

Addis Ababa
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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
CENTER FOR FOOD SECURITY STUDIES

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES OF
ERITREAN REFUGEES VIS-À-VIS THE RIGHT TO FOOD
AND FOOD SECURITY IN NIFAS SILK LAFTO SUB-CITY
ADDIS ABABA

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ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
OCTOBER, 2020

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ADDIS ABEBA UNIVERSITY
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As research advisors, I hereby certify that I have read and evaluated the thesis prepared by Metadel Zerihun Gebre under my guidance, which is titled “Livelihood Challenges and Strategies of Eritrean Refugees regarding the Right to Food: The Case of Nifas-Silk Lafto Sub-city, Addis Ababa”. I recommend that the thesis be submitted as it fulfills the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in Food Security Studies.

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Signed by the examining committee

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Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate’s submission of the final copy of the thesis, incorporating all the comments by Examining Board, to the Council of Graduate Studies (CGS) through the Center Academic Committee (CAC) of the center.

Statement of author

Declaration

First, I declare that this thesis is my own work and that all sources of materials used for writing it have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted to Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science and is deposited at the library of the University to be made available to borrowers under the rules and regulations of the library. I declare that I have not submitted this thesis to any other institution anywhere for the award of any academic degree, diploma, or certificate.

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Dedication

This thesis is especially dedicated to my beloved parents Mrs. Enanu Tesema and Mr. Zerihun Gebre who helped me to fulfill my desire and believed in me. Thank you for your unconditional love and unwavering support in every success of my life.

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Metadel Zerihun Gebre

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Abbreviation

AAU:	Addis Ababa University
ACHPR:	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ARRA:	Administration of Refugees and Returnees Affair
AU:	African Union
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CESCR:	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CRRF:	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CSI:	Coping Strategy Index
CSA:	Central Statistical Agency
DRC:	Danish Refugee Council
DFID:	Department for International Development
EASO:	European Asylum Support Office
ECA:	Economic Commission for Africa
FANTA:	Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDRE:	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD:	Focused Group Discussion
FSP:	Food Security Program
GTP:	Growth and Transformation Plan
GMC:	Gofa Mebrathaiel Condominium
HFIAS:	Household Food Insecurity Analysis Scale
ICESCR:	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right
ICRC:	International Committee of the Red Cross
IRC:	International Rescue Committee
KII:	Key Informant Interview

NCRRS:	National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy
NGO's:	Non Governmental Organizations
NMA:	National Meteorological Agency
NRC:	Norwegian Refugee Council
OCP:	Out-of-Camp Policy
OHCHR:	Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
SLA:	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SLF:	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UAP:	Urban Assistance Program
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP:	World Food Program

Abstract

The main objective of this research is accessing the challenges, strategies of urban Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa plus it also appraise the food security status specifically food access among Eritrean refugees and their perception and practices towards the right to food. In this study the view of responsible bodies who works closely with the refugees was also examined. The area is purposively selected based on their numerical upper hand. In this study, data was gathered using both primary and secondary sources. Qualitative research methodology was employed and descriptive research was engaged to substantiate the qualitative data collected. Semi-structured interview with 333 refugee individuals and 26 key informant interviews with refugees and ARRA, UNHCR, NRC, DRC, ZOA and FAO officials were conducted. It was found out on the study that their reason for migration was the harsh and unstoppable military service in their country. All the respondent in the study area were above 18 years old and almost all of them were escaped from the military camps. Remittance is their major source of income but few of them have families who let them live with them and very few of them are engaged in informal work. Not having the right to work, language barrier and security issues are some of the challenges they face in the hosting city. Using empirical methods of analysis and literature review, it is found that the right to food is violated indirectly when they denied the right to work and other related rights. The descriptive analysis result showed that 85 % of Eritrean refugees in the study area were food secure. 11% of them were rarely food secure, the rest 2.4 and 0.9 % of them were moderately and severely food insecure respectively. The research recommended that the right to work should be granted to the refugees so that they can be self-dependent and less burden to the hosting city. Responsible bodies (UNHCR, ARRA, NRC and so on) should work together to help the refugees as well as the hosting country. Policy appliances and frameworks should be applicable and contextual regarding the right to food.

Keywords: the right to food, refugees, food security, livelihood and hosting country

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

The word 'refugee' usually raises up images of uninterrupted rows of white tents which blowout on a sandy arena for most people. But this picture no longer tells the full story of life for refugees in the 21st century since we started to see many refugees and hear a lot about them in urban areas and contexts (IRC, 2015). Refugees who join the steady advance of people moving within African cities and other countries go for particular reasons related to their search for safety, access to international links to receive remittances or better life in general and options for resettlement. The explorations of refugee experiences and livelihoods offered by contributors to this issue additionally illustrate that refugees choose urban areas for the same reasons as citizens do (Fábos, 2007). According to the UNRA, over half of the world's refugees now live in the slums of some of the world's biggest cities such as Bangkok in Thailand, Amman in Jordan, and Nairobi in Kenya. The global population of forcibly displaced increased by 2.3 million people in 2018 (UNHCR, 2018). Above 75% of all displaced people live outside organized camps; over 60 % of the refugees reside in urban areas (Alison et al., 2018).

According to Global Compact for Refugees (UNHCR, 2018) food and nutrition are basic needs which need priority, in support of host countries, significant stakeholders will make possible access by refugees and host community to sufficient, safe and nutritious food, and promote increased self-reliance in food security and nutrition. The right to food is a human right which guards the right of people to feed themselves in self-respecting manner, indicating that sufficient food is available, that people should have the means to access it, and that it effectively meets the person's dietary needs and feed themselves in a self-respecting manner. According to UDHR, Every person has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing... (UDHR, 2015, p. 52). The right to an adequate standard of living sums up the underlying concern of all economic and social rights, which is to join together all human being into a humane society. This right is closely allied to the guiding principle of the whole human rights system that everyone is born free and equal in dignity, rights and

should act towards each other in a spirit of fraternity (UDHR, 1948).

Ethiopia is now a pilot country for the implementation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and the Ethiopian government is actually come up with a new law on refugee's employment rights. Ethiopia undertakes for a comprehensive refugee response to improve self-reliance and increase protection for refugees and host community who are struggling to ensure their livelihoods (ARRA, 2017). Ethiopia has been verified its commitment by its project to announce a new refugee proclamation in January 2019 which consign for prolonged hold up to refugees including access to work permit. Addis Ababa has only 22,885 (UNHCR, 2018) registered refugees, out of a national refugee population of 905,831, (UNHCR, 2018). They comprise mainly two groups: 17,000 Eritreans who are there on the so called Out-of-Camp Policy (OCP) based on their capacity to be self-reliant and 5,000 Somali refugees who are mainly there on the Urban Assistance Program (UAP) because of different reason or vulnerability that cannot be met in camps. The UAP refugees receive financial assistance; the OCP refugees do not (Betts, 2019).

Refugees' particularly urban Eritrean refugees have a human right which includes the right to work, the right to food, the right to have a clean environment and so on like everybody else. Lack of ratification and implementation of existing instruments represent a major obstacle to the realization of human rights for refugees and migrants and it affects their right to food on way or another. There are many refugees throughout Addis Ababa who are migrated from different places like Somalia, Eritrea, Yemeni, South Sudan and more. This study identified the many livelihood challenges and strategies of Eritrean refugees who are in Addis Ababa specifically Gofa Mebrathaiel condominium. The study appraised and assessed the food security status and perception and understanding of the right to food of Eritreans refugee individuals plus the policies and implementation of those rights in the study area.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Problem of refugees is becoming the key distress of the international community because of the rising maltreatment and uncertainty citizens are facing in their home countries either by natural or manmade catastrophes (Kidist, 2016). Refugees in urban areas of the developing countries

live mainly in the socio- economic margins. They share the same challenges as other urban poor in midst of the city whom are locals. They all live in precarious living conditions often in overcrowded slums in order to meet physical necessities. They have poor access to health, education, police and other services. Refugees also confront language barriers, xenophobia, discrimination, violence uncertainties owing to their ambiguous legal status. They have limited support networks and many of them have to cope with trauma and injuries caused by their experiences conflict and forced migration (Höök, 2015). Many refugees are forced to look for work in the informal or shadow economy, exposing them to unfair wages and unsafe conditions (IRC, 2012). Restriction to work or not to be able to work legally makes them vulnerable to some basic rights which in our case is the right to food and make them food insecure one way or another.

Refugees move to urban areas with the expectation of finding a better community, safety and economic freedom. In reality, many instead find loneliness, poverty and harassment because of many reasons. Urban refugees residing in Addis Ababa and all over the world, face alternative challenges than to those living in camps where basic amenities such as food, water, and shelter are often available. High priced city living, limited access to social and economic services, employment opportunities, and insufficient support contributes to the poor living conditions of the urban refugee experience (Brown, 2018). Urban refugees are constantly face protection risks and frequently denied access to basic services (with or without knowing), exposing them to unique social vulnerabilities (JRS, 2017). Many refugees move to urban areas in the hope of finding safety, a sense of community, and economic independence (IRC, 2012). Many cannot return home because of security issues and other livelihood challenges and must build new lives in their host country.

Despite these challenges, helping urban refugees is very difficult as many do not register with UNHCR or ARRA, fearing that they will be deported or sent back to refugee camps if they come forward for help (IRC, 2012). Therefore, much more needs to be understood in Addis Ababa GMC to be exact, for the purpose of this study about the livelihood challenges and strategies of Eritrean refugees related to their right to food. The purpose of this study is to bridge the gap in literature by exploring their livelihood and food security status plus to what extent their right to food is protected and how much is the awareness among the refugees. It is thus needed to look at

the issue through the eyes of policy makers and government responsible bodies, which this research is going to see in the area. In this stance, the study provides understanding of the challenges those refugees are facing and how Eritrean refugees are earning livelihoods in the study area. This study will try to find out the problems and challenges they face regarding the right to food and their food security status, at the end suggest some policy formations and recommend solutions plus serves as literature reference since there is no much of a reference available.

1.3. Objectives

The general objective of this study is to assess the livelihood challenges and strategies of Eritrean refugees in view of the right to food and food security in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city, Addis Ababa.

Specifically the research planned to:

- Identify livelihood challenges and strategies of Eritrean refugees in the Addis Ababa,
- Appraise the food security status of Eritrean refugees in the study area,
- Assess the awareness and applicability of the rights to food among Eritrean refugees in the area

1.4. Research questions

In light of the above problem statement and objectives, the study will attempt to answer the following questions.

1. How do refugees forced to flee from their home countries?
2. What are the constraints do refugees face regarding the right to adequate food?
3. Is the challenge they have in the hosting country affect their right to food?
4. Are there any coping strategies the refugees take?
5. What measures could be taken by concerned government and non-government bodies to facilitate the right to food among Eritrean refugees in the area.

1.5. Significance of the study

Though the problem of refugees becomes a growing phenomena addressing by many organizations, there is still not much research had been conducted regarding the right to food and food security among urban refugees. Mainly this study entails knowledge generation as well as attempts to make further contribution to the limited previously done researches and can be used as a source material for further studies in the area of the rights to food of urban refugees particularly Eritreans. In this regard, it is vital to understand and give emphasis on the right to food as well as food security and gives a serious attention on the dimensions of food security which are significant for this study. This study will also provide valuable knowledge and understanding on the challenges and strategies by seeking to assess Eritrean refugees' livelihood in Addis Ababa. It is anticipated that this research can be a good lesson to researchers regarding research methodologies, theories, concepts and policy recommendations. Therefore, this research is not aimed to replicate or duplicate what has been done by others but to fill the gaps that were not observed in other research works. The study also has policy relevance for both state and non-state actors to enhance the livelihoods and the right to food and food security of the refugees with the host country as a viable solution.

1.6. Scope and limitation of the Study

The study has limited spatial scope i.e. Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city, where the Eritrean refugee livelihood challenge, strategy relating the right to food and food security was addressed. This study also has some limitation with regard to data acquisition and it used qualitative approach, interviewing 26 key informants and surveying a sample of 333 individuals because of the unknown number of refugees in the area (many of them agreed there is around 2000). It was also impossible to do focused group discussion since is not allowed because of the pandemic. Key informants from different state and non-state actors' office were unavailable on expected timing and without considering the researcher's time schedule. The administrative clerks of some of the offices were not willing to cooperate. The current pandemic made it harder to meet the right people and do the interviews and the data collection on time. Many offices were closed and it was almost impossible to be able to meet the stuff since most of them were working from home. Here wise, the researcher has waited patiently and politely in order to get the inputs of this study.

1.7. Ethical considerations

Researchers need to think about ethical issues during the research progression and stay insightful to the impact the study can bring and its outcome on those who participates on the study (Saundersetal, 2003). In the time of data collection, ethical considerations was seriously taken into account to guarantee the safety, reliability, secrecy, permission and other human components of the participants discretion. The respondents did not identified by name or no picture taken and their consent was required during interview. As a part of consideration to ethical issues, the respondents in this study were given the right either to participate or not. The researcher explained the tenacity of the study and confidentiality by not sharing the names of respondents throughout the study as stated above. In addition, there was no any payment paid for any of the participants and the researcher has no conflict of interest with the outcomes of the research. The researcher also took a very good care to protect oneself and the participants from pandemic COVID-19 using face masks and sanitizers while carrying out the interview.

1.8. Organization of the thesis

This thesis has five chapters. Chapter One presents the background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study including the general and specific objectives, research questions, scope and limitation and significance of the study. Chapter Two deals with theoretical, empirical and conceptual literature review related to livelihood strategies of urban refugees regarding the rights to food and food security and their challenges. The third chapter depicts study area description, research design, data collection tools and procedures, and method of data analysis. Chapter Four discusses about the results that had been found presents the results of the study and discusses it in comparison with the results of similar studies. The final chapter presents the main findings, conclusions and recommendations made based on the study.

CHAPTER TWO: RELATED LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theoretical foundation and framework

2.1.1. African refugee theory

Rogge (1979) derived a typology of refugees based upon an investigation of the triggering agent for the refugee migration, the objective of the migration, and whether the migrants own refugees characteristics. Rogge's typology originally recognizes two classes of involuntary migration: forced and impelled. The typology continues by outlining seven different types of refugees and their characteristics. It should be well-known that the terms forced and impelled were introduced into the migration works by Petersen (1958). According to Petersen, the difference between these two classes of migration lies in the extent of free choice an individual made when involved in forced migration. Forced migrants are expelled from an area by an external force, such as a government, the people involved in forced migration have completely no choice in the matter of their removal from a specific place/country.

In Africa examples include Ugandan Asians excluded by the Amin regime in the 1970s, or South Africans forcibly removed to motherlands under Apartheid. Impelled migrants, on the other hand, do preserve some degree of choice regarding their possible flight or migration. Before making the decision to migrate, 'impelled' migrants have the chance to evaluate the factors involved and then make a choice between moving or remaining in the face of an peripheral hazard. The drive for a refugee's migration becomes essential when their legal status is determined. According to Rogge's typology, some types of refugees are more likely to acquire formal recognition than others. Ecological refugees, for example, almost never receive official international recognition, but do sometimes receive international assistance, such as Malians in Niger (1974) and Tigraians in Sudan (1984) (Petersen, 1958).

2.1.2 Kunz's typology

In pursuance of describing how refugees can be classified, Kunz (1981) divided them into three distinct groups, derivate from refugees' attitudes towards their displacement. Refugees whose opposition to political and social dealings at home is shared by their compatriots, both refugees and

those who remain in home areas, are called majority identified refugees. Refugees who have left their home countries because of active or latent discrimination against the group, to which they belong, often preserve little interest in what happens in their previous backgrounds once they did leave. These refugees, who feel incompatible isolated from their fellow citizens, Kunz calls them events related refugees. A third type of refugee includes people who decided to leave their home country for a variety of personal reasons. These self-alienated refugees feel alienated from their society not by any active policy of that society or any discomfort or anything else, but rather by some personal philosophy.

The multifaceted chemistry of socio-economic features which can lead to refugee migrations does not affect every migrant in the same manner. The diversities of different refugee migrations are as complex as the circumstances which can generate them. Societies have different observations of exactly what they consider is a threat to them. The forced migration theories, especially those of Petersen and Kunz, have presented the notions that underlie the current argument about the voluntariness of expulsion. Mainly important to the question of repatriation is Petersen's distinction between forced and impelled migration. Many of his categories and the sub-categories derived by Rogge can be suitably adapted to a modern repatriation situation (Rogge, 1985). Is repatriation in Africa, as the UN and OAU Conventions would command, a free choice? (Bakewell, 1996) Or is repatriation increasingly being impelled or forced upon refugees?

The international law concerning refugees delivers a standard against which nations that deal with refugees can be compared. From the basic theoretical framework of African refugees, the attention turns to the unambiguous question of how and why refugees decide to return home. Refugee settlement practices in Africa have changed significantly over the last fifteen years. The accumulative use of refugee camps as places to confine refugees, rather than help them to become self-sufficient has directed to an increased burden being placed on the international community.

The different types of refugees as identified by Kunz, Petersen, Rogge and others are subject to various international and national laws. In the African context, three important legal instruments, two from the United Nations and one from the African Union (AU), govern the subject matter in which refugees are defined, what assistance they are capable to receive and how they should be resettled (Shah, 2006). Succeeding the Second World War, numerous million people remained displaced throughout Europe. The newly formed United Nations was given the task of providing a structure for the resettlement of these people (Shah, 2006). Following on the work of the International Refugee

Organization, that was part of the disbanded League of Nations, the UN drafted the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and established the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (Holborn, 1975).

2.1.3 Accessibility (Entitlement Approach)

The right to adequate food is acknowledged while every individual: man, woman and child, alone or in community communally, have physical and economic access at all times to sufficient food or at least a means for its attainment (General Comment 12). Accessibility comprises the physical capability to provide the labor required to farm. For those who are not engaged in their own food production, it means the ability to make enough money to take part in the retail market for food. Accessibility can also be made available through a form of social security provided by family members who ever is in a better position to do so, for those who are vulnerable whom are too old or weak to earn a living or produce their own food. Anderson (2009) argued that food availability alone is not enough to determine food security; rather the individual access to available food should also be taking into consideration. According to him, availability does not guarantee access, and enough calories do not assure a healthy and nutritional diet. If food security is to be a measure of household or individual welfare, it has to address access (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2009).

