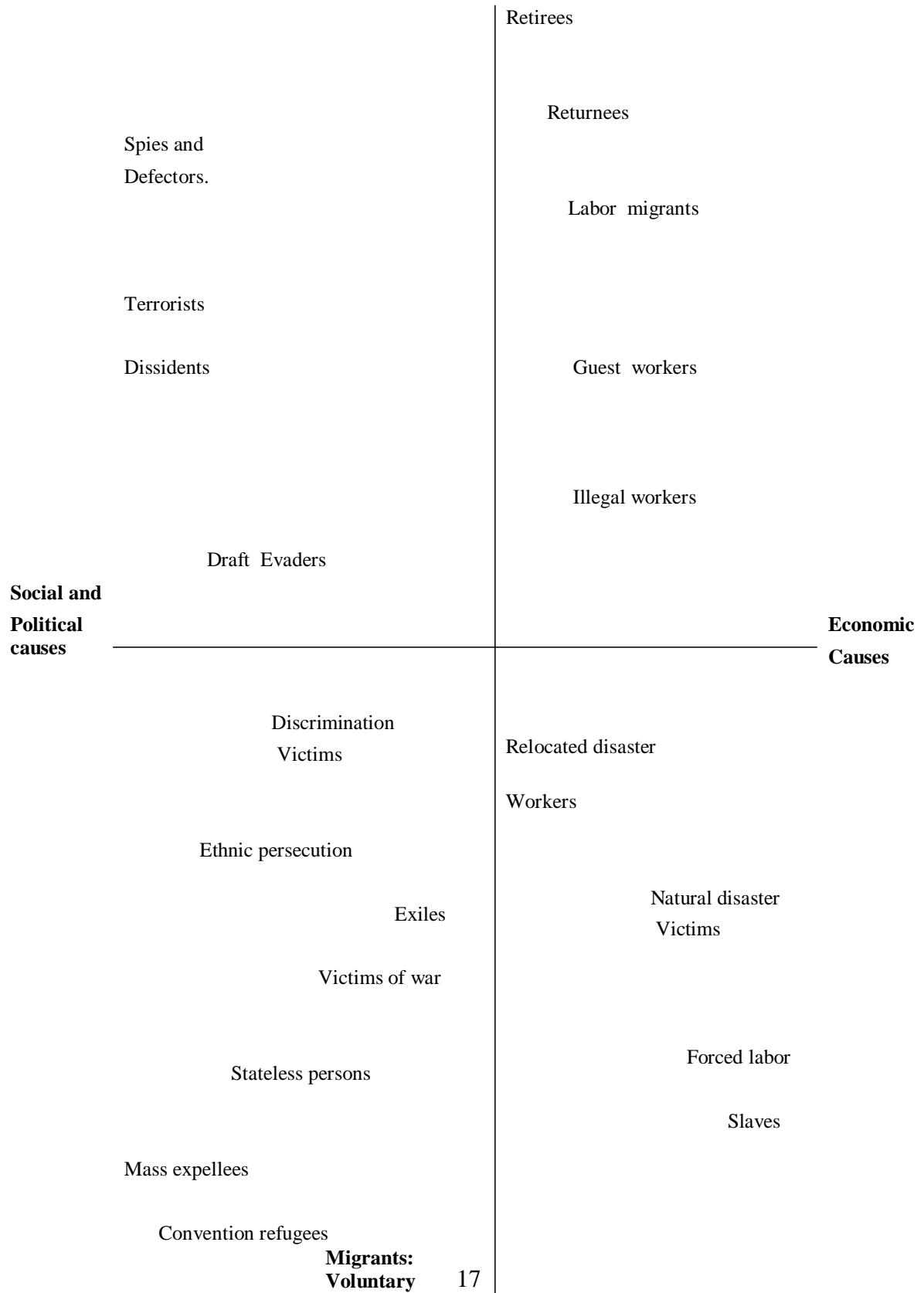


Fig.1: A typology of forced migration. (Source: Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998)

2.2 The 1951 UN and the 1969 OAU Refugee Conventions

The United Nations adopted the 1951 Refugee Convention in order to tackle the problem of population persecution and displacement that occurred during and in the aftermath of the Second World War (Han, 2009). In accordance with this a refugee is a person who

owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UN1951 Convention of Refugees, pp.14)

For this reason, so as to be a refugee, one must meet the forms of this definition (Floera and Moraru, 2012). However, this definition nowadays faces serious objection from intellectuals. First, it depends on individual's reason to make a determination of refugee's status. Second, such a definition is too restrictive and does not address the problems of the larger displaced people in wars and large scale violence's that would have been occurred. Practically, it is very difficult to decide the flight reasons of each individual refugee in any violence resulted mass departure as in the case of the Horn of Africa for a variety of reasons (Assefaw, 2006).

Convention governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention) was adopted in 10 September 1969 and entered into force 20 June 1974. Although, the Convention in most cases similar with the 1951 Refugee Convention of the United Nations, it recognizes 'external aggression, foreign domination' and events which could disturb public order in countries of origin (OAU, 1969). The OAU Convention, as a binding legal tool, created regional law and the Cartagena Declaration, as a non-binding instrument, created customary legal rules for defining refugees (Arboleda, 1991). The two definitions were intended to relate with the nature of their continents conflicts, agree with the tenets of humanitarianism, as well as the states of pragmatism. Eritrea, Sao Tome and Principe and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic have neither signed nor ratified the 1969 Convention and Djibouti, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia and Somalia have signed but not ratified it (Sharpe, 2013).

Table 2 Total Population of Concern to UNHCR by Region and by Category 2011

COUNTRY/ TERRITORY OF ASYLUM.	REFUGEE S.	ASYLUM SEEKERS	RETURNED REFUGEES	IDPS	RETURNED IDPS	STATELESS PERSONS	OTHERS	TOTAL POPULATION OF CONCERN
UN major regions								
Africa	2,408,676	329,608	43,466	6,230,071	979,370	21,119	164,113	10,176,423
Asia	5,715,818	72,410	152,287	4,376,376	1,940,865	2,853,245	1,001,715	16,112,716
Europe	1,587,387	302,791	1,815	419,303	2,998	588,689	89,751	2,992,734
Latin America and the Caribbean.	373,867	71,373	58	3,672,054	-	17	-	4,117,369
Northern America.	430,123	57,310	-	-	-	-	-	487,433
Oceania.	33,815	3,986	-	-	-	-	-	37,801
Total	10,549,686	837,478	197,626	14,697,804	2,923,233	3,463,070	1,255,579	33,924,476

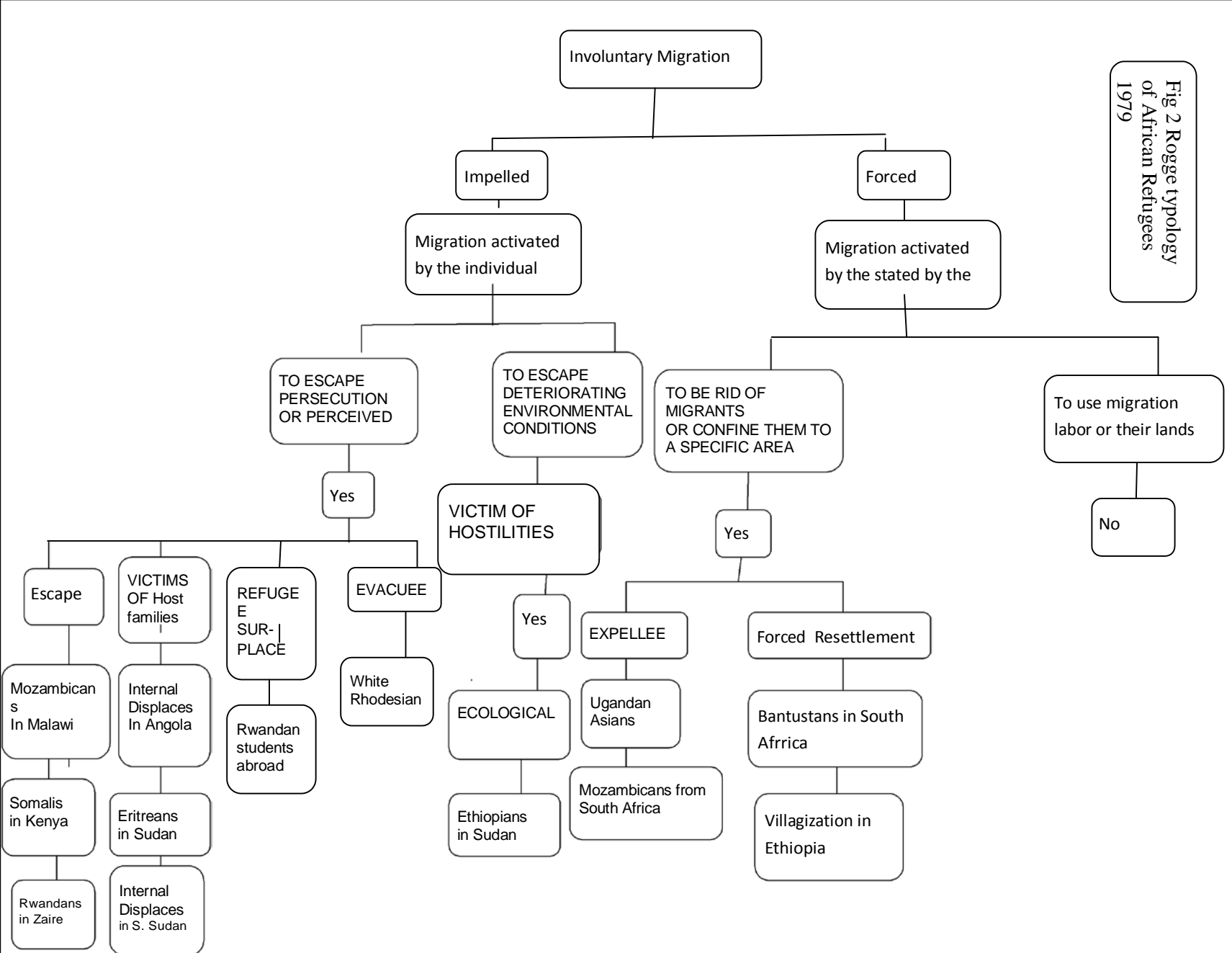
Source: UNHCR 2012

2.3 Refugee Theory and Africa

It is very important to label the name 'refugee', since those selected as refugees have possessed to certain rights and resources based on the Convention and carried out in the national laws of receiving countries. Special attention has been dedicated to refugees, not only because their condition is legally terrible, but on account of the multifarious network of laws and international organizations that have been growing since the 1950s to offer assistance and protection to them (Kunz, 1981; Rogge, 1979). Migration in Africa is as old as the history of human being on the continent and people had been migrating as a result of natural and human induced factors (Woldie, 2007). Many of the refugees who fled South Africa to contribute in the fight against Apartheid could be classified as self-alienated. Identity cases of self-alienated refugees are plentiful in the continent (Zetter, 1991). A number of Ethiopian scholars who fled the dictatorship of the Mengistu rule could also be grouped as self-alienated refugees, as could white Mozambicans and Angolans who returned

to Portugal during the 1970s. However, to a great extent, the self-alienated refugees' category is more relevant to other areas of the world than it is to Africa (Rogge, 1981).

Fig 2 Rogge typology of African Refugees 1979



2.4 Refugees and African Host States

International documents on human and refugee rights have asserted the need to share refugee burdens among concerned bodies including the refugees themselves. Inadequate sharing to huge numbers of cases and the sometime neglect of asylum by refugees themselves set rigorous stress on refugee protection in Africa and caused to “Hospitality fatigue”. While these actors commonly and honestly make an effort to achieve these tasks, there of course remains room for improvement (Gorlick, 2008). Political leaders have played an outstanding role in the process of receiving refugees for recovery or for worse, while some leaders in Africa have shown a quality of hospitality and welcome; others have used refugees for their personal reasons, in some cases for xenophobia and as an illegal voters (Stanley Foundation, 2002). There is a vigorous dispute in the refugee policy, according to some African governments the significance of permitting refugees to “self settle” in places of their own interest will helps to abolish their discontent to force them to concentrate in to camps or settlements (UNHCR, 2004). Self-settlement plans have benefit of least cost in social, psychological and physical adaptation maintains a better opportunity to add optimistically in social, economic and political areas (Han, 2009).

Moreover, the constitutions of many countries call for equal and fair treatment to all “persons” living within any state. The definition of “persons” includes refugees and accordingly presents protection by the state laws. Refugees are also expected to obey laws of the hosting nation. Signatory States of the 1951 Refuge Convention, therefore, applied the instruments without any discrimination as long as the refugees are ready to submit for the laws of the countries. So they allowed enjoying basic rights such as right of movements, speech and Association. For this reason, concentration of refugees in camps cannot be acceptable as far as international laws are concerned (Haileselassie, 2007). The main reason for the unusual reluctance of the African governments in receiving and hosting their brothers African refugees is not only due largely to the losing unity related with the anti-colonial struggle, poverty and environmental deterioration, and adjusting the focus on uniting national identity, but also an issue being ever more posed in terms of national security. Refugees are taken not simply as fatalities of conflict and deserving of refugee status but as

possessors of direct threats to security as multifaceted internal and transnational conflict becomes the norm (Kirui and Mwaruvie, 2012).

2.5 National minority groups and states

Refugee status indicates that the state is no more able or eager to give protection and the migrant must find another source of protection. Thus, in the process of giving a refugee status a host state inevitably put a statement about the sending country, acknowledging a collapse that could have consequences between their diplomatic relations (Haddad, 2008). National minority groups may struggle to attain their own state in reference to the principle of creation of national governmental institutions, thus testing the territorial sovereignty of the state in which they found themselves (Weber, 2012). Political opponents, of course, often were expelled while they became a threat to state security. However, with the advance of nationalism, ethnic as well as political conformity came to consideration. The right of national self-determination declared by the Treaty of Versailles contained no articles for the minorities dispersed through Central Europe. Before the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945), the League of Nations agreed to relocate people in Europe intended to abolish national minorities from neighboring countries (Peterson, 1958).

2.6 The Contemporary Global Refugee Crisis

States that deliver many of the basic refugee information held completely in either repressing correct information and considered this thing as failure to their administration-or inflating numbers of influxes to gather additional international assistance. Refugees themselves are very mobile and are often suspicious of bureaucrats and government officials (Boyle, Halfacaree and Robinson 1998). In spite of these problems, as stated earlier UNHCR (2012) suggested a figure of 33,924,476 refugees in the world at the end of 2011. The bulk of these refugees had escaped from conflict conditions and over 50% were from now three countries: Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. Next to Somalia, Sudan and Eritrea (countries of the Horn of Africa) have taken the fourth and ninth position in their refugees generating role respectively.

