



**Addis Ababa University
Centre for African and Oriental Studies**

**Economic Inclusion of Refugees in Ethiopia: Opportunities
and Challenges**

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June, 2019

Addis Ababa University
Centre for African and Oriental Studies
Specialization in Human and Economic Development

ECONOMIC INCLUSION OF REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA: OPPORTUNITIES AND
CHALLENGES

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A Thesis Submitted to Centre for African and Oriental Studies, Addis Ababa
University, In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master
of Arts in African Studies, Human and Economic Development in Africa

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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

June, 2019

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kaleab Zelalem, entitled: Economic Inclusion of Refugees in Ethiopia: Prospects and Challenges submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in African Studies with specialization in Human and Economic Development complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am truly indebted to God for giving me the strength that keeps me standing and for the hope that keeps me believing that this affiliation would be possible and more interesting.

Then my deep appreciation goes to my advisor Dr. Dechasa Abebe for his constructive comments, unreserved guidance, motivation, enthusiasm, immense knowledge and more importantly, his patience. This small piece of appreciation cannot fully convey my gratitude towards him.

I would also like to thank the key informant interview respondents who were willing to participate in this study. I deeply appreciate your time, the detail information you provided and all the personal and professional advices you gave me.

My profound gratitude goes to all who contributed to the successful realization this paper in various ways. I owe to mention my indebtedness to Etenu for all the prayers and Dye for always being there when I needed you the most.

ABSTRACT

Notwithstanding the economic advancement in recent years, Ethiopia still remains to be challenged by the need to create economic opportunities. Regardless of the internal economic difficulties, however, the government of Ethiopia made specific pledges to the international community concerning refugee economic inclusion. This study aimed at analysing Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda with the view of identifying its prospects and challenges. The study, with the objective of assessing the implications of implementing refugee economic inclusion in Ethiopia, asks what the prospects of economic inclusion of refugees are in terms of national economic development and the possible challenges that may impede its implementation. To achieve the research objective, the methodology that better enabled the writer answer the research questions and achieve the desired goal was a qualitative research approach with an exploratory research design. Key informant interviews were the major primary data collection method utilized. Accordingly, the major findings of the research ascertained that additional support from the international community is geared towards a shift to a development oriented response however, the findings also highlighted the sensitivities around economically including refugees and need to guarantee the sustainable support the international community. The research established that refugee economic inclusion has various prospects in terms of obtaining additional development oriented support for Ethiopia as a refugee hosting nation. Nevertheless, the implementation and the policy changes that are in the pipeline should take into consideration managing sensitivities in refugee – host community relations, approaches that translate into better economic opportunities and negotiations for sustained support from the international community.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ARC	Addressing Root Causes
ARRA	Agency for refugees and Returnees Affairs of Ethiopia
AU	African Union
BSRP	Building Self-Reliance for Refugees and vulnerable Host Communities
CDD	Community Driven Development
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
DFID	Department for International Development of Great Britain
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DRDIP	Development Response to Displacement Impact Programme
ECSA	Ethiopian Chamber of Sectoral Associations
EEOP	Ethiopia Economic Opportunities Programme
EIC	Ethiopian Investment Commission
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
EU	European Union
EUTF	European Union Trust Fund
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEQUP-E	General Education Quality Improvement Project on Equity
GPNRS	Gambella People National Regional State
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
IDA	International Development Association
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IRC	Irish Refugee Council
KII	Key Informant Interview
MDTF	Multi Donor Trust Fund
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NCRRS	National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization for African Union
OCP	Out of Camp Policy
RDPP	Regional Development and Protection Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SHARPE	Strengthening Host and Refugee Populations in Ethiopia
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USD	United States Dollar

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The world is witnessing an unprecedented level of human mobility. More people than ever before live in a country other than the one in which they were born. The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 244 million in 2015. The number of people who were forcibly displaced almost doubled from 33.9 million in 1997 to 68.5 million in 2017. Currently, nearly 44,400 people are forcibly displaced every day as a result of conflict or persecution around the world, with developing regions hosting 85 per cent of the world's refugees. According to UNHCR's Global Trends Report, by the end of 2017, about 68.5 million were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations. (UNHCR, 2017).

Africa, especially the Horn, is both the source and host of refugees and other people who are forced to abscond their countries of origin due to man-made and natural calamities. The region is still experiencing continuous flow of refugees, with an increasing trend. The protracted and emergency situations in Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea, Burundi, the Central African Republic and South Sudan have worsened. South Sudan, the world's youngest nation, has produced the largest number of refugees in Africa, generating close to 2.5 million refugees since December 2013. On the other hand, although the security situation in Somalia is improving from time to time and repatriation of Somali refugees from Kenya is taking place, many Somalis still seek asylum in neighbouring countries (Betts, 2014).

Ethiopia is the second largest refugee-hosting country in Africa next to Uganda. In 2017, the refugee population witnessed 109,851 new arrivals. The major reasons are; conflict and ongoing economic deficiency in South Sudan, human rights violations and open-ended military service in Eritrea and conflict and conflict-induced food insecurity in Somalia. Ethiopia grants prima facie recognition to most asylum seekers from neighbouring countries. Others have to undergo individual Refugee Status Determination by the Ethiopian government. The country's first Refugee Proclamation was enacted in 2004 based on the

United Nations' 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and its 1967 Protocol, as well as the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention (Asabu, 2018).

Based on the latest UNHCR estimates (as of August 31, 2018) 905,831 registered refugees and asylum seekers from over nineteen countries are present in Ethiopia. Almost all reside in the periphery locations that are characterized by high levels of poverty, poor infrastructure and low human development. More than half of refugees are children and around 10 percent are unaccompanied minors. In total, there are about 244,338 refugee households; violent conflict has left a large proportion of refugee households headed by women. The conflict in neighbouring South Sudan has resulted in a large recent influx of refugees of South Sudanese origin now constituting almost half of the refugee population in the Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2018).

Overall the educational attainment of refugees is low. About 41 percent of working-age refugees have no education and only 17 percent of refugees have secondary education and above. There are large disparities between men and women, with women in general being significantly less educated. Nearly 54 percent of women refugees have no education at all, compared to 26 percent among men (World Bank, 2018).

Refugee groups of Somali, Eritrean, Sudanese, and South Sudanese origin share a common ethnicity and in some cases kinship links with their host communities in Ethiopia. Pastoralists of Somali and South Sudanese origin, for example, have a history of cross-border seasonal migration into Ethiopia. Tribal identities also inform economic activity, with strongly defined gender roles and expectations for which types of work are acceptable, and not acceptable. Each of the refugee hosting regions have their own complex political economy and language. The degree of volatility in Gambella and Somali Regional State is high, with both refugee hosting regions displaying acute resource competition and tensions between tribal and ethnic groups. Ethiopia's refugee policy requires refugees to live in camps, with the exception of a small number of people who are allowed to stay in urban centres due to special protection or health considerations. Since 2010, many more have been given the option of living outside of the refugee camps as part of the government's Out of Camp scheme which is particularly allowed for Eritrean refugees (Asabu, 2018).

On 20 September 2016, at the Leaders' Summit on Refugees and Migrants in New York, the Government of Ethiopia has made an ambitious and exceptional commitment towards a more comprehensive refugee response, shifting from a focus on encampment approach to refugee response to more sustainable management of refugee populations. The declaration is considered a milestone for global solidarity to improve the protection of forcibly displaced people including refugees and migrants. The CRRF was a result of the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees. The declaration sets out key elements of the CRRF and puts in motion a processes that will lead to the Global Compact on Refugees (UNGA, 2016).