Godfray et al., (2010) examined the role of price in determining access to food. According to these authors, patterns in global food prices are indicators of trends in the availability of food. Poor transport and infrastructure increases the prices of inputs, such as fertilizers and water, and increase the costs of moving the food produced into local or world markets (Godfray et al., 2010). Smet et al., on the other hand (2013) states that armed political conflict has a disadvantageous effect on food security and household wellbeing; conflict induces food insecurity by reducing own food production and access to food (Smets, Tusiime, &Renard, 2013). As alongside household food security, individual food security hinges on various visible and invisible intra household factors such as gender and age. According to Choudhary and Parthasarthy (2007), overall food security in the household may not be a guarantee for individual food security. Often, the available food in the household is not equally accessible to the men, women and children of the household (Choudhary & Parthasarathy, 2007).

Amartya Sen also argued that the fact that there is enough food in the community doesn't guarantee it's accessible by all. It should also be accessible to the society as a whole. According to Sen, famine is caused not due to unavailability of food but due to failure of entitlement/access. A person

undergoes through failure of food entitlement when his privilege set does not contain enough food to empower him to avoid starvation in the absence of non-entitlement transfers, such as charity. A person's entitlement can change for a several reasons for example, disparity in the prices of goods and services, the execution of new rationing rules, infestations of a farmer's crops by pests, or the disruption of food distribution channels by war or conflict. These examples demonstrate how some segments of the population can perish because of hunger regardless of the fact that there is no overall shortfall in food production. According to Sen, in every society each person can be thought of as having an "entitlement" to all possible mixtures of the goods and services to which he has access and the right to food as well is when every child, woman and man can feed her/himself in self-worthy manner (Sen, 1981).The theory and the law stated this clearly but there is a huge gap between the two.

2.2 Empirical Literature and the gap

Refugees are the uprooted, suffering fatalities of every narrative, including social identity, dwelling, family, livelihood, and support systems, and forced to struggle to find their way in a very new, often hostile, environment with foreigners, a foreign language and customs and culture (Handlin 1951). The situations related with refugees undoubtedly placed them in the category of threat for physical and psychological anguish, because embedded within them is the often horrifying violence associated with the refugee experience. Nevertheless, the voice of the refugees is no longer soundless. Every step of the migratory journey is oppressed with exceptional mental health consequences, all of which have need of much attention from health care providers and humanitarians (George, 2010). Refugees in camps are meet the expense of assistance and protection as part of the UNHCR's mandate and as an incentive by the host government to keep them concentrated in one area. By disparity, in urban centers assistance to refugees can be sparse, unevenly distributed (mostly on the vulnerability basis), and insufficient to meet basic needs if it exists at all (Kobia, 2009).

Refugees settle in urban cities to avoid dependence on rations/aid, boredom, hopelessness, hardships and limitations that prevail in camps. They try using their skills and pursue opportunities delivered by greater economic resources in the city, such as education for themselves and for their children (Kobia, 2009). The presence of services like hospitals and private medical clinics, accommodations, schooling and vocational training, and recreational and intellectual activities may act as a pull factor toward urban settlements. Communication with family members abroad via internet is easier in urban areas, and obviously there are social networks or ethnic enclaves to offer livelihood support and assist in the integration process. Some move to be reunited with family already living in urban areas than stay in

the camps, as well (Horst, Jacobsen 2006).

It's also repeatedly mentioned by many that particular medical reasons, protection concerns, and a need for higher education are the three major exceptions where by the refugees get the opportunity to settle in the urban areas with monthly allowance and other assistance. Out-of-Camp Policy (OCP) is another ground for the urban settlement that has been provided in terms of the opportunity and that is only for Eritrean refugees given since 2010. The first Out-of-Camp structure was implemented in August 2010 in collaboration with the Ethiopian government and the UNHCR. Since 2010, thousands of refugees have left the camp to live amid the host communities freely with no expectation of any monetary help than a little assistance from the government and humanitarian groups after they leave camp. It was implemented by the government of Ethiopia after looking at the level of self-reliance reached and achieved by refugees in the camps near to Shire (African Monitor, 2017). The scheme follows certain phases to be commenced and requirements to be met before the refugees are permitted to integrate with the bigger population of the host communities. First, they should stay in the camp for few months to be evaluated by authorities in charge, both refugee leaders and the government's representatives. Secondly, the refugees must have immediate Ethiopian relatives living outside the camp to sponsor them during their Out-of-Camp stay. After the proper paper works are done, submitted and processed, the refugees are released to be free and sent to their relatives (Gelila, 2019).

Researchers, refugee studies and development scholars, alongside various other academics have studied refugees in urban contexts but often without a clear exploration of the urban magnitudes of refuge with regard to the rights to food. Selamawit (2007), Seble (2008), Suleyman (2014), Hiba (2018) and Gelila (2019) are some of the recent graduates who did their research on urban refugees by selecting only one refugee nationality and the majority of the studies are about their integration with the host community and done camp setting and not much has been done regarding the rights to food.

Human rights are interdependent and equivalent. Yet, in certain situations, the violation of one particular right can lead to a whole series of other rights violations, to the extent that it is essential to focus on monitoring and protection efforts towards every rights. The idea of human right to food is not separable from household food security; one could not achieve one without guaranteeing the other. The working definition of the right to food is that the right to have consistent, stable and unlimited access, either directly or by means of monetary acquisitions, to quantitatively and qualitatively sufficient and enough food analogous to the cultural customs of the societies to which the consumer belongs, and which makes certain a physical and mental, individual and collective,

satisfying and gracious life (Ziegler, 2001). The definition of food security parallels the definition of the right to food. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) describe food security as: A condition that occurs when every human being, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to adequate, safe and healthy food that encounters their dietary requirements and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2002).

GaayFortman states that, notably, even though the whole world give the impression to have a mouth full of human rights, in terms of implementation one might still speak of a crisis (Fortman, 2003). To address this crisis, the hunger and malnutrition in the world, he proposes not to consider policymakers or constitutional legislators as the primary agents of change but those (poor and hungry) whose rights have been violated. He regrets the bias in human rights law towards 'declared rights' as if declaring rights is a full guarantee of actual recognition of rights. In his view, human rights law repeatedly lacks an association to reality, that is, to the long and long-term struggles of individuals and civil society organizations for implementation. Similarly, GaayFortman is skeptical about the development of indicators and states that the issue is that indicators are somewhat worthless if not associated to appliances that may be employed in solid action for the implementation of the rights.

The absence of food security implies a state of food insecurity. Food insecurity can strike at multiple levels individual, household, community, and nationwide (DeRose, 1998) and has multiple impacts ranging from a protein or micronutrient deficiency that has severe health consequences to insignificant forms that affect attention and intellectual ability (WFP, 2006). Food insecurity is a painstaking that is an outcome of social and economic practices that mainly linked to lack of access to food. Lack of adequate education and living wages, lack of access to health care and health information, and exposure to unsafe living conditions such as unsafe water, poor housing, and dangerous neighborhood environments could be part of food insecurity. Each of these is recognized to be integrally associated with poverty (Hamelin 2002; Rose, 1999; Coates, 2006).

Definitions of food insecurity and hunger have been debated for several decades (DeRose, 1998). The work of Jean Dre`ze and Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen is widely cited in the international community, they assert that hunger is not simply a manifestation of an involuntary lack of food, but rather, that hunger is a result of "entitlement failure." In other words, access to adequate nutritious food depends upon political and legal schemes that permit the people in a community to meet basic needs. Moreover, entitlement includes access to social support systems to assist vulnerable individuals such as small children, the elderly, and the unwell who cannot meet their own needs. In practice, urban

refugee populations have very different socio-economic profiles, and refugees have very different vulnerabilities and economic potential within different urban frameworks (Betts et al, 2014). And this vulnerability includes the rights to food which is the underpinning for other rights.

The diasporas of Eritreans are dispersed all over the world ‘from Australia to the United States; from South Africa to Norway’ (Plaut, 2016:170). Eritrea is one of the countries that have highest diasporas in the world. A study piloted by UNHCR (2017) disclosed that refugees who are dependent on remittances have the most misery level of coping strategies compared to refugees who rely on paid job for their livelihoods. Refugees who have better asset background are less likely to be severely food insecure and number of assets of a household has a direct relationship with their vulnerability. Eritreans migrate to Ethiopia (Ethiopia most of the time as a transit country) to escape poverty, repressive conditions in Eritrea, and conscription into the national service.

The Eritrean Government strictly controls of human movements outside the country. A travel document and exit visa is always required in order to leave Eritrea legally (EASO, 2016). Border crossings are possible only at designated border control checkpoints though it’s illegal. Breaches of these rules and attempts to cross the border illegally or to help others to do so are punishable by a period of imprisonment or a fine (Article 29 of the Proclamation 24/1992). Policies in Ethiopia do exist, regarding urban refugees but with no implementation grounds and regulations. So far there is no research done on urban refugees particularly Eritrean refugees regarding their livelihood challenges with relation to the rights to food. In this study it is intended to contribute the knowledge gap regarding to the rights to food and food security. It will try to see their livelihood challenges which affect their right to food one way or another and the strategies they are considering to overcome the challenges.

2.3 Conceptual underpinnings

2.3.1 Concepts of refugees

Since World War II, the academic research in the field of forced migration has augmented in parallel with the connotation of the singularity in politics. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the Development of Refugee Policy have been working closely with the progress of academic research. During World War II, research intended at finding possible ways out of the “refugee problem” stemmed in the war. Afterwards the focus shifted to problematic aspects of “refugee experience”, including research on refugees’ psychological adaptation and dysfunction as well as difficulties in linguistic and occupational adaptation. Since the beginning of 1980s, the scholarly output on refugees

increased alongside the establishment of a number of centers and journals specialized in the study of refugees. Today, the literature on refugees is wide-ranging within many academic disciplines, including also such that do not identify themselves as refugee studies but deal with refugees substantively (Black, 2001).

The second half of the 20th century witnessed a significant increase in the institutional expansion related to refugees (Malkki, 1995 and Black, 2001). After World War II, institutions with operations to resettle refugees and regulate refugee camps began to appear (Malkki, 1995). International conventions point the rights and obligations that officially recognized refugees have within the country of asylum and form the foundation for protecting and supporting refugees. Refugee rights are thoroughly tangled with human rights law and include rights such as freedom of movement, family life, security, work and education, access to justice systems and equal treatment before the law (Jacobsen, 2006 and Refugee Convention, 1951). At the beginning of the Second World War, the concept of refugee was defined legitimately under the 1951 Refugee Convention. According to Article 1 of the convention, refugee is a person: ...due to justifiable anxiety of being oppressed for various reasons of nationality, race, religion, affiliation of a specific social group or political clusters, is outside the country of her/his nationality and is unable or, due to such distress, is unwilling to avail herself/himself of the protection of that particular country; or who, not having any nationality and being outside the country of her/his previous habitual residence as a result of such occasions, is not capable or, remaining to such fear and unwilling to return to that country (Shacknove, 1985; Hathaway, 2005).

Refugee as a person that needs international protection aforementioned, the protection is carried out through international refugee organizations whereas the primary duty of sovereign host state is uncontested. Under Higher Commissioner of League of Nations, quite a lot of international institutions were created to protect refugees: the Nansen International Office for Refugees (1931-1938), High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany (1933-1938), High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees (1939-1946) and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (1938-1947). Prior to UNHCR, International Refugee Organization was established under the UN mandate (Jaeger, 2001). Regarding the research focusing on urban refugees, nowadays the research on refugees living in cities of the Western countries is relatively well advanced than Africa and other hosting countries (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013).

In the developing world, however, research on urban refugees is still relatively limited. It is focused

on a limited number of large cities (Crisp et al., 2012; Dryden-Peterson, 2006) and it's mostly on refugees in camps. In Africa, the focus has been on the cities like Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Johannesburg, Khartoum and Nairobi (Lyytinen and Kullenberg, 2013). Scholars studying refugee "communities" are often interested in the sense of belonging and adopt qualitative in-depth approaches (Lyytinen and Kullenberg, 2013). Majority of the researches done on behalf of the refugees, concluded with policy recommendations, call for better access to education, jobs, health care, sanitation, water and other services for urban refugees (e.g. Crisp et al., 2012; Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Several studies aim at informing policymakers on how to combine refugees and their assistance with wider development policies and programs in host countries that benefit also local urban poor (e.g. Betts 2009; Crisp et al. 2012; Harild and Christensen, 2011; Kaiser, 2005; Meyer, 2006; Refugee Law Project, 2005).

Currently, more than half of the world's refugees served by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) reside in urban areas instead of refugee camps. Just like the poor in the urban areas, refugees look for better survival opportunities in cities. This trend has augmented since the 1950s and in the future, more and more refugees will be trying to survive in cities and towns (UNHCR, 2015). Apparently the cities lack adequate resources and capacity to provide services and infrastructure, and they face difficulties to meet the growing demands of the rising urban population (Höök, 2015). Under international law, asylum seekers and registered refugees fall under the protection of the host government to provide them with rights stated in the 1951 Refugee Convention and other international instruments (Höök, 2015).

An unprecedented 70.8 million people around the world have been displaced unwillingly from their home countries. Amongst them are nearly 25.9 million refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2019). Refugees are apparently viewed as burdensome, helpless, and obviously depend on government or agencies responding to refugees' needs because the existing studies mainly report and illustrated lacking, incapability and the burden of refugees into hosting communities. On the contrary, while some studies suggest that refugees have no significant impact, others portray heterogeneous impacts, with some negative impact on poor host-country households (Ghazali, 2018). Ethiopia is a country of origin, transit and destination for illegal cross-border migration and becomes one of the largest refugee hosting countries in Africa.

2.3.2 Urban refugees

There is no distinct definition for an urban refugee to create a universally established understanding. However, the most articulated form of definition is given as; ‘an urban refugee is that of an individual of urban origin, can be a student, former politician, a professional, a trader or a skilled person, non-agricultural laborer’ (UNHCR, 1995). On top of that, as of UNHCR, a classification of some of the main groups denoted in urban refugee populations includes: ‘(a) people with an urban background in the place of birth, (b) people who had been engaged in politics such as politicians, members of government, students, (c) professionals and individual with higher education, (d) people from rural area looking for a job or education in cities including those from camps, (e) single parents, (f) sick and disabled people from camps and rural settlements for special treatment and therapy and (g) refugees who have left the country of first asylum’ (UNHCR, 1995).

2.3.3 Food security and the rights to food

Food security is a newer concept than the right to food, with the former gaining noted in the 1970s and the latter being recognized in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Besides, food security is a policy concept that is subject to changing policy objectives and to redefine them, on the other hand the rights to food has a legal issue that imposes clear responsibilities on states at both the national and international levels (Mechlem, 2004). Food security is a formative notion as replicated in many studies that attempt to define in research and policy usage. Before a decade, there were about 200 definitions in published writings about food security (Maxwell, 1992). World Food Summit in 1974 was defined food security as: ‘availability of food at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic food materials to withstand a firm increase of food intake and to balance instabilities in production and prices’ (Tura, 2019).

FAO, in 1983 extended its concept to embrace access to food by vulnerable people to available provisions, indicating that there ought to be stability from both the demand and supply side of the food security equation: ‘ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the necessity food that they need’ (Maxwell, 1996). The one which got a universal acceptance till this day is the 1996 World Food Summit with a still extra complex definition: ‘Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels is achieved when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to adequate, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (FAO, 1996). The FAO definition can be précised

into four fundamental components of food security: availability, access, utilization, and stability. All these elements of food security can resemble well with the elements of the human right to food.

The right to food is one of the fundamental human rights and it guards the right of all individuals to live in dignity, a life free from hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition. The right to food is not about donations or giving free food, however about guaranteeing that all people in a community have the capacity to feed themselves and their households in dignifying manner. The right to food is a human right and every human being is a right-holder. A mutual misinterpretation of the right to food is that it is similar to the right to be provided by the government. A far better and less ambiguous explanation of the right to food is the right to feed oneself. The human right to food, however, discreetly takes capabilities of people to access food as its point of departure (Hospes, 2010). This right is protected under international human rights, humanitarian law and the state.

The human right to adequate food is treasured in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights on Art. 25 and was reaffirmed in Art. 11 by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), which embraces the right to be free from hunger. A phase advancing in the definition of the right to adequate food is the General Comment 12 which is a Twentieth Session of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on 12 May 1999 and it authoritatively well-defined by the Committee as: *'The right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement'*. According to the CESCR (1999), the committee considers that the central content of the right to adequate food implies: *The availability of food in a quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals, free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture; the accessibility of such food in ways that are sustainable and that do not interfere with the enjoyment of other human rights* (CESCR, 2015).

It also undertakes that contending hunger is a challenging in different terms containing issues which are related to food production, access and consumption. Comment 12 moreover confirms that the right to food is indivisibly connected to the intrinsic self-respect of the individual, requisite for the achievement of other human rights and thick as thieves from social justice. It further more presents the aspect of adequate food, envisioned not only as the availability of food in terms of sufficient and nutritional quality and quantity to have all the food requirements of individuals, but correspondingly in terms of its appropriateness from a cultural standpoint. It also elaborated on Article 25 of the

UDHR as:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (Art. 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

The Right to Food Guideline 8.1 additionally mentioned that states have a duty to facilitate viable, non-discriminatory and secure access and utilization of resources stable with their national and international law and guard the resources that are imperative for people's livings. States have a duty to respect and protect the right of individuals with respect to assets such as land, water, forests, fisheries and livestock without any discrimination. If necessary and practical in the state context, states are duty-bound to carry out land and supplementary policy improvement sun failing with human rights duties and in harmony with the rule of law in order to secure proficient and practical access to land and to strengthen proper growth (Kadogbe, 2013). Realizing the right to food embraces that human rights are pointless if it does not properly acknowledged, made beneficial and actually used as apparatuses by those whose rights have been violated. The key conclusion of FAO team from latest experience with executing the right to food is that, 'Legal acknowledgement of the right to food and empowering people to claim that right is vital' (Haen, 2006).