Table 3

Top Ten Countries of Origin of Refugees in the World

No	Origin of refugees	Numbers of generating refugees
1	Afghanistan	2,644,400
2	Iraq	1,428,300
3	Somali	1,077,000
4	Sudan	500,000
5	Democratic Republic of the Congo	491,500
6	Myanmar	414,600
7	Colombia	395,900
8	Vietnam	337,800
9	Eritrea	252,000
10	China	205,400

Source:

UNHCR, 2012

2.7 The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa has been randomly described in different ways. Some authors comprise Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti; others include Sudan in the Horn. Not often do authors include Kenya in the Horn. Every country that have land boundary with Ethiopia will represent the Horn of Africa. These are Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somaliland and Kenya. The region includes about 16.5% of the area of the continent, and almost 18% of its people (Mesfin, 1999). Certainly, the central causes of insecurity in the region are "system-induced conflicts". The link between nationalism and democracy has never been properly recognized. This somewhat observes the politicization of ethnicity, religion and regionalism (Vadala, 2003). Governments controlled by minorities that run their countries in a secretive and dictatorial way are unable to recognize and describe their countries national interests (Medhane, 2004). The majorities of the states in the Horn are undemocratic and hold within

themselves the seeds of potential conflict (Dagne, 2012). Soon after the end of European colonialism the countries of the region have been affected by serious human rights violations and rebellion (Maxted and Abebe, 2011). Religion, identity and honor attached to ones position in society, economic abuse, and colonial and post colonial interferences are all elements in the Sudanese civil war and other countries of the Horn (Johnson, 2003). The Somali refugees at first escaped to the neighboring countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya, then moving on to countries near and far (Awa, 2005).

The question of boundary delimitation became the main issue between Ethiopia and Eritrea towards the close of the last century that eventually led them to the border war in 1998. The flight of nearly to 90,000 Eritrean refugees to Sudan, the internal displacement of over 1,000,000 and the forceful repatriation from Ethiopia of more than 70,000 Eritreans was the direct outcome of this war (Assefaw, 2006; Dagne, 2012). The persistent government control of the mass media and the open-ended national conscription, the establishment of personal rule are linked with recent streams of new refugees to Sudan, Ethiopia, and elsewhere (Petros, 2011). Beside this for different reasons, numbers of Eritreans have left the country after independence, the majority of them at great risk to their lives and escapes across sea or desert. Hence, over the last 40 years, clash and displacement have remained as the constant features of the Eritrean political and social landscape (Assefaw, 2006; UNHCR, 2012).

The Somalis and the Sudanese civil wars and the Eritrean internal problems are the factors which made Ethiopia remain as a sanctuary for hundreds of thousands of refugees (Wondossen, 1995; UNHCR, 2013; Fukui and Markakis, 1994). The domestic policy of Ethiopia is consistent with the National Refugee Declaration of 2004 (ARRA, 2011). The country's laws and policies never agree to the local integration of refugees and reserved to the 1951 Convention, particularly Articles 17-19 which prohibit employment. As a result the vast majority of refugees in Ethiopia are prohibited by law from working. This compels many of them to embark on risky secondary journeys to other countries looking for employment. However, a new policy issued in August 2010 by the Ethiopian government lifted the bans on the movements of Eritrean refugees. Accordingly about 1,000 refugee university students and others acquired scholarships in Ethiopian Universities and the opportunity to make business in the country (UNHCR, 2011 and 2013). The country has

never clearly stated the various impacts that an enormous refugee settlements will bring on the lives of the people and the environment. Nothing was done to indicate the ways and means of minimizing and alleviating these issues in its policy (ARRA, 2011).

2.8 Overview of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Refugees on Local Population

There are two different and contradictory ideas that existed about the issue of hosting refugees in a country. Some scholars argue that refugees enforce different types of security, economic and environmental stress on host countries. Advocates of refugee presence in a country argue that refugees have a potential to enlarge the general benefits of the host community. Refugee presence in the developing world and communities contribute a lot for the growth and development of the country economy and for the improvement of the life style of the host communities (Ongpin, 2008). In spite of the common assumption that a refugee creates a problem or burden, it is obvious that refugee migration has disadvantages and advantages to host countries (Whitaker, 2002; Madanat, 2012). A refugee exodus can push prices up and wages down. It can have an adverse consequence on the host country balance of payments and make structural adjustment more difficult to attain (UNESCO, 1992; Madanat, 2012). The issue became too difficult when refugee expands exodus into unsecured areas, or when the receiving and sending countries are within a serious of hostilities and clashes. This is common in most of the Great Lakes Regions and the Horn of African countries (Ethiopia and Eritrea) where resources that are contested by different political actors and power structures (Jacobsen, 2002).

To diminish security threats along Africa borders due to the existence of refugees, the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa advised that asylum seekers shall as far as possible settle refugees at reasonable distance from the boundary of the country of origin. Group settlements have a better chance of fulfilling this condition; since the host government mainly decides where they could be located. Suddenly settled rural refugees, however, are more likely to settle in borders among their ethnic and kinship groups, with their presence, at times stimulating border attacks. In Africa refugee camps are sighted as Zones of planned criminal activities containing drug smuggling, human

trafficking, illegal logging, gun running and are used as rear bases of armed rebel groups (Mogire, 2011).

2.9 Review of Theoretical and General Literature on Displacement /Return Movements or Migrations of Pastoralists Groups in the Horn of Africa countries.

Allen's Book concentrates attention on the situation in East and Horn of Africa where dealing with ongoing social trauma appears to become a way of life for thousands of people. The case studies involved a questioning of the basic suppositions behind both the conventional ways of looking at mass population displacement and the Underlying assumptions of most assistance operations. Research findings have made it clear that , in the East and Horn of Africa Region , formal distinctions between internally displaced Persons , Returnees and Stayees Violates the Realities of circumstances on the ground (this is also the Case of the situation of the Afar, Somali and Garri and many other groups) in the Horn.

The very notion of repatriation is ambiguous or even meaningless where international boundaries normally divide closely related groups, many of which have traditionally migrated with their herds, and may conceptualize their own collective identity more out of shared patterns of movement than a relationship with a specific territory. Moreover, the fact that wars have been waged for years with neighboring countries means that flight often involves Shifting from one warzone to another, and a situation which outsiders may view as a Return to a Homeland may be locally experienced as one more attempt to escape the Fighting. Similarly, the widespread ideas of the Displaced People as completely dependent on assistance are a misconception. They may seem to be so, or may present themselves as such, but they are rarely so in practice. Most of the Relief programmes discussed (in Addis Ababa) had manifested failed, nevertheless populations had survived through their own efforts and ingenuity. Obviously such findings have many important implications for national and international agencies. It often makes no sense, for example, to try to separate our Returnees or Refugees from other war – damaged communities, or to try to maintain a division between emergency and development assistance. Unfortunately, existing mandates and policies encourage such

responses among both national and international organizations often undermining humanitarian interventions. Furthermore, there are crucial issues which have been largely ignored, and which must become key aspects of assistance programmes in War –torn areas. The rapid provision of food, shelter and medicines may be helpful, but or hidden effects of social upheavals need to be better understood in order to promote peace and more acceptable levels of wellbeing. Mental suffering, the destruction of customary institutions, the forced abandoning of established modes of livelihood, and the collapse of social networks, all pose formidable challenges. But unless serious efforts are made to alleviate the effects of these problems, and to help create new ways of sustaining relatively stable societies, things can only become worse. This Book confronts such issues. While it can offer no easy answers, it emphasizes that there are certain things that should not be done, and indicates some possible ways forward. It demonstrates the extraordinary capacity of the people of the Horn of Africa or northeast Africa to make the most of extreme conditions also comes through. In addition it is worth noting that, while specific criticisms are made of particular agencies. The criticism is constructive because the errors that have been made were clearly stated identified, seeing this was a necessary step towards trying to avoid them in the future (Tim Allen and David Turton, introduction: in search of Cool Grounds’ pp. 1) It seems reasonable to assume that the return of forcibly displaced populations to their Homes will often have very significant socio economic implications. It is also known that Large Migrations of this kind have occurred quite frequently. In Africa alone, it has been estimated that around 3.5 million refugees repatriated between 1971 and 1990 (Rogge, 1994: 16-17).

During the same years, millions of more Africans went home after periods of exile within their own countries. Until recently, however, little effort has been made to find out what happened to returnees after they arrived in their places of origin, or to assess the impact of mass return (flight) movements on local and national developments (Allen and morsink 1994: 1-13). There have been several reasons for the neglect. There are difficulties, for example, in studying population groups which are generally less geographically concentrated than Refugees, and it can take years before some of the effects of Home coming can be adequately assessed. Governments, furthermore, have

commonly resented an interest shown in their internally displaced populations by human rights organizations, humanitarian agencies, and foreign states, maintaining that it is an infringement of National Sovereignty. A similar tendency has sometimes been evident with respect to repatriated refugees. From the late 1940s until the 1980s, the very idea of Refugee repatriation was a controversial issue at international meetings, due to either the Cold War politics or allegations that, in certain parts of the world, Refugees were being made to go home against their will. Not surprisingly, the consequence was that facilities to undertake inquiries about returnees were not always forthcoming, and attention was usually focused on other responses to Refugee movements, such as a Third Country Asylum. There may also have been also a tendency to overlook returnees because of forced displacement has been conceptualized in Politico-legal terms. New regimes have commonly asserted a capacity to end social upheavals, and they have normally encouraged the reintegration of “their” people, ostensibly to enable the Nation-State to emerge (or re-emerge) as an integrated Social Unit. Such Nationalist Ideology influenced the framing of UN Resolutions, which persistently mention voluntary repatriation as the ‘most desirable’ solution to the refugee Problem.

The possible implication is that return to the Country of Origin is unproblematic and will in itself resolve matters. As a consequence, mass repatriation has not generally been viewed as a disaster or as a ‘Complex Emergency’, but as an Indication that a Resolution to [p.1] Suffering is at hand – a Perception, incidentally, which has sometimes made it difficult to raise funds for humanitarian assistance. The lack of knowledge and understanding about Displaced Peoples or returned populations became increasingly apparent during the 1980s. partly due to the requirement that the UNHCR should be seen to doing everything possible to keep its rapidly growing budget under control , pressure were brought to bear on the organization actively to promote repatriation. Although the issue remained politically sensitive for much of the decade, the result was an important change of policy. In 1984, the second international conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA) recommended that Returnees be provided with assistance to help them reintegrate in their Home Countries and while the internationally recognized mandate of the UNHCR to Protect refugees was not formally extended to include

returnees, in 1985 the executive committee affirmed that UNHCR has a legitimate interest in the consequences of return and should have access to returned populations(Allen and Turton, 1996: 2).

With the decline of the Cold War constraints and alliances the UNHCR and other UN agencies began following interventionist perceive already set by several international Non-Governmental Organizations (Notably by the French NGOS MSF and MDM). In some places , especially in Africa , UNHCR worked together with other agencies in negotiating access to War affected populations in ways that set aside National Sovereignty , funding or running operations across borders and in rebel controlled territory in order to provide a Kind of welfare ‘Safety –Net’ (Duffield, 1994; UNRISD, 1993). (The UN’s Resolution 43/131 of 8 December legitimized the crossing of National Borders in order to provide Humanitarian assistance (Allen and Turton, 1996: 2).

This approach brought the agency staff face to face with the acute hardship experienced by Home coming populations in economically poor and War damaged areas. At the same time, the few social researchers who had begun to examine situations of return were showing that Home comings of the past were associated with difficulties which had not been effectively dealt with. In some instances, such as in Sudan during the 1970s, repatriations and re congregation had caused serious local tensions and eventually led to renewed Warfare and further population displacements (Crisp, 1987, Coles, 1985, 1989; Allen, 1989).

Far from being a straightforward and optimal solution, (Repatriation) it became clear that Mass Voluntary Return at all. They were a response to political upheaval spreading into places of exile, rather than to the end of fighting and oppression in the displaced population’s Homeland. In the 1990s, the negotiated access operations of the late 1980s have been superseded (2) in several of the world’s trouble spots by high profile peace keeping and peacemaking associated with the threat of armed force. In spite of the much publicized failures in Somalia (and Bosnia), militarized Humanitarianism has become

acceptable in a way that would have been hard to provide a few years back or ago. The development has had worrying implications for the rights of refugees in that the international community has appeared to guarantee personal safety to war affected populations within their own countries, making it harder for people to argue that they cannot return ‘owing to a well founded fear of persecution’ (the phrase used in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees). Recently there have been reported cases of groups being refused refugee status, or effectively having it taken away, examples include Somalis in Kenya, Kurds in Turkey, and Haitians in the USA and Bosnians in Europe. However, the resort to Militarized Humanitarianism can also be viewed as a reflection of a new realism in international approaches to forced displacement, including an acceptance that monitoring is often necessary to prevent home coming from exposing populations to serious abuse. The new realism is evident in recent UNHCR thinking. During the 1990s, the organization has persisted in promoting voluntary repatriation of refugees and the return of internationally displaced groups to their own areas as the way forward. Indeed, the High Commissioner herself declared that 1992 should be the start of a decade of Voluntary Repatriation and, in the course of that Year (UNHCR, 1993: 103). But UNHCR officials have also emphasized that returnees can expect to encounter hardship and possible danger, and have also emphasized and have highlighted the need to ensure that the returned groups have a viable and sustainable livelihood. The recognition that return can be a very fraught and painful process and that international agencies often do little to assist displaced populations has led to a healthy crisis of confidence in some quarters.

Given the speed of Political change and the scale of upheavals in the 1990s, it is understandable that the activities of the UNHCR and other Humanitarian organizations on the ground have not followed a consistent line. This has particularly been so in matters of protection and in attempts to establish links with adhoc relief and long term assistance. In practice, international responses to mass displacement are continued by the attitudes and capacities of agency staff in the field, the political and economic priorities of the major aid donors and the nature of news coverage by the international Media (Allen and Turton, 1996: 3).

Nevertheless, the current willingness of some aid agencies workers and policy makers to question what they have been doing has led to some potentially helpful developments. In Northeast Africa, for instance, the repeated failures of assistance operations have prompted pioneering attempt at collaboration between the UNHCR, other, other UN agencies, NGOs and governments in a so called “Cross Mandate Approach”. The aim is to assist all those need, regardless of whether they are local or displaced people, and to provide relief, rehabilitation and small scale development aid, as well as repatriation Assistance. The experiment is discussed (in Allen and Turton, 196; UNHCR, 1993: 103-16). Among other issues , this report comments on the setting aside of National Sovereignty by the International Community , on the manner in which humanitarian assistance can be used as a Weapon or a means of fueling Hostilities , and on the incapacities of development agencies in dealing with the long term requirements of War –Damaged Regions. Furthermore, it points out that the majority of those who repatriate do so ‘Spontaneously’ (that is without the help of international Organizations in planning or in the provision of relief), and that many (page 3).) people have little choice about return being effectively expelled from places of exile and forced to move back into war zones (4). This in turn reflects a concern with the apparent proliferation of violent ethnic conflicts and civil wars in the post Cold War Era and with the prospects for the resolution in some form of peaceful Social Integration. In this context, insights gleaned by researchers and aid agency field staff since the mid 1980s seem to be having an influence on organizations which, have in the past, been notoriously weak in terms of institutional learning. Studies on the broader consequences of flights /exiles and return/ home coming in Africa have been made under the auspices of the UN Research Institute for Social development (Crisp 1987; Mosrsink, 1990;) In Northeast Africa it had become a neither permanent Emergency’ with which the UNHCR was neither equipped nor mandated to deal a further incentive was the impact of the ending of the Cold War on political and economic relations between North and South, on the Global Political ‘order’, on the UNs System and on the very survival of Nation States (Allen, 1994; Others include Cuny, Stein and Reed, 1992). In these studies there were two main points to the questioning: First, there was a call to rethink organizational and bureaucratic structures. The main

incentive here was the scale, duration and apparently unending nature of the Refugee Crisis.