The CRRF envisions achieving the following four major objectives; measures to ease pressure on countries that welcome and host refugees, supporting the self-reliance of refugees, expanding access to resettlement and other complementary pathways, and fostering conditions that enable refugees to return voluntarily to their home countries. Ethiopia's commitments include providing work permits to qualifying refugees, facilitating local integration to those in protracted situations, earmarking a percentage of jobs within industrial parks and providing access to irrigable land for refugees. Expanding the Out of Camp Policy to benefit 10% of refugees in the country at the time the pledges were made and increasing access to health and education services are also part of the plan (ARRA, 2017)

Ethiopia became one of a few countries in the world to pilot the CRRF in February 2017 followed by a nationwide launch of the CRRF roll out in November 2017. In 2018, the CRRF process was also launched in the five refugee-hosting regions. While initial reforms target a subset of the refugee population, they constitute a potential shift in the previous approach, which has largely assumed that refugees would return to their countries of origin and should be supported in camps until that time comes. In the Ethiopian context, the CRRF is directly related to the implementation of the nine pledges. It envisions bringing durable solutions to refugees' situations and supporting host communities through combining humanitarian aid and development. To guide its implementation, the government revised the national Refugee Proclamation and a National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy is being drafted. The amended refugee law and draft strategy indicates the overall goal of the CRRF in Ethiopia which is to ensure the self-reliance of refugees and host communities through socio-economic integration and facilitating voluntary repatriation and resettlement opportunities (Abebe, 2018).

More importantly, the government is trying to link socioeconomic opportunities for refugees with the broader agricultural led industrialization and national job creation agendas. Thus, bold steps are being taken to give refugees formal access to labour markets with a view of accommodating refugees despite the demographic challenges and huge internal demand for jobs. Four of the government's pledges are related with creation of economic opportunities through granting refugees the right work, jobs in and outside industrial parks and land access for irrigated agricultural production (ARRA, 2018)

1.2. Statement of the problem

Ethiopia is still unable to create economic opportunities for its fast-growing population of over 100 million, including for an estimated 20 million Ethiopians living below the poverty line. According to UNDP, GDP per capita was estimated at US\$711 in 2016, with more than 70 percent of the population still engaged in the agricultural sector. Demographic transition has presented both opportunities and challenges for the country, with an increasingly urbanized, young working-age population. In 2013, 26.3 percent of urban youth was unemployed, compared to 21.7 percent of the urban working-age population in general. Although overall unemployment is low, underemployment in Ethiopia is also very high. Around one-fifth of wage workers earned below the poverty line in 2013. Despite regional differences in poverty have reduced, the Government recognizes that certain peripheral regions are still lagging behind. The Developing Regional States constitute four regions (Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali Regional State) with acknowledged greater development needs relative to other regional states (UNDP, 2016).

In addition, Ethiopia is still posed with several challenges in terms of creating jobs. According to the World Bank, the country needs to create 1.7 million jobs to fully absorb the growing labour force each year. Despite fast economic growth, the country has experienced very slow structural transformation and the share of employment in the agricultural sector remains very high. Moreover, while overall labour market conditions have improved in the past 10 years, employment outcomes remain unjustified. Unemployment decreased from 8.4 percent in 1999 to 5.2 percent in 2013 but, underemployment remains high, especially in rural areas. Overall, only 12 percent of workers in Ethiopia work in a wage relationship and their earnings remain quite low. The remaining 88 percent are either self-employed or unpaid family workers. As a result, informality remains very high (World Bank, 2017).

Set against the aforementioned current challenges and difficulties of the Ethiopian economy, the GCR, the CRRF roll out and the implementation of the government's pledges, particularly the pledges related with employment opportunities and land access to refugees are not carefully assessed before effecting the policy changes that are in the pipeline. Therefore, this study, with a view to contribute to the set of knowledge in the subject, analysed the prospects and challenges of the CRRF roll out in Ethiopia with a specific focus on the economic inclusion pledges.

The CRRF roll out in Ethiopia demands a refugee policy change and a favourable enabling environment. Following the pledges made at the Leaders' Summit, the government is embarking upon critical policy changes. The government's policy changes are reflected in the revised Refugee Proclamation and the National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy. Both envisage enhancing self-reliance of refugees and host communities through socio-economic integration and facilitating voluntary repatriation and resettlement opportunities. The revised Refugee Proclamation grants refugees the right to work and freedom of movement to enable refugee's socio economically integrate with host communities. In addition, the final draft of the strategy plans to gradually phase out the camp-based assistance model the country has been implementing for decades (ARRA, 2018).

Examining what CRRF and the GCR are and analysing their benefits and contribution to the national economic development agenda is mandatory to inform policy makers. Refugee economic inclusion has the potential to bring drastic positive or adverse changes in Ethiopia's economic setting – such as expanding socio-economic opportunities of refugees in a way that benefits and impact host communities or disruption of the national peace building process as a result of refugee-host community conflicts and internal displacement. The CRRF and the GCR are expected to benefit countries of first asylum and ensure peaceful coexistence of refugees and host communities nonetheless, if the new approach is not properly executed, the implementation of the CRRF may also face many challenges (Abebe, 2018). Thus, this study intends to define the implications of Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda taking into consideration the various challenges that may hinder its effective execution as part of the CRRF roll out in the country.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

A. General Objective

The main objective of the study is to examine the prospects and challenges of implementing the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework in Ethiopia with a particular focus of the government's economic inclusion pledges.

B. Specific Objectives

In line with the main objective, the specific objectives of the study are to:-

- ❖ Examine implications of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework and the Global Compact on Refugees on Ethiopia's refugee response approach.
- ❖ Identify key challenges of implementing Ethiopia's economic inclusion agenda.
- ❖ Explore what the specific pledges would bring to the refugees and host communities in Ethiopia.
- ❖ Assess the prospects of implementing economic inclusion pledges through the comprehensive refugee response approach.

1.4. Research Questions

The major question of the study is 'What are the prospects and challenges of implementing Ethiopia's pledges related to economic inclusion of refugees through the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework'.

1. What are the challenges of implementing Ethiopia's economic inclusion pledges through the CRRF approach?
2. What are the prospects of economic inclusion of refugees in terms of national economic development?
3. What are the implications of the Global Compact on Refugees and the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework in Ethiopia's refugee response?

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study has a particular focus on the implementation of the CRRF only in the Ethiopian context. However, it also had an East African perspective as almost all refugees in the country came from neighbouring countries namely, South Sudan, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia and the great lakes region. The study assessed the contribution of the implementation of Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda for the peace building processes in countries of origin as well as for the dignified voluntary repatriation of refugees.

Likewise, the scope of the study was limited to the economic inclusions pledges of the government. Though all pledges of the government have both positive and negative implications to refugee hosting communities in Ethiopia, the study focus on the economic components of the pledges which are employment creation and access to land for irrigated agricultural production which are sensitive topics.

In its focus, the study was also limited to analysing the existing socioeconomic aspects of refugees and refugee hosting communities, especially to examine their situation related with access to formal employment and land for agricultural production.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study enhances awareness on the Comprehensive Response Framework by expanding the limited knowledge generated in the subject. It will provide valuable knowledge and understanding on the issue of comprehensive refugee response framework and more specifically on the refugee economic inclusion pledges in Ethiopia. Despite the fact that the issue is new and under-researched coupled with Ethiopia being host for near a million refugees, the study will create an understanding on the role and significance of CRRF for both refugees and host communities in Ethiopia. The study will also have policy relevance and practical benefits of guiding the executive organ of the government mandated to operationalize the CRRF, donor agencies, UN agencies, non-governmental organizations and private sector. Moreover, the study will serve as an inputs and assist policy makers to have insight about the issue.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

The study was limited in terms of time constraints. The limited time allotted for the completion of the study did not allow deep refugee and host community assessments that reflect the conception and ownership towards the CRRF roll out process.