The first element of the right to food is the availability of food. Food can be available for human consumption in two ways. First, food can be made available through production, gathering, rearing animals, fishing, hunting, or gathering (Schutter & Kaitlyn, 2011). Second, it can also be made available for sale or exchange in shops or markets. As Olivier De Schutter, the former UN's Special Rap porteur for the Human Right to Food mentioned that the logic of the availability requirement demands efficiency and effectiveness in food production, storage and marketing systems. The second element of the human right to food is accessibility; this means that the food which is available should be made accessible to consumers at all times to the right holders (Yeshewas, 2019). This also means that the food in the country should be affordable and economically accessible to the community. Other issues than economic accessibility, like the health and nutrition awareness of the right holder, the safety of the food, the peace and the security in the country, the level of freedom that the people

exercise due to the political freedom of the state and the level of the state's economic growth, market arrangement, among others, can have significant impact on the people's, as right holders, food purchasing power and hence its accessibility (Sen, 1981).

To state an important observation here, according to studies (Amartya Sen, (1981), Ateliteo Valada (1990) and Olivier De Schutter (2010)) shows that the main factor that make people to go hungry and to be deprived of their human right to food has not been the mere deteriorating of food production or unavailability. Rather the haunting deficiency for millions is lack of actual access to the surely available food that deprives them and for the unemployed as well, is the price of food (Yeshewas, 2019). The third is adequacy, food that is made accessible should also needs to be adequate both in quantity and quality to satisfy the dietary needs of the consumer, depending on her/his age, sex, occupation, living condition and health, so as to enable her/him to live an active and healthy life in self-respected manner (Schutter, 2019). Adequacy embraces both quantity and quality of food one can eat on a daily basis. This means that the minimum amount of energy content of food is that it should be of a fair amount to take away hunger and, the quality requirement is that it should contain all the nutritious ingredients that are necessary for the mental and physical growth, activity, and wellbeing of a human being. It has also recognized that food should also be free from substances that would have adverse impact on human health (food adulteration) and required to comply with the feeding norms of the consumers collectively and the eating habit (culture) and food preference of the individual consumer (UNCESCR, 1999).

It should also be understood that dietary requirement is considered as one of the basics in understanding the right to food. This indicates that the intake in general is required to have a blend of necessary nutrients that are essential for physical and mental growth, growth and the nourishment of physical activity towards achieving the physical and physiological desires of the individual at all stages (Eide, 1998). The cultural aspect is another important element in understanding the concept of the right to food (Golay et al, 2011). The argument here is that if recognition of everyone's right to food should not be in paradox with specific culture of a society to which an individual belongs. This moreover relates to the hypothesis that the culture of the community to which the individual belong is highly affects the food preferences among members of the society and this need to be taken into a serious contemplation.

2.3.4 Refugees and the right to food

As massive conflicts, catastrophes, and famines proliferate worldwide, makes a number of people in need of international protection (Oliver & Ilcan, 2018). Globally there are approximately 17 million refugees, 37 million internally displaced persons, and 3 million people awaiting the decisions of their asylum claims (UNHCR, 2018). Indeed, when individuals become refugees, they don't govern by the law in their country and it no longer shields them but they govern by the law of the country which they pursue refuge does. They turn out to be residents of the country in which they currently live in and also under the protection of the international law (Robinson, 1953). Their right to food by inference is to be secured by their new country they reside in or their host country and the international community (Kent, 2005). It should be noticeable that refugees are human beings and are eligible to all basic and significant rights as citizens in the host country. Nevertheless, the reality in the subject is that they are seen as a special group and of course they are definitely special individuals and suffice to say vulnerable individuals (Kadogbe, 2013).

2.4. Laws and policy appliances

2.1.2 The rights to food under international law

The right to food has its legitimate footing traced to Article 25 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was armored by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 in Article 11, interpreted by the Committee in General Comment Number 12, and the procedure was taken by Voluntary Guidelines, 2004. These requirements deliver valuable insights into the responsibility of the state to respect, protect and fulfill the right to food of all individuals in a community including refugees. The previous United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Human Right to Food, Jean Ziegler, has provided the subsequent conceptual framework on the human right to food; he says: the human right to food refers the right of all man, woman, and child, individually or a community as a whole to have unlimited access, at all times, to sufficient food for an active and healthy life, without compromising the food culture of the community (Ziegler, 2001). Therefore, the human right to food, according to Ziegler, involves the following key elements; a) it is an individual as well as a collective right claim, b) the food accessed should be adequate both in quality and quantity for an active and healthy life, and c) it needs to fit in with the shared food culture and preferences of the community (Yeshewas, 2019).

The Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition of the 1974 also pinpoint that every man, woman and child have an unconditional right to be at liberty from starvation and malnutrition. The declaration aims for eradication of hunger and malnutrition by assuring the major accountabilities of Governments to work collectively for greater food production and for efficient distribution. In general, the right to food raises the question of responsibility and accountability which can be understood in terms of obligation or the duty of the duty bearer to protect, respect and fulfill the right to food in a parallel manner with other human rights. Subsequently, the concept of ‘accessible to all’ infers an obligation to deliver special platforms for the vulnerable i.e., demanding governments and others to ensure freedom from hunger and malnourishment and captivating the necessary actions to guarantee the protection of these rights. In this respect, state parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are justifiably obliged to respect, protect and fulfill the right to food of individuals (Kent, 2005). This means that governments have the duty and obligations to fulfill, respect and protect the right to food.

The concept of accessibility or access to food as mentioned in the General Comment no. 12 is vital. This largely refers to whether individuals have the means such as income to cover costs related with the realization of food understood as ‘any attainments arrangement or entitlement through which individuals acquire their foodstuff and is a measure of the amount to which it is pleasing for the amusement of the right to food.’ The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural rights distinguished that state parties to the covenant have it as their core obligation to take action to make sure that vulnerable people in the community has right to use to the minimum dispensable food necessities that is desirable to guarantee their freedom from hunger (General Comment, No. 3). Based on the phrase ‘...access at all times to adequate food...’ in the definition given by the Committee, many scholars agreed that admission to harmless and nutritive food institutes the right to adequate food. In addition, the Human Rights Commission in its resolution 2000/10 explicitly confirmed this.

After decades of steady decline, the number of people who suffer from hunger as measured by the prevalence of undernourishment began to gradually escalate again in 2015. Today, more than 820 million people regularly sleep hungry, of whom about 135 million agonize from severe hunger basically due to man-made conflicts, climate change and economic declines. The COVID-19 pandemic could now double that number, placing an additional 130 million people at risk of suffering acute hunger by the end of 2020, according to the World Food Program.

2.4.2 The right to food under regional law

There are several regional human rights; which has international coverage concerning the right to food. According to Kent, regional human rights instruments are useful since they replicate a certain area cultural viewpoints with respect to the manner for considering human rights. They can moreover be substantial fundamentals for incipient ingenious organizational appointments targeted at safeguarding the wakefulness of human rights (Ahluwalia, 2004). In the continent of Africa, the right to food is recognized under Article 4 the right to life, Article 16 right to health, and Article 22 the right to economic, social and cultural development of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), indirectly (Kent, 2005). Article 14 of the (ACHPR) forces member states to be dedicated to authorization of providing sufficient food and safe drinking water. Further in Article 20 (2) (a) to support parents and other persons who are accountable for the child and in case of essential material assistance and support programs mainly with respect to nutrition, health, education, clothing and housing; and the right to food is also acknowledged in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (OHCHR, Fact sheet No.34:8).

Within FAO, the voluntary guidelines are understood as human rights-based practical tools which are intended in an expectation of subsidizing the progressive understanding of the right to adequate food in the situation of national food procedures and practices. States are therefore encouraged to apply in developing their national strategies, policies, programs and activities which emphasis on the recognition of the right to adequate food (FAO, 2005). The Voluntary Guidelines combines an extensive series of significant principles of human rights, and among these are equality and non-discrimination, participation and inclusion, accountability and rule of law, and the principle of human rights for all, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights (Ibid). In this respect, guidelines no.14 stresses the inevitability of creating social and food safety nets programs to support livelihoods of those who are incapable to provide for themselves to the extent the country's resources permit.

Accordingly to the guideline, it is important to underline that, pursue to replicate the prevailing human rights principles and deliver valuable direction to States on how they can implement their current commitments. They cover the complete series of movements to be well-thought-out by governments at the state level in order to construct an allowing atmosphere for individuals to provide for themselves in self-respect and to inaugurate proper safety nets for those who are unable to provide for

themselves, as well as measures to embrace governments held responsibility to rights holders... The Right to Food Guidelines like wise offers to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations and the private sector to endorse and strengthen the progressive comprehension of the right to adequate food (OHCHR, Fact sheet No.34).In general the voluntary guideline is found to be important tool in translating the principles of the right to adequate food into practical recommendations in designing national policies and strategies (FAO, 2005)

2.4.3. Duty of states in relation to realization of the rights to food

Under international human rights instruments, states are the primary responsible bodies to realize the rights. Concerning the right to food, article 11 (2) of the Covenant mentioned that the States which are partakers to the covenant will take proper steps to ensure realization of the right to food. It's known that once a certain state ratified an international instrument, it should adopt national laws, strategies, policies and programs (Ahluwalia, 2004). Here it is important to know that a responsibility to the realization of the right to food is not limited to the state territory but a certain state should take care not to violate the right of food of persons living in other states (Ibid). Furthermore, it needs states to ensure that national laws, strategies, policies and programs which are intended to understand the right to food in that definite country have a duty to not to contribute to the violation of the right to food in other countries.

As one could comprehend from the quicker look into the General Comment No. 12 paragraph 21 the best way and means in realization of the right to food vary from nation to nation. However, according to FAO, state responsibility in respect to recognition of the right to food is progressive as well as of an immediate nature. Although article 2 (1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights brings that certain structures of the right to food could be subject to the notion of the progressive recognition of economic, social and cultural rights, there are also immediate state duties in regard to the realization of the right to food (OHCHR, 2014).

First of all, the right to food designates that this right must be enforced effectually by accountable organs like every other rights. Subsequently the right to sufficient food or the right to be free from hunger is ultimate human right of every individual; the state is responsible to ensure its fulfillment. The responsibility of states in relation to the rights under the Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights most of the time has been argued to be based on the country's resource and subject to progressive insight. However, there are also immediate obligations, states that are parties to the agreement oblige to discharge regardless of their economic resources. Regarding the idea of

obligation to take steps, the point here is that though the awareness of the right to food is subject to progressive actions this does not mean that states can be inactive, rather they should make tenacious efforts within a practical time to progress the enjoyment of the right to food in a community. Generally, the nature of state responsibilities regarding the right of individuals and groups that are guaranteed in the relevant appliances can be divided into three. These are duty to respect, duty to protect, and duty to fulfill.

✚ **Duty to Respect:** this is also identified as negative obligation since a government of the state is anticipated to abstain from interference while the right holders apply their rights (Nowak, 1997). In respects to the right to food, the duty to respect entails that it is the responsibility of states to warranty that each individual has uninterrupted access all the times to adequate and sufficient food, and not to take which ever action that would have a consequence in stopping individuals from having access to sufficient food (Pooja, 2004).

✚ **Duty to Protect:** This duty of the state also includes protecting and ensuring that food in the market is safe and nutritious and calls up states to establish and enforce food quality and safety standards. Additionally, States are required to take the lawmaking and other measures that are needed, to protect individuals, so as to support the determinations of parents and health experts to encourage healthy diet and physical workout. A State must similarly safeguard its international legal duties regarding the right to food when entering into contracts with other States or with international organizations (OHCHR, Fact Sheet No.34). This includes prevention of violation of the Convention of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR) by the State or third party and access to legal remedies (Yeshewas, 2019).

✚ **Duty to fulfill:** implies two types of duty i.e. to facilitate or to provide. The duty to facilitate concerning the right to food indicates the obligations of the state to pass necessary laws and to take executive and resource related measures (Sisay, 2011).

Even though it has always been highlighted that the state is the ultimate duty bearer for the recognition of the right to food as FAO stated, organizations with in the society, groups and individuals have duties in realization of the right to food (FAO, 2012).In other words, although the government has the primary obligations in realization of the right to food, attaining the ultimate goal that is sustaining food security for all requires full engagement of government, all stakeholders, civil

society, international organizations and multilateral institutions (Ahluwalia, 2004).

2.4.4. The right to food under the FDRE Constitution

Ethiopia endorsed many international human rights instruments, namely, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (11Jun 1993), International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, International Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (23 June 1976), the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (14 March 1994), Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Convention on the Rights of the Child. Ethiopia is also a party to the African Charter on Human Right (15 June 1998), the Africa Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (02 Oct.2002) and more. The Constitution also recognizes economic, social and cultural rights (Adem, 2011). Article 90 stated that it aims to ensure access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food and social security to all Ethiopians to the level the country's resources permit. To give effect to such provision, comprehensive policies that identify the accountable organs and the time needed to implement the same would have been required and such policies could have served as key vehicles to recognize the right to food in Ethiopia (Sisay, 2008).

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian (FDRE) Constitution (Art 9(4)), explicitly describe that any international conventions ratified by Ethiopia as an integral part of the national law. Article 9 (4) and Article 13 (2) of the constitution function as a possible "access points" to proclaim and enforce the human right to food in Ethiopian lawful system as Ethiopia is a state party to the international human rights treaties like ICESCR, CEDAW and ICRC which explicitly specify and validate the human right to food as a fundamental human right and contemporarily put rigorous commitments on state parties to concretize the human right to food expeditiously. Nevertheless, there is a debate on the standing of international human rights instruments and their applicability in the domestic legal system. Besides, the Ethiopian courts so far do not have the practice and assurance to consider the human right to food cases seriously or even consider at all.

In partnership with donors, the Ethiopian government within the framework of poverty reduction strategy design Food Security Programs (FSP). A Food Security Program has resettlement, household asset building, complementary community investment and productive safety net programs. The main

objective of these programs was to help heaps of chronically food insecure people to come out of the problem and to increase the number of food secure people within a very short period of time. The human right to food is not vibrantly and unambiguously recognized right in the Ethiopian human right system. As stated above, under Articles 9 (4) and 13 (2) has made relevant international human right treaties ratified and adopted by Ethiopia an integral part of the law of the land and relevant provisions i.e. Article 16 on right to life, Article 40 on social economic and cultural rights and Article 90 on social objectives of the state, it can be claimed here, that the nonexistence of explicit and forthright acknowledgement of the human right to food has worked as a source of improbability, and frequently initiating the impression amongst the lawful and strategy practitioners, let alone to the ordinary right holders, that the human right to food is not a constitutionally acknowledged and protected right (Yeshewas, 2019).

When permitted to engage in safe and lawful work, refugees can fulfill their basic needs for survival and recover aspects of their lives that have been disrupted by displacement (Jacobsen 2014). Ethiopia's parliament approved revisions to the existing national refugee law on 17 January 2019, constructing it as one of the most advanced refugee policies in Africa. The Law will be responsible for refugees with the right to work and reside out of camps, access social and financial amenities, and to register life events, including births and marriages. Refugee protection is delivered within the framework of the international and national refugee laws plus the fundamental international human right treaties that have been ratified by the country (UNHCR, 2020).

2.4.5. International refugee protection and the right to food

As the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), article 25 (1) declares that the right to food is acknowledged globally as everyone has the right to adequate standards of living whereby states are the duty-bearers and the people are right holders. *Everyone has the right to have a standard of living which is suitable for the health and well-being of oneself and of his household, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and other necessary social services...*(UDHR, 2015, p. 52). International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, article 11(1) cited that: The States Parties to the existing Covenant distinguish the right of every person to an acceptable standard of living for oneself and the households, including sufficient food, clothing and housing, and to the constant development of living settings. The States Parties will take suitable phases to certify the realization of this right, recognizing to this upshot the crucial significance of worldwide

collaboration grounded on free consent. It is the first binding instrument to implement the Universal

Declaration. National governments have defined themselves as primary duty-bearer of the right to food with regard to their own population. They are the treaty parties of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). The construction of the ICESCR (and on Civil and Political Rights) was a logical next step of states after their joint declaration of human rights (Hospes, 2012).

The Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition of the 1974 similarly be acquainted with that every man, woman and child have an utter right to be free from hunger and malnutrition. The declaration aims for eradication of hunger and malnutrition by confirming the ultimate accountabilities of governments to work all together for greater food production and for efficient allocation. Article 3 of the Convention concerning to the Status of Refugees of the 1951 indicates that contracting States have the obligation to provide nondiscriminatory services to refugees to warrant good standard of living as the same and the most favorable treatment permitted to nationals of a foreign country. Article 17, 18, 22 and 23 of the same convention states that refugees have the right to engage in paid work and self-employments by providing the right to employ on her/his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts, commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies, public education specially relating to primary education and the right to lawfully staying in their territory to get the same treatment with respect to public relief and assistance as is given to their nationals.

A rights-based approach arises with the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, UNHCR has been an important international actor in pressing upon states to respect the Convention and other instruments of international and regional refugee law. Ethiopia has ratified the 1951 treaty concerning to the Status of Refugees as well as its 1967 protocol in 1969 with reservations on Articles 8, 9, 17(2) and 22(1), identifying these only as recommendations and not legally binding obligations. Ethiopia deters the previous refugee proclamation believing that is not meticulous and doesn't go along the current improvements and progresses made in refugee protection. In response to the need for comprehensive refugee protection and assistances, the government of Ethiopia has passed a new refugee proclamation number 1110/2019 which is believed to offer better protection, safety and security to refugees and enrich durable solutions than before. It ensures loads of rights to refugees

starting from vital event registration to access to justice, employment in agriculture and industrial sectors and the right to work in wage earning, access to education and right to form an association.

Hence the perspective that being free from hunger and malnutrition as vital human rights of every person woman, man, youth and child guides the argument and the discussion in this research. The state is the primary duty bearer to work towards realizing the right to food and to eradicate hunger.

Ethiopia has made nine pledges to broadly respond to refugee requests and is preparing a National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS). Ethiopia, in February 2017, became one of the few countries in the world to pilot the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF); with a subsequent nationwide launch of the framework the government of Ethiopia formally launched it in November 2017. The CRRF made at the Leaders' Summit on Refugees in September 2016 in New York and serves as a means to put into practice the nine pledges and envisions bringing long-lasting solutions to refugees and supporting host communities by combining humanitarian aid and development. The pledges are grouped into six thematic areas: social and basic services, out of camp policy, education, work and livelihoods, documentation and local integration.