Second, there was a call to rethink certain basic assumptions of a More Conceptual Kind. This arose first of all from some close-grained studies of particular cases of Population Movements based on local – fieldwork. These showed , for example, that Local experience, because complex and particular , was resistant to the imposition of blanket ‘Solutions’, that “refugees’ were not, in reality , the passive ‘Victims’” they were so often seen and expected to behave as ; that geographical mobility and wide –ranging support networks are a normal rather than pathological aspect of life; that the distinction between ‘Refugees’ and ‘Returnees’ may have no meaning for the people themselves except as identities to be assumed in order to obtain access to Relief ; and that ethnic boundaries are fluid and often very recent. Another Source of Concern with questioning basic assumptions was the desire to get away from ‘the US – doing –things - to –them’ model of development and refugee assistance. It is part of the current development orthodoxy that ‘Sustainable Development;’ requires ‘Grass Roots Participation’. To convert this form of aspiration into practice, however requires not only detailed empirical knowledge of the local Situation but also the ability to re-asses, in the light of this new knowledge, the assumptions one started out with. Organizational rethinking is necessary but not sufficient to produce change. Unless accompanied by the questioning of basic assumptions, it is liable to lead to the proliferation of purely bureaucratic solutions, which look good on paper but fail to produce an impact on practice and performance in the field. By giving an impression of change, furthermore, they may actually prevent it from occurring. ‘the title of the Book is a translation of a phrase often used by the Mursi of southwestern Ethiopia , encapsulating their view of themselves as a people whose very identity has been formed By Movements and Migration (Turton, 1996).

First, it reflects a local perspective of most displaced and impoverished groups in Northeastern Africa. Their studies region – groups whose primary concern is to find a relatively secure place in which to begin working towards a better life , often irrespective of the country in which to begin working towards a better life , often irrespective of the country in which that place is located. Secondly, it directs attention towards the link between migration and collective identity and helps undermine simplistic conceptions of refugee and returnee Livelihoods (Allen and Turton, 1996: 5).

2.10 Forced Displacement

Tim Allen and Hubert Morsing write

“Refugees are distinct groups in that they claim a legally recognized status, are often surrounded by an alien population, and may be geographically concentrated. In some part of the world, their lives are regulated on a day to day basis by government officials and aid agencies. In contrast, once they have crossed the border into their homeland, returnees are usually dispersed populations, and in practice have tended to be left to their own devices. The global refugee problem was becoming worse, and by the early 1980s, donor countries were expressing concern about the increasing levels of funding required for emergency relief. The major refugee crises in Indochina, Pakistan and northeast Africa had led to an enormous growth in the UNHCR Budget.

2.11 The Problem of Movement

As noted earlier, the idea that return is the ‘Most Desirable’ solution” to Refugee Movements Contains the implicit assumption that a given population has its own proper place or territory or Homeland. This assumption is deeply embedded in the European Political Theory of Nationalism, according to which there is a Natural identity between people and place, and the world is naturally made up of clearly bounded politico – territorial entities (page 10) - Sovereign States. From this point of view, while ‘Sedentarism” (staying in one place) is taken- for-granted condition of human existence, movement is problematic – both for the researchers who want to ‘EXPLAIN” it and

governments who often want to stop it. Social scientists such as Anthropologists , for example, have given much thought to the causes and consequences of (the pastoral) nomadic movements of pastoralists, discovering that they cannot by any means be solely attributed to environmental pressure, but have virtually ignored the causes and consequences of Sedenatrism . They have, until recently, written about territorially based ‘Tribes’, ‘Societies’ or ‘Ethnic Groups’ as though they were given in Nature. The issue here is not whether such groups exist, but how they are conceptualized. Because in Sedenatrism thinking, they are conceptualized as natural, so also is the identity people derive from association with a particular territory. From the point of the ASALs of the Horn of Africa Region (Northeast Africa), however, this seems an exceptional Point of view. First, Movement /mobiles has historically been an integral part of the survival for the peoples of the region. Secondly, these movements were not necessarily undertaken by the people who considered they were thereby losing their Ethnic identity.

Today’s Population Movements may be seen, therefore, as a resumption, albeit on a larger scale, or a state of affairs that was ‘NORMAL’ before the colonial period (and the creation of the colonial bounded territorial states with arbitrary boundaries/or borders). For many groups in the Horn of Africa region, such as those studied by Tim Allen, Ahmed Farrah Yusuf, Getachew Kassa, David Turton, Paul Baxter, Wendy James, Gunther Schlee, John J. Galaty, Richard Hogg, and other social anthropologists - Oral traditions of these peoples of the Horn of Africa are predominantly about Movement (Exodus Mass movements and migrations) and Flight from Various Invaders.

During the 19th century, the violent activities of the armed retinues of slave and ivory traders, Ethiopians, Belgians, and British forces, as well as locally powerful Chiefs allied to these outsiders, had a devastating impact. So did the Bovine (render pest) and human diseases that were introduced at the same time. Thousands died and thousands more moved (migrated) around (the Horn of Africa Region) in search of relatively secure locations. One consequence was that, in a region in which ethnic (clan, lineage) identities had long been flexible, people speaking different languages (professing different faiths, belief systems), occupations) mixed together and intermarried, and the international boundaries (borders) established by in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (by European imperialist powers), divided closely related populations (in the Horn of Africa region). It

was only under the imperialist colonial European rule – the so called territorially based ‘tribal’ identities were formalized and regulated for the sake of administrative (taxing and security) convenience. Despite this, and the existence of amenities between neighboring groups of populations, these identities can still sometimes be switched, merged or otherwise set-aside, opportunistically, by individuals and family units.

Movement does not necessarily involve a denial of collective identity. It can reinforce it as David Turon shows for the Mursi, movement is both an aspect of survival and an integral part of historical tradition: the Mursi see themselves as a people who are permanently ‘in search of cool ground’. In this respect, it is most revealing that those Mursi who migrated away from the Mursi Homeland in the Lower Omo Valley in response to severe drought in 1979 asserted they were being ‘True’ Mursi. They link their occupation of uninhabited part of the Mago Valley to a similar Move into unoccupied territory made by members of their parents’ generation in the 1930s. They saw themselves, like those earlier pioneers (p. 11). As domesticating the wilderness, clearing the forests for cultivation, making grasslands fit for cattle herding. The assumption that it is natural for an ethnic group to be ‘rooted’ in a particular place may lead to the conclusion that voluntary return is the ‘Natural’ resolution of displacement. The stated case studies among different pastoralist groups of the Horn of Africa Region – (see Tim Allen, 1996) warns outsiders – governments and Aid agencies – to treat this view with some skepticism, on two accounts:

First, ‘Going Home’ (Home coming) or Return’ may not be the ‘natural’ outcome of population displacement for the people displaced. Making a new Home in a new area may be perfectly consistent with their history and with their view of themselves as a distinct group. Attachment to territory, in other words, is not the only source of group identity. Secondly, they may see their ethnic identity not as given in nature but as more or less problematic and fragile. In which case, simply, “Going Home’ in the sense of taking up residence in one’s former territory after a forced exile, will not automatically recreate a sense of belonging and moral obligation to neighbors and kin. This is especially so if

the original dispersal took the form of a mass exodus accompanied by horrific experiences of violence and death, and if the return is to an area with an infrastructure and economy devastated by War. In such areas, and after such experiences, communities may have to reconstruct themselves, as it were.

2.12 Conceptual Considerations

The UN Provides a definition that differentiates between Displaced Persons in General (which can include refugees) and those who are internally displaced (IDPs). Internally displaced persons are: “persons or groups of persons who have been forced to flee or to leave their Homes or places of habitual residence as a result of, or in order to avoid, in particular, the effect of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural and human –made disasters, and who have not crossed an intentionally recognized border (UN, quoted in Hampton 1998, XV). Though it appears inclusive this definition can serve pragmatic purposes only but it cannot be hoped to be the basis for a better and well informed research on displacement. This is because adopting such definition leads social scientists to see the displaced as an objectively self-delimiting field of study. But this is simply not the case.

2.13 The Term Refugees/or Asylum-Seekers

The asylum seekers included in the total population of concern to UNHCR are people whose applications for asylum or refugee status are awaiting a final decision. The refugee category that dominated much of the literature from the 1960s to the early 1980s has given way to more complex definitions and categorizations of displacement. Displacement and forced movements of people/flight- are always only one aspect of much larger constellations of political, economic, and cultural processes and practices. State practices of violence, war, ethnic conflicts, hunger, cultural or religious tensions and humanitarian interventions are just some of the practices that generate a relevant context for human displacement. These ranges from war displacement (Eltigani, 1995, Allen, 1996), and dispossession displacement (Deng, 1993), to Development induced – displacement (McDowell, 1996, Authoritarian Development induced Displacement, Salih, 1999), Environmental displacement (El-

Hinnawi, 1985) and Conservation Displacement (Guha –Sapir and Mohammed Salih, 1997). Most of the literature has successfully, and rightly, stressed the majority of the displaced are impoverished, dispossessed, oppressed or War Victims, with little or no income, employment or survival opportunities in the areas from which they were displaced, usually by circumstances beyond their control. According to the UNHCR (1995), the number of refugees worldwide has increased from 5.7 million in 1975, to 14,488 million in 1995, an increase of 39% in twenty years. In 1995, sub Saharan Africa was the home of 6.752 million refugees and 11, 085 million internally displaced persons, mostly in war-torn states. It was also reported by UNHCR (1995) that 102,710 Africans, the majority from Northern Africa, were seeking asylum in the industrialized parts of the world, making up 14.4 % of the total number of people seeking asylum worldwide (Salih, 1999: 37). Since 1980s, the socio economic and environmental conditions of refugees have been the subject of many recent studies (Allen, 1996; Getachew 1996; Hogg 1996; Turton, 1996; Kibreab 1996) are not the focus of the present study (monograph). However, it is worth mentioning noting that war, political repression, and lack of adequate shelter, drinking water, sanitation and health care services are common features among the area from which refugees and displaced people originate (country of origin). They are often caught in a deprivation trap accentuated by inadequate educational opportunities, deficient health facilities and poor public amenities. In brief, they are deprived of the basic human needs and the minimum requirements of a healthy, secure and fulfilling life, mindful of the dominance of the war refugee category in displacement studies. Tim Allen and Hubert Morsing (in **When refugees Come Home**, p. 2) wrote “that many displaced people /or exiled people or Refugees are distinct groups in that they claim a legally recognized status, are often surrounded by an alien population, and may be geographically concentrated. In some parts of the world, their lives are regulated on a day to day basis by Government officials (immigration and security officials) and Humanitarian AID Agencies (NGOs).

In contrast, once they have crossed the (national-state) international boundary) border into their homeland, returnees/Home comers '(former refugees) are usually dispersed populations, and in practice have tended to be left to their own devices/mechanisms. All the above factors led to a massive human displacement (in the Horn Countries) including Eritrea and Ethiopia. while any of the above factors exerts its unique effects on the displaced, in the Afar (Eritrean Afar and Ethiopian Afar context, the tendency, as it is generally the case in studies of displacement , is to lump up all categories of people under the rubric of displacement. This is one of the grave mistakes, shared by many of those involved that helped to reputation the distorted understanding of the phenomenon of displacement and to a greater extent misguided policy formulations. Moreover, the misunderstanding of the phenomenon is equality the result of the fact that research on displacement is carried out as part and parcel of a 'Distarous situation'. Suffice is to say here that this kind of research is stimulated by ad Hoc imperatives and in response to agencies concerned with AID (relief or otherwise). Coupled with shallow fieldwork that depends on statistical methods, the results such studies would certainly be a fascinating brew of and the end product is a pool of reports that hardly see light. By not revealing the different forms of displacement and their different impacts , researchers run the risk of providing the wrong data for governments and Aid agencies and NGOs who will not know or recognize the legitimate rights or claims of the displaced persons.

2.14 Movement of People and the Problems of Western Labels

In attempting to deal with the huge numbers of displaced people in the Horn of Africa region over the past decades years, the UNHCR has been forced by its mandate (1951 Mandate) to make Anomalous and sometimes Spurious distinctions between Migrants, "Refugees 'and 'Returnees'¹.

The inadequacies of these terms include The refugee flows in the region have taken place across – international state boundaries or borders - which are more or less irrelevant to the socio-cultural and economic and ethnic relations of local populations, and 2) that they are not single events but part of a long term process(Tim Allen 1996: 6). The international borders of Northeast Africa were established through the nineteenth century (imperial/colonial conquest and) partitioning of Africa by the Imperial/colonial powers and

bear *hardly any relation to the Subsistence Activities, Migratory Movements, and the Trade, Exchange and Support Networks* of the local people. In these circumstances, deciding where in which country a person 'Belongs' can be an arbitrary and for the person him or herself meaningless exercise. This is clearly seen in the cases pastoralist groups displacement cases such as the study by Getachew on the Garri, Farah , Hogg and others on the Ogaden Somalis, and other studies (see Allen, 1996). "Refugees" and 'Returnees' in the Ogaden has been argued by Getachew, Hogg, Farah and others that in the Ogaden Somali areas of Ethiopia where, the more one knows about the past and present inter and intra clan lineage kinship and social relations and economic activities of an individual within and across Ethiopia –Somalia Border, the more difficult it becomes to place him or her unambiguously in one of the two categories, 'Refugee' or 'Returnee" (and Stayee) categories (see Getachew 1996, on the Garri people of southern Ethiopia).