The study was also limited due to availability of secondary resources. The CRRF was adopted in September 2016 as an Annex to the New York Declaration. Subsequently, Ethiopia became a CRRF pilot country in November 2017. Hence, there were very limited secondary resources given the recent nature of the initiative. Moreover, the Global Compact on Refugees, a world-wide commitment which is a result of the lessons learnt from the implementation of the CRRF in few pilot counties, was adopted on 17th December 2018. Hence, the academia is in the process of conducting studies on the issue and the wider humanitarian development nexus which is expected to be the emerging modus operandi of many aid ventures

In addition, the study was limited in terms of capturing the views of refugees and host communities as key informant interview respondents. The mandated government agency to lead on the roll out of the refugee economic inclusion agenda believed that speaking with refugees and host communities on the subject while the policy level discussions are not finalized will create unnecessary tensions amongst the host communities and raise expectations of the refugees.

Finally, the government's pledges and the ongoing policy changes are a bit sensitive given the recent internal conflicts in the country. The economic inclusion pledges have direct impacts on resource utilization amongst refugees and host communities. Mainly, the rights to work for refugees, job creation and access to land pledges are delicate topics where by many respondents from the government, host communities and other stakeholders were not comfortable in providing information, some key informant interview respondents even insisted that their names must not be mentioned. The current political reforms and the competing priorities of the government also had negative effect in getting sufficient and reliable information.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. The Definition of a Refugee

The phenomenon of people fleeing their homes as a consequence of persecution, war or other conflict has always existed. The international community started to take this phenomenon seriously after the two World Wars, which caused huge number of people fleeing their home countries. During this period, the international refugee regime was created based on a treaty and an international organization devised to provide assistance and protection to vulnerable people and find solutions for them. The treaty was the 1951 Geneva Convention with its Protocol and the created international organization was the UNHCR, responsible to help millions who had fled from their home countries (Faist, 2000).

According to the treaty (The 1951 Convention, Article A (2), 1951, p 45), a refugee is someone who:

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

In 1967 the UN approved a Protocol extending the definition of ‘refugee’ to include all people who have fled their homeland owing to a well-founded fear of persecution. One type of migrant who is most likely to be excluded by the UN definition is the so called ‘economic’ refugee. Although some refugee migrations do have strong roots in economic factors, people who use the lack of economic opportunities as a reason for claiming refugee status are often denied that status (UNHCR, 1967).

In 1969, the sixth session of the then OAU (now AU) adopted its own Protocol for refugees. The OAU Protocol incorporated the 1951 UN Convention on refugees, but expanded the

definition of who is a refugee. In addition to including the UN definition of a refugee, the OAU definition includes anyone who:

“...through aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events gravely disturbing public order in part, or in all of his country of origin, or the country of which he has nationality, is obliged to leave his usual place of residence to seek refuge outside this country”.

The Ethiopian refugee proclamation of 2004 definition of a refugee incorporates both the definition set forth by the UN and AU Refugee conventions. The definition of a refugee also embraces individuals who leave their countries due to other causes of displacement such as “external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order” which are common in the African context. The Article 4.3 of the previous refugee proclamation (Refugee Proclamation, 2004) of Ethiopia defines a refugee as who:

“.... is different from asylum-seeker, as someone owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling, to avail himself of the protection of that country.

In January 2019, Ethiopia revised its Refugee proclamation (Proclamation number 1110/2011). The revised refugee proclamation contains a similar definition of a Refugee which stated that a person must fulfil the following criteria to obtain a refugee status. Article 5 states that, any person shall be considered as a refugee where:

- A. Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion he is outside his country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling, to avail himself of the protection of that country;
- B. Not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, he is unable, or owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, he is unwilling to return to it; or
- C. Owing to occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality,

he is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. (in case of refugees coming from Africa)

It is also important to distinguish the term Refugee from the term Asylum Seekers because these are often used interchangeable, while they are different legally. According to the Oxford Dictionary, asylum is the protection granted by a state to someone who has left their home country as a political refugee. The institution of asylum developed together with international human rights. In 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations incorporated the institution of asylum into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stating that everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution. A forced migrant who arrived in a country and applied for protection is an asylum seeker until the refugee status is granted for him. Every country has its own procedure to evaluate the request of the asylum seeker and decide to grant the refugee status or not. In case the request is denied, because the person found not to be a refugee, the asylum seeker is asked to leave and return to his home country (Omata, 2012).

The 1951 refugee convention grants protection, establishes human rights, obligations and responsibilities relating to refugees. Among others, it includes right to receive identification and travel documents, right to work, freedom from discrimination, access to education and to the courts, the right to own property and freely choose a place of residence. The Convention also contains an important principle, namely the principle of Non - Refoulement. It means “that no one shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom.”. It is important to mention that Ethiopia is signatory to the Convention and its Protocol, therefore it is binding for Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2011).

2.1.1. Theoretical Literature

A. Kunz’s Typology

One of the important works on the flight of refugees is by Kunz where he explored theoretical concern. As mentioned by Kunz, it is stated that refugees can be classified into three distinct groups, derived from refugees’ attitudes towards their displacement.

1. Majority Identified Refugees – These are refugees whose opposition to political and social events at home is shared by their compatriots, both refugees and those who remain in home areas, are called majority identified refugees. Majority identified refugees refer to refugees who identify with their nation, with their homeland and its people but who have fled from the current government or from a foreign oppressor. The majority identified refugee will tend to delay flight until danger is overriding and hope to return home. Assimilation to a different culture is likely to be much more difficult for the majority-identified refugees (Kunz, 1973).
2. Event Related Refugees - Kunz calls events-related refugees those who have left their home areas because of active or latent discrimination against the group to which they belong. These refugees, frequently retain little interest in what occurs in their former homes once they have left. They feel conflictually alienated from their fellow citizens. Events- alienated refugees normally are from marginal or minority groups who have tried to identify with their country but who have been alienated by its rejection or persecution. The alienated refugee will often seek opportunities to escape and will eagerly seek a new identity (Kunz, 1973).
3. Self-Alienated Refugees - A third type of refugee includes people who decided to leave their home country for a variety of individual reasons. These self-alienated refugees feel alienated from their society not by any active policy of that society, but rather by some personal philosophy. Some more recent refugee migrations in Africa tend to fit into Kunz's events related category. Refugees who have been subjected to discrimination and often outright violence feel that they are unwanted or unsafe in their own homelands. After becoming refugees, the desire to return home can only be aroused where there is substantial change happening at home. Ethnic conflicts often lead to the creation of events related refugees in Africa. An example of this type of migration is Burundian and Rwandese displaced to each other's country and to Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. The majority of these refugees were displaced by the ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi. Before the upheaval in these two states in 1994, little hope was seen for the thousands of refugees who had fled Burundi and Rwanda. Many refugees

in Tanzania had settled for an extended period and had been granted citizenship by the Tanzanian government (Kunz, 1973)

In Africa, self-alienated refugees have played only a minor role in the larger-scale refugee picture. There have been some cases, however where individuals or groups of people have been displaced because of philosophical differences between them and governments. Many Ethiopian intellectuals who fled the tyranny of the Mengistu regime could also be classified as self-alienated refugees. However, to a great extent, the self-alienated refugees' category is more relevant to other areas of the world than it is to Africa. (Stein, 1980)

B. Rogge's Typology

Rogge classified refugees by considering the motivating agent, the purpose of the migration, and whether the migrants possess refugee characteristics or not. According to him, forced and impelled are the two main groups of migration. Forced displacement has many causes and takes many forms. People flee as a consequence of persecution, human rights violations, oppression, war and conflict, ethnic favouritism, discord, development projects, environmental degradation and in general due to natural and human-made disasters (Faist, 2000).