At the close of 2019, it broadcasted further national commitments at the Global Refugee Forum, in the ranges of education, jobs and livelihoods, protection, energy and the environment constructing upon the nine pledges. The scheduled modification to the 2004 Refugee Proclamation (which was based on the United Nations 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and the 1969 Refugee Convention of the Organization of African Unity), will allow refugees to come to be more self-determining, better protected and have countless access to indigenous solutions. CRRF will increase socio-economic opportunities for refugees comprising paid jobs, integration for those in prolonged situations and better access to education and life outside camps (Tsion, 2018). The pledges includes providing work permits to qualifying refugees, earmarking a percentage of jobs in industrial parks, giving refugees access to irrigable land and more. These pledges will be implemented through the CRRF, which can offer abundant benefits to refugees, host communities and the government as well. But at the same time it presents significant challenges. The government of Ethiopia is planning to link CRRF with its Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II) to endow with Ethiopia's development guideline that aims to transform the country into an industrialized, middle-income country by 2025 (UNHCR, 2018).

2.5. Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The conception of livelihoods turns out to be prominent in the middle of the 1980s with work done by Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex (Schafer,

2002: 22-23). Schafer states that *the idea of a livelihoods framework as a tool for analysis is simply to capture the main elements, which comprise the complex livelihoods of people at a given point in time, and ideally the course and dynamics of change in livelihoods as well.* According to him, the basic elements of livelihoods frameworks are:

- **Livelihood resources:** what individuals have on hand, it can be as stocks and stores, assets and capital both tangible and intangible,
- **Livelihood strategies:** what people do to make a living out of it e.g. agriculture, wage labor, migration. A strategy for livelihood, as a process of choosing activities and assets to sustain and improve livelihood, comprises of both tangible assets/resources and intangible assets like social capital (Winters et al., 2001).
- **Livelihood outcomes:** what objectives they are pursuing, the living they get out of their day to day activities.

The concept of livelihood approach used to be rural in focus but nowadays it is becoming increasingly used in both peri-urban and urban perspectives (Moser, 1998). Urban hubs present economic opportunities that interest rural or peri-urban migrants or any other refugees from different unsafe places, to the towns/countries in search of work and the chance to improve their livelihood. Many migrants also experience burdens as well as the rewards of the city life. They want accesses to productive resources such as land, knowledge/capital and from these resources they can support their consumption needs. They require food, shelter, clothing, accesses to health facilities, better education and the ability to take part in the society or any other kinds of activities which they are part of it. Therefore these requirements amount to the claim each person has to lead a life that secure her or him in respect to both basic needs and the wider social and psychological sense of a living (Addisu, 2008).

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach is stimulated by multilateral and bilateral organizations such as United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Department for International Development (DFID). During the 1990s a new approach to poverty reduction, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) is developed. Sustainable Livelihood Approach comes to the picture to poverty eradication and

it acknowledges that poverty is a condition of insecurity rather than only a lack of wealth (Chamber & Conway, 1992). Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) implements a unique stand point on the understanding of poverty and how to intervene and improve the conditions of the poor (Addisu,

2008). He also states that broadly a Sustainable Livelihood is a means of living which is resilient to shocks and stresses which does not adversely affect the environment. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and manage to enhance its capabilities and asset both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chamber & Conway, 1992)

2.5.1 Livelihood assets and strategies

Livelihood assets are the basic structural slabs upon which individuals or households can be able to embark on production, engage in labor markets, and partake in mutual interchange with other households (Ellis, 2000). Increased assets can empower people to impact the policies, institutions and procedures that affect their livelihoods. There are five types of livelihood assets which are human, natural, financial, social and physical capital.

- **Human capital:** It is frequently said that the main asset possessed by the poor is their own labor. Human capital refers to the labor available to the household: its education, skills, and health (Carney, 1998 cited in Ellis, 2000). It represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labor and good health that all together enables an individual to pursue different livelihood strategies.
- **Natural capital:** Natural capital embraces all the natural things the land, water and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Sometimes these are referred to as environmental resources, and are thought of all together as comprising the environment (Ellis, 2000).
- **Social capital:** are social resources such as networks, claims, social relations, affiliation, and association, up on which people draw when tracking different livelihood strategies. It endeavors to capture community and broader social entitlements on which individuals and households can appeal by virtue of their belongings to social groups of fluctuating degree of inclusiveness in society at large (Ellis, 2000).
- **Physical capital:** comprise capitals that are formed by economic assembly processes. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines, communications, and so on (Woineshet,

2013) includes all the basic infrastructure and production utensils and technologies essential for pursuing any livelihood strategy.

- **Financial capital:** it is a tangible asset like cash, credit, or debt, savings and other economic assets which is essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy. There are two core sources of financial capital such as available stocks which can be seized in several forms as cash, bank deposits, liquid assets like livestock and jewelry or resources obtained through credit providing institutions; and regular inflows of money including earned income, pensions, other transfers from the government and remittances.

According to Ellis (2000), livelihood strategies are composed of activities that bring into being the means of individuals' survival. This is a vibrant development which people alliance activities to meet their numerous needs at different period. Scoones (1998) identifies three types of rural livelihood strategies: agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification including, both paid employment and rural enterprises, and migration on the other hand including income generation activities and remittance. The livelihood strategies that vulnerable group employ in order to make a living and to stimulate their security have been commonly distinguish into coping and adaptive strategies (Habtamu, 2011).

2.5.2 Context of vulnerability

The vulnerability context is exclusively about how people adjust to and cope with stresses and shocks. Vulnerability has been defined as lack of security of the wellbeing of individuals or a community in the face of fluctuating situations such as ecological, social, economic or political, in the form or unexpected shock, long term happenings or seasonal cycles (Moser, 1996). The vulnerability context firstly structures the external environment in which people exist. For instance trends in population growth, national and international economics fluctuations, natural resources, political affairs, and technologies; swift shocks or events such as health problems, earthquakes, floods, droughts, conflict, agricultural pests and disease, national economic shocks; and seasonal vulnerability of prices, less production, employment opportunities or health can impact on livelihood (Chambers & Conway,1991:11).

2.6. Sustainable livelihood framework for analyzing the livelihoods of urban refugees

SLF is an approach that targets to put individuals and households in which they live at the center of

the development process (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). According to Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is therefore seen as complementary to more traditional approaches to development. Even though SLF has such benefit, much of the work that has been undertaken to deal with the rural dimension (Rakodi, 2002). Relatively, urban applications of the model have been less numerous, but recent publications highlight its general usefulness for research on cities as well (Meikle et al. 2001, Rakodi 2002, Köberlein 2003, Mumtaz 2004, Degefa 2010), and emphasized the inevitability to focus on urban livelihoods especially in an age where urban growth rates all over the world are reaching unprecedented heights.

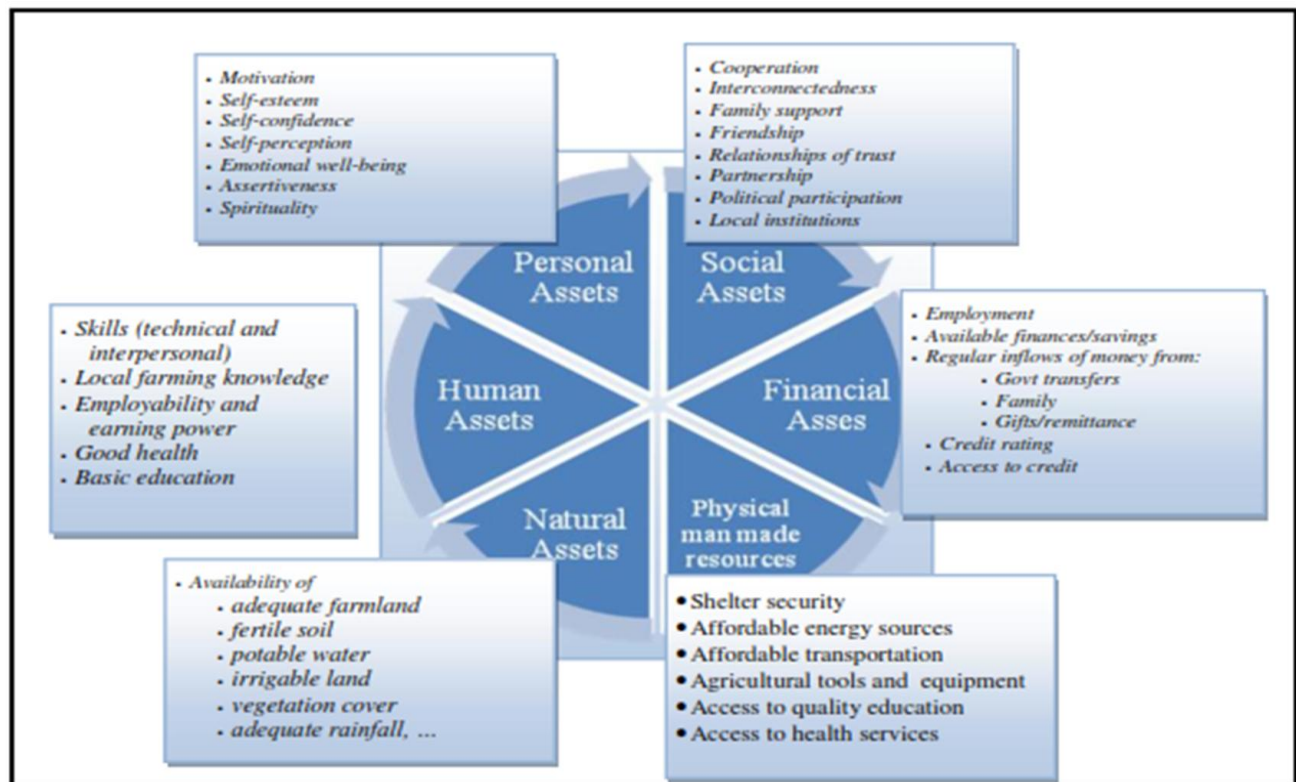


Figure 2.1 Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks (Source: Adopted from Messay, 2012)

Agreeably, SLF has a number of basic elements, resources on which individuals or households draw to build their livelihoods. As stated above, they refer to the tangible and intangible resources over which people are able to access, and have opportunity in practice to use them. However, assets are not always owned by the people who use them rather, they may have varying extents of access to and control over these assets (Farrington et al, 2002). One criticism SLF as a holistic approach to development is its failure to explicitly address issues of political capital or power (Farrington et al, 2002). One of the questions this study asks is that the availability of financial, social, physical, human

and personal capital as a strategy in a host country to make their lives less challenging and guarantee their rights to food. As to livelihood framework, vulnerability can broadly be grouped into sources of vulnerability accruing to the social context of cities, the nature of the urban economy and the urban environment (Rakodi, 2002; Farrington et al, 2002). Access to and use of assets as well as livelihood activities are also influenced by policies, organizations/ institution and relationship between individuals and organization (Rakodi, 2002). In this study, SLF is also very important to assess the livelihood strategies employed by refugees and the challenges they face on the process. The SLF shows the asset the individuals have; it discusses every asset according to the refugees and the relationship the assets have as shown in the figure above to sustain the livelihood of Eritrean refugees.

CHAPTER III: DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND THE RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Description of the study area

3.1.1 Location and physical features

This study was carried out in Addis Ababa Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city, Gofa Mebrathaiel condominium, which is one of the 10 Sub-cities of Addis Ababa. Addis Ababa is one of the highest point capitals in the world with an average 2400 meters above sea level. It is dichotomous city with a blend of modern high-rise and deteriorating slum quarters (Tsutsumi & Bendewald, 2010). From its lowest point, around Bole international Airport, at 2,326 meters above sea level in the southern periphery, Addis Ababa rises to over 3,000 meters in the Entoto Mountains to the North. The city is divided into 10 sub cities and 99 wards (unhabitat.org, 2001).

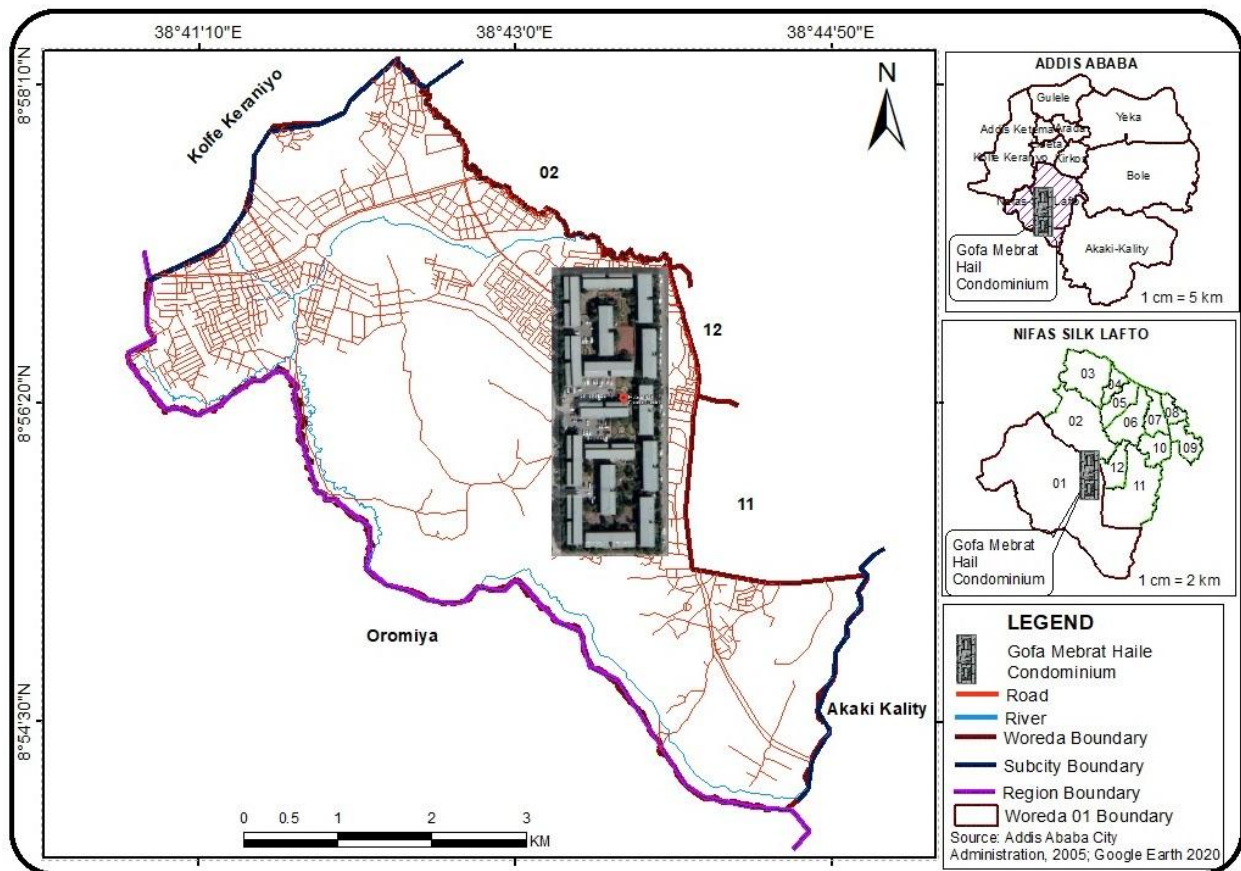


Figure 3.1: Map of the study area (Source: Addis Ababa City Administration, 2005; Google Earth

2020

Addis Ababa has a subtropical highland climatic condition. The city has a complex mix of highland climate zones, with temperature differences of up to 10°C depending on elevation and prevailing wind patterns (Selamawit, 2018). Selamawit also stated that the highland climate regions are characterized by dry winters, and this is the dry season in Addis Ababa. According to the data from National Metrological Agency (NMA) of Ethiopia, as such its climate remains relatively cool throughout the year. Even in the hottest months (March to May), average highs rarely exceed 77 degrees Fahrenheit (25 degrees Celsius). Throughout the year, temperatures drop quickly once the sun goes down, and frosty mornings are common.

3.1.2 City status, economy and population

As stated above, Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia where the African Union is headquartered and serves as social, economic and political center for the country. It also hosts the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. (ECA), as well as various other continental and international organizations. Addis Ababa is therefore often referred to as ‘the political capital of Africa for its historical, diplomatic and political significance for the continent. The city lies a few miles west of the East Africa Rift which splits Ethiopia into two, through the Nubian Plate and the Somali Plate (Gizaw, 1996). Currently, Addis Ababa is experiencing an annual growth rate of 3.8% and is estimated to reach 4.7 million inhabitants by 2030 (Spaliviero & Cheru, 2017). As cited by Selamawit, (2018) an official statistics from the Addis Ababa City Administration states, some 119,197 people in the city are engaged in trade and commerce; 113,977 in manufacturing and industry; 80,391 homemakers of different variety; 71,186 in civil administration; 50,538 in transport and communication; 42,514 in education, health and social services; 32,685 in hotel and catering services; and 16,602 in agriculture.

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia and furthermore the largest city in the country by population, with a total population of 4,793,699 according to UN World Urbanization Prospects on 2020. The capital city holds 527 square kilometers of area in Ethiopia. Per the population recorded at the last census, the city of Addis Ababa has a higher population of female residents than male residents. The city is populated by people from different regions of Ethiopia. As mentioned by Selamawit, (2018) although all Ethiopian ethnic groups are represented in Addis Ababa because it is the capital of the country, the largest groups include the Amhara (56.04%), Oromo (19.00%), Gurage (16.34%), Tigre (5.18%), Siltie (2.94%) and Gamo (1.68%). Languages spoken include Amharic (71.0%), Afan Oromo (10.7%), Gurage (8.37%), Tigirigna (3.60%), Siltie (1.82%) and Gamo (1.03%).

Nifas Silke Lafto Sub-city is one of the 10 sub cities of Addis Ababa, located in the southwestern suburb of the city. It borders with the districts of Kolfe Keranio, Lideta, Kirkos, and Bole and Akaky Kaliti. According to the information obtained from Nifas Silke Lafto Sub-city, the total area of the Sub-city is 68.30 km² with a total population of 335,740. This area is purposively selected because of the condensed Eritrean refugee population and the convenience of finding research respondents regardless of the unknown number. Since mass Eritrean refugees were residing in this, it was used to find respondents for gathering data from the in-depth interview.