2.15 Humanitarian aid Agencies for Displaced Population

I am not arguing all Research that is initiated or funded by UNHCR and Other International AID Agencies is of Poor quality or Not Value Free. There are many Commendable efforts in the studies of Displacements in the Horn of Africa Countries (Allen 1996) in the Ethiopia and the Horn (see Allen 1996). All these studies are well done for, or in collaboration with, NGOs UNRSID/UNHCR) and other concerned with humanitarian assistance. As the case studies on Ethiopian Pastoralist groups such as the study on the Garri (By Getachew Kassa 1996), Hogg on the Ogadeen and Farah's on the Somilis of southern Ethiopia indicated, the division of the present population of the Somali Clans such as the Garri, the Ogaden and the northern and southern Somalia – and Northeast Kenya into Refugees and Returnees is more a requirement imposed by (the UNHCR) Agency Mandate than a reflection of the living conditions, motivations and Objectives of the Garri and the Ogaden and other Somali Pastoral communities themselves. The same seems to be true for the Afar case which this study investigates the distinction of the people between refugees and returnees is more or less meaningless for many local people in the eastern and southern Somali inhabited Eastern Ethiopia, Northeastern Kenya and Somalia. Such classification of people between refugee and returnee also diverts the attention of outsiders from the economic and cultural continuities which underpin their survival strategies in the arid regions of the Horn of

Africa. It is precisely the assistance to the population as a whole, and where necessary, by treating both sides of the international border as one economic zone. International (National State) borders or boundaries are no respecters of the regional (wide) networks of trade , Economic cooperation and Kinship /Clan lineage relations which are the basis of subsistence and also, in times of Crisis , survival for most people (and their livestock) assets) of the (Horn of Africa dry land inhabitants) including the Afar of Eritrea, Djibouti and Ethiopia. If these Networks are to be strengthened it will be necessary to find ways of encouraging , rather than inhibiting Cross (National State) Border Economic links and Migratory movements , even after ‘Repatriation“(Flight/Refuge) has taken Place. Furthermore, the majority of forced (War displaced) Migrant pastoralists have either received No assistance from (Governments or) Humanitarian agencies or, where they have, this assistance has been an additional bonus rather than the basis for their livelihood. Because most groups on the move never go through a Camp Registration process and are never, therefore, given the ‘Official” status of Refugee or Returnee, they tend to be invisible outsiders. The assumption which we find in many reports and publications on displaced people/ refugees /returnees, have seen refugees to be that people are made dependent merely by the fact of being given relief- is an assumption. That is outsiders’ interpreting the behavior of displaced groups as a consequence of ‘dependency’ is something of a misconception. The way forward must be to maximize the area within which people are a bale to make decisions for them. This means emphasizing their strengths rather than their needs. It means , for a refugee population , giving them as much control as possible over the allocation of scarce resources, including food rather than ‘Putting them to Productive Work” and asking them what they would like others to do for , or to, them. **The Eritrean Afar “refugees”** case which this study investigated in Ethiopian camp in Assayita in the Ethiopian Afar region who have been in exile since 1998-2000 border war is a very good case to illustrate the above stated situation described for other Horn of Africa region displaced people. Who have been unwilling to return how until their home areas are safe and until facilities have been arranged for their formal repatriation by the international community in cooperation with their government. The great majority of the Afar like other displaced populations in the Horn of Africa region, including the Garri, Ogaden and others – ignore, avoid or subvert governmental and aid agency imposed controls and regulations . (There are surely other factors at work too, such as the concerns about the

degree of devastation in their home areas in Eritrea and the reluctance of young Afar men to return to Obligatory national service, forced resettlement schemes. The legal language of 'refugee' status', the humanitarian language of 'refugee assistance' and the academic language of refugee Studies have helped to Create /Invent , unintentionally, an image of the refugee as 'Victim'. Professional working within all these institutionalized discourse, the legal, the humanitarian and the academic, 'Need" Refugees as a Condition of their own survival and this has resulted in an inevitable process of objectification.

Refugees are conceptualized essentially as recipient of Action – (Western aid agencies) rather than as Actors. They are seen, and may come to see themselves , as populations whose lot is to be counted, registered , studied, surveyed, and , in due course , hopefully 'returned ' , at which point they become 'ordinary people' once again. Too , often , resort to the terms 'Refugee' and 'Returnee' is an extreme example of imposing stereotypes upon the poor , making them appear (and possibly even become) mere 'Recipients' of well –meaning interventions. All that has been said about the need for 'Participation' and 'Empowerment' in development work applies also to Refugees – only more so. This is the topic of the next section (Allen and Turton, 1996: 9).

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 A brief Description of the Afar, the Ethiopian Afar Region and Assayita Refugee Camp in Assayita Wereda

The Afar National Regional State (ANRS) in the northeastern Ethiopia has a land of about 270,000 km² (Central Statistical Agency, 2008). The area is situated between 39^o 34', and 42^o 28' East Longitude, and 84^o and 14'30" North Latitude. The region shares common international borders with Eritrea in the north-east and Djibouti in the east respectively, and internal administrative borders with the Ethiopian regional States of Tigray in the north-west, Amhara in the south-west, Oromia in the south and Somali in the south-east. The Afar Region in Ethiopia is currently divided in 5 administrative Zones (sub-regions), 32 administrative Districts (Woredas,) 28 Municipal towns, and 401 rural and urban administrative units (PAS /and Urban Dwellers associations or *kebeles*). The Afar Regional capital, Semera, is situated in Zone 1 some 600 Km to the North-east of Addis Ababa on the Addis–Djibouti asphalt road (CSA, 2008).

According to the CSA (2008) the Afar Regional State has an estimated population of about 1.4 million people. Almost 87% of the population are rural largely dependent on pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihood systems. Of the total inhabitants of the region, women represent about 44%, while men represent 57%. In terms of age distribution, about 43% of the population is youngsters. The region had been an approximate density of 14.59 person /km² (CSA, 2008). The ethnic Afar constitute the majority of the regional state population with about 92.597% of the total population. The rest belong to other ethnic groups of Ethiopia. The 90.8 percent of the population speak the Afar language (*Afarigna*). The Afar region is an arid and semi-arid area and arid climate with low and erratic rainfall pattern the annual mean rainfall below 700 mm (ANRS, 2010). The main sources of water for pastoral and agro-pastoral communities and their livestock are rivers, ponds, stagnant water during rainy season, springs, hand dug wells, motorized deep wells. The quantity and distribution of existing surface and ground water supply schemes developed in the region are insufficient.

Ninety percent of the Afar populations derive their livings from subsistence trans-human livestock production or pastoralism. 80 % of the Afar people practice trans-human pastoralism – engage in the movements of livestock between different grazing lands. Their pastoral livelihood system had been developed over many centuries and continues to be very efficient land and resource use system. The mobility of people and livestock ensures maximum sustainable use of the geographically and seasonally scattered /distributed grazing and water resources.

The livestock population of the Afar region is estimated at about 703,424 cattle, 1,003,000 heads of sheep, 2,014,418 heads of goats, 301,733 camels and 16,976 donkeys (Oxfam International, 2005). The pastoral population to be 1.2 million, the per capita livestock holding is only 1.09/HH. This is far lower than the recommended 3-4 Tropical Livestock Unit (TLU) per capita required for pastoralists to lead a sustained and active life (ANRS, 2010). The agro-pastorals in Afar region are situated mainly in the *Woredas* closest to the neighboring highland regions, specifically in *Argoba, Dulecha, Fursee, Semu Robi, Abala and Afambo* woredas. Livelihood of agro-pastoralists is based on crops (Sorghum, maize, teff and cotton), honey, and livestock production (ANRS, 2010).

The region is one of the least developed areas in the nine regions in Ethiopia. Over 90 percent of the region's population is grouped as nomadic /transhumant pastoralists, the Afar. Except for a small percentage of the population involved in commerce or the civil services in urban areas, the major proportion of the remaining is grouped as agro-pastoral population dependent on livestock as well as sedentary agricultural production (European Commission Civil Society Fund in Ethiopia, 2008). The region is also characterized by poorly developed infrastructure and the lack of social services where the population has the least access to social services particularly education, health, water supply and so on (UNDP, 1999; PPAC, 2010).

Assayita town has an estimated population was 16,052 of whom 8,184 are males and 7,868 are females (CSA, 2010). Assayita is one of the *Woredas* in Zone 1 and located at a physical distance of 660 km away from Addis Ababa and 60 km from Semera (the regional capital). The *Woreda* shares all of the socio-economic characteristics of the Afar regional state that have been stated earlier. Therefore, Afar is the dominant ethnic group in the *Woreda* and the Amhara, Wolayta, Oromo and other ethnic groups came from the highlands and settled in the area. The Afar ethnic group speaks Afar language (*Afaregna*) and some of them adopted Amharic as a language to communicate with others. The pastoral Afar communities are wandering from place to place in search of grass and water for their animals. A few of them have recently been engaged in agro-pastoral ways of life, by cultivating crops like corn on the shores of the Awash river in collaboration with the Amhara and Walayta farmers. Some of them were engaged in charcoal making, government employees and small business, and being hired as daily laborer.

From the target population of 16,052, 7,297 (45.4%) were migrants from the highland part of the country (CSA, 2010). This study has focused on the relations and impacts of the refugees on the two *kebeles* of Assayita locals. Because refugee relations with the locals and their camp impacts are highly affected the town due to its geographical proximity. Assayita refugees have accounts for about 46.5% of the local population of the town and 15% of the *Woreda*.

There are about 11, 054 houses (a separate and an independent place of residence either intended for habitation or not intended for habitation but occupied as a living quarter in the *Woreda*). Of which 4,512 are made from wood and mud, 5,940 from wood and thatch, 51 from stone and mud, 428 from stone and cement, 103 plastered hollow blocks, 5 unplastered hollow blocks, and 15 from corrugated iron (CSA, 2010). As indicated above, houses made from wood and thatches are regarded as good for the high temperature favorable in the *Woreda*. The estimated population of 01 and 02 *kebeles* was 9,050 and 7, 002, respectively. 01 *kebele* located with a distance of 2.5 km and 02 *kebele* with 3 km.

This case study is an exploratory investigation of the case of the influx of Eritrean Afar refugees and repatriation of Afar returnees – from Eritrea in the Afar Region of Ethiopia, and can be usefully contextualized within the findings of the study's Eritrean Afar pastoralist's flights to Ethiopian Afar land and the spontaneous Voluntary Repatriation (return of Afars from). Eritrea during the recent border and insurgent wars and conflicts in the frontier areas. Just as has occurred in Ethiopia – Somalia and Kenya borderland contexts (see Getachew, Ahamada Farah and R. Hogg cases on the Garri and Somali Ogaden and other Clans in Eastern and southern border lands of Ethiopia with Somalia and Kenya, see in Allen 1996) and other cases in recent years ; Getachew and Hogg and Others have out that over 90 % of Ethiopian Garri (gabbara, Boran) and Somali refugees/returnees repatriating since the mid /late 1980s and since 1996 and 2001 respectively from the Horn countries had done so without official Governmental and NGOs and International agency led repatriation planning and support.

Administrative Boundaries of Afar Region

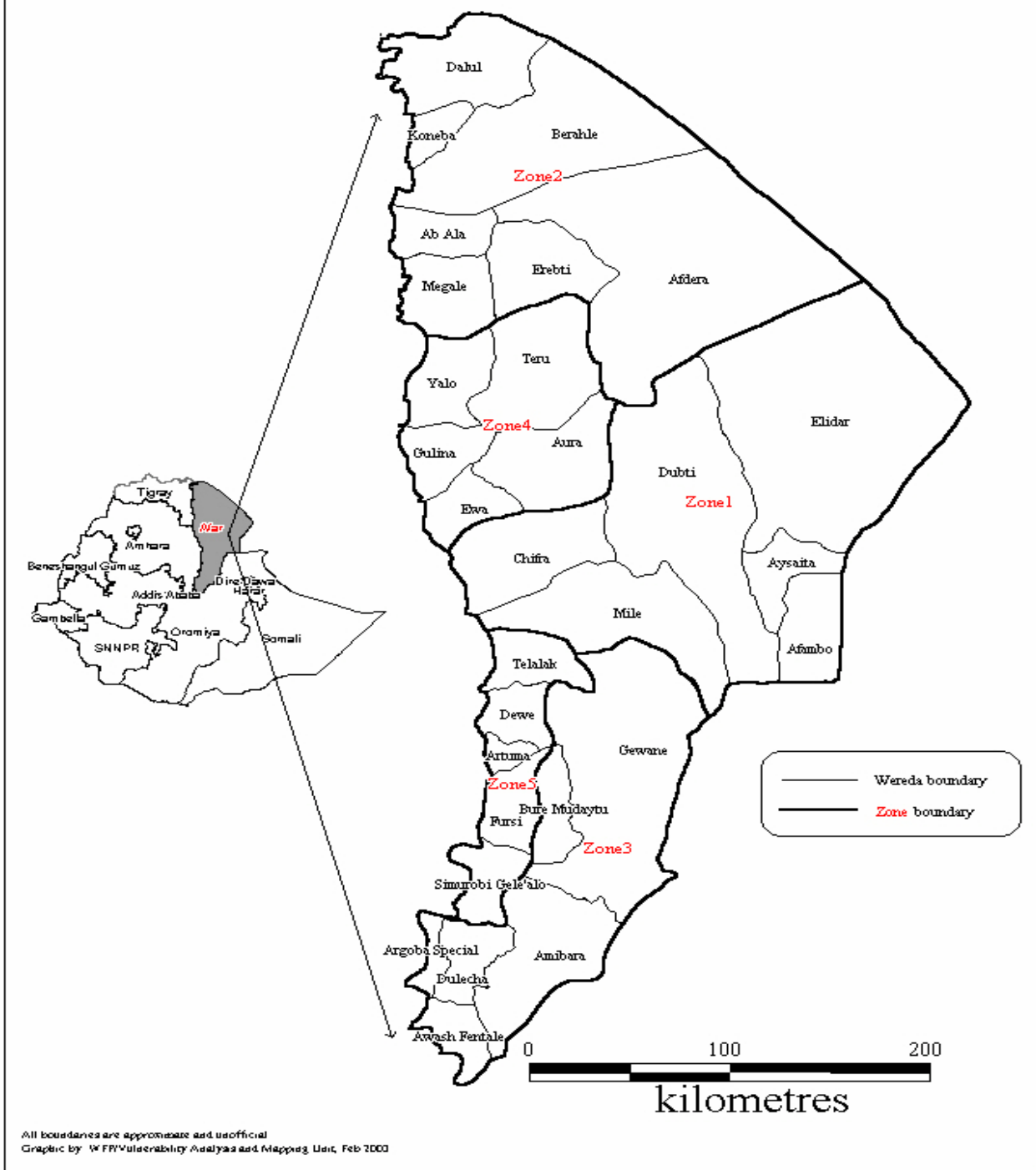


fig 4 Administrative boundaries of Afar region

Source: Livelihoods/ Emergency Assessment in Afar Region 2005.

3.2 Clan and Inter-clan Relation

In the Horn of Africa, the Afar signify one of the major groups of pastoralists and their land referred to as Afar triangle, including dry lands in north-eastern Ethiopia, south-eastern Eritrea and western Djibouti (Lang staff, 2011). The Afar language is belongs to the Cushitic language family and the people largely depend on pastoral ways of life. It is grouped along with the Somali and Oromo language within the lowland East-Cushitic language family. In addition to their own language, some of the Afars can speak Tigrigna, Oromo, Amharic, Arabic, French and Argoba. The Afar land was served as the seat of many Sultanates for many centuries. The Aussa Sultanate has stayed for some three centuries and Assayita used as the capital. For several generations the Afar of Aussa have adopted mixed farming, herding joined with small holder and large scale irrigation farming in the most productive flood plains of Lower Awash Valley (Getachew, 2001).

Patrilineal is the central organizing rule of the kinship system of the Afar. Patrilineal kinsmen are a collection of people with whom a person shares the same *bone and blood*. *Kedo* refers to a collection of people linked to each other through hereditary line, existing within common clan territory and sharing common rituals and political leadership. A clan has a given name with which members identify. A clan may include a few hundred people up to five thousand, involving ten and twenty lineages and sub-lineages (*dahla*). The number of lineages of a clan changes through time because of continues fission and fusion (Getachew, 2001).

In most cases a clan (*kedo*) could be taken as a maximal lineage that includes many minimal lineages (*dahla or gulba*). Over and above the lineages there are situations in which a clan may integrate a group that attached it as a client or through marriage. All members do not have equal rights, and are not included the political leadership of a clan. Relations between clans (*kedo*) are manifested in different ways and in specific temporal contexts. Each *kedo* has a power to control its own internal affairs and safeguarding its member interests. Members of one clan frequently co-operate with other clans in solving practical economic

and security problems. This area of co-operation consists defense from attack by stronger Afar clans and neighbors like the Issa Somali, kereyu Oromo and Argoba (Getachew, 2001).