Forced migrants are defined as persons who forced to flee their seats of habitual residence on account of actions intimidating to their lives or safety. Many migrants leave on their own plan to run away these life-threatening conditions though in an increasing number of cases. People fled their homes propelled by governments and rebellious groups with the intention in depopulating or changing the ethnic, religious or other composition of an area. Persons who are at high risk of forced migration, mainly affected war civilian populations and stateless persons. Climate change and catastrophic natural calamities, such as drought or earth quake and so on are also likely to reduce agricultural production in Africa and Asia and leads already to high food prices. Thus, it is vital to split forced migration while the migrants do not hold some power to choice whether or not to flee, and impelled migration, once they possess this power (Faist, 2000).

C. Peterson's Classification

It is well known that the ideas of forced and impelled migrations are originated from Petersen and the distinction between the two depends in the degree of free choice a person has when he is participated in forced migration. Peterson classifies refugee movements as forced and impelled refugees. According to Petersen, the difference between these two classes of migration lies in the amount of free choice an individual has when they are involved in forced migration. Forced migrants are expelled from an area by an external force, such as a government, the people involved have absolutely no choice in the matter of their removal (Betts, 2011).

Impelled migrants, on the other hand, retain some degree of choice regarding their possible flight. Before making the decision to migrate, 'impelled' migrants have the opportunity to weigh the factors involved and then make a choice between moving or remaining in the face of an external threat (Stein, 1980).

Contemporary African examples of impelled migration comprise Somalis or Rwandans fleeing to neighbouring states. The majority, but not all African refugees relay into the impelled group. Usually the limit between the two, the time at which the alternative becomes nominal and may be challenging to set (Betts, 2011).

The other decisive feature by which we can define types of forced or impelled migration is its purpose, distinct not by the migrant but by the stimulating agent. Persons may be encouraged to move simply to abandon their homeland. Such exodus, since it does not normally bring about a change in the migrants' way of life, is similar to mass migration and can be included under it. Others are persuaded to go in order that their labour power can be used else- where. Such immigration, which comprises a change in behaviour patterns as well as in local, is chosen as innovating. It is important to differentiate between two classes, of those who have moved their country, who took their expulsion for a time being and stay out of the country for the day when they may come back, and refugees, who intend to settle everlasting in the new destination. In this case, the assimilation into a different culture would most probably be much faster than that of persons still living spiritually in another country (Betts, 2011).

2.2. The Global Refugee Crisis

Population movement is usual and not a strange phenomenon in human history. Right from the very beginning, human beings had been in a regular movement to different places for extensive periods of time and for different reasons. Migration is well-known as spatial movement including all kinds of physical activities of people crossing international boundaries. The factors that determine individuals and family decisions to migrate include demographic, geographic, political, socio-psychological and economic factors. Persons who are at high risk of forced migration are those mainly affected war civilian populations and stateless persons. Climate change and increased conflict over scarce resources could also lead to larger internal displacement and refugee flows. Some long term effects of climate change may make whole areas not fit to live in, so that populations will have to be displaced (Kolmannskog, 2008).

As of 2015, the three largest countries of origin for refugees, Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia accounted for half of all refugees under UNHCR mandate. The other large countries of origin are South Sudan, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, Myanmar, Eritrea, and Colombia. These countries have consistently accounted for more than 60 percent of the total since 2006. In total, at the end of 2015, 32 countries were sources massive refugee movements. The Middle East was the origin of 34 percent of refugees, Sub-Saharan Africa 33 percent, and South Asia 19 percent (UNHCR, 2017).

Refugee-hosting countries are typically the neighbours of countries of origin. Although, almost all countries host some refugees, responsibilities are unevenly shared. In 2015, three of Syria's neighbours (Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan); two of Afghanistan's neighbours (Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran); and two of Somalia's and South Sudan's neighbours (Ethiopia and Kenya) hosted 40 percent of all refugees worldwide. The stability in the list of countries of origin almost automatically translates into a similar degree of stability among key host countries. Since 1991, about 15 countries, overwhelmingly in the developing world, have consistently hosted the bulk of refugees (World Bank, 2017).

To examine the model of the global refugee crisis, scholars have adopted different theories and placed refugee research within various disciplines. However, defining the term

‘Refugee’ in this study is important to delineate the scope and gauge the understanding on this broad concept. “Refugee is not a label for a particular kind of person and is a term many people who became refugees due to circumstances wish to shun over time” (Marsh, 2012).

2.3. The Refugee Crisis In Africa

According to the UNHCR, there are approximately six million refugees in Africa. These refugees escaped their countries that were overtaken by violence and ravaged by famine. The refugees have been forced to settle where they are generally unwanted and have often been left to fend for themselves. In Africa, almost every country on the continent has at some time been either a producer or a destination for refugees, or both. The existence of so many refugees and refugee flows, seems to point to some systemic failure in modern African society. At the same time, the fact that so many African refugees seem to adapt to their situation and survive the experience of being in exile, also indicates some unseen ability that is incongruent with the common perception of what a refugee is (UNHCR, 2015).

In 2015, around 86 percent of the world’s refugees under UNHCR mandate, meaning 13.9 million people, were hosted by developing countries. With 4.4 million individuals, SSA was the region with the largest number of refugees. The refugees originated mainly from five countries: Somalia, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, and the Central African Republic. Altogether, they accounted for 3.5 million (80%) of the total refugee population residing in this region by the end of 2015 (UNHCR, 2015).

Research shows that refugees in SSA mainly remain in Africa and are not coming to Europe or other continents. The largest share stays within the SSA countries themselves. Beyond that, there are flows from SSA to North Africa and the Middle East, but also vice versa. In fact, SSA has hosted the highest number of refugees since 1990 (Reno, 2008).

The highest numbers of refugees in SSA were registered in 1994. At that time, the conflicts in Central Africa and the Great Lakes as well as the Rwandan genocide caused millions of people to flee from their countries. When the situation calmed down in these countries, Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa became the main source of refugees. They were also driving the increase over recent years. In particular, increased violence combined with extreme weather events in Somalia and North and South Sudan caused many people from

the region to leave their countries. On a more positive note, the number of refugees from Southern and Western Africa has strongly decreased, since conflicts occurring in Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Mozambique at the beginning of the 1990s have been settled or have significantly decreased in intensity (Reno, 2008).

The rise of Eastern Africa as a main hotspot in terms of origin contrasts very much with the situation prevailing 20 years ago. In 1990, Sudan (including present South Sudan) and Somalia were hosting a decent share of refugees. This shift is worrisome and followed the increased vulnerability to weather shocks and the related rise of violence observed in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia and Kenya remain among the countries hosting the largest number of refugees between 1990 and 2013. Although the flows are not necessarily corresponding, the equivalent outflows from Sudan, South Sudan, and Eritrea point again to the regional nature of the refugees flows (Maystadt, 2014).

2.3.1. Colonialism and Refugees in Africa

In an attempt to explain the very large number of refugees in Africa, some researchers have provided one fundamental explanation: colonialism and its lasting effects in Africa. Much early literature on African refugees focuses on the fact that yesterday's colonial policies and the boundaries that they imposed are to be held directly responsible for today's refugees. The basic premise suggested is that the colonial boundaries that were superimposed on Africa by European colonial powers were artificial and therefore separated ethnic and linguistic areas that were formerly closely linked into two or more colonies that often had different colonial masters (Kibreab, 1985).