3.2. Research design and approach

This section enlightens how the data was collected, composed and analyzed and gives reasons for the suitability of the selection of method in order to answer the research questions and fulfill the objectives of the study. The most important guideline for choosing methodology of the study as a structure is the research problem or the nature of the study (Bryman, 2003). The research design employed in this research is phenomenological design which is found an applicable technique for collecting data on the basis of human breathed experience. The phenomenological design is exploratory in nature, pursues to speak a precise incidence the firsthand experience of the study group (Aida, 2017). On top of that since this research is solely a means for describing the situation or case under a study plus since the main purpose of descriptive research design is to describe the characteristics of a group (Inaam, 2016) the food security status and coping strategies of urban refugee Eritrean individuals were assessed. Descriptive design employed to study of personal experience and requires a description or interpretation of the meanings of phenomena experienced by participants in an investigation (Aida, 2017). According to Kruger and Newman (2006), the strength of such method relies as it tries to come out with findings that tells how a specific individual's life look like regarding the subject matter under the study. It is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behavior of study population meaning urban Eritrean refugees without influencing the attitude or the responses of the study population in anyway. Based on this, the study focused on obtaining experiences of individuals as to understand and explore the challenges and strategies of their livelihood regarding the rights to food.

This research employed mixed approach as it fits the purpose of investigating and exploring social interaction and processes plus food security and coping strategies of the refugees. Qualitative approach is about understanding community practice; occurrence and detailed understanding of the procedures in the social world (Kalof et al., 2008; Dawson, 2002). In addition to this if comprehensive

and all-inclusive understanding is requested for a certain subject matter, qualitative approach is more valuable (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). It helps to discover persons' lives, experiences, behaviors, feelings and emotional state as well as about structural functioning, social engagements, cultural wonders, and collaborations amongst nations (Creswell, 2009). To this effect, the main data for the study will be qualitative data collection method through key informant interviews. However, both approaches were used to avoid the limitation of using only one type of method which helped the researcher to triangulating the research results from different sources and methods. This research employed descriptive or quasi-quantitative method to substantiate the data gathered from the interviews (qualitative), which uses a simple numeric measures such as mean and percentage.

3.3. Target population, sampling design and sample size

The target population of this study was Eritrean refugees whose age is above 18 and that is because most of the refugees in the study area are in this age plus doing interview with people who are under 18 wouldn't consider eligible as they are considered as minors. On top of the fact that they are minors most Eritrean refugees obviously migrated illegally from their home countries, are people who are above 18 years old. Participants were selected on the basis of their legal refugee status, location, age (above 18 years), and a minimum of one year stay in Addis Ababa (serve the purpose of assessing their livelihood strategies and challenges for the past one year at least). The researcher accessed individuals since some of them live alone and most of them live in a group sharing house rents and doing their own thing on the day time rather than as a family. The researcher thought it would be much more practical to address the refugees individually than as a household since they all have different income and different story to tell individually.

Unlike refugees in camps, urban refugees tend to be dispersed over a large geographical area which makes them difficult to be identified. As a result, urban refugees can be a largely invisible population, despite their significant need for research as well as protection and other support. Regardless, the researcher employed non probability sampling design as the study was conducted in Addis Ababa. The study area (Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city) was selected from the city of Addis Ababa purposively based on its concentration of Eritrean refugees. As there are no fixed rules for sample size in qualitative research and in light of the purposive sampling method the researcher used, the size of the respondents was rely on the amount of information the researcher thought was enough to answer the research questions and suit the specific objective of the research.

The respondents were selected through purposive sampling technique and a total of 26 respondents were selected for the interview, 20 from the refugees and 6 were selected from different organizations which are closely working with refugee's livelihood and food security. Snowball sampling was used because it involves chain of procedure to identify sufficient information and to spot out the right respondents. Individuals usually have contacts of other persons who can serve as good informants and can suggest those to the researchers. Implementing a sampling strategy was, however, remarkably difficult with urban refugees since the majority of them are self-settled, disseminated and mobile in the host city. In urban settings, settlers were more heterogeneous, that is why it makes it difficult to physically locate the type of people one is interested in researching, therefore, require considerably more effort than in other environments. It was not possible to attain the full list of refugees from the Administration for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA) as that information was treated with a high degree of confidentiality and because of the current pandemic as well.

To substantiate the response gathered from qualitative approach the researcher gathered numerical data from the refugees in the study area. Since there is no known number of Eritrean refugees who lives in the condominium the researcher take an assumption of 2000 refugees in the area as of the information obtained from the gate keepers and the people who lives there. According to Yamane (1967:886) a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes used in this research in a 95% confidence level and 5% precision level (Israel, 1992).

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} = n = \frac{2000}{1+2000(.5)^2} = 333 \text{ refugees}$$

Where n is the sample size, N is the population size, and e is the level of precision. This formula is used in this research to collect HFIAS and CSI questionnaires to know the urban Eritrean refugees 'status of food security and coping strategy. In quantitative sampling, since studying the entire population of refugees in the study area was practically impossible, a manageable size had to be chosen for the survey. The researcher administered a simple survey of 333 refugees who lives in the compound to generate quantifiable data. It was not easy to find an accurate number of Eritrean refugees from which the researcher could select a proper scientific sample by using simple random sampling.

3.4. Data type, source and techniques of data collection

For this research both qualitative and quantitative data from primary and secondary sources was gathered and analyzed. Primary data was collected from direct observation, key informant discussion, structured interview along with secondary data, collected from published and unpublished works such as books, journals, research works, articles, official world-wide web sites reports and fact sheets of organizations are used for literature review and information about the study group. Numeric (quantitative data) was also gathered through questionnaires to strengthen the data collected from key informant interview and secondary data collected.

3.4.1. Key informant interview (KII)

In qualitative interview, unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the two major types (Bryman, 2012). Yin (2003) notes that key informants are often critical to the success of the case study, the participant's role is considered to be more "informant" than just a "respondent". Since semi-structured interview provides the interviewees with great breathing room to reflect their opinion with the regard to the issue freely while fairly directed towards the specific topic to be covered, it's found appropriate to the study plus it's done face to face. The interview is based on the guide line by Laforest, (2009):

KIIs were identified based on their position, experience and knowledge of the topic, number of interviews planned depending on the availability of time and resource, preparation for the interview made by contacting the respondent in advance and explain them the goal of the interview, obtain her/his permission, schedule an appointment and agree on where the interview will be held, some are recorded depending on their willingness. Interview guideline was prepared in advance to identify what should be said during introduction, number of general and second priority questions, and concluding statements as well.

The researcher aims to get first-hand information from selected Eritrean refugees in the study area. According to Quinn (2002), open-ended questions are used to collect information but the researcher is responsible to probe and get in-depth information from participants. Interview guides will be used to collect information pertaining to the research questions. In depth interview was carried with about 20 refugees using convenience sampling and looking at the gender segregation, six female and 14 male respondents had participated in the interview. It was attempted to have equal gender participation but

due to the smaller number of female refugees in the area it wasn't possible to entertain equal participation in the interview. Six key informant interviews were purposively selected from ARRA, UNHCR, ZOA, NRC, FAO and DRC and interviewed based on their work experience and close relation with the refugees.

3.4.2. Field observation

In addition to the above data collection methods, a field observation was executed by the researcher to substantiate and augment the information obtained through interview. Biophysical and socioeconomic conditions of the area were explored through the field observation with taking consideration the current problem; COVID-19.

3.4.3. Questionnaire

HFIAS and CSI was adopted and modified contextually to collect data to see the food security status (access) and coping stratify of the food insecure individuals. It was administered on what has happened on the past 30 days and 7 days respectively (Coates et, 2007 & Maxwell and Caldwell, 2008). It was distributed to the refugee individuals who are above 18 years old in the study area. This enables the researcher to know about the respondent's demographics, individual means of resource, food consumption pattern, and coping strategies as well. Simple random sampling was applied to select the sample individual refugees. In quantitative sampling, since studying the entire population of refugees in the study area was practically impossible, a manageable size had to be chosen for the survey. The researcher administered a simple survey of 333 refugees who lives in the compound to generate quantifiable data by a representative way of selection with $\pm 5\%$ precision level and 95% confidence interval (Israel, 1992).

3.4.4. Secondary data

With regard to secondary sources, data was collected from review of different documents including books, journals, research works, articles, report that had been written by different organization on related issues. Documents from various official websites such as; UNHCR Fact Sheet like Operational Portal: Refugee Situation and global reports, Right to Food Guidelines by FAO (information papers and case studies), Legislative Study by FAO, and many more were reviewed.

3.5. Method of data analysis

3.5.1. Food security, coping strategy and livelihood challenges and strategy analysis

Food security is supposed to measure the availability, accessibility, consumption and stability of food at the global, national household and individual levels. A state of food insecurity also expressed when the people lack of access to adequate and safe supply of food on stable manner. This research focuses on one of the components of food security since its theoretical foundation is entitlement and the research focuses on the right based approach which is access or entitlement. Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS), Coping Strategy Index (CSI) and Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) were applied. The qualitative data was gone through interpretative analysis focusing on providing meanings and explanations to the perceptions of the informants so as to dig out issues under investigation (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This was used to identify the practice of the rights to food and food security status among Eritreans refugees in the area and strategies and challenges of their livelihood as well. The food security status was analyzed through descriptive analysis (mean and percentage) and SLF for livelihood practices and strategies.

The SLF can center on ways of understanding the practical realities and priorities of refugees, what they actually do to make a living, the assets that they are able to draw on and the challenges they face in doing this, strategies developed during difficulty and their livelihood sustainability in the host city. Identification of the challenge and the applicability of the right to food among Eritrean refugees were accessed through narrative and interpretative qualitative technique analysis. To substantiate the data incurred from primary sources and to develop conceptual framework, secondary sources of data such as books, journal articles, published and unpublished thesis, newspapers, governmental and non-governmental organizations report, newspapers, and study reports were consulted and analyzed qualitatively as well.

❖ Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS)

Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project (FANTA) developed the HFIAS in 2006 with an aim to provide a valid tool for use in a developing country context that would be capable of measuring food insecurity in a comparable way, i.e., with cross-cultural equivalency (Coates, Swindale, Bilinsky, 2007). It was a key technique for the analysis of the access component of food security. HFIAS is the most up to date, relatively simple to run and methodologically rigorous measurement of food

insecurity (Swindale and Bilinsky, 2006). HFIAS was used in this study to distinguish refugees who are food secure and food insecure (taking into consider one component of food security: access). It has 9 generic questions and each of the questions asked with a recall period of four weeks (30 days).

The respondent is first asked an occurrence question that is, whether the condition in the question happened at all in the past four weeks (yes or no). If the respondent answers “yes” to an occurrence question, a frequency-of-occurrence question is asked to determine whether the condition happened rarely (once or twice), sometimes (three to ten times) or often (more than ten times) in the past four weeks (Coates, Swindale and Bilinsky, 2007). But if the respondent said no to the first question no need to go to the second. At first, the date should be coded frequency-asked-questions as 0 for all cases where the answer to the corresponding occurrence question was no and then the score is calculated for each individual by summing up the codes for each frequency-of-occurrence questions. If the individual response to all nine frequency-of-occurrence question was “sometimes” the code would be 2. The maximum score for the individual response is 27 and the minimum is 0 and that is when the individual answer “no” to all the questions therefore, the higher the score the more food insecure (access) the individual is, the lower the score, the less food insecurity (access) the individual experienced.

1. In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food?

0 = No (skip to Q2)

1. = Yes

2. a. How often did this happen?

1. = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks)

2. = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks)

3. =Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)

Table 4.1: Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) questionnaires

No.	Questions
	For each of the following questions, consider what has happened in the past 30 days. Please answer whether this happened never, rarely (once or twice), sometimes (3-10 times), or often (more than 10 times) in the past 30 days.
1.	Did you worry that you would not have enough food?
2.	Were you not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources?
3.	Did you eat just a few kinds of food day after day due to a lack of resources?
4.	Did you eat food that you preferred not to eat because a lack of resource to obtain other types of food?
5.	Did you eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?
6.	Did you eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?
7.	Was there ever no food at all in your house because there were not resources to get more?
8.	Did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?
9.	Did you go a whole day without eating anything because there was not enough food?

Source: Coates, Swindale and Bilinsky, 2007

❖ **Coping Strategy Index (CSI)**

The Coping Strategies Index (CSI) is one such tool, which measures behavior: the things that people do when they cannot access enough food. There are a number of fairly regular behavioral responses to food insecurity or coping strategies that people use to manage household food shortage. These coping strategies are easy to observe. It is quicker, simpler, and cheaper to collect information on coping strategies than on actual household food consumption levels (Maxwell and Caldwell, 2008). The CSI is based on the many possible answers to one single question: “What do you do when you don’t have adequate food, and don’t have the money to buy food?”

Table 4.2: Modified CSI questions

<p>Behaviors: In the past 7days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how many days has your household had to:</p>	<p>Frequency: Number of days out of the past seven: (use no 0-7 to answer number of days; use NA for not applicable)</p>
<p>a. Rely on less preferred and less expensive foods?</p>	
<p>b. Borrow food, or rely on help from a friend or relative?</p>	
<p>c. Purchased food on credit?</p>	
<p>d. Use money that you saved for emergency or any other purpose?</p>	
<p>e. Go to eat somewhere?</p>	
<p>f. Consider begging?</p>	
<p>g. Limit portion size at mealtime?</p>	
<p>h. Reduce number of meals eaten in a day?</p>	
<p>i. Skip entire days without eating?</p>	

Source: Maxwell and Caldwell, 2008

CHAPTER IV: FOOD SECURITY STATUS, LIVELIHOOD CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES OF THE REFUGEES IN VIEW OF THE RIGHTS TO FOOD

This chapter presents the main results and discusses their implication *vis-à-vis* livelihood strategies, challenges and the rights to food and food security. The researcher intended to understand and analyzed the livelihoods of Eritrean refugees which needs a core in-depth interview to extract varied and complex information and acknowledge the subjective and dynamic nature of the food security and the rights to food. Thus, the reasons for leaving their home country, how and when it happened were discussed explicitly. Moreover, refugees' experience and feeling on livelihood strategies and activities in a-day-to-day life has been extracted. Added to these, perceptions and knowledge of refugees about the rights to food and food security status and the coping strategies has also been extracted in this study. Based on data obtained from 26 key informants, the study came out with existing practices, understandings of the rights to food and major livelihood strategies and challenges of Eritrean refugees. The study went through 333 questionnaires to substantiate the qualitative data obtained from the interviews and analyzed it numerically. The chapter begins by describing the background information of the partakers. It then presents the usual practices and settlements among the refugees. Then, key challenges of their livelihood and coping mechanisms employed by the participants are presented. The knowledge, understanding and applicability of the rights to food and food security awareness are assessed and analyzed.

4.1 The reason for migration

In the case of this study, the entire respondents mentioned similar reasons regarding causes of migration from their home country, Eritrea. Surprisingly they all have the same kind of story to tell concerning their illegal journey from their birth place to Ethiopia and life afterwards as well. Every Eritrean interviewed for this research came to Ethiopia illegally (they mentioned illegal way is the only way) with the help of smugglers and paid them in dollars. Some of them spent days some spent a minimum of nine hours journey by foot. They mentioned many Eritreans died on this process or were caught and put in prison and brought back to the military camps as a form of punishment. There were also cases where countless Eritreans died in the seas and deserts while trying to cross borders through Libya and other African and Middle East countries. Most of the refugees fled from their home

countries because of the never-ending service at military camps, involuntary engagement in politics and many prejudicial life styles.

As Peterson (1958) explains in his refugee theory, forced migrants are excluded from their area by an external force, such as government, the people involved in forced migration have completely no choice in the matter of their removal from their country. It is underlined by the participants of this study as they all mentioned in a same manner that giving a military service was a must in their country. There is no chance to look for a job or go to a college before giving military service. That is true whether one is a male or a female, every citizen is obliged to give military service either as a soldier or any other profession which will be helpful to the military camps. As the theories in the previous chapter and this study Eritrean refugees are forced to go away from their home country one way or another.

One of the participants mentioned that *'it is a devastating supremacy and makes you feel hopeless.'* Practically, all of the respondents complained and explained that they left their country and families behind just to escape from the oppressive reign and tried anything than staying in the country regardless of the consequences. More or less, the respondents are students of higher education but could not have a decent and a professional job but a service in military camps instead. That is too frustrating and devastating as mentioned by the respondents to not to be able to do something you are good at and help your family and change your life. Respondents said that it is every Eritrean's dream to leave Eritrea for a better education and better life, live in a peaceful and unrestricted environment. One of the respondents mentioned that with an eye full of tears saying: *'there are many moms who cry for years and years and still not get over the sorrow of losing their kids. We all try to escape from our home country by any means possible, because we feel there will not be change and there is no hope for us'*. Another refugee participant explicitly said that *'we try to escape from the prison and even from the country despite the shoot-to-kill policy of the government.'*

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of the participant

This section shows the demographic status of respondent who participated in the interview. The major variables assessed are sex, age, education level, occupation and marital status, duration of stay in a refugee camp and in Addis Ababa. From the table below one can see that all of them are above 18 and below 42 years of age, most of them are single, and almost all of them are of education level of 12+1 or above. It is also observable that most of them are not engaged in a decent job or any job at all.

Moreover, among the participants most respondents have stayed in refugee camps in between three and 18 months or 18 months to 6 years in Addis Ababa.