Besides, clan collaboration enables them to avoid internecine warfare as a result of competition over the use of resources, stealing of livestock, territorial claims and kidnapping of women. When petty feuds happened elders belonging to a third neutral clan will work together to settle the disputes, resisting the escalation of these disputes into warfare. Elders of two or more clans consult to allow their respective clan members and their stock to have access to each other's land and other resources, comprising the formation of residence for limited periods of time. Relations between two or more clans are marked socially through marriage relationships. Some clans have long established relationships of intermarriage. The Afar adopted multiple types of marriage. The best type is narrow paterilateral cross-cousin marriage. This is with a real or with a classificatory cross-cousin (*absuma*). Marriage with a similar cousin is also sometimes allowed. A person can also marry outside his clan to a partner from a nearest clan and also to a Non-Afar (Getachew, 2001). After 1974 the military government eliminated the offices of the Sultan, Clan leaders persisted to be the vital political leaders and the link between their people and the central government. Thus, unlike that of the Sultanate of Aussa, the power of clan leadership has been largely controlled and further strengthened (Getachew, 2001).

3.3 The Afar Experience as ‘Refugees/Asylum Seekers

The Afar land experience of – refugees/and refugees highlights the difficulty of distinguishing between ‘refugee’ and ‘displaced persons’, and ‘regional migrants’ whether they be local or foreign. Those who manage to wear several hats --- that a (an Eritrean or Djiboutian) refugee and an Economic Migrant. Being in ‘exile’ but economically independent removes the need to be more formally defined as a refugee – though at times of great hardship it might be prudent to register and take up residence in a (Refugee/returnee) Camp (or settlement). Thus learning about survival strategies of officially (registered repatriated) refugees in Camps limit one to the specifics of this broadly less mobile group.

The exiles in Ethiopian Eritrean, and Djiboutian Afar refugee Camps in the (1990s) 2000s (as Ethiopian Somali and Garri refugees Camps in Somalia and Kenya in the 1970s, 1980s the present Eritrean Afar Refugees – camps in Ethiopia (Afar region) were at one end of a Continuum while the many thousands of graduates outside the country and camps and internationally (regionally) much more widely dispersed were at the other end. Almost exclusively these latter (currently displaced Afars from Eritrea), Eritrean Afar exiles or refugees have not been rurally integrated (reintegrated). Strategically they preferred to exploit the labor migration option – even (Regionally across the Horn) and internationally (to Gulf States and Western Europe and elsewhere).

Ethiopia has one of the best resource bases in the Horn of Africa. Yet it is now one of the poorest countries of the world, with a shattered infrastructure. This tragedy reflects a combination of particularly distorted economic exploitation and bad governance under the – Imperial, Derg regimes – and over ambitious State –centered post 1991 government programmes – by the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front(EPRDF), and then especially by an enormous programme of destabilize policy led by the post independence Eritrean People Liberation Front(EPLF) led Eritrean Government. The Afar Liberation Front a secessionist rebel force – has been supported by Eritrea to undermine its (socialist) neighbors (Ethiopia and Djibouti – after substantial military and other aid to control enormous areas of the Ethiopian and Djiboutian Afar inhabited territories and to self sustain

its operations through a parasitic tribute and looting economy inside the northern frontier areas of the Ethiopian Afar regional state, border with Eritrea and Djibouti. Meanwhile this war between the Ethiopian Defense Forces with Eritrean Military, and with the Eritrea supported Afar rebel forces in the Afar areas of Eritrea and Ethiopia – and Djiboutian border lands. The destruction of the pastoral Afar peoples economy have among the Afar pastoralists and non pastoralists of the frontier regions have forced the flight of large numbers of Afars of Eritrea and Djibouti to cross the border into the Afar inhabited areas of northern Ethiopia, the Afar Regional state. Meanwhile the destructive outcomes of the Eritrea – Ethiopia Border War of 1998 -2000 along with the Counter insurgency war between the Ethiopian Defense forces and the Eritrean backed Afar Nationalist secessionist groups such as the ARDUF forces, along with other internal wars' destruction of the economy had forced the Ethiopian Government into one of the highest debt service ration in the world; and into dependence upon international aid (which has in recent year comprised more than three quarters of the GDP). In a complex and ambiguous manner this international aid has served both to disintegrate further the State and its institutional frameworks and also to enable in continued survival. The dependence on aid also served both to force through a radical structural adjustment package from (1991), and to make its implementation more effective. These wide political economic changes have shifted the engine of economic initiative to the private sector in general and the international capital in particular, and have undermined the Central Role of the State in securing access to basic social services and resources including the means of production such as land.

The interaction of these far reaching political and economic reforms by EPRDF led Government , in a situation of global political (economic) changes , means that since the late 1990s Afar Nationalist Rebel groups or Insurgent forces have/has received declining support from (horn region and Gulf States and from North African Arab countries) and other sources. This and a general collapse of the rural economy of northern region of the country such as the current Afar region under war and drought have provided the context for negotiation of a political settlement of the war between the Afar insurgent groups and the Ethiopian government with international and regional mediation.

The 1998-2000 Border war with Eritrea and between Afar insurgent group and Eritrean State had generated almost hundreds and thousands of Eritrean Afar and non Afar refugees in neighboring countries Ethiopia and Djibouti. About half of them and almost most of the Afars are in Ethiopia – the Afar Regional State and the rest in neighboring Djibouti. There were a further ‘internally displaced’ Afars and non Afars populations within the northern parts of Ethiopia namely in Tigray and Afar regions living in Camps around the Ethiopian Defense Forces garrisons and small towns. The Ethiopian government also designated million people in the two regions border with Eritrea as ‘affected’ by the Border War with Eritrea and therefore in need of some emergency assistance not residents in the garrisoned ‘refugee’ camps. In addition there were in the early 1990s and in the immediate years after the 1998-2000 border war – there were probably more than a million or more rural people dwelling in rural villages and in new shanty – camps around garrison and administrative towns of northern Ethiopia – in Afar and Tigray regions where they are unaccounted. Research also indicates that there are large ‘displaced’ populations in areas outside of the control of the Government of Ethiopia. (As well as in the frontier Afar inhabited areas of Djibouti and Eritrea and Eritrea), and that in many but not all Afar Rebel Groups controlled frontier regions of Ethiopia(Eritrea and Djibouti) and especially in the northern parts of the afar region of Ethiopia, Afar people are leaving a highly precarious existence.

Most of the rural and urban Afar population residing in the vicinities of the highly volatile and conflict prone Ethiopia-Eritrea and Eritrea – Djibouti and Ethiopia- Djibouti border lands are no longer living in their home areas. Indeed, many have been displaced several times during the course of the border skirmishes and counter insurgency wars of the past 2 decades. Ethiopian Federal Governments and the Afar Regional State’s capacity for assistance to the Eritrean Afar /Djiboutian Afar Refugees and Returnee Afars as well as to the internally displaced and affected Afar Populations, and for generally handling the emergency grew considerably from the Ethiopia –Eritrea border war from 1998-2000, under the coordination of ARRA.

The Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) created in the 1990s and initially responsible for handling natural disasters grew substantially. The day to day management of ARRA and other groups' activities has been overseen by the – Federal DPPC- ARRA. The Ethiopian Government always emphasized a developmental response to the emergency. Together, with the World Food Programme and various bilateral, it was the UNHCR, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that became the most significant institutional partners to the Federal DPPC and ARRA.

Meanwhile, the Afar Regional State Governments development programmes had essentially been replaced by the local version of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and the national Agriculture Led Industrialization Economic Policy was therefore pursued in coordination with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Many observers have noted that the IMF and the World Bank have made little change to their standard programmes to take account of the War and emergency situation. ARRA the Government agency responsible for refugees and returnees (and IDPs) and other refugees with (or without) asylum in Ethiopia and in the Afar region, continued its UNHCR link by taking on responsibility for the Ethiopian Refugees outside of the country and their repatriation. The ARRA has maintained its links with the Ministry of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the Federal Defense Force and Federal Intelligence, but also has some coordination role within the DPPC. ARRA and steady progress was being made to rationalize the FEDERAL ARRA and DPPC programmes for what were often mixed populations internally displaced persons, returnees and refugees in the same locations. Regional Commissions /Offices for the Emergency – the ARRA and DPPC – were established – in the mid 1990s and after 2000 though with some unevenness in all nine regional states including the Afar Regional State and these coordinated not only the emergency bodies themselves but also their interactions with the line ministries such as agriculture, health education, water, construction and others.

In the most war drought affected Afar and other regions the – DPPC and the ARRA – quickly come to handle the most significant activities in their rural districts, and also controlled the bulk of the resources available derived largely from International Humanitarian Aid. Throughout this period of institutional change during the worst years of the emergency the rapidly changing and often contradictory demands of the various Donors and myriad of NGOs often appeared as much of a challenge as it did a support, not least because different agencies and Donors made alliances with different government institutions. Nevertheless aid became the backbone of the economy, and the ‘Emergency’ (Refugee Assistance) the principal focus of Federal as well as the Regional State governments. One of the further challenges generated by broadly successful construction of the Aid Emergency institutional structures will be how authority, experience and (AID) resources can be – channeled – to or can be returned to the – regional and local governments, coordinated by the re-emergence planning department (in the context of the Refugee Crisis).

The Refugee Crisis and the official post Eritrean Independence and especially post 2000 period returnee/refugee repatriation programme in Ethiopia during the post 1991 have emerged or arisen from a variety of contexts. In the 1990s due to the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia – 1991 – and the forced return of Afars and those other Ethiopians from independent Eritrean State territories – of those Afars and other groups of Ethiopians who manage to enter Eritrea and Djibouti, but are not settled in those ‘Homelands’ (asylum countries) that accept them, are the major challenges for the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Afar Regional State administration. The returnees are handed over at the border (Eritrean Ethiopia and Ethiopia –Djibouti border). Their home areas are usually distant from and often unsafe and considerable assistance is therefore required in Holding Centers or Camps and settlements. Returns of former Ethiopian exiles – refugees from Eritrea, Djibouti and repatriations from another neighboring country and other countries have also provided institutional challenges in recent years.

During the past 20 years and especially since the border war with Eritrea the Ethiopian Refugee Assistance agency – and ARRA recognized that Refugees /and Returnees Self-Repatriated and neglected the refused to utilize the official procedures. Because the procedures of the UNHCR – did not address returnees (and refugees Afars) specific needs and because of official programmes of the government and Nongovernmental Refugee/returnee assisting Humanitarian Agencies lacked the adequate Donor Funding , however, they provide unable to address these shortcomings.

3.4 The Life Worlds of the Eritrean Refugees /Displaced in the Assayita Camp in Afar Regional State

In the following section, I shall reflect on my field experience in displaced /refugee camp in Assayita town. My engagement with Eritrean Afar refugees (displaced persons) in Assayita started in 2013 when I started my graduate research Degree from AAU to conduct a qualitative research on the impacts of the Eritrean Afar refugees on the Host area environment and societies. The Eritrean Afar Refugee Camp in Assayita town or the Assayita Refugee Camp is located 1-2 km from Assayita town center. It is one of the eight major provisional refugee camps erected to accommodate the war displaced Afar who were otherwise scattered all over the Ethiopian Afar regional state territories. The Assayita Camp during the field study accommodated 7,474 displaced persons /refugees that have different clan lineage identity, economic backgrounds. The inhabitants of this camp , like those of other camps, were put together after being forced into flight movement by the border war between the armed forces of the two countries from the disputed areas especially southeastern Eritrea.

3.5 The Eritrean Afar refugees/ the Assayita Eritrean Afar displaced/ Refugee Camp

At the time of the filed study the registered camp resident population in the Assayita camp was 7,474; of whom 4,110 are males (54.9%) and 3,364 are females (45%). All of them are Afars from Eritrea, who are ethnically very similar to the Afar of Ethiopia and Djibouti. They share the Afar language, socio cultural norms and way of life and clan lineage identities and common history as one people. The camp resident Afars from Eritrea or these Afar refugees in the Assayita camp have social relations with the host Afar communities and it was found out that they have established networks with the Afar families in the area. They have obtained substantial material, financial and other forms of assistance from the host Afar society members. This has enabled them to adapt to the host environment and society very easily. Unlike other refugees who faced difficulties in their new refugee /asylum areas, the Afar refugees in Assayita have been easily accommodated to live with the host Afar community in Assayita and other small towns and in rural areas without any problem or difficulty since 1998. The Afar refugees in Assayita were mainly from the Assab, Massawa and Danakil areas of southeastern Eritrea.

3.6 The State of Infrastructural and Social Services Provision to the Camp Residents/Host Communities

There is no doubt that the construction of infrastructure and social services providing facilities by refugee hosting (asylum) country government in collaboration with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) can be important for economic development and advantageous for both the refugees and host population in the receiving areas, like that of Assayita District, for example (Kagwanja, 2000). In this regard the creation of the Refugee catering Camp and provisions of Services and infrastructure in the Assayita camp by international Aid agencies (NGOs) mainly by the UNHCR and others has been ongoing at the time of this study. The the Eritrean Afar Displaced/Refugee Assayita Camp, like most of those other camps were put together after being forced to flee their homelands in Eritrea. The Assayita Refugee Camp is connected with the Assayita town with 2.5 km gravel road. The camp has laterine facilities and no running water, minimal health and education services and no electricity, telephone or television services. Yet, both the regional State Government and the Assayita District (*Woreda*) *administration* are beneficiaries of the 24 hours electricity, telephone and water supplies (ARRA Assayita field Office, March 2013).

Water was provided by donkey carts at very high prices at the beginning of the camp establishment. This makes it difficult the refugees/displaced families to procure sufficient water. For instance, most of the individuals in the Assayita Camp were displaced from the Eritrean Afar areas, south eastern Eritrea but after their flight/exile to the Ethiopian Afar areas like Assayita, but they did not experience the kinds of apathy that have haunted ordinary Afar IDPs, nor were they included in the Refugee Camp. Most people in the camp live on the verge of absolute destitution, with no legal right to settlement and, in most cases, no identification papers /documents from Authorities. Apart from providing the campsite, the Local, District and Regional and Federal Government seems to be helpless when it comes to services. Entrance to the camp is very much restricted for outsiders and a prior permission must be obtained from ARRA for any visit, especially visits for research purposes. In a sense the Assayita Eritrean Afar Refugee Camp is a place of incarceration for the displaced Afars, but paradoxically restriction on those who entered and not on those who leave. Income generating opportunities for the refugee camp residents or for the displaced Eritrean Afar are bleak.



Fig.5. View of Assayita refugee camp (Feb, 2013)

3.7 The Use of Clan lineage and other Social Network and the Afar Shared Ethnic –Cultural Identity for Promoting their Access to Material /Economic Opportunities

The economic (trading, employment and other) options available for people living in the war prone border areas – in southern and southeastern parts, the Eritreans Afar region along the border with Ethiopia and Djibouti, include that of flight to safer areas of the Afar areas in Ethiopia or Djibouti as well that of becoming refugees in the two states – Ethiopia and Djibouti. Interviews with refugees and non refugee individuals in Assayita indicated that the Ethiopia-Eritrea Djibouti – border markets served as gateways for people and information to flow between the Afar areas.