During the colonial period, little attempt was made to develop a sense of nationalism among the many ethnic groups in a colony. In some instances, colonial governments would use inter-ethnic rivalries to their advantage. At the end of the colonial era, old rivalries and conflicts between ethnic groups that had been suppressed during the colonial era often came to the surface during the fight for control of the emerging nations. In some cases, such as with Biafra and Katanga, the conflict resulted in secessionist movements. Elsewhere, as in Southern Sudan, a protracted civil war has developed from a secessionist movement. In other examples such as Namibia, Rhodesia and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, the desire to overthrow colonial governments and to achieve independence led to lengthy guerrilla wars. In many of these examples, the violence

and instability inherent in these conflicts drove many people to seek asylum outside their homelands (Kibreab, 1985).

The colonial and ethnic explanations of Africa's refugee problem present some difficulties. While the demise of colonial powers undoubtedly left many African states as a heterogeneous collection of ethnic groups, ill-prepared for independence, the result has not been universally chaotic. Although many states have singled out some ethnic, religious or linguistic groups, and pursued discriminatory policies against them, the majority of Africa's people remain unaffected in this way. The fact that African states are today, for the most part, tenuous alliances based on ethnic grounds would seem to call into question the simple colonial/ ethnic explanation for refugee migration. Some alternate explanation must be available that takes the complexities of modern Africa into account (Kibreab, 1989).

While not denying the impact of the colonial precursors to contemporary African society, the current causes of refugees on the continent run much deeper. At the heart of the African refugee problem lies a lack of respect for fundamental human rights, including the right of peoples to determine their own destiny. The refugee problem in Africa is a result of an interplay of political, social, economic and environmental factors. It is not easy, therefore to isolate one factor to the neglect of others and to state the real cause with certainty. The factors that generate refugees are inseparably tangled with each other (Crisp, 1998).

Colonialism is a fact in African history, but using it as a crutch to explain continuing refugee migrations becomes less viable as the colonial era sinks further into the past. The causes and the solutions of refugee migrations in Africa lie in the complex social and economic interactions manifest in everyday life. While inter-ethnic conflict might be the catalyst in one refugee migration, another might be the result of environmental stress brought on by economic and demographic pressures. The governments of many African states are increasingly directly involved in situations that cause refugee migrations, through enforced villagization, or the direct persecution of a single ethnic group. The application of the 'colonial explanation' to all these migrations does not, in the end, shed much light on the real reasons for these migrations (Crisp, 1989).

2.3.2. Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa

UNHCR defines a protracted refugee situation as “one in which 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for five years or longer in a given asylum country. At the global level, about 54% refugees were in protracted refugee situation by the end of 2013. The number of protracted refugee situations has increased from 22 in 1990 to 30 in 2008.

These protracted situations in Africa are characterised in most of the cases as:

- i. Peripherally located with poor security, unfavourable climatic conditions, and economical and political marginalized
- ii. Concentrating people with special needs like e.g. children and women.
- iii. Lacking basic human rights, including those covered by the provision of the 1951 refugee convention.

Another distinct feature of refugees in SSA is that they are mostly hosted in organized camps. While in developing countries around one third of refugees are hosted in camps, the share raises to about 40 percent in SSA. The percentage of 76 percent in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa stresses again the pressing situation in this part of the world. While camps have been recognized as posing serious challenges, it is quite striking to observe that this organizational feature is not as spread in other regions of the world as in SSA (Kibreab, 1989).

There is a huge difference in the composition of the refugee population in Africa compared to the rest of the world. The share of children and women among refugees is higher in Africa than elsewhere, in particular East and West Africa stand out here. This is, at least partly, a consequence of Africa’s younger, general population, but other forces could be at work as well, e.g. higher mortality of adult males in Africa or adult males staying behind or being separated from the rest of the household (Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2013).

Most of refugee hosting countries in SSA are likely among the least developed countries. It has been argued that these refugees may constitute an additional burden in terms of economic development in hosting countries. UNHCR implicitly recognizes that potential burden by suggesting that the ratio of the size of the country’s hosted refugee population to its average income level can provide a proxy measure of the burden of hosting refugees.

SSA counts 13 out of the 20 countries hosting the larger number of refugees per 1 USD GDP in the world. While such figures stress that SSA hosts a fair share of the refugees in the world and underline that refugee flows are mainly a South-South phenomenon, such representation is not conducive to the right policy framework in refugee-hosting areas (Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2013).

2.4. The Refugee Context in Ethiopia

Ethiopia's modern history has witnessed periods of conflict and violence and ensuing displacement, both internally and as a result of its proximity to some conflict-affected states. Displacement situations in the country result from a combination of protracted conflicts in neighbouring countries (Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan) and the more recent crises (South Sudan, Yemen). Internal conflicts both in neighbouring countries, combined with some regional inter-state conflicts (Ethiopia vs Somalia, Ethiopia vs Eritrea), produced socio-economic marginalization and protracted instability in peripheral areas and borderlands, and continuous waves of displacement of refugees. Currently the refugee population in Ethiopia is estimated to be more than 900,000. Conflicts in Somalia and Sudan, among others, are linked to environmental degradation and migration patterns associated with livelihoods and food security (UNHCR, 2018).

Regionally, there are three main theatres of crises that have caused refugees to pour into Ethiopia over several decades:

- i. Conflict, instability and clan-based conflicts and high levels of violence in Somalia. Since the 1960s, Ethiopia has been engulfed in a border conflict with Somalia over the Ogaden region of Ethiopia (or 'Somali National Regional State', as per official name, including a full war being fought in 1977-78. In the last decade, Ethiopia and Somalia cooperated to counteract violent extremism in the region. From the east, Somali refugees escaped repeated cycles of internal violence occurring from the late 1980s on, including during the 2008 drought.
- ii. In the north, following Eritrea's peaceful independence from Ethiopia (1993), an interstate war between the two countries over a disputed border took place (1998-2000), with instability and further violence occurring as recently as 2012. In the last decade, refugees from Eritrea mostly escaped political persecution, military conscription and economic hardship.

- iii. In the west of Ethiopia, at the border with Sudan and South Sudan. The former has had several internal armed conflicts since the 1950s, resulting in continuous cycles of refugees. One such conflict led to the independence of South Sudan (2011), which, in turn, has experienced a full blown civil war since December 2013. The war has had a severe toll in terms of refugees fleeing to Gambella (Ethiopia), a region with traditional ethnic tensions between the Nuer and Anuak groups (Feyissa, 2016).

As a result of these regional conflicts, Ethiopia has been one of the most important refugee hosting countries for decades. The country hosts the sixth largest refugee population in the world and the second-largest refugee population in Sub-Saharan Africa, after Uganda. Nearly half of them arrived in since 2013 from South Sudan, with the other half coming at different times from Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan. Refugees from these four nations tend to settle close to their country of origin. The nearly 8,000 remaining refugees come from some 15 countries, including Yemen. In 2017, more than 100,000 new refugees arrived in Ethiopia, overwhelmingly from South Sudan and Eritrea. These trends show how forced displacement in Ethiopia is both a humanitarian emergency and a protracted crisis (UNHCR, 2018).

Since the conflict contexts are diverse, the displacement situations are similarly heterogeneous. Most refugees settle in emerging regions of Ethiopia that border their country of origin and reside in camps. Refugee populations have marked differences in terms of size, demographics, causes and length of displacement, as well as origins and prospects. In turn, development needs and durable solutions apply differently to the different refugee groups. Border regions that host refugees are often isolated and lagging, some of which suffer from domestic conflicts too (e.g. Somali, Oromia, Afar, and Gambella). Similarly, there are ethnic, socio-economic and security-related differences among hosting regions in Ethiopia, in addition to the differences between refugee groups (UNHCR, 2018).