Table 4.1: Interview participants’ demographic information

Participants	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education Level	Occupation	Stayed at the Camp	Stay in Addis Ababa
Respondent 1	Male	33	Single	12+4	Mentor	1 year	4 years
Respondent 2	Male	31	Single	12 +4	Mentor	6 months	18 months
Respondent 3	Male	43	Single	12+4	Not working	3 months	2 years
Respondent 4	Male	30	Single	12+ 4	DRC worker	2 months	5 years
Respondent 5	Female	24	Single	12 + 4	No working	1 month	1 year
Respondent 6	Female	23	Single	12 + 4	No working	1 month	1 year
Respondent 7	Male	42	Married	12 + 4	Teacher	8 months	5 years
Respondent 8	Male	40	Single	12 + 4	No working	6 months	4 years
Respondent 9	Female	19	Single	12+2	No working	2 months	18 months
Respondent 10	Male	45	Single	12 + 1	Private	3 months	20 months
Respondent 11	Female	32	Single	12 + 4	Private	1 year	5 years
Respondent 12	Male	27	Single	12+2	Not working	4 months	2 years
Respondent 13	Female	28	Single	12+ 2	Not working	1 year	4 years
Respondent 14	Male	20	Single	12+1	Not working	8 months	2 years
Respondent 15	Female	30	Married	12+1	Not working	1 year	5 years
Respondent 16	Male	30	Single	12+1	Not working	6 months	4 years
Respondent 17	Male	46	Married	12+1	UNHCR	1 year	5 years
Respondent 18	Male	27	Single	12+4	Not working	2 months	5 years
Respondent 19	Male	29	Single	12+4	Not working	5 months	6 years
Respondent 20	Male	26	Single	12+2	Not working	1 year	18 months

Note: by the current curriculum in Eritrea 12+4 is for BA degree, 12+2 is diploma and 12+1 is a certificate level.

4.3 Sources of income and livelihood strategies

4.3.1 Remittance

One of the main income sources for most Eritrean Refugee in the study area is remittance; Eritreans have a culture of helping each other and most of the refugee livelihood in the study area depends on remittance from families and relatives according to the respondents from the in-depth interview. Their source of income is mainly generated from someone who lives abroad. According to UNHCR 2016 report, livelihood of most urban refugees is hinged on the remittance from their families or friends who live abroad. As stated on this report, these urban refugees living in different host countries are waiting on financial assistance from overseas for survival.

As stated by the respondents their source of income is mainly generated from parents, siblings, relatives, friends residing abroad or even someone who barely knows them. In a study done by Wegene (2016) the most obvious livelihood strategy for Eritrean refugees in the area is receiving oversea remittance as part of social capital. For most of the Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa, remittance from families and relatives is the major source of livelihood according to the refugee respondents. One of the respondents stated that she is receiving money from a friend she met on their way to Ethiopia; they barely knew each other when they traveled illegally and escaped the borders using the same route. Fortunately, her new friend went to America a year ago and is now sending her money every month. As the money she sends her is not enough for her monthly expenses; she is working as a waitress in a café near her house to get extra cash to cover all the costs. She also added that it is unthinkable to ask her friend for more money, rather she desperately wants to be independent and fulfill her own needs. Most of the Eritrean refugees are self-reliant through oversea remittance rather than relying on monthly hand outs and some of the refugees are pursuing the living standard equivalent to or even better than the locals. One of the key informants also underlined that it is statistically proven that more 70% of the refugees depend on remittance and mostly that is one of the reasons they use Out of Camp-Policy (OCP) with confidence, knowing that they do not have a right to work in the cities.

4.3.2 Income through support of relatives in the hosting city

Refugees would be eligible to the OCP when they find someone to host them in the cities. Some find someone to just use for the purpose of leaving the camp and get their own place right after they get to the cities, but some are really in need of someone to stay with and get support. As a research done by Aida (2017) shows that refugees commonly convince someone to act as if she or he is their sponsor so that they befall eligible to the out of camp scheme as the procedure requires. Since it is hard to live in the camps because of many reasons like the weather, the food provided and lack of necessary services; the refugees choose to leave regardless of the hardship awaiting them ahead. As the study done by Aida (2017) access to information or easy access to family and friends abroad through telephone network and access to internet was one of the reasons that fascinated refugees towards the out of camp policy. It is also mentioned by the respondents of this study that those are the main reasons for them to use OCP. One of the refugees interviewed explained that he came here right after the peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia to join his brothers here in Addis Ababa before two years. Since then he is living with them, eat with them and depend on them in every way. He also mentioned that they are very nice to him and taking a good care of him. But it still is not simple to just sit for consecutive two years and wait for someone to feed you. He was in a military for over 15 years and has no experience or any technical skill to even try to work. Though he is thankful that he has brothers and he always has a roof over his head and every necessity, he said that it still is not easy.

A protection team leader in ARRA confirmed that it is a must to find someone either in the city or abroad who sponsor them to live in the city and leave the camp using OCP after a minimum stay of 45 (now it become 90) days at the camp. One of the respondent also mentioned that he was with his half cast cousins here in Addis once he left the camp after three months stay. Though his mom is in Germany and she was sending him money, it was not practical and sounds unsafe for him to live alone as he was new to the city and never been by himself before other than the military camps back home. His cousins are half Ethiopian and have a well-established life and they are the one who sponsored him to come to the city using OCP. He lived with them for over a year and moved in with a friend afterwards. He says *'It was really hard to live in the camps plus since I want to do something than just wait for my mom and others to send me money, I have decided to contact my family here in Addis to sponsor me'*. He also point out that even though it is a little uncomfortable to live with people you never lived with before it still is a hope to be able to find someone to lean on at least for a while and start a new life.

It has been directed by the study subjects that almost all the sponsors provide accommodation and food. They support and provide them with a bit of cash occasionally as pocket money especially if they are close families like siblings. Most of the refugees also stated that they feel like they are burdening their sponsors at times but still prefer to stay with them till they find some way to live by themselves or move to places where they are processing to.

4.3.3 Income through paid job

The Ethiopian Government introduced OCP for Eritrean refugees in 2010. As Kidist's (2016) study it has a welcoming initiative that opens interesting opportunities for Eritrean refugees to live in cities so that they can make a living for themselves and for their families. The State acknowledges the relative success of the OCP than camps and its value in creating a self-reliance attitude on refugees in the urban areas since they are no more bound and restricted in camps. This scheme established by the government, has a welcoming inventiveness that unlocks exciting opportunities for Eritrean refugees. Yet, until now it has not headed to the estimated result, as some holes in the policy bound the protection and access to livelihood opportunities of refugees once they are out of the camp (Samuel, 2014). Although refugees in Addis Ababa have no right to work, since the new proclamation is not effective yet, working in the informal sector is normally tolerated and some of them are engaged in informal sector.

Finding a job is the most challenging thing the refugees face in the host city. They all agree in one voice that it is very hard not to be able to work while you are young and strong. It is very depressing to just sit and wait for someone to help you. Thus, as a coping mechanism, they engage in different income generating activities informally and formally very rarely. According to Aida (2017) they usually be employed as daily laborers, mechanics, hair dressers and so on. While explaining this, one of the participants of the interview in this study, has stated that he came to Addis four years ago and working at a hair dressing around Kera. It was very difficult for him to find a job at first and he did not work for the first year and a half. Then he met someone who introduced him with the owner of the hair salon that he is working now. He works six days a week, seven at busy times to cover his house rent, food and some necessary expenses. He also added that it is much better than the previous days regardless of the small amount of money he gets. And now he at least can cover his own expenses.

A 40 year old men refugee interviewed told the researcher that he was a teacher back home but he always wanted to change his life and provide better life for himself. So one day when he tried to flee and cross the border, he got caught and sent back to one of the military camps as a punishment. He managed to escape after some months in the military and got to Ethiopia at 2016. Using the OCP he now is in Addis Ababa living with a friend in this compound. He used to work with helping kids and tutor them after school and get a little amount of payment till this corona thing comes to the picture. He was good to share to the house rent and eat at least two times or one time a day. He said *“I do not know what comes next but there is nothing I am doing right now.”*

House rent and food is the major difficulty this group highly suffers from as indicated by the refugee’s response for the interview. It is really hard to cope up with the rediciuolesly expensive life style in Addis Ababa with the small amount of money they got. The researcher managed to interview three refugees who work with Danish Refugee Council (DRC) as mentor and an outreach worker and got incentives. One of them, who is a 33-year-young men point out that he tried different things since the day he got in Addis Ababa. He worked as a French teacher for Eritreans who could pay and an English teacher for Ethiopians till, he got a chance working with Danish Refugee Council (DRC). He chooses to work with this organization because he can save transportation since it is in the condominium compound plus it is secured than teaching since it is not based on agreement. He says *“though the payment is not enough am glad I got a chance to work and have place to spend my day doing something plus I can manage the money with the remittance I got from my relatives abroad”*. He added that DRC office in the compound is closed because of the current pandemic COVID-19 which make things worse and now they are doing nothing than sending their day sitting in cafes in the compound.

There are few of them who do business because of their families here in Addis and using skills they have. Though business is going good, with not mentioning the current situation, their refugee status makes it hard to have the license and to handle other legal issues for them to function and stay in the business filed as they want to. On the other hand, there are enterprises and small businesses the refugees engaged in with collaboration with the host community so in this case the legal issues and the license is under the name of an Ethiopian. A 45-year-old man point out that he is doing his business from home with the computer maintenance skills he has. Though he does not have a place and someone he knows to work with for the license and other related validation issues; he is doing

good since people around him knows that he is good in fixing electronics and send people to him whenever someone get a problem relating to laptops or mobile phone. One of the ladies participated in the interview also stated that she is engaged in cultural dress selling business and she mentioned that the license is with the name of someone who is an Ethiopian. Even if you can afford to at least engage in small businesses it is a must to find someone who has legal rights to work with you. That in many ways can be a challenge starting from finding someone you trust to work with to someone who is willing to go through whatever process there will be to operate the business.

4.4 Livelihood strategy assessment in view of Sustainable Livelihood Framework

It is broadly recognized that in any economy, people's social and technical abilities, income generating power, education level and knowledge to create a living have a huge impact to determine the economic status and livelihood security of the community to a great extent (Messay, 2012). The sustainable livelihood framework illustrates, in different context, livelihoods are accomplished through access to a variety and specified livelihood resources (human, natural, physical, social and financial) collectively with different livelihood strategies endeavored for survival over a period of time (Scoones, 1998 and Scoones, 2009). The sustainable livelihood framework expresses contemplation to allow the inherent capabilities of people in association to their social networks, skills, access to physical and financial resources, and capacity to impact main governmental institutions and others. It describes the interconnection among the central dynamics which has influence on people's livelihood (Messay, 2012). In this research, attempt have been made to see the livelihood strategies of the refugees by accessing all the resources except the natural resource as we are talking about specific groups who live in urban area. It has been investigated in the study the Eritrean refugees livelihood engagements, improvement, activities which help the refugee's the rights to food and food security attainment.

4.4.1 Human asset

It is a given fact that people's educational level, working power, ability and personal skill, health and other human capabilities strongly define and affect a countries economy whether negatively or positively. The study has found out that most of the refugees in the study area have many skills and are in different educational level and almost all of them are in an age group of a '*working age*' that definitely makes their livelihood sustainable anywhere. Almost all of the participants in the interview have 12+1 and above educational level, different experiences and technical skills except very few of

them who stayed in the military for so long without updating their human assets.

4.4.2 Personal asset

Personal asset of the refugees respondents were assessed using their reply to the in-depth interview. When we say personal assets or personal resources, it means motivation of a person towards her/his livelihood, self-esteem, self-confidence, self-perception, emotional well-being, assertiveness, spirituality and so on. The study revealed that most of the respondents lose motivation and self-confidence over the process they went through to survive. Regardless of their interest to look for strategies to change their lives and see for a coping mechanism while waiting for their third country resettlement and as long as they stay in the hosting country they mentioned that it become so exhausting and they start to give up and lose interest. They pointed out that they could manage their livelihood better if they could work formally and share the same privilege with the host community. The fact that they think of themselves as a stranger or at least because of the vibe the environment has, they lost motivation and affects their emotional well-being to some extent. It is also noticed that all they need is a little motivation and right based approach to make them confident about themselves and be able to make their livelihood better, work and be independent. They can also be a great resource for the hosting country if they feel secured of their personal assets and get a chance to use it.

4.4.3 Social asset

According to Degefa (2010) and Messay (2012) social capital denotes to resources that a society enjoys in the form of institutes, networks, associations, power values and norms. Eritrean refugees in the study area have no tradition to have a social institutions and cooperation except some sort of social media platform created to exchange some information and updates. They are not engaged in some kind of *eder, ekub* (traditional gatherings and stands to help one another) or any other associations or norms like the hosting community or their culture back home. And that is mainly because most of them have no intention to settle here in Addis Ababa besides rather they are destined and planned to resettle in a third country. Plus, the fact that most of them are in their young age they would rather use social medias and virtual way of communication than the traditional ones. Additionally, it will not be practical since they are mobile and have no permanent address to do the gatherings as needed.

4.4.4 Financial asset

Financial assets are resources that a person makes for a living like employment, saving, regular money flows like remittance and gifts, credit and more. As mentioned above, the livelihood of refugees in the study area is highly depending on remittance. Most of them have no access to work or credit or any other means to secure their living than remittance and rarely possible informal jobs. It is explained well in the first section of this chapter. Hence financial capital, especially employment is one of the fundamental resources they lack and they desperately need. It is repeatedly indicated by the participants on the interview that they might access all the rest if they are able to access their right to work. Though they do not feel that they are not hungry or having something to eat is not that hard, they understand that eating three times a day does not mean that their right to food is respected. As long as they are not allowed to work their right to food is in denial and there is a violation of their rights. Being able to work and provide for themselves is the basics for their right to food as they mentioned.

4.4.5 Physical asset

This comprises services that promote a livelihood of individuals such as: shelter security, affordable transportation, access to quality education, access to health services and so on. These are somewhat the basic necessity and worry of the refugees as they are new in the hosting city. It has been noticed in the study that affordable accommodation, access to work and quality education and access to health service are the reason they moved to the city in the first place on top of the resettlement process they have. These are actually the basic necessities to every human being regardless of any status a person has. The refugees mention that their concern and expectation from the hosting government is this resource. An opportunity or a chance to participate on a paid job and access to quality education is vital to strengthen their livelihood as they mentioned. One of the respondent stated that *'even the 12 grade national exam is not allowed for Eritreans anymore since two years for some odd reason we do not know'*.

4.5 Livelihood challenges

Though the vast majority of Eritreans livelihood in the area is highly relies on remittance one still can see the challenges they face throughout their everyday life. Theoretically the basic reason for the out of camp policy scheme presented by the government allows self-sufficiency for Eritrean refugees to

settle in any part of the urban cities. Although OCP gives Eritrean refugees the right to live in the cities and a right to make a living but it did not give them a right to work or a working permit. That just gives them the right to live in the city, give them access to some necessities such as hospitals, banks (though some are not willing to give them service according to one of the respondents) and some other related services. Refugees agreed to sponsor themselves and know in advance that they do not have a right to work even before they got to the cities and commit to the OCP according to one of the key informant interviewees who is a food security and livelihood expert in Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). House rent kept on escalating from time to time and that affects the purchasing power of their basic necessities like food. Some of them get support by friends and relatives abroad monthly some once in a while on top of the small amount of income they generate by themselves but it is not regularly. Some has no one to help them and are not even working currently because of the pandemic around the world. The researcher also observed through the field visit that most of them sit in the cafes in the compound doing nothing almost every day.

4.5.1 Access to employment

According to the respondents the most significant challenge of them all is limited/no access to employment. All refugee participants agree on the fact that there is low/no chance to work in the city. The government let them be in the cities and let them figure out how to live knowing that they are highly dependent on remittance. But as many of the interview participants mentioned repeatedly, having an opportunity to work is not just to make money or survival but it is also highly related with psychology and mental satisfaction. A 31-year-old man expresses his feelings and told to the researcher that he lives with the support he gets from his families abroad, they send him 200-250\$ per month and he can manage that since he is sharing a house rent with a friend and has not that much expense for himself than food and some necessities. But the thing is, he does not know what to do every morning when he wakes up. He said that it is very stressing not to have a plan every day, confused and spend your day with doing nothing. He added that he sometimes does not want to wake up so he sleeps till 1pm, that way he can kill at least half a day and worry for the rest half. He mainly wants to work because he needs to do something with his time and he said he feels sad that he is not using his energy and knowledge as he should be like fellow Ethiopians who are his age.

One man explains the boredom out of unemployment saying it is really hard to stay home with a knowledge and potential on your young age. He also mentioned that he is 42 years old and working at

Lidetha Cathedral as a teacher since he got here 5 years ago. It has been over 2 months now since he is home because of the current global issue, COVID-19. He said that the boredom is really hard and he said *'I cannot imagine how my fellow Eritreans bear this stress and stay for so long without work'*. Yes, many are here to start a process to join their families and friends abroad however, it is known that they are staying in the hosting city for indefinite period of time it is obvious that they need to work. According to one of the respondents finding a job can be easy for the people who have technical skills than those who have professional experiences, to even engage in an informal way. People with degree from University or stayed in a military for so long and have no experience has no hope and almost zero exposure to get a job. For the majority, the fact that they prefer the out of camp scheme is not just because of the pull factors in the urban setting but also attributed to the push factors in the camp surroundings. The push factors in the camps mainly take account of the unpleasant climate, a need for self-reliance and self-sufficiency and sense of insecurity. Few of them suggested that if food assistance is provided in the city their lives would be easier and they would only have to focus and be worried about covering their house rent and other necessities.

It is also stated by one of the respondents that some refugees get a job because they know someone who can hook them up with any available paid job regardless of the salary. Engaged in a government job is not possible at all but find something in private organization could be possible as long as you know someone there. There is also a small chance finding a job at the NGOs (he works with DRC) with a small incentive based-salary, but at least it is worth your time doing something irrespective of the money you make. On top of everything else, the high competition, high unemployment rate and less job opportunity in a hosting country even for the locals is also another point that has raised hereby many of the participants. According to one of the respondents to the interview, though it is not common, there are still few people who engage in filthy jobs like prostitution and begging.

4.5.2 Language barrier

Even though almost all of them can communicate and speak at least a little Amharic, they still find it difficult for them to work and integrate well within the community. Almost all the 20 respondents of the interview mentioned this as a huge barrier to all of them that affects their livelihood one way or another. Though it is not that challenging to learn Amharic because of the same root it has with Tigrigna, it still is a barrier especially for the first couple of months. It is challenging for some of them to even shop or bargain for a house rent, subsequently that makes them to take whatever the broker

offers and that distresses their livelihood in terms of allocating their income thoroughly. One of the

interviewees is a 24 young girl who came a year ago with her friend thinking to go to the western for a better education. Both of them cannot speak Amharic and that turn out to be the main challenge for them to find a job till they figure out how to get what they want for the future. They both have BA degree and want to do whatever they get; however, the fact that they cannot speak Amharic makes it hard for them to work. Though their parents back home are sending money and they do not have a shortage of resources they kept mentioning that the boredom is killing them as they spend their day by sleeping. In accordance with the finding of Mussarat's (2012) and Anamara's (2008) researches, it is highlighted that the incapability of the refugees to speak or comprehend the language of the host city will impose negative impact on their assimilation with the community.