Sometimes bureaucratic processes of labeling people as refugees can mean that people are obliged to do things defined as illegal, even though they achieve solutions desirable for themselves, governments and relief agencies concerned. For example, during the late 1990s and 2000s when many Afar (and non Afar) refugees fleeing south from the Eritrean Afar areas such as Badha, Burri and Assab etc. to the Elidaar, afdera, and Assayita districts of the Ethiopian Afar region discovered that the Assayita, and other Eritrean Afar Refugee camps in the Afar region as a staging post on the journey, picking up food and other supplies from the aid agencies there. However to do this they found that they had to pretend that they had arrived to stay permanently in the refugee camp. On receipt of supplies, and after resting, they then moved on and reached safer areas of the Ethiopian Afar region (or took further journey to Djiboutian side of the Afar territory further to the southeast as Assayita wereda. When this was discovered by the Assayita and other Eritrean refugee reception camps administration , a rule was laid down to require people to be permanently settle (build dwelling) in the camp before receiving any assistance. Assaytia district continued to receive displaced Afar peoples from Eritrea right up to recent years.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology and Procedures

This study used qualitative method appropriate to specified research objectives. Primary and secondary sources have been used. Hence the following will describe sampling techniques and procedures, source and method of data collection (Interview, questionnaire, observation) and analytical procedures.

4.1 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

The target population was 16,052 that was the population of the two *Kebeles* 01 and 02 of Assayita. Of whom 8,184 are males and 7,868 are females (CSA, 2010). In any sample, the hard task faced by a researcher is deciding the sample size. Among the variables that determine the required sample size for a study, the size of the population, the sampling technique, cost and time are very vital (Wolde, 2007). In qualitative study, the interest is not to generalize to a population, but to develop an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon. Thus, to best understand the phenomenon, the qualitative researcher purposefully or intentionally selects individuals and sites (Creswell, 2009). Hence through purposeful snowball sampling procedures, 70 informants (51 from the locals and 19 from the refugees) have been participating in the study. The selection was conducted based on the proximity of the camp and the degree of interaction on both sides (refugees and locals) within a distance of 2.5-3km from the center of the camp to the south and southeast direction. Participants from the local people were selected from each of the *kebeles* of Assayita town comprised 30 individuals from the Afar, 13 from Amara and 8 from Tigre ethnic groups. Whereas the remaining 19 were selected from Afar ethnic group on the refugee side. An effort was made to avoid gender imbalances during the sampling process. Due to time and resource constraints, it was impossible to increase the number of participants. Nevertheless, this sample size can represent the target group, because, it was selected based on purposeful random sampling technique.

4.2 Source and Method of Data Collection

Qualitative and quantitative data was collected from primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected by means of interviews, questionnaires using semi-structured and open ended questions, and non participants' observations. Secondary data was collected from education and research institutions, Assayita *Woreda* Office of Education, the *Woreda* Secondary and Preparatory School (*Mohammed Hanfere* Secondary and Preparatory School), one of the *Woreda* Junior secondary school (*Ewuget Chora* elementary and Junior High school), Assayita *Woreda* health office, Office of the *Woreda* police. Central Statistical Agency Assayita *Woreda* Branch Office, ARRA Assayita field Office, UNHCR documents, AHA and other relevant secondary information sources.

4.2.1. Interviews

One of the significant data collection instrument is conducting an interview by providing semi structured and open ended questions, so that the participants can best voice their experience unrestrained by any perspectives. Respondents of interviews were kebele Chairpersons, police officials, Principals of Schools, administrative representatives, members of hotels and restaurant owners, *Woreda* residents, health expertise and officials from concerned international agencies at different levels. In general 30 people were interviewed. Informants from the locals and the refugee population in the *Woreda* were interviewed using the interview guideline. The selection was purposive. Since some of the refugees and locals speak only *Afarigna* as a dominant language, there was language disparity between the interviewer and interviewee. The researcher, therefore, used an interpreter and selected his participants among those who speak Amharic fluently through the gate keeper. To make the data more credible and valid cross-checking information from different stakeholders' i.e. triangulation has been employed.

4.2.2. Questionnaire

Questionnaires have been distributed and filled by selected high School students, teachers, and government and nongovernmental employees. The questionnaire has tried to address their demographic characteristics, their experiences in realizing the socio-economic changes that took place in the *Woreda* by hosting the Eritrean refugees in a camp.

4.2.3. Observation

Observation is the process of gathering firsthand information by observing people at a research site. As a result observational data was collected on the actual lifestyle and interaction of locals and refugees when they exchange goods at the market. Through this method, information was gathered about the soils, topography, water sources, vegetation, infrastructure, crops, livestock and income generating activities and so on. In addition, different pictures were taken in and around the camp and also in the town. It was one of the most influential ways to get familiar with the condition of the study area.

4.2.4 Data Collection and Analytical Procedures

The following procedures were employed in the process of data gathering. The questionnaire and interview guides were prepared in English, and translated into Amharic and made ready for administration. Through a process called informed consent, all potential study participants were informed about the procedures used in the study, the risks and benefits of participating in the study, and their rights as study participants was clearly indicated before the actual provision started. The last draft of the instruments was administered in the following procedure. First, the questionnaire was provided for all participants and was given instruction. Conducting a one-to-one interview and recording data are the other procedure of data collection. The available documents that have valuable information to address the central questions of the research were collected from international agencies, local administration and other concerned bodies.

Primary data that was collected from the Study area have been analyzed by transcribing interviews, optically scanning materials, typing field notes, categorizing and organizing the data into various types depending on the types of sources of information. Read through all the data so as to get the central idea of the participants, and the meaning of the idea. The material were arranges into pieces, coding before interpreting them and describing the setting and people with themes for analysis. Detailed discussion of several themes was carried out including with sub-themes and specific illustrations. Data that was collected from the secondary sources of all concerned bodies was included within the analysis process and the respondents' characteristics and some of the results of the study are explained in percentile.

CHAPTER FIVE

Result and Discussion

5.2 Respondents Characteristics

5.2.1 Type and Ethnicity

Of the total participants, 19 (27.142%) were refugees while 51 (72.857%) respondents were locals. As stated earlier the local people comprise different ethnic groups like Afar, Amara, and Tigre in a proportion of 42.857%, 18.571%, 11.428%, respectively. The refugees accounts for about 27.1%.

5.2.2 Age Group

The age of the sampled informants vary from 16-60 years. The variation from 16-40 includes 85.7% of the sampled informants. These are the most productive one who engaged themselves in any socio-economic activities. The age for the majority of the refugees and locals are found within the age of 16-24, and this is summarized in Table 5.

Table 4

Distribution of Sampled Informants by Age

Age group	Locals		Refugees		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
16-24	20	28.57	9	12.86	29	41.43
25-40	12	17.14	5	7.14	17	24.28
41-55	10	14.29	2	2.86	12	17.15
56-60	9	12.86	3	4.29	12	17.15
Total	51	72.86	19	27.15	70	100

Source: survey result March, 2013

5.2.3 Educational Status

The respondents educational level ranges from read and write to tertiary education. 1.42% of informants can read and write. 12.85% and 14.28% went to and completed primary and secondary schooling, respectively. 58.57% are completed tertiary education. Almost 87.15% of the total informants were literate (can read and write). 45.72% of locals and 14.27% of refugees were literate Table 6.

Table 5

Distribution of Sample Informants by their Educational Level

Educational level	Locals		Refugees		Total	
	Number	Percent	number	Percent	number	Percent
Illiterate	-	-	9	12.86	9	12.86
Read and write	-	-	1	1.43	1	1.43
Primary education	-	-	9	12.86	-	12.86
Secondary education	10	14.29	-		10	14.29
Tertiary education	41	58.57			41	58.57
Total	51	72.85	19	27.15	70	100

Source: Based on field data, 2013

5.2.4. Occupation

55.72 % of the respondents are Pastoralist, 20 % are involved in governmental and non-governmental employees, 18.57 % on petty trade, 5.7 % as daily laborers, as it summarized in Table 7.

Table 6

Distribution of Sample Informants by their Occupational Level

Activity	Locals		Refugees		Total	
	Number	Percent	number	Percent	number	Percent
Pastoralist	30	42.86	9	12.86	39	55.71
Employees	13	18.57	1	1.43	14	20
Petty trade	4	5.71	9	12.86	13	18.57
Daily laborers'	4	5.71	-		4	5.71
Total	51	72.85	19	27.15	70	100

Source: Based on field data, 2013

5.3 Analysis of Socio-Economic Relations and Impacts of Refugees on Local Population

5.3.1 Refugees and Hosts Relations

The Eritrean refugees have been living in more than eight refugee camps in the country and in Afar region. Of these Shimelba, *MaiAini*, and *AdiHarusha* having with 7, 000, 13,000 and 23,000 refugees respectively found in Tigray region, and *Assayita*, *Berhale*, *Dallo*, *Abala*, and *Erebt* camps are found within the Afar region. In general it is estimated that more than 79,800 Eritrean refugees and asylum seekers live in Ethiopia. The number of refugees has often been increasing due to new influx (ARRA, September 2012).

As indicated before, the local Afar population and the Eritrean Afar refugee communities have common characteristics and their personalities are identical. These two peoples had lived together as part of the same people and citizens of Ethiopia until 1991, a time where Eritrea seceded and proclaimed as an independent state. Hence, the homogeneous Afar people have been divided into three and called Ethiopian Afar, Eritrean Afar, and Djiboutian Afar. It is just like the Somalis who are one people with the same culture, language and religion but divided in three countries. By reason of colonialism and illogical boundary delimitation; they were divided and forced to live in five states. So defining the Afar pastoral community as Ethiopian hosts or Eritrean refugee is not an easy process. The ownership of an Ethiopian ID card or a refugee ration card does not necessarily mean that this card meets the real identity of the holder. Pastoral societies often maintain a cross border clan identity, together with a common property approach in sharing of resource use across large swathe of land on either sides of the international border, which regularly disagrees with the boundaries of the modern state that are built on a territory-based concept of citizenry, identity and belonging.

The Relationships between refugees and hosts have evolved over time with a deep and intimate degree of relation. In addition, host community families often have relatives in the camp; clear-cut definition of identities is therefore difficult. But for practical purposes the study defined host community as those people living outside the camp in Assayita *Woreda* not only the Afars but also the migrant workers from other ethnic groups. Shared identities and blurred distinctions between refugees and Afar hosts are the main reasons as to why a humanitarian operation of this scale was able to operate relatively smoothly in terms of host/refugee relationships.

Social interaction between host community members and refugees are taking place within Assayita town at a significant scale. Refugees are seen as getting better opportunities as international humanitarian standards are applied to them but not to the host communities, and unlike other refugee hosting areas, the condition allows the refugees to move freely and interact with local host community without restriction. The proximity of the camp within a distance of 2.5-3km to Assayita town, and their cultural uniformity and social network help them to interact easily with the local host community. The majority of them came to Assayita leaving behind some of their family members like husbands, wives, relatives and children even their livestock in Eritrea. This is one of the horrible features of a refugee life. Accordingly, there are no conflicts and clashes that arise among the refugees and local hosts.

Some informants made it clear that there are some individuals among the host Afar community registered as refugee and holding refugee ration cards by using their cultural resemblance with the refugees. Refugees who are living together with the local host communities outside the camp in the two *kebeles* of Assayita and their socio- economic impacts on the locals summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Refugee presence in each Kebele by Impact

No	<i>Impacts</i>	01 kebele	02 kebele
1	Local market interaction	High	High
2	Income generating activities	Low	Low
3	Use of locals health centers	High	High
4	Positive contribution in health	Low	Low
5	Access to refugee camp health centers	High	High

Source: Survey Result March, 2013

As it shown in the table, refugees in the two *kebeles* have high local market interaction, and their role in engaging income generating activities are low, and they are fully dependent on the social services of the locals. They have low positive contribution apart from their dependency in health centers and do have higher opportunity to use refugee camp health centers. Local administrators are careless in emphasizing the problems related with the presence of the camp and the supposed need for compensation directed towards the locals. Relation between the camp and local leaders is to some extent good, which are from different ethnic groups. Agreements exist over the question of land and resource rights of the camp and the refugees. However they lack co-operation to launch and enhance development projects for the benefits of the locals. According to the camp leaders, since the local leaders are careless and corrupted, they are incapable to take the initiative to form integrated efforts for local development.

5.3.2 Trade

Source of revenues among locals are mainly livestock and livestock products, and to some extent petty trade, and government employment. The locals do not have an access to food relief but use of refugee food rations at the market. The Afar pastoralists and migrant workers sell domestic products to the refugees and other local people, including livestock, milk, firewood, while the refugees brought food rations. Consumption of major food items dealing in both wholesale and retail represent the largest group of traders in Assayita. The refugees and refugee women were represented primarily in the food items trade (*figure 6 and 7*). The local migrants are largely engaged in the provision of donkey and horse cart transport services, and a few among the refugees also use it as a means of income generation. Therefore, trade is taken as an important point outside pastoral and agro-pastoral activities in the study area. This includes all types of trade forms from petty trade to shop keeping and restaurants. Many from the locals and some from refugee communities are engaged in these economic activities. The refugees are largely engaged in petty trade income generated activities. In some extent their livestock raising, former experience in trading and ample time creates good opportunity for refugees to mainly engage in these activities. This is generally observed in the urban based refugee. Major activities which can be included

here are restaurants, bars, cafes, different kind of shops such as boutiques, mini-supermarkets and music shops largely run by local communities. The refugees in the Assayita camp have not been organized either by ARRA or IRA to participate fully in large scale trading activities as an additional means of livelihoods. However, the local host communities admired some of the Camp refugees interest and commitment in engaging and conducting any trade activities. Weekly market is the only place where refugee, locals as well as traders from the highlands met. The *Woreda* administration missed the economic opportunities that were created by the camp due to their negligence in supporting the business community by creating good relation with the camp. The regional leaders are commonly criticized as corrupt and felt by locals to be responsible for their backwardness. Few among the local migrants have been engaged in small scale subsistence agricultural activities and produces onion, tomatoes, potatoes and crops like corn along side of the Awash River. These are some of the products often available at Assayita markets where refugees and locals taken part.

As some informants indicates trading activities in Assayita has been flourished due to the introduction of smuggled commodities especially clothes as a result of its proximity to the port of Djibouti. However, since in the last five years the government could control this kind of trade and closed its routes to Assayita, and this has brought reduction in the economic activities of the *Woreda*. The government Commercial Bank established its branch in Assayita, and no formal money transfer services are available apart from this bank. No micro-credit institutions introduced to foster the trading activities for the locals and the refugees by concerned bodies either the local administration or IRAs. Assayita has been served as regional capital for more than 12 years (1991-2003) and its trading activities have been reduced after the transfer of the capital to Semera.



Fig.6. A Refugee Girl with her Rice and Cooking Oil at Assayita Weekly Market:



Fig.7. Refugees with their Rice and Cooking Oil at Assayita Weekly Market

5.3.3 The Impacts of the Aid Agencies Provision of Food and Other Material Aid to Afar Refugees in Assayita Camp on the Host Groups Food Production, Trade Activities And Food Security Situation of Host Community Members

Monthly food rations are usually distributed in Assayita refugee camp from ARRA and World Food Program (WFP) and it is reported as well done. Food relief was shared along family lines among the refugees. The camp has a great impact in stabilizing the market and brought huge discount in the price of food for locals. WFP distributes foodstuffs in the camps that include 115,000 kg of wheat, 3360 kg of sugar, 29,900 kg of rice, 1,100 of salt, 50 kg of pharmex(nutrient food for older aged refugees),and 7,474 soaps, and 6,726 liters of cooking oil in every month.