Over 90 percent of South Sudanese refugees settled in refugee camps located in Gambella regional state of Ethiopia along the southwestern border. The region is a traditionally fragile and underserved region. In Gambella, the South Sudanese refugees whom are mostly Nuer outnumber the host population causing enormous strains on food security, service delivery and access to livelihoods. The two main Ethiopian ethnic groups in Gambella are the Nuer and the Anuak, who at the national level represent a mere 0.3 percent. The presence of

refugees has aggravated existing tensions between the two groups over land and water rights. However, the influx of refugees and the associated flow of humanitarian assistance have also benefitted host communities through infrastructure projects, and expanded services and local markets (World Bank, 2017).

More so, almost all Somali refugees reside in eight camps in the conflict-affected Somali region of eastern Ethiopia. The largest group of Somali refugees live confined in Bolkomanyo and Dolo Ado *woredas*. While Somali refugees arrived in waves over several decades, most of the current refugees arrived after the 2008 drought and the Ethiopian-Somali joint military campaign against violent extremism. Somali refugees share the same ethnic group of host communities in the Somali region of Ethiopia. In the Somali, traditional inter- and intra-clan conflicts over ownership of resources and governance arrangements affected the region. Currently, the region remains unstable (World Bank, 2017).

Eritrean refugees have settled along the northern border of Ethiopia, in the Afar and Tigray regions. Compared to other refugee groups, only one third of Eritrean refugees live in camps, with many thousands living in individual accommodations or benefit from the ‘Out of Camp’ scheme, a special privilege devised for Eritrean refugees by the government of Ethiopia. Eritreans also account for majority of refugees who reside in Addis Ababa. Many Eritreans do not intend to permanently settle in Ethiopia but move on to onward movement to Europe via Sudan and Libya. Close to 65 percent of Eritrean refugees arriving in camps in Tigray leave within the first year (UNHCR, 2017).

North Sudanese refugees reside in four camps in the Beneshangul-Gumuz region in western Ethiopia. Sudanese refugees come from protracted conflicts and chronically marginalized regions of Sudan, including Darfur, Abyei, Southern Kordofan, and Blue Nile. Beneshangul-Gumuz is a multi-ethnic region populated with a predominantly farming economy. The region has a favourable climatic conditions but suffers from food insecurity due to limited social and economic infrastructure, and more recently environmental degradation (UNHCR, 2017).

In September 2017, the population of urban refugees counted 20,398 people, mainly from Eritrea, Somalia, Great Lakes countries, Yemen, South Sudan and Sudan. In the last years, Ethiopia has been characterised by rapid urbanization rates, with Addis Ababa being the main

centre of attraction with the best employment opportunities and the highest unemployment rate (17.5%), mainly among unskilled and low-level education people (World Bank, 2017).

As far as refugees are concerned, the three main categories of refugees who are currently allowed to reside in the urban areas include:

1. Refugees in need of special medical attention that is unavailable within the camps.
2. Refugees with serious protection concerns, or those determined to be unable to reside in the camps on humanitarian reasons.
3. Eritrean refugees who are registered under the Out of Camp Policy (OCP).

Of the three categories of refugees allowed to reside in the urban areas, the OCP refugees do not receive any financial assistance from UNHCR, whereas those registered as urban assisted refugees are provided with a monthly cash assistance package. Assistance is given as a support for refugees who are in Addis Ababa, due to health problems or protection issue but it is limited, often not adequate and hardly sustainable in the medium/long-term (UNHCR, 2017).

Despite the continued influx of refugees, the country maintains an open door policy for refugee inflows and allows humanitarian access and protection to those seeking asylum on its territory. In 2004, a national Refugee Proclamation was enacted based on the international and regional refugee conventions to which Ethiopia is a party (1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and its 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention). Refugee protection in the country is provided within the framework of these international and national refugee laws as well as the core international human rights treaties that have been ratified by the country. Continued insecurity within neighbouring states has resulted in sustained refugee movements, either directly as a result of internal conflict and human rights abuses or as a result of conflict related to competition for scarce natural resources and drought related food insecurity (ARRA, 2017)

The refugee flow to Ethiopia continued during 2018, with 36,135 persons seeking safety and protection within the country's borders. At the start of 2018, the nation hosted more than 900,000 refugees who were forced to flee their homes as a result of insecurity, political instability, military conscription, conflict, famine and other problems in their countries of origin. Ethiopia is one of the largest refugee asylum countries world-wide, and the second

largest in Africa, reflecting the ongoing fragility and conflict in the region. Eritreans, South Sudanese, Sudanese, Yemenis and Somalis originating from South and Central Somalia are recognized as prima facie refugees. Nationals from other countries undergo individual refugee status determination (UNHCR, 2018).

ETHIOPIA

Refugees and Asylum-seekers

as of 31 August 2018

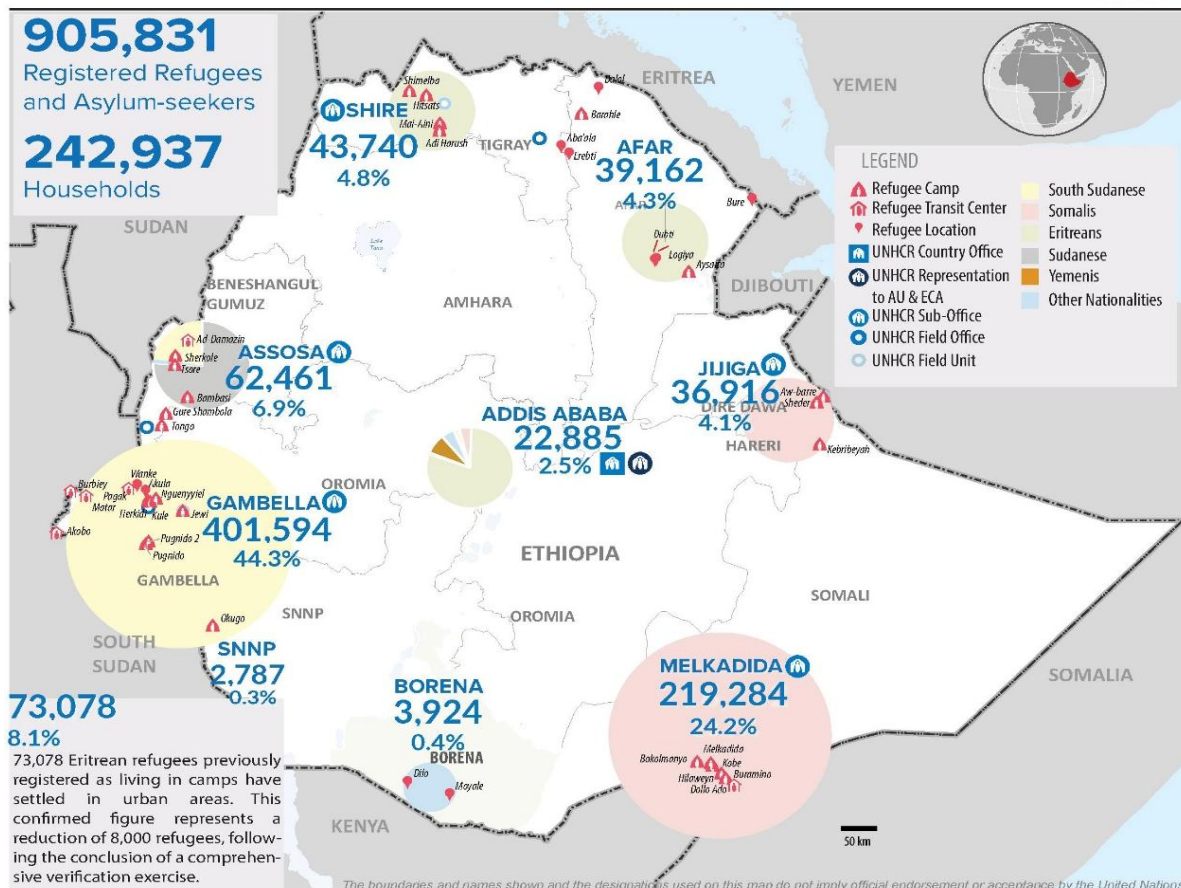


Image one: Refugee population in Ethiopia per region as of August 2018 – Source (UNHCR Website)