The reason for not working at least informally for some Eritreans as of the participants is the language barrier. Although it is not as such difficult for Eritrean refugees to communicate with the local community because of the similar look, the culture, the religion and many more some still find the language difference challenging in the study area. Refugees particularly those who had been in Ethiopia before and deported to Eritrea during the Eritrea-Ethiopian war (May 6, 1998 to June 18, 2000), speaks Amharic well with no discernable accent that facilitated their integration and livelihood strategies. Other refugees also speak Amharic as perfect as Ethiopian though they have some difficulty with some words and Tigrigna accent. One of the participants says: *'knowing our accent and that we live around here people in the market rise the price of goods on us since they think we don't bargain (which is true though).'* One way or another language barrier whether it sounds something simple or huge, affects their livelihood and food security. If it can be a reason for them not to find a job or at least makes it harder, that directly affects their access to food and purchasing power for their food preferences. As many of them mentioned the house rent and price of goods are not the same for them and for the locals and that is because their accent and language struggle. One of the respondents added here that he could tutor students if he speaks Amharic well but the language barrier makes him not to with all the interest and the knowledge he has to teach and tutor.

4.5.3 Emotional and psychological pressure

The constant escalation on living cost in Addis Ababa on top of their lack of income develops a dependency syndrome inside them and this resulted to high depression and stress. In the work of Aida

(2017) it was stated that high costs of basic necessities despite accessibility, were very costly in Addis Ababa. As Aida's study, house rent was the first thing that was mentioned by the refugees as being expensive. It is also goes in line with this study as one of the key informants elaborates that by saying: *'I am always feeling stressed because of the high living cost in the city especially house rent, as the money I receive from my brother is not enough anymore and becomes stressing since I do not want to ask for more and since I cannot work and fill the hole by myself'*.

Another respondent added on this by saying that the stress and boredom is unbearable! There is loneliness, homesickness, high stress and all the negative feelings when you are away from your home and families on top of doing nothing. You can build a new life, work, make money and all figured it out but you will never feel like home and create the feeling of belongingness. He is now waiting for his resettlement process to his wife but till then the loneliness and life stress here in Addis Ababa is huge or otherwise he will be happy to be back to Eritrea. As studied by George (2010), the refugees' migratory journey is oppressed with different mental health problems, all of which have need of much attention from health care providers and humanitarians (George, 2010).

This study is also confirmed that many are suffering with a different level of stress and depression through the process. A 30 year old man who stayed here for 5 years stated that people are suffering from different level of stress because of the same old routine way of living and unpredictable future. He reminded that he tried different income generating techniques to distract himself from all the boredom and stressful city life. Most of the respondents stressed out that many Eritrean refugees are into alcohol and other related addictions just to escape the pressure and anxiety from the unemployment, unfamiliar and hectic city life. Some of them drink every night since they got the money easily through remittance and have got nothing to do; they misuse the money to get out of the stress and spend the day time sleeping and go to drinking at night as a daily basis.

4.5.4 Security

A study by Wegene (2017) showed that the previous incident of deportation of Eritreans from Ethiopia is a reason of fear and insecurity as some of the Eritrean refugees in the study area with the living experience of deportation believes. They as stated by the researcher added that there is no guarantee against history repeating itself. This finding goes in line with this research results.

As one of the respondents said that there is a lot of problem all the way from the home country to the

camps, from the camps to the hosting city. The safety and the security issue starts the moment one tries to escape with the fear of the border keepers, crossing the border is with a 'racing' heart and panic till reaching to Ethiopia. After reaching to Ethiopia and once joining the camps everything is stressful, starting from the weather to living condition and all. After a couple of months staying there one can go to the cities or where ever she/he chooses to go using OCP knowing that it can be the most stressing environment of them all. And he said, he chooses to come to the city because it is a better place to facilitate his third country resettlement. He is in Ethiopia seeking protection as a refuge that needs a special protection from a hosting government; since he left his country because it is never safe for him anymore as a journalist who used to write against the government. But apparently Ethiopia is not safe anymore too, because of the peace thing they just come up with. He heard that they are sending people back and he feel insecure at times. *'Living in fear of going back to a place you left for many good reasons, knowing prison and punishment is waiting there for you is so unpleasant'* as he said when he tries to wrap up the interview.

There is also another respondent who was not willing to meet in person and did the interview through the phone because of the security issue. He first escaped from the national service, got caught and sent back to prison, escape again from the prison and left the country. He has a fear to be sent back to Eritrea as it is obvious that punishment and prison are the only things that lie in wait for him. There is also discrimination and unfair treatment by the police officers in the city as they mentioned. They also revealed that they ask them money if they know they are Eritreans, threaten them for no good reason. In the work of Wegene (2017) Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia get special treatment from local authorities and extraordinary treatment from the security personnel and other service providers in the study area. In contrary to this finding, this research has showed that most of the interviewed Eritrean refugees had a bad experience with the security personnel in the area as stated above.

4.6 The rights to food and its perceptions

All the refugees in the study have lived in Addis Ababa for at least a year and got in the city through OCP. The study showed that, more than average of the respondents ate twice a day as a way of ensuring that their money from abroad makes them stay the whole month at least as they do not know when the next one comes. When asked what the perceptions are regarding the right to food they said they do not really understand that except the word sounds a right to everyone. Almost every respondents reply to the question related to the right to food saying they have no idea what the theoretical definition but believes that the right to food is obviously a basic right to everyone since

one cannot live without it. One of the respondents said *that “the right to food comes after survival, in a country where you are a second citizen and see yourself lower than the locals right is not even a concern. We never think of we have any right especially right related food, it sounds luxury for us.”*

Another refugee respondent claims that if the government is willing to receive refugees then it should provide food or at least show the way. He also mentioned that the government gives support to the South Sudanese but not to them, and there should be a means to do that for all refugees without discrimination.

The right to food is a right to everyone regardless of one race or status of citizenship or anything else. According to one of the key informant interview who is responsible to urban refugees at UNHCR: the right to food first of all is a human right which must be guaranteed for all human beings irrespective of race, gender, political opinion or refugee status. It should not be understood as just eating twice or thrice a day. It should rather combine vital components such as existence of essential nutrients in the food. It is a second-generation human right included in the economic, social and cultural rights. So, its level of protection may depend on availability of resources in a country. Its achievement could also be argued as progressive and the more the resources, the more the food on the table. In this regard, refugees have the right to seek protection from the country which pledged to provide protection. Moreover, agencies like UNHCR also pledged to protect refugees which include provision of food and shelter. Hence, it can be said that refugees have the right to claim food from agencies and institutions which pledged to protect them.

This clearly indicates that the right to food of urban refugees is not guaranteed since it is clearly stated in OCP and they are clearly agreed on that. He also added to the question whether there is the right to food violation he said, denial of economic opportunities, access to work etc. could be considered as reasons for violation of the right to food. Violation of the right to food should not be separated from other human rights. For instance, violation of freedom of movement could deny a person the chance to move freely and work and access food. So, violation of other human rights may also result in violation of the right to food. However, when it comes to developing countries one would not dare to say it is a violation rather its level of protection could be diminished, and a developing country is not to blame for this. This country could not be expected to provide more protection for refugees than it does to its own citizens. A refugee living in Europe may access food with thousands of calories in it while the other in a developing nation may get a food with just hundreds of calories. And he finally said *‘for me that is not a violation that instead is access pertinent to a level of an economy’*.

One of the key respondents replied that to the question whether refugees can sue or not by saying any one can claim the right to food and yes they can sue but it is not easy. Suit for violation of the right to freedom of movement is easier to address compared to the right to food which makes it difficult to discern where the violation happened. Another respondent who is a representative and a team leader at DRC explain this as: theoretically, there is the mechanism to sue a violation of the right to food or claim their right to access adequate food supply. In practice, their claims are mostly evaded as the institutions that are responsible on this claim that it is no responsible. He also added that not all refugees receive food aid particularly urban refugees does not and the concept of rights to food has a broader meaning than that. The right to food indeed has a wider purview including the right to wage earning employment and self-employment while food aid focuses on one-sided assistance to vulnerable and non-self-reliant refugees.

When the refugees asked if they think their right to food was being violated, they answered in the affirmative. Yet again when asked if they would consider going to court to sue or claim their right, all the refugees in the study responded in the negative. It was observed from their responses that they did not know where to claim this right from or who the duty bearer is. On top of that most of them know that they do not even have right to ask this once they agree to take part and use OCP and come to the city. One of the women interviewed says *‘the government closes the entire door to ask such rights when it gives us a right to leave the camp and move to the cities of our choices. So we know that we do not have a choice than trying to figure out to feed ourselves by whatever means possible.*

Olivier De Schutter, the erstwhile Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food remarks that: *“The right to food will only be truly realized where victims have access to an independent judiciary or other complains mechanisms to complain about violations”*(De Schutter, 2010).A project monitoring and evaluation department team leader from ARRA replied when asked about what the right to food is for him as a professional he explained that, the right to food is one of the humanitarian assistant and a right to every human being. ARRA do not really do anything to refugees in the cities relating to food and other necessities. There is a food aid for people in the camp but there is nothing the government does for urban refugees in the cities. It is their responsibilities to feed themselves as they agreed to find a sponsor for them to stay in the cities plus that is the reason the government allow them to be out of the camp. The refugees at the camp can complain when their right to food is violated since there is a responsible body for them to provide and they do not have a comfortable environment for them to work and provide for themselves. It is even becoming too hard to feed all the refugees in the camp let

alone urban refugees, because of the number of people there and the shortage of resources and funds. The food provide for them is with less standard and a minimum amount.

The opinions above shows that the right to food is related with food ration or food aid to some and it is more than that to others. The refugees cannot necessarily claim the right to food against the state or any responsible bodies' when it comes to urban refugees and especially if it is in developing countries according to the respondents. In the work of Kadogbe (2013) it was stated that the right to food of refugees in a developing country is more likely to be violated than in a developed country. Therefore it is obvious that, it is much easier to claim the right to food in a developed country than in a developing country. Similarly to his findings this research has also found out that, as most of the respondents underlined that it would not be practical to expect fulfilling the right to food since Ethiopia is a developing country and even locals are not doing well regarding their right to food let alone refugees.

The refugee's perception towards the rights to food is not better than the mere understanding of the word "right". As all of the respondent's response their present life was much better as compared to the camp life they had. They have indicated that environmental conditions are much better and some necessary facilities are available compared to the camp plus access to information is also far batter in the city to connect with family and friends abroad. Nevertheless, the right to food is beyond their understanding and something they never think of before.

4.7 Factors affecting the rights to food among Eritrean refugees

As stated above repeatedly the government of Ethiopia gave a privilege to Eritreans to be self-sufficient and be in the cities as long as they want with some exceptions. According to one of the key informant's response, Eritrean refugees are the only refugee group in Ethiopia who has the right to choose their place of settlement by proving their ability to be self-sufficient or by providing sponsors to support them in Ethiopia via Out-of-Camp Policy. The solid socio-cultural connection between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the social networks that Eritrean refugees have in different parts of Ethiopia and minimum security risk that they can create on Ethiopia are the major justification given by Ethiopian government for the OCP (Samuel, 2014). The OCP sounds a relief to leave the camp and start a new life in the cities however just the freedom or the idea of being in the city means nothing with some major policy restrictions, as stated by the respondents. As the refugees indicated that there are some negative aspects of the Out of Camp Policy. Commencing the identified holes of the scheme, high

costs of living and basic necessities on top of limited support from agencies were the two major repeatedly mentioned ones. The policy has clearly stated that only refugees that can support themselves be fully beneficiaries from the proposed scheme.

The study proves, through the interview with responsible organs and the refugees, that there is a policy gap regarding the right to food especially when it comes to the urban refugees. The new proclamation and the refuge response plan will hopefully bring a way for the refugees to make their living better. They mentioned that it is going to be much more easy for them after the new proclamation comes to an effect and applicable. The Refugee Convention recognizes the rights of refugees to go to court when there is a violation of rights (UNHCR, 1951). But it does not indicate that they can claim a right to food or sue if their right to food is violated. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has interpreted it to a very large extent but has not specifically or categorically stated that refugees can claim the right to food against the State. The committee's comments are not legally binding and are more normative or ethical than legal. The committee cannot in the firmest logic punish any State when the right to food is violated. Practically it does not even consider as one of the fundamental rights as it sounds.

For instance, paragraph 38 of the Committee's General Comment 12 can confirm the above stated fact.

States have a joint and individual responsibility, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to cooperate in providing disaster relief and humanitarian assistance in times of emergency, including assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons. Each State should contribute to this task in accordance with its ability. The role of the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and increasingly that of UNICEF and FAO is of particular importance in this respect and should be strengthened. Priority in food aid should be given to the most vulnerable populations (CESCR, 1999, paragraph 38).

The committee is retelling the "available resources principle" in the above paragraph which does not bind States in any way to be held responsible for violations that may arise as far the right to food of the refugees and internally displaced persons are concerned. At most, the Committee's comments can be described as 'soft' law but cannot be legally enforceable. Curtis (2007) is of the view that there are no firm legal bases or statutes upon which the right to food can be claimed making litigation difficult (Curtis, 2007).

As mentioned by the participants in the interview the right to food is a very new concept and they had no idea what exactly the right to food is. Even some of the key informants' response to this is the same with the refugees. The refugees understand from the word that it's a right to everyone but consider eating as a right and claim it sounds a little luxury. They apparently have no awareness regarding to any rights they have in the hosting country, even if they think they deserve to have access to work and some other necessities. They are instead ok to stay as long as they finalize the third country resettlement than asking or demanding any right they think they should have. Some comply that it is unfair to be denied the right to work after giving a right to live in the country. The barriers and livelihood challenges mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and throughout the research have a direct and indirect impact on the refugees right to food. It can be affected one way or another through those livelihood challenges.

4.8 Food security access component analysis of individuals

The food security status of the refugees and coping mechanisms thoroughly investigated and discussed under using HFIAS and CSI.

4.8.1 Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) analysis

As it was revealed in chapter three HFIAS is one of the two rigorous techniques that was utilized in this study to analyze the access components of food security of individuals who participated in the study. In this research a modified form of standard questions of HFIAS was employed to collect primary data relating to the refugees' access to food in the study area. The respondent individuals first asked to respond to occurrence questions (whether the incident in the questions happened for the past 30 days) if their answer to that was yes then the frequency question (for how many days) was asked and ranked as merely, moderately, severely food insecure and food secures as modified by the researcher but if they answer no to the first question the frequency of occurrence question was escaped. Very few individual respondents experience the last three most severe food insecurity experience indicators as shown in the table below. Less than ten people out of the sample population taken, replied to the last three questions (indicators of sever food insecurity), the rest are food secure regarding those specific questions which are no food at all in your house, go to sleep at night hungry and go a whole day without eating anything.

Table 4.2 Food insecurity severity conditions of refugee individuals using HFIAS

No.	HFIAS conditions (for 30 days)	Severity status and number of respondents					
		Response		<i>Merely FIS</i>	<i>Moderately FIS</i>	<i>Severely FIS</i>	<i>Percent %</i>
		No	Yes				
1.	Worried not having food	222	111	87	18	6	33.3
2	Not able to eat the food kind you preferred	200	133	93	31	9	39.9
3.	A few kinds of food day after day	252	81	67	11	3	24.3
4.	Eat you preferred not to eat	282	51	45	4	2	15.3
5.	eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed	303	30	25	2	3	30
6.	eat fewer meals in a day	318	15	10	4	1	4.5
7.	no food at all in your house	327	6	4	1	1	1.8
8.	go to sleep at night hungry	323	10	9	1	0	3
9.	go a whole day without eating anything	328	5	5	0	0	1.5
	Average HFIAS score	284		38	8	3	
	Percent (%)	85		11	2.4	0.9	

Source: Coates, Swindale and Bilinsky, 2007

The above table is a categorical indicator of refugee individuals by severity of food insecurity. Using this technique, the refugee individuals were categorized into four different groups of food insecurity and security levels. These are 1) food secure, 2) mildly food insecure 3) moderately food insecure and 4) severely food insecure. As Coates, et al (2007) a food secure person experiences none of the conditions included in the table, or maybe worries, but rarely. Mildly food insecure is for an individual who worries about not having enough food sometimes, and/or not capable to eat preferred foods, and/or eats a more monotonous diet than desired and/or some foods considered undesirable but rarely. But the individuals do not experience any of the three most severe food insecurity conditions: running out of food, going to bed without eating, spending the whole day without food. a moderately food insecure individual sacrifices quality more frequently, by eating a monotonous diet or undesirable foods sometimes or often, and/or has started to cut back on quantity by reducing portion size or number of meals eaten rarely or sometimes. But they do not experience any of the above three most sever conditions. A severely food insecure individual, on the other hand, has graduated to cutting back on meal size or number of meals often, and/or experiences some of the three most sever conditions. In other words, any individual that experiences one of these three most sever conditions even once over a four weeks period is considered severely food insecure.

As the above table shows that 85 % of refugee individuals are food secure according to this technique. This people have managed to access quality and enough quantity in a timely manner. This is also shown in the interviews that they managed to provide for themselves through remittance and informal works. Nearly half of the respondents worry often about not eating preferable foods, a few kinds of food day after day and eat the food they prefer not to eat. 11 % of the respondents found out to be rarely food insecure and about 2 % are moderately food insecure. Very few of them which are less than 1 % (0.9 %) are find out to be severely food insecure; they do experience cutting back on meal size or number of meals often and very few of them experienced the three most sever conditions from the 333 participants. The results were found accurate relating to the responses collected from the qualitative data that the refugees compromise quality and food preferences almost every day. They might not worry about what to eat, go to bed hungry or skip entire day without eating but they eat the same kind of food day after day and they eat twice a day by skipping one meal because of lack of resources. Accordingly, even if they aren't severely food insecure, they still have worries on what to eat and how much they can afford at times.