According to the 1951UN refugee Convention, in order to receive international aid, a person must live outside the country of origin and without state protection. While the refugees receive international aid the locals in the study area (who are just as poor) do not. However, the local host communities of Assayita benefiting from the refugee food rations sale at the market with an immense quantity. It is reported that 75 percent of the refugee food ration is sold to locals to purchase more desirable commodities such as onion, tomato, milk, fuel wood, goats and sheep. This is caused by the different feeding habits of the Afar pastoralists who consume primarily milk and local bread "*ga' ambo*" rather than what they have been receiving from food aid agencies. Refugees also sell non-food items such as blankets, kitchen goods, jerricans and plastic sheets at a discount prices. It is often easy to observe such trading activities at the regular and weekly markets of Assayita where refugees and locals exchange commodities.

Some respondents stated that the provision of foods with a huge amount at the market will improve the high cost of living in general and food price in particular. It is apparent that commodity prices in Assayita are significantly lower than in the highland towns. The main reasons are the re-sale of WFP rations, access to food by refugees. A considerable numbers of the family of the local community will profit from these cheap food sales, and average prices are about 45.5% lower than foods that are available in Addis Ababa. Informants said that the majority of the families buy their food at the market and an average household purchases 50 kg of wheat and 5 liters of cooking oil every month. Table 9 shows the prices of basic food commodities at Assayita in relation to the sale of refugees ration; with prices comparable to the capital (Addis Ababa).

As indicated by the respondents, wholesale traders often compete with local customers, hoard foods and attempt to take it to the highlands. According to the camp administrator, ARRA want to see when refugees feed their rations. Therefore, in collaboration with the *Woreda* Custom Office an attempt was made to ban and confiscate the refugees ration when the wholesale traders try to take it outside of the *Woreda*, especially to Dessie and Kombolcha. However, this activity was seasonal and often ineffective. As it indicated in the Table the WFP rations given to the refugees in Assayita have sold in lower prices with the prices comparable with other cities even in Addis Ababa. The Table shows, for instance wheat is sold five birr in Assayita is nine birr in Addis Ababa. One litter of cooking oil is sold 25 birr in Assayita but it is 60 birr in Addis, one kilo of sugar is sold 10 birr in Assayita but it is 15 birr in Addis. One kilo of rice is sold 8 birr in Assayita but it is 16 birr in Addis. One kilo of salt has sold 2.5 birr in Assayita but it is 5 birr in Addis, and finally one kilo salt is sold 5 birr in Assayita but it is 8 birr in Addis Ababa.

Table 8

Food and Commodity Prices in Assayita market, comparable with the Capital (Addis Ababa)

Commodity	Primary source	Assayita market price (birr/kg)	Price differentials with Addis Ababa and other towns (birr/kg).
Wheat	WFP rations	5	9
Cooking Oil	"	25	60
Sugar	"	10	15
Rice	"	8	16
Salt	"	2.5	5
Soap	"	5	8

Source: survey result

As we all know not only in Assayita but also at a country level skyrocketing food price is threatening the people and became one of the hot issues among the public. Thus the local communities of Assayita have been used and benefiting more by purchasing refugee food rations in a discount price and compensate for the high cost of food items and living.

5.3.4 Impacts of International Refugee Aid and Protection Operations on Host Area and Community Socio Economic Development

There are a few international organizations in Afar than other regions. NGOs presence is discouraged by the climate and the pastoral nature of the inhabitants. They are more active in areas along the main road (UNESC, 1992). It is widely known that International Organizations are said to have enlarged national monetary power by giving funds to refugee projects, and invested in infrastructural development to allow efficient operations on the ground, thus further strengthening the services and infrastructures available to locals and refugees (Ongpin, 2008: p. 37). Hence the lion's share of the funds flowing into the Assayita camp derived from the Donors and UN Agencies supporting the refugee operation. The total estimated cost of this operation rose to 50 million Ethiopian birr in the current year 2013.

The funds are mostly channeled through UNHCR, WFP, AHA and ARRA. Some non refugee affiliated NGOs also receive financing directly from Donors. NGOs activities linked to the refugee operation are summarized in Table 9 and it describes, except APDA (Afar pastoral Development Association), all the other NGOs engaged in the refugee operation in Assayita classified into the UN agencies. The majorities of them are refugee affiliated and support only refugees in Assayita camp and other camps in the region, rather than upholding local communities' development initiatives in order to meet the actual needs and as a response to community demands.

Table 9

NGOs, work with the Refugees at Assayita

Organization	Category	Coverage	Affiliation
AHA(Africa Humanitarian Action)	UN agency	Assayita and Berhale camps in Afar	Refugee
UNHCR	UN agency	All of the camps in the region	Refugee
UNICEF	UN Agency	All of the camps in the region	others but also supported refugees
WFP	UN agency	All of the camps in the region	others but also supported refugees
APDA (Afar pastoral Development Association)	Local NGO	The Assayita camp	Non refugee but began to support the Afar refugees at Assayita.

Source: Survey Result March, 2013

Host community initiatives are currently concentrated on food security, environmental management, education, health, sanitation, and business development. The approach to assistance has largely been come from the non refugee agencies and local NGOs like UNICEF, WFP and APDA. In many cases, infrastructure established for the refugee camp. Refugee social and medical services can be hard to access for the local users.

For the sake of this economic analysis refugee documents supported the allocation of 2% of the net annual budget for the benefit of local host population (UNHCR, 2012). According to the Assayita camp administrator, some elements of camp infrastructure and facilities in the ARRA and AHA compounds will have useful for the local communities after the closure of the camps.

Some of the businesses in Assayita have not responded to invitations for tender and obtained contracts for works or deliveries to the non-governmental agencies engaged in the refugee operation. The contracts comprise mainly the construction of houses and fences, repair works, delivery of household items, and freight services including transport to the camps and the relocation of refugees. However, the capacity of the local businessmen is low to carry out this work. As stated earlier the negligence of the local administration to organize, trained and strengthened the knowledge and financial capacity of the local business community is also manifested in this way. Accordingly, IRAs contractual works often carried out by businessmen who lived outside the *Woreda*, in most cases in Dessie, Kombolcha and Addis Ababa.

According to the interview with some of the IRAs in the Study area, the refugee camp has been paying more than 300,000 birr as an income tax from its employees for the regional government every month. Currently alleviating the negative impacts of refugees on local hosts is widely recognized by the UNHCR and other international agencies. However, there are two problems in Assayita. Firstly many of the international agencies have not yet begun their refugee operation full heartedly, and they were on the way to do that, like opening their field offices and stationed there. Secondly, those who opened their offices like AHA and others not yet formulate development projects and allocate some of their budgets for local development.

5.3.5 Impacts of International Refugee Health Services Provision on the Development of Host Areas Health Facilities

There is one health center in the Assayita camp and it is mainly active in Mother and Child Care (MCC) services. As indicated by the camp administrator, under the Environmental Health and Outreach Public Health Program (EHOPHP), the camp has worked hard in prevention activities and offers medical treatments for those refugees affected by different diseases. In time of emergency and serious medical cases, patients are sending to the locals' health centre (Assayita hospital). However, the local host communities stated that the center is found in very low standard of medical services and not fulfilled the level of hospital, without drugs and health workers. In serious medical cases refugees transferred to Dubti, Dessie and Addis Ababa hospitals for medication through the ambulance of the camp. Since the refugees are pastoralists, they have never the habits and tradition of using toilets. Due to the continuous awareness creation programmes, now they start to keep clean their houses and environments.

Health services providing for host communities is not getting the better considerably as a result of refugee operation and investment by humanitarian agencies. Locals are not allowed to utilize the health services at the refugee camp. Furthermore, the refugees were more or less dependent and share the medical services and expertise of the locals. The local health bureau incorporates the refugee camp in its annual plans of vaccines for different epidemics, vitamin A supplementation and deworming and TB treatment programs. The refugees received all the necessary services freely and sometimes lead to a social, economic and psychological imbalance among the locals. As beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance, refugees have the potential to be better in using medical treatments than their hosts.

5.3.6 Impacts of International Refugee Assistance on Improving Host Community's Access to Water

Along the main road from Logiya to Bure, there is no water source except at Eelidar, (UNDP, 1996). Since the region is backward in terms of its socio-economic condition, the development of clean water is found at a minimal stage and it is worse in rural areas. Particularly less attention was given to areas beyond the Awash valley and the greater part of the population suffer from insufficient provision. The local administration report indicates that there is no scarcity of water in Assayita. The *Woreda* geographical location along the Awash River may be the reason for the availability of water resources. As stated above, the people around the capital Semera suffer more from water scarcity. In Assayita, where there are large congregations of refugee persons in an arid environment, there are huge demands on the local water resources. Access to water has become easier and more secure for both people and livestock, with many of the respondents reporting improved access to clean and safe water. Many water development initiatives have been supported by the local administration rather than agencies active in the refugee operation. This is because most likely the availability of adequate water supply at Assayita might have forced the members of the regional administrators to select Assayita for hosting the Eritrean refugees.

One deep well was dug as the main water sources for the camp by AHA. There are 13 water distribution centers and each center has 4 tabs. Thus each refuge family would obtain water within a distance of less than 150 meters. According to the camp administrator, now the camp has fulfilled the UNHCR requirements of 20 liters of water per person per day. Before the construction of water delivery infrastructure, the refugees acquired water from the town of Assayita through trucks. As stated by AHA coordinator, since the area has a harsh weather, there is huge water consumption among the refugees and local communities. Currently Assayita is hosting 7,474 refugees, and if we multiply this figure with UNHCR minimum water requirement of 20 liters per person per day, Assayita would provide 149,480 liters of water per day and 54,560,200 liters in per year for the refugees. The role in distributing water for the refugee camp has been financing by AHA.

5.3.7 Impacts of International Refugee Educational Help for Improving Host Communities Access to Improved Education

Children have the right to use their mother tongue in attend elementary schools. However, no education in the Afar language is given in the Afar Regional State. In all the schools, Amharic is the instructional media and perhaps most school- children have of migrant workers parents. However, in Assayita, especially in all elementary schools, *Afaregna* is given as one separate language course. ARRA has constructed four schools for nursery, non formal education and elementary schools in the Assayita refugee camp and 200, 150 and 169 students attend their education respectively. The construction of additional schools continues, and all these schools used for only refugees' children.

Preschool children stay for 3 years before being transferred to elementary school. Non formal education is largely designed for adults. The necessary good-standard facilities and educational materials which do not exist within the local host communities are fulfilled by ARRA and AHA for pre and elementary schools students. Preschool children have benefited from the school feeding program that is funded by AHA (*figure 10*). As indicated by AHA coordinator, refugee students have been enjoying by well-furnished playing grounds (*figure 8*). The building of schools put in to account the weather and environment condition of the area.



Fig.8. Refugee Children at Playing in the Camp

However, the camp is not yet self-reliant in this regard, though, the construction is continuing. Many refugee students attend education in local schools named *Ewqet Chora* elementary and Junior High school and *Mohammed Hanfere* Secondary and Preparatory School, where 73 and 31 refugee students attend class respectively. *Figure 9* shows when refugee and local children attending class together at *Ewqet Chora* elementary schools. According to the schools directors, the enrollment of refugee students at local schools increased the number of student in the classroom, as many as 70 pupils in each class. It has also brought shortage of schoolbooks and learning blocks which are the challenges of children for their study. Elementary school classes are often the most crowded. That is why the schools often write letters to seek financial support from the camp for further construction of classrooms (see appendixes).



Fig.9. Refugee and Local Children attending Class together at Ewuqet Chora School

Among the refugee students, some of them arrived with their certificates that show their grade and educational achievements when they were at home. However, the majority of them arrived here without their school report card and applied to the regional educational bureau. That is why their decision to migrate did not favor them to hold their cards. In order to solve the problem, the regional educational bureau has set up a committee for Standard Certification Comparison. This committee was responsible to evaluate the grade levels of the refugees on the bases of their interview about their educational background, and the results that they had acquired from the checking tests which are provided by the committee itself. For instance, if a refugee claims that he/she was a fifth grade student at home, the committee provide him/her fourth grade measurement test to ensure his/ her grade level. If he/she successfully passes the exam, the committee decides and writes a letter to local schools to allow him/her to enroll in grade five. On the contrary if he/she fell the measurement test, the Committee decides on him/her to enroll in grade four (see letters from appendixes). ARRA and AHA covered all the necessary expenses that are required for

refugees' education, including schools uniforms. The camp is also dependent on the support of the *Woreda* educational bureau and obtains text books.

In August 2010, the Federal government of Ethiopia introduced a new policy that allows Eritrean refugees to reside outside camps and to be self-sufficient or to have other support in Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2010). As indicated by the camp administrator, Assayita refugee students have benefited from the policy and enrolled in Tertiary education for first and second degrees in Ethiopian Universities. When they join the Universities, they have received 1,000 birr for their requirements and 300 and 350 birr as pocket money for males and females, respectively. In any case the Assayita refugees often have more opportunities for education than their local hosts. The refugees can go to local schools or they can attend one of the three schools in the camp. However, the locals could not attend the schools in the refugee camp, because it was strictly bidden. The host communities suffer from poor quality education as compared to the refugees in the camp. Since the refugees can access better teachers who in most cases have better educational qualification, come from urban areas attracted by the salaries which are higher than 200%-300% from what they have been receiving in government schools. Most of the time, the camp fulfilled the required personnel in various aspects of administration from outside of the local communities, predominantly from the capital Addis Ababa, Kombolcha and Dessie (ARRA, 2012). This is contradictory to many refugee camps in Africa where fewer restrictions and the more benefits that the locals have acquired from the construction of new schools for the refugee camps. Table 10 indicates the enrollment of refugee students at *Mohammed Hanfere* Secondary and preparatory school in all the school classes (9th-12th) from the year 2010-2013.

Table 10

Refugee Student Enrollment at Assayita Secondary and Preparatory School

Student class	2010			2011			2012			2013		
	male	female	Total	male	female	total	male	female	total	female	female	total
9 th	7	1	8	5	1	6	7	5	12	18	6	24
10 th	4	2	6	22	2	24	13	2	15	4	1	5
11 th	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	2
12 th	-	-	-	8	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	11	3	14	35	3	38	21	7	28	24	7	31

Source : Mohammed Hanfere secondary school, March 2013



Fig.10.Preschool Children at Assayita Refugee Camp

5.3.8 The Impacts of Refugee Settlement Residents on the Host Area Environment

Environmental issue is one among the many impacts that attributed to refugees. When refugees arrive at a camp, they are often in great need of wood for construction and cooking purposes. They have no choice but cutting trees to fulfill their need, which puts a great strain on the forest resources of the local community. The size of the refugee population, duration of stay in the locality and the extent of implementation of mitigating measures by refugee supporting organizations determine the degree of damages that is inflicted on the environment (ARRA, 2011).