2.4.1. Economic Profile of Refugees in Ethiopia

Globally, once the emergency phase is over, most refugees cannot or do not want to return home for an extended period of time. Inevitably, they become part of the local economy, to the extent that host country and donor agency regulations allow it. Agencies, researchers and policy makers have not adequately captured the nature of the economic activities displayed by refugees. As a result, agencies and policy makers have failed to tap in to the economic potential of refugees. Many refugees have entrepreneurial skills, entertain active trading

networks, act as brokers between refugees and the economic operators in the country of origin, set up systems to receive transfers from family members and so on (Betts, 2014).

In Ethiopia, the refugee and asylum seeker population is more than 900,000. The population is characterised by four main groups (South Sudanese, Somali, Eritrean, and Sudanese) located in 26 camps. A small population mainly composed of Somali and Eritrean refugees resides in Addis Ababa.

The displacement dynamics is different across the four main refugee groups. Refugee populations display unique demographic features based on the drivers and immediate causes of their displacement. Demographics of the four groups are also related to the length of displacement, to the severity of violence to which refugees were exposed, and more generally to the intensity and status of the conflicts in the four countries. Sudanese, South Sudanese and Somalis overwhelmingly link their displacement to security issues. Armed conflict is the most prevalent reason for fleeing that Sudanese, South Sudanese and Somali refugees report. For Somalis, both rising crime and violence and drought are particularly relevant. Eritreans state persecution is the most important driver of displacement. Most Eritrean refugees report being displaced to Ethiopia due to political persecution, crime and family reasons (ODI, 2018).

Overall, the economic condition of all refugee populations is nearly under complete dependency on aid. Almost all Eritrean, South Sudanese and Sudanese households rely on aid as their greatest source of livelihood, while Somalis are the least aid-dependent. Arguably, among the four refugee groups, Somalis are the most integrated group with host communities (World Bank, 2017).

All refugee groups have largely a young age group which contributes to high dependency rates. About 60 percent of the refugee populations of Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia is under 15 years of age. Young populations lead to high dependency ratios, which put an increased burden on working age individuals. In turn, relative shortage of men in working age among refugees may indicate higher rates of dependency from external aid and lower rates of economic self-reliance. Dependency ratio is highest for South Sudanese and Somali refugees: one working age member is responsible to support approximately two dependents (UNHCR, 2016).

Gender imbalance is also evident across the refugee groups. With the exception of South Sudanese refugees, all the other refugee groups, including host communities, have an approximately similar gender balance in their adult population. In turn, the low percentage of adult men among South Sudanese refugees' results in a more than 90 percent South Sudanese refugee women-headed households in Ethiopia. The gender imbalance among South Sudanese refugees could be partially attributed to the intensity and volatility of the civil war in South Sudan where adult men may be more systematically recruited by armed groups, compared to say Somalia and Sudan where conflict dynamics are protracted (UNHCR, 2017).

Poverty rates across the four refugee groups vary following the difference in contexts. The relatively better ones are the Eritreans and the worst are the Sudanese. Every 2 in 3 refugees live below the international poverty line of USD 1.90 per day per person at 2011 PPP. Some refugee groups (South Sudanese, Eritreans) fare better compared to their respective country of origin at the national level, while some others (Sudanese, Somalis) fare worse. Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia have the lowest poverty rate amongst the refugee population in the country due to the privileges provided by the government and the entrepreneur nature of the Eritrean refugees. More so, majority of the Eritrean refugee population do not have women headed households which is the case and the basis for higher poverty rates in the other refugee population groups (World Bank, 2017).

Refugees in Ethiopia, specifically South Sudanese, Sudanese and Somali refugees, are in dire need of food aid to overcome high food insecurity in the camps. However, access to services for refugees in terms of water and sanitation, health, and education compares, or in some cases even exceeds, access to the same services for host community members, pointing to a high quality of camps. Refugees have nearly complete access to improved water sources and sanitation facilities. Similarly, refugees in Ethiopia have greater access to health services in particular, hospitals (World Bank, 2017).

Majority of refugees rely on aid including cash, food and non-food items from UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations for their livelihood. While refugees relied primarily on agriculture and wages and salaries for their livelihood before displacement. Among refugees, richer households and households headed by men are slightly more likely to

depend on wages and salaries for their livelihood than the poorest quintile and women-headed households. With respect to nationality, all groups overwhelmingly depend on aid except for the Somalis. Thus, Somalis' greater economic self-reliance compared to other groups may explain higher rate of entrepreneurship and livelihoods activities in retail, agriculture and services (UNHCR, 2017).

High dependency on aid is a result of low labour force participation rates among refugees. Among refugees, working age population in the richest quintile is more likely to be employed than the poorest, confirming the trend that refugees with higher income are more economically self-reliant. Until recently, Refugees in Ethiopia were not officially allowed to work, hence majority of the refugees are inactive, neither employed, nor unemployed, nor actively looking for employment. On a positive note, inactive refugees are currently enrolled in school or college, and are thereby developing skills (UNHCR, 2017).

Barriers to labour force participation and employment for refugees need to be removed. Significant percentage of the working-age population does not participate in the labour force because they are enrolled in school or college and are therefore not currently active in the labour market. Another good percentage of working-age refugees, predominantly women, are not participating in the labour force because they are taking care of their households. Even those who enter the labour market face barriers in securing employment mainly due to lack of regular work opportunities and lack adequate skills and experience. The protracted period of displacement and economic inactivity potentially erode skills and make it harder for refugees to find employment (World Bank, 2017).

Refugees need access to productive assets to develop livelihood opportunities for themselves. Before displacement, most refugees had access to agricultural land, livestock and at least one productive asset. Currently, refugees of all nationalities have faced a significant decline in their access to agricultural land, productive assets and livestock since displacement and South Sudanese refugees have faced the greatest decline. This lack of access to productive assets further limits the ability of refugees to create employment opportunities for themselves and hampers self-reliance. While self-employment in agriculture was a predominant activity for most refugees in their countries of origin,

Refugees who are employed are working primarily as salaried labourers or are engaged in non-farm self-employment in the service sector (World Bank, 2017).

2.5. The New Approach To Refugee Response

2.5.1. Humanitarian Development Nexus: African Perspective

The humanitarian-development nexus was a trademark of the response of African states to the mass arrival and prolonged presence of refugees in the 1960s. By 1972, Africa states hosted just over 1 million refugees. The majority of these refugees did not live in camps, but were integrated into local and national economies through the “Zonal Development” approach to refugee settlement (Kibreab, 1985).

Zonal development and planning was generally accepted by African states as the best method of consolidating the economic and social condition of refugee settlements as well as integrating them into the economic and social systems of the country. The majority of refugees in Africa were accommodated in local settlements at the end of the 1970s, with more than 90 per cent of refugees living in settlements in many of the largest asylum countries. As part of the refugee settlement approach, refugees were allocated land, granted the right to work, and encouraged to pursue self-reliance through a range of economic activities (Kironde, 1970).