4.9 Refugees coping strategies to food insecurity analysis

Maxwell and Cardwell (2008) argues that Coping Strategy Index (CSI) is principally significant to evaluate the food security condition of a population among locations and across specific population groups, over multiple periods provided that the examinees are from the same community, locality, or culture for which the CSI tool was modified and adapted. It is constructed on the immediate and short term adjustment (7 days) of consumption arrays rather than longer-term situation an individual experience. In order to do the coping strategy index the researcher used the respondent's HFIAS food insecurity scores so that it will be easy to identify the legible individuals for the CSI analysis. The table below shows the category of individuals who are legible to coping strategy index questionnaires. Thus, it has been identified in this study that 284 individuals were found out to be food secure and the rest 49 out of 333 respondents were food insecure in different level as shown on the table below and on the previous sub section.

Table 4.3: legibility of individuals for CSI

No.	HFIAS index category	No. of respondents		Status	Remarks
		Qty	Percent		
1	≤ 0.4	284	85.28	Food secure	Not legible*
2	0.5 - 1.4	38	11.41	Rarely food insecure	CSI
3	1.5 - 2.4	8	2.4	Moderately food insecure	CSI
4	>2.5	3	0.9	Severely food insecure	CSI
	Total	333			

*Not legible, individuals who are food secured and not legible for coping strategy index (CSI) analysis.

Source: computed based on Coates et. al. (2007) and the surveyed data (May, 2020).

Table 4.4: Individual Coping Strategy Index score

Strategy	CSI responses (number of days per week)							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Less preferred/expensive food	1	3	1	4	5	1	1	47
Borrow/rely on help	0	0	0	0	3	2	5	39
Buy on credit	1	1	1	2	3	4	21	16
Used emergency savings	0	2	2	2	3	3	23	14
Go eat somewhere	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	43
Begging	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Limit portions	0	0	0	1	2	2	7	37
Reduce meals	0	0	0	3	4	5	10	27
Skip	1	24	1	4	5	4	3	7
Average	5.6	3.3	0.4	1.3	2.3	2.5	8.1	25.5
Percent	11.4	6.8	0.8	2.6	4.6	5.1	16.5	52

Source: computed based on Maxwell & Cardwell (2008) and filed survey data

The researcher explored the different coping strategies practiced by Eritrean refugee individuals when they did not have food or did not have money to buy food in the past seven days of the reference period. Table 4.4 shows that an average of 25 individuals out of 49 or 52% used all the coping strategies every day within the past seven days. 16.5 % of individuals in the survey uses the strategies six days from the seven days asked, 5.1 and 4.6 % of the respondents for the coping strategies in the table respond affirmatively five and four days respectively. From the respondents of CSI 2.6 % of

them use the strategies for three days within the past seven days, 0.8 and 6.8 % out of them use the strategies for only two and one day within a week respectively. 11.4% of them use no coping strategy at all through the given seven days. All of the respondents answer negatively for begging and that means no one from the study group engage in begging in the study area within the given seven days which is what this study is about. The respondents use all the strategies except begging in different level and different time.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

This research believed to have a contribution in advancing the existing understanding and practice in Ethiopia regarding the right to food, food security and livelihood challenges and strategies of urban Eritrean refugees. The researcher attempted to review one of the less studied subject which is the realization of the rights to food among urban refugees and their livelihood challenges and strategies. It is believed that the study contributes in the existing knowledge and fills the research gap by lighting the challenges and strategies of the study group in the study area. A result of the qualitative analysis particularly reviled the causes Eritrean refugees have got to move to the hosting country/city and explains it briefly. The research has reviled that almost all refugee participants were above 18 years of age and most of them were single and male. It is found out on the study that all of the refugees came through illegal means since there is no other means because of the strong law at their mother land. Almost all of them escaped from prison and flee from the military service since that is the only way to change their life, than live life in a vicious circle.

It is reviled from the interviews that Eritrean refugees living in Gofa Mebrathaiel condominium were highly relied on remittance as their major livelihood strategy with limited commitment in business undertakings. Whereas some of them indicated they had limited income as they were living with their sponsors and were not generating their own income. Very few were engaged in informal sectors working as daily laborers and generated their own income as a coping mechanism in the hosting city and sponsor themselves. Almost all of them have someone abroad to send them money monthly and their life depends on that. They have close families, friends, and relatives around the world as obviously, Eritreans are one of the top numbered Diaspora populations in the world. The refugees most common expenses are house rent and food. Some of them live with their families who got to the hosting city before them and those are the ones who helped them to use the out of camp policy.

Though they tend to live with their fellow Eritreans and regardless of their habitual segregated way of life the refugees follow, the integration experience with the hosting community for most refugees is still positive. The resemblances of both cultures in terms of religious practices, culinary, social gatherings and even traditional music is shown as factors that made it easy for the refugees to integrate with the hosting community. They do not have much of a problem to move around because

of the look resemblance with Ethiopians. Apparently the out-of-camp scheme was indicated as a better alternative compared to the camps and that is because of the harsh conditions in the camps such as the harsh weather, the unavailability of facilities like internet connection and many more. It has been observed that their way of living helps them to support each other in time of need. It is more like a coping strategy to many as they all do not have a fixed income and go through unavailability of resources and even food at times, it helps them to provide for one another as much as possible. They share what one have if the other cannot be able to share and they skip some tough times together.

The study went through all the SLF assets/capitals which are comprised in the sustainable livelihood framework except the natural capital since it is modified on urban settings. The refugees lose motivation and become hopeless and frustrated at times regardless of the skill and education level they have and that is because of the struggle they face and the hosting country's situation in general. They lack social capital and any other financial capital like access to credit or savings than remittance and that is because they move around the city and because of their status as a refugee. Physical capital is one of the fundamental needs yet the one compromised a lot as the study disclose. Though less than 1% of the study group is severely food insecure they still have challenges to survive their emotional stress and food shortage at times. The SLF has its own components which are related one another and missing one would definitely be a challenge. Eritrean refugees in the study area suffer in different level and face challenges regarding the components of SLF (Social, Physical, Financial...) in different level. If they miss one SLF component (capital/asset) as mentioned, it directly or indirectly affects food security and the right to food.

Perception of the right to food among the refugees and professionals (from ARRA, UNHCR, DRC, NRC...) who work closely with them and food security status of refugee individuals are computed. The refugees in the area have a homogeneous thinking towards the rights to food. Almost all the respondents responded to the interview in a same manner as they think there is no one who is responsible for their rights plus they consider themselves as a burden to the hosting country. Regardless, the study shows that the right to food is violated one way or another when there is violating of other rights such as the rights to work. The government of Ethiopia has this policy named OCP which is explicitly designated to Eritrean refugees. This research interviewed those people who are in the city through using this policy regarding their right to food in the city and how they lead their life and what challenges do they face in the hosting city.

The refugees have some challenges living in the urban settings. Finding a job, security issues (as some of them escape from prison and they are people who are wanted by their government), language barriers are some of the challenges they face after leaving the camps. They have a hard time of finding a job and be self-reliant or even go to school at times but regardless they prefer to be here in Addis Ababa than stay in their country or even in the camps. With all the knowledge and the skills they have, it is always a problem to find a decent job since identification and guarantee is needed in most places. Majority of Eritrean refugees in the study area have not engaged in formal economic sector and that is because of its mandatory to have an identification card of the hosting country to be able to have a license. Apparently, most of them do not bother or even consider having the ID card since they contemplate Ethiopia as a transit country. Plus security and emotional and psychological problems are their biggest concern in the hosting country.

The output of the analysis taken in the research is indicated that the refugees feel safer here in the hosting country than their home land. As it is stated many times in this research and as they all mentioned on the interview they plan to a third country resettlement and migration is the only way to do that. It is also reviled in this study that eating three times a day can be an issue at times but still, it is way better for them to be in the urban settings. It is mentioned by the respondents that it is practical to be in the cities to access facilities such as banks and internet café in order to communication with their families abroad. Refugees in the study area access food predominantly through purchase so as to diversify their food intake. This reiterates the fact that, as indicated above, remittance has been the major source of livelihood and the dominant means of accessing food for the absolute majority of the study group.

In this case, the prioritizing of some human rights above other rights and the issue of the resource limitations could be raised as big reason for the pervasiveness of the non- realization of the human right to food, let alone for refugees even for the locals, as is the case in many countries around the world. However, all human rights, including the human right to food are inseparably linked with the dignity and survival of the human person and should be enforced on a significantly equal basis and the state should at least fulfill its minimum core obligations to the realization of the human right to food. Given high level of unemployment in Ethiopia and previous dependences of refugees that have ran to little skill points, donors and executing partners should specialize in training and livelihood programming in line with local markets and native contexts. It is obvious that there are tons of

trainings and skill development programs through different organizations. However, there is no suitable platform for them to practice the training they gathered and no means for them to use it as an income generating method.

There are good moves from the government of Ethiopia since there is a new proclamation and strategies and plans to make the refugees inclusive in development and make their livelihood easy. The plan to strengthen legal and policy components, supporting the hosting country and other plans of CRRF is encouraging and gives hope in this stance. The new improved refugee proclamation is anticipated to grant more right-based approach to the urban refugee (Eritrean in this case) the strategy developed which is NCRRS. This study provides insight that the right to food and the livelihood of urban refugees need a deep and further study and understanding in different level and context. The integration of an independent constitutional provision or adopted or signed commitments, that recognizes the human right to food clearly would be an indicative of the state's commitment to the human right to food and would encourage governmental and non governmental institutions and right holders to strive towards the realization of the human right to food as a constitutionally protected right.

5.2. Recommendations

This study has inspected the livelihood challenges and strategies of Eritrean refugees in urban settings particularly in Addis Ababa Nifas Silk Lafto, Gofa Mebrathaiel condominium. It also studied the perception and practice of the rights to food and food security status by analyzing one of the food security components which is accessibility. It is suggested in this chapter that:

- Though it is important to give humanitarian assistant to refugees, it is also extremely important to have a long term plan in order to make them self reliant and create a sustainable livelihood. Programs such as safety net programs, intended to develop and bring economic security to urban Eritrean refugees is more important to them and it obviously will provide them a durable solution plus it shows respect and dignity.
- The already designed programs, existing frameworks, laws, rules and regulations (the new proclamation, CRRF, NCRRS...) should be executed as fast as possible and as much as possible. A human right to food national framework law would help refugees, the citizen and the state as well to have an undeniable and unambiguous understanding on the right of

refugees and citizens and establishments to stand firm and hold the state as a duty bearer and the people as a duty holder. This will encourage the refugees and make them to be self reliant plus it will also be an advantage for the hosting community as they will be a resource.

- It should be underlined that to introduce the right to adequate food in national constitutions; legislation and comprehensive national policies on lenient understanding of the right to adequate food through strong involvement of all performers with relation to every responsible organizations (government organizations, UNHCR, WFP...) with special emphasis to vulnerable groups particularly refugees is ideal for the applicability of this right.
- Stimulate and reinforce actual liability mechanisms, including enhanced justiciability of the right to adequate food and confirmation based observing, evaluating and partaking resolution making procedures. It needs to be guaranteed that a multi-sectoral approach, can be governmental or non-governmental, linking the complete series of important departments and other accountable bodies (NGOs and UN agencies), to give an answer to the comprehensive scope of the right to food and livelihood challenges among urban refugees and in the country in general.
- The developed countries should make more effort to support countries who hosts refugees both in cash and in kind especially if the hosting country is a developing country (which is true in most cases), so that the refugees do not become too much of a burden on the hosting country and will not be bothered to third country resettlement.
- It is very clear that the realization of the human right to adequate food is influenced by and requires the realization of other human rights such as the right to work, political participation, education, health and so on. Therefore, fundamental human rights, per se, needs to be recognized and enforced effectively on an equal basis, as they are interrelated, interdependent and holistically constitute human existence in dignity. Having all this rights makes the refugees to have stress free life, feel confident, independent and enthusiastic about their future whether they stay in a hosting country or move to a third country.
- The international community should work violently on the putting into practice of the Sustainable Development Goals regarding food towards the eradication of hunger and

malnutrition by implementing and fulfilling right to food agreements and international treaties a reality, contextual and practical.

- There should be security and nutrition governance systems to ensure legal entitlement to the right to food to refugees and all human kind as stated on the international declarations. That means government should work hard towards the applicability of the right to food since it is vital and related with every success and failure of a country one way another.
- The law and any other related regulations, declarations and frameworks needs to be practical and should contextually fitted; Ethiopian government should work hard towards the execution of those documents.
- There needs to be an often visit or follow up to refugees livelihood/status and needs to discuss with them about the challenges and their survival strategies in the hosting city by the government bodies (ARRA) or other organizations such as UNHCR. There should also be training (hair dressing, plumber, mechanics, electrical installation...) and appropriate places to practice, which can be hooking them up with employers or providing enough money to open a small business for the trainings they get, otherwise it will be a waste if they do not practice.
- Urban refugee's food security and the right to food is a less researched area so it need to be researched and studied in order to come up with a long lasting solution.

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http://www.researchgate.net/publication/282859365_Implementing_the_Right_to_Food_in_Kenya_Lesson_from_Brazil

Appendices

Appendix 1: Key Informant Interview Guide

Dear respondent,

The main objective of this interview is to collect primary data to undertake research on livelihood strategies and the right to food among Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa. Your responses to the questions are valuable, and your responses will be held in utmost confidentiality to be used only for the purpose of this research. Your name will not be identified by any case. If you are willing to participate in this research, you will be doing so voluntarily and there will not be any monetary returns. You can reject any question if you don't feel comfortable to answer or to withdraw from the research. The interview will take maximum one hour of your time.

Applies to authorities in charge of the refugees such as ARRA, UNHCR, or any other organizations (KII)

1. What responsibility does your organization have towards urban refugees in general and Eritreans on particular?
2. What is the right to food for you?
3. When can one say the right to food is violated?
4. Can refugees claim a right to food?
5. If yes, against whom?
6. Do you think this right likely to be violated especially in a developing Country?
7. Can refugees sue when this right is violated?
8. What can be done to improve the lives of refugees (Eritrean) especially when it comes to their right to food?
9. What are the justifications for the settlement of refugees in Addis Ababa? What are the role of your institution in creating enabling environment in their stay in urban areas particularly in Addis Ababa?
10. What are the role of your institution regarding the rights to food?
11. How long can the refugees stay in Addis Ababa and what are the supports provided by your institution?

Thank you very much for your time and professional responses!

Appendix 2: Interview guideline for the refugees

Sex

Age

Marital Status

Educational Level

Occupation

1. When, how and why you settled in Addis Ababa in general and Mebrat Haile in particular?
2. When did you come to the Ethiopia (How long have you been living in here?)
3. Why did you come to Ethiopia?
4. Are you here with your family or you are here alone?
5. How many are you in the family here (if any)
6. Do you eat three square meals a day?
7. If no, how many times do you eat in a day?
8. Who supplies you with food? Do you work?
9. Is finding a job hard here in the hosting country? Do you think that affects your security regarding food?
10. What are your perceptions regarding the right to food and food security?
11. Do you think your right to food is being violated as a refugee?
 1. What are the major livelihood challenges in the community?
 2. What are the challenges you have been facing during your stay regarding getting your necessities like food?
 3. How do you express your status in Ethiopia?
 4. What is your major source of livelihood in the city?
 5. Do you know what the right to food is?
 6. Is it practical exercising your the right to food and being food secured while you are in a hosting country?

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!

Appendix 3: HFIAS survey questionnaires

Example on how to answer the questions:

1. In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food?

0 = No (skip to Q2)

1 = Yes

1.a. How often did this happen?

1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks)

2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks)

3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)

በሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ ያሉትን ጥያቄዎች ለመመለስ ከዚህ በላይ ባለው ምሳሌ መሰረት መስራት ይቻላል። ጥያቄዎቹ ስለ ምግብ ዋስትና ሆነው ባለፉት 30 ቀናት ስላጋጠመዎት ሁኔታ ይሆናል። ለጥያቄዎቹ መልስዎት አዎ ከሆነ ሁለተኛውን ጥያቄ ይመልሱ መልስዎ አይ ከሆነ ወደሚቀጥለው ጥያቄ ይለፉ። ከአንደኛው ጥያቄ ቀጥሎ የሚመጣው ለምን ያህል ጊዜ የሚል ይሆናል። ጥያቄ ካሉት አብረን እንሞላለን። ስለትብብሮት እናመሰግናለን።

No.	Questions
	For each of the following questions, consider what has happened in the past 30 days. Please answer whether this happened never, rarely (once or twice), sometimes (3-10 times), or often (more than 10 times) in the past 30 days.
1.	Did you worry that you would not have enough food?
2.	Were you not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources?
3.	Did you eat just a few kinds of food day after day due to a lack of resources?
4.	Did you eat food that you preferred not to eat because a lack of resource to obtain other types of food?
5.	Did you eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?
6.	Did you eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?
7.	Was there ever no food at all in your house because there were not resources to get more?
8.	Did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?
9.	Did you go a whole day without eating anything because there was not enough food?

Appendix 4: CSI questions

ይህንን ጥያቄ የሚሞሉት ባለፉት 7 ቀናት ያጋጠመዎት ንጹህ ስሜት ስህተት ለመለከት ይሆናል።

ጥያቄዎቹን ከ 0 እስከ 7

ያለውን ቁጥር በመጠቀም ይሙሉ። በተጠቀሰው ጥያቄ ከተስማሙ ወይም መልስ ስለሌላ ሌላ ስህተት ቀናት ሙሉ ካጋጠመዎት 7 ከዛካነ ስለሌላ ሌላ ነገር ለማሳደግ ጥሩ ንብቻ ይጻፉ።

ስለ ፈቃደኝነት ያስመሰግናለዎት።

Behaviors: In the past 7 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how many days has your household had to:	Frequency: Number of days out of the past seven: (use no 0-7 to answer number of days; use NA for not applicable)
a. Rely on less preferred and less expensive foods?	
b. Borrow food, or rely on help from a friend or relative?	
c. Purchased food on credit?	
d. Use money that you saved for emergency or any other purpose?	
e. Go to eat somewhere?	
f. Consider begging?	
g. Limit portion size at mealtime?	
h. Reduce number of meals eaten in a day?	
i. Skip entire days without eating?	