The camp is situated on a barren land and most fragile environment, surprisingly without a single tree, and therefore, trees were not cut in time of encampment around the camp. As stated by the camp administrator, an attempt was made to plant tree seedlings in and around the camp. Since the refugees are pastoralists who never realized the value of planting trees, and their rearing of animals like goats and sheep discouraged the planting activities. Because the seedlings needs care and has to be kept from animals and no one was committed to do it among them. Main species of shrubs and trees in Assayita include *Salvadora persica* and *Doberaglabra*. Stunted *Acacia nilotic* trees are found inside and adjacent to few water pans. Because wood is the most important source for energy and house construction not only for the refugees but also for locals. Due to the harsh weather condition it is largely preferred to construct houses by using wood rather than stones and other construction materials both in the local host and the refugee communities. Stone houses (blockhouse) taken as unfavorable to the hot weather condition. Women and young girls among the refugee community are obliged to walk more than 17 km, and spend almost the whole day in search of suitable dead wood and carry head loads of it. The majority of the migrant daily laborers have also been engaging in Charcoal making as a source of living throughout the year. At the beginning UNHCR supplies tents which help to make homes out of clays bricks made from the earth and wood, leaving less of an impact on the environment. Later on some of the tents have replaced by homes made from wood. AHA and ARRA neither created and implemented the natural resource protection and conservation program in and around Assayita refugee camp

nor intervened in the protection activity by providing any other fuel sources as it operating in other refugee camps in Ethiopia. But rather they may have a plan to replace all the tents of the refugees to woody houses. The *Woreda* administration has attempted to enforce a ban on the production and selling of charcoal. However this action is often seasonal and ineffective.

Generally refugees themselves are victims of insecurity due to conflict and persecution; still they have taken by scholars and practitioners as a security threat (Mogire, 2011). Local residents generally recognize the security condition as good, and people feel secured to move freely without problems. The presence of the Eritrean refugee community is not a threat to the local communities.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

This study has attempted to offer a better understanding of the socio-economic impacts of refugees on local population. Different techniques were employed to generate the necessary data from both primary and secondary sources. Key informants interviews, field observations and questionnaire were employed to acquire the primary data. Review of secondary documents, both published and unpublished, was carried out to supplement the primary sources.

Within the host community some people live in settlements while many are mobile pastoralists. It is observed that the vast majority of people who are settled at Assayita town have relatives who are mobile. Categorically those migrants from the highland such as the Amharas, Oromos and others are permanent settlers of the town. As it stands today plenty of the Afar refugee community in the area does not seem to be interested to engage in other economic activities apart from pastoral activities. But some of them are active in doing business and admired even by the local host communities. They mainly depend on the support that they receive from the Federal government of Ethiopia and international aid agencies (UNHCR and African Humanitarian Action). Owing to the ongoing condition of encampment, the refugees continue to rely more on the social services of the local hosts.

The refugees' socio- economic impacts on the host communities are complex both negative and positive. The negative effects are largely related to the reduction and depletion of local resources like firewood, building materials. Moreover, there is the burden of sharing the services on health, educational and security issues with the host communities. The positive effects are related to access to food, some economic opportunities and services provided by aid agencies.

The ethnic affinity and social networks that have existed between the locals and the refugees helped the later to make good relation in different aspects including trade. The dominant effects that should be noted as far as the benefits that locals have acquired most by hosting the Eritrean Afar refugees is their access to refugee foods from the market with minimum prices. The locals have used the refugee rations to supplement and ease the high cost of living. Many from the local host communities believed that a considerable portion among the non-refugee community have refugee ration cards and served as survival strategy.

Government planning and development took prominent part in the area. The introductions of some of the refugee agencies in association with the arrival of the Eritrean refugees in Assayita have brought insignificant improvement on the infrastructures and creation of jobs for locals. The absence of more created opportunities and local development support projects lead to inefficient measures to alleviate impacts that might have been associated with hosting refugees. Surprisingly enough, owing to fewer opportunities that are created by the camp, many among the local hosts are not aware of the presence and benefits of refugee camp within a distance of 2.5-3km.

Even though, government refugee policy is the key to the success in minimizing and preventing the negative impacts and determines the role that should be played by all stake holders, it has been totally neglected. Consequently, significant gains can be made by influencing and supporting for filling the gaps in the existing policy in regional and federal government levels through further research investigations.

6.2 Recommendations

Karen Jacobsen (2002), Beth Elise Whitaker (2002), Patricia A Ongpin (2008) and many others expressed about the negative and positive effects that refugee influx have upon the lives of locals. To them refugees impose a variety of security, economic and environmental burdens on host countries, but also embody significant resources in the form of international humanitarian assistance, economic assets and human capital. These refugee resources represent an important state building role to the host state.

The Assayita camp may have the potential to benefit the local population of the area in the future, but it needs the integrity and genuine participation of all stakeholders who intervene in this activities. Therefore, in order to put it into effect the following short, medium and long term research, development and policy recommendations are believed to be considered important:

- The Ethiopian refugee law and policy should consider the negative socio-economic impacts that a refugee concentration has brought to the local host communities.
- The policy of hosting a greater number of refugees in a country in general and at Assayita camp in particular should incorporate local integration as an option to durable solution for the benefits of refugee, in areas where similar ethnic identities among the refugees and hosts.
- The international refugee agencies like UNHCR and others who work at Assayita should allocate some of their budget to alleviate the negative impacts that affected the local host communities on the bases of the international refugee law, especially in the provision of health, educational services and the environment in which refugees highly depend on the resources of the local hosts.
- The IRAs again should substitute other energy sources apart from wood for their refugee services like solar energy from sun light, since the area is situated in a tropical area that has a huge potential.

- The IRAs should also allocate budget for environmental works to recover what has been degraded in the long years of refugee encampment, and also for the necessary local development.
- Regional and local leaders should promote the capacity of the local business communities in the study area so as to use the purchasing power of ARRA, AHA and others for their refugee operation, and need to co-operate with IRAs and initiate them for development for the benefits of the locals.
- ARRA and other IRA have to fulfill all the necessary materials for the camp and avoid its impacts and dependency on the social services (schools and health centers and so on) of locals provided by the government.
- The area is suitable to introduce energy saving devices such as wind shielding and solar cookers due to its abundant resources of wind and direct sunlight. Hence tree planting and energy saving mechanisms through the introduction, training and dissemination of improved stove programme should be strengthened.

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ANNEXES

Annexe1. Questionnaire prepared for the formal survey

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES
FEBRAURY 2013

Questionnaire: To be administered to government employees, high school students and teachers who are acquainted with the refugee situation and local peoples interactions.

Instruction:

Dear respondents, I'm a graduate student writing my thesis as a part of the fulfillment of the Master of Arts degree in African Studies from Addis Ababa University. My research aims at understanding and explaining the social and economic impacts of the Eritrean refugees in Assayita Refugee Camp. The information you will provide in this questionnaire will be extremely important and never be used for any political and other purposes at all and will be kept confidential, except for the researcher and his advisor who is responsible to supervise the progress of the research. Your names will not be included in the report rather the information you will give.

Title: **The socio-economic impacts of the Eritrean Refugees on local population.**

Distance from the Camp. ----- Sub-district (*Kebele*) -----

Mender----- Date (of filling this form)--

Starting time----- Ending time-----

Enumerator'sName ----- Signature -----

Title-----

Part I. General information --pleases tick and writes your answers in the provided boxes and blanks respectively.

Q1. Age of the respondent-----, duration of stay in the area-----

Q2. Sex:

Male Female

Q3. Marital Status:

Single Married Divorced Widowed

Q4. Ethnic background -----

Q5. Religion:

Orthodox Catholic No religious affiliation
Muslim Protestant

Q6. Educational level of the respondent: {put a tick mark} Uneducated

Read and write
Primary (1-8) Secondary (9-12)
Tertiary (University or College)

Part II. Socio-Economic Conditions

Q1. (a) What are the types of resources that are needed more but are scarce in your locality?

Land for agriculture Land for grazing
Water resources Others-specify-----

(b) How has the scarcity of resources occurred? -----

(c)What kind of measures has been taken over by the local administration, NGOs and other concerned bodies to overcome the scarcity? -----

Q2. (a) What are the common amenities and infrastructures that you share with the refugees?

Land for agriculture Land for grazing
Water Transportation
Others-specify-----

(b) Has any problem occurred due to the share of the common amenities and infrastructures?

Q3.What is your economic activity for your livelihood?

Crop production Livestock rising mixed farming
Wage earner Petty trade

Other-specify-----

Q4. (a) Has the price of foods & agricultural products in the area increased or decreased before and after the arrival of the refugees?

Increase Decrease No change

(b)What could be the reasons for the price increment and decline of agricultural products? -----

Q5. (a) What kind of the commodities have shown price increment in relation to the refugees' arrival? -----

(b) Which commodities have shown decline in price & in relation to the refugees' arrival? -----

(c)What could be the main reasons for the increment of the price of commodities? -----

(d)What could be the main reasons for the decline of the price of commodities? -----

Q6. (a) Do you have any blood tie or marriage relation with any of refugees?

Yes No

(b) Where do you meet the refugees? In market places In churches

Q7. What are the changes that have brought to the area due to the presence of international organizations? -----

Q8. Do you know the areas where the international organizations buy foods that they deliver to the refugees? From Mekele from Addis Ababa

In the surrounding market Abroad Don't know

Others-specify-----

Q9. (a) Do you have any information whether or not the refugees consume the foods that they receive fully in their household or sell it in the market?

They consume it they sell it in the market

They consume some of it and sell the rest

(b)If your answer to question 9a is "they sell it" encourage them to do so? -----

Q10. (a) Apart from foods, what other stuff do the refugees receive as aids and still bring to the market? -----

(b) Has the local community benefited or harmed by this state of affairs? -----

Q11. (a) Is there anything new that is introduced to the area as a result of the arrival of the refugees? -----

(b) Has their arrival helped in the proliferation of businesses like Cafeterias, Hotels and Restaurants etc? -----

(c) From where do those people who invest in Hotels and Restaurants come? -----

(d) Is there any competition among the local businessmen? -----

(e) Indicate areas where there was no any economic activity before but has now appeared due to the presence of refugees? -----

(f) How these areas could become active? -----

Q12. What are the new things that are introduced to the area as a result of the arrival of the refugees?

Beverages such as-----

Food such as-----

Technological materials such as-----

Others-specify such as-----

Q13. What kinds of changes have the refugees brought to the area?

(I) Infrastructural

(a) Schools-----

(b) Vocational training -----

(c) Clinics/Hospital/-----

(II)

Economic changes

(a). Related to land ownership and other natural resources-----

(b). Impact on production-----

(c).Impact on commerce-----

(D).Are there relief services that are provided to the local people in the area? (Tick one)

Yes No

(e)If yes, what kind of provision? { You can tick more if you have more than one answer }

Food supply Oil

Skills and knowledge that can be utilized for the benefits of local people

Other, please specify-----

Q14.what kind of changes the refugees bring in your personal life?

(a) In terms of your economic activities, and income?

(b) In terms of creating job opportunities? -----

Q15.How was the degree of social interaction of the local people before the arrival of the refugees?

Q16.How is the degree of social interaction of the local people after the arrival of the refugees?

Q17.what is the new environmental changes that are seen in relation to the refugees?

(a)Deforestation? -----

(b)Reforestation? -----

Q18. (a) What is the role of UNHCR in supporting the development endeavor

of the local people?-----

(b)Are there any development projects in your community in which international organization build or repair buildings, roads etc for the community? -----

Q19. There new changes in hygiene and sanitations that are caused by the arrival of international organizations? -----

Q20. (a)Are there any conflicts between the refugees and the local communities?

Yes No

(b) If yes, please elaborate it?

(c) What is the conflict resolving mechanism used by the communities? -----

(d) What is the role of the local administration, governmental and nongovernmental organizations in resolving conflicts? -----

(e) And what should be done to improve the relation between your community and the refugees? -----

Q21. How do you think that the refugee camp would affect the local population in the long run? -----

Q21. (a) Do you think there is a balanced infrastructure among your community and the refugees?

Yes No

(b) If not what should be done by governmental and non-governmental organization?

Q22. (a) Do you speak any language & that the refugees speak other than Tigrigna? (Tick one of the two) Yes No

Yes, what-----

(b) If no what do you think are the reasons behind this disrespect? -----

Q23. (a) Did the refugees respect the culture and values of your community?

Yes No

(b) If No what do you think the reasons behind? -----

Q25. (a) If the refugee camp is closed then what will happen in your community?

It will be good it will be bad

Q26. What do you recommend for the future about the solutions for the problems?

Annex 2.

Checklist questions for Sampled Refugees.

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

FEBRUARY 2013

Q1. Would you tell me about your life and the process that you pass to acquire refugee status?

Q2. Is the monthly ration enough for your family?

Q3. If the answer for question number 2 is no, how do you compensate?

Petty trade

Selling wood charcoal

Selling livestock

Remittance

Others-specify

Livestock ownership

Q4. What type of livestock do you have?

Q5. How much is the total populations of your livestock?

Q6. What is the major purposes you are keeping the livestock?

Q7. How do you use grazing area for your livestock? Your own plot or communal, delineated areas allowed for refugees? Others?

Q8. Is there any regulation in using grazing area? If yes please tell me something about it?

Q9. (a) Do you face shortage of pasture for your livestock?

(b) If yes please tell me something about it and about the alternatives you use?

(c) If your answer is yes, how do you ease the problem?

i) Moving your livestock to other area

ii) Selling them.

iii) Selling it to some neighbors.

Q10. What type of fuel do you use for cooking purpose? (Rank them if more than one)

I.) Firewood

IV) charcoal

- Employment opportunities?
- Access to transportation?
- Income generating activities?
- The emergence of host communities initiatives or host communities supports projects?

Any negatives effects due to the presence of refugees.

Q5. What do you recommend for the future about the solutions for the problem?

Annex 3.

Checklist questions for employees in the district finance and Economic development office

- Q1. Would you give me a list of the natural resources of the *Woreda*?
- Q2. In which of the natural resources the *Woreda* is very rich and in which of it poor?
- Q3. What did the economic condition look like eg the infrastructures, schools and health facilities when the Eritrean refugees arrived in your *Woreda*?
- Q4. In what ways do the local administration & people receive the refugees?
- Q5. What are the new changes while after the arrival of the refugees in relation to the infrastructure, schooling and health facilities in the *Woreda*?
- Q6. What are the positive and negative changes that occurred in the social and economic affairs due to the arrivals of refugees?
- Q7. How do you explain your relation with NGOs? How do you co-operate with them? Have you got some positive developments in your relation with them? What are the negative implications?
- Q8. How do you explain the perception of the people for NGOs and refugees?
- Q9. Is there any situation in which the people meet with the refugees?

Annex 4. Checklist questions for the District Police Officials.

- Q1. How was the *Woreda* security condition before the arrival of the refugees?
- Q2. How was the *Woreda* security condition in the time of the arrival of the refugees?
- Q3. What is the security condition of the *Woreda* now after their arrival?
- Q4. (a) How do you explain the existing relationship among the locals and the refugees?
(b) Are there any clashes between the refugees and the locals?
- Q5. What are your conflict resolving mechanisms in time of clashes?

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 Solomon Messele

Signature -----

Date-----

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

Advisor

Signature

Date