The zonal development approach was premised on the understanding that while the mass arrival and prolonged presence of refugees may result in a range of costs for a host state, a development approach to refugees helped leverage a range of opportunities for host communities and host states. While accepting the massive influx of refugees in an underdeveloped African country represents a heavy burden. Early research on refugees in Africa also found that the presence of refugees can turn from a burden to a stimulus leading to an economic growth and development (Kibreab, 1985).

While refugees may impose a range of burdens on host countries, they also embody a significant flow of resources in the form of international humanitarian assistance, economic assets and human capital. The protracted nature of most refugee situations in Africa means that refugee-related resources are available for extended periods, and may be used to attract development assets to regions that remained otherwise underdeveloped. More generally, the

presence of refugees, even with the associated burdens, can contribute to the process of African state-building by compelling the state to enhance its control over border areas (Kibreab, 1991).

Based on evidence from African cases, there are three ways that the presence of refugees can have a positive economic impact on the refugee populated area:

- In situations where refugees are allowed to engage in wage-earning employment, they may significantly contribute to the local economy by starting new businesses, mobilizing new trading networks, introducing new forms of innovation, and making a direct contribution to the local economy by creating employment opportunities for refugees and members of the host community.
- As a result of the presence of a large refugee program, additional services, facilities, and opportunities may be available to the local population. Refugee programs create local employment as a wide range of positions need to be filled by international agencies and NGOs. There may also be benefits to the local population as humanitarian agencies invest in more reliable transportation and communication networks, especially by building more permanent roads and bridges.
- Many refugee operations include specific programs to benefit the local population, both to alleviate local burdens and to foster better relations with the local population. In this way, local water sources, schools, and hospitals may be rehabilitated. It should, however, be emphasized that, given the precarious nature of funding to refugee programs, such activities may be the first to be cut in the event of budget shortfalls.

The large-scale encampment of refugees contributed to the phenomenon of “protracted refugee situations” By 2008, some two-thirds of the world’s refugees were understood to have been in exile for more than five years, often restricted to closed camps, denied the right to work, and fully reliant on international assistance (Milner and Loescher, 2011).

The vast majority of the world’s protracted refugee situations are to be found in developing countries, many of which are struggling to meet the basic needs and expectations of their

own citizens. Within those countries, moreover, refugees are most frequently to be found in remote and sometimes unstable border areas that have limited economic activity, a weak infrastructure and a low level of development. The arrival and long-term presence of a refugee population can in some respects have a positive impact on such areas: creating new economic opportunities for host country nationals, providing improved community services to local populations, as well as attracting humanitarian, development and private sector resources that might otherwise not be available (UNHCR, 2008).

2.6. Economic Inclusion of Refugees

Based on the review existing literature, it is possible to conclude that the literature on economic inclusion of refugees is characterized broadly by its neglect. Economic inclusion as part of local integration is actually not a forgotten solution, but an undocumented one.’ In many respects this is not surprising, given the nature of economic inclusion, which has happened *de facto* (and therefore off the official policy radar and hard to quantify), rather than *de jure* (legally achievable, and therefore quantifiable) (Kolmannskog, 2008).

More recently, however, there has been growing interest in the potential for Economic Inclusion as a durable solution, particularly in the context of so-called ‘protracted’ refugee contexts. Much of this literature – which also talks about the closely related notion of ‘self-reliance’ – emphasizes the extent to which economic inclusion takes place despite governments and international refugee policy, not because of it. It points to the ways in which refugees seek out their own forms of protection that official structures fail to meet. Most scholars agree on the fact that a generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration remains elusive. The very concept of economic inclusion continues to be controversial and hotly debated. Inclusion remains ‘a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most,’ a concept that is ‘individualized, contested and contextual.’ (Masibo, 2014).

2.6.1. Conceptual Literature

There is a lack of principal theory in forced displacement studies upon the economic inclusion of refugees. Therefore, in order to create a conceptual framework for this thesis, critical international relations theories connecting to forced displacement, as well as aspects of voluntary migration theories upon economic impact are utilized. Furthermore, existing studies on the topic will give more practical guidance for the analysis (Crisp, 2004).

The World System Theory builds on this notion and suggest that wealthy countries exploit other countries' labour force in order to develop. The theory also declares that the relation between states is hierarchical, based on their position in the global division of labour. Based on the world economy Immanuel Wallerstein divided the world into Core countries, Semi-peripheral countries and Peripheral countries. The Core (or the Centre) stands in the middle of this system, as those countries which accumulate capital. Among others, the Core is characterized by advanced technology, industrialization, urbanization, financial dominance and access to natural resources. Furthermore, it attains a certain level of dominance over the world-economy, which the Core utilizes to create and maintain the rules of the market. This position allows it to achieve a 14 higher yield of accumulated surplus and influence over the markets and policies of the Periphery (Wallerstein, 1974).

The Periphery on the other hand is the opposite of the Core. The periphery is the sum of underdeveloped countries exploited by the Core. It is less industrialised and urbanised, because its development was interrupted by colonialism, and its entrance into the world economy was thus unequal to that of the Core. Since the Periphery cannot compete with the Core in providing services and producing manufactured goods, it focuses on the export of agricultural products and natural resources. In addition, weak institutions, little financial power and low educational level are its features, which makes them dependent on the Core. Since these are not rigid structures there is space for a shift through a middle category, the Semi-periphery. Due to its technological level, Semi-peripheral countries are able to supply the Core with (semi-finished) manufactured goods, through exploiting the natural resources of the Periphery (Wallerstein, 1974).

At the beginning, World System Theory was concerned with internal migration, but from the mid-1970s it widened its nexus to international labour migration. It also gave ground to historical-structural theories of migration. These theories emphasise that individuals do not have a choice in migration, because they face economic and structural constrains, due to their inclusion into the global political-economic system. Migration is seen as a way to mobilise cheap labour for capital and hence deepening the unequal development of poor and rich countries. Betts (Betts, 2009), in his analysis derives two core elements from the Critical Theories, which can be utilized in forced migration studies.

1. The labels and categories of forced migration themselves represent and uphold power relations under which he means categories like 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker'. These categories are defined at the beginning of the paper and it can be seen that these terms are closely connected to the United Nations. Betts argues that these labels are not neutral and has been created with a purpose. In this context the role of UNHCR in the creation and dissemination of the hegemonic knowledge which serves the Northern states was also examined.
2. The nation-state should not be taken as the unproblematic starting point for analysis. The analysis of forced migration should not exclude non-state or transnational actors. The neo-Marxist approaches to international relations goes even further and states that a purely state-centric approach risks ignoring the role of the international political economy in shaping the politics of forced migration (Betts 2009).

Since most of the forced displacements occur and remain in the South, it is worth to look for the reasons in the broader context of the international political economy and the North-South relation. This division is similarly to the categories of World System Theory, as the North is the Core and the South is the Periphery. International political economy is an area of International Relations, which recognises the connection between global economy and world politics. It focuses among others, on development, migration, trade, globalization and the North-South relation. The degree and type of integration of states into the global economic system defines their economic relations which affect inter-state politics, and reinforce inequalities and hierarchies between them. Even though this distinction is not adequate, due to the fact that nowadays many Southern countries are highly integrated into the global economic system (for example China, Japan etc.), this label captures elements of forced migration such as the states' ability to protect their border and citizens from abuses, and whether they are predominantly sending or receiving countries from a migration point of view (Betts 2011).

The critical international political economy approach also examines the causes, consequences and responses to forced migration. In order to understand the impact of refugees, it is worth to look at the cause of their escape. The easiest way to connect global capitalist economy to forced migration, is through the occurring intra-state conflicts, which according to the critical approach is caused by underlying economic inequalities and competition for resources.

Economic inequalities are fostered by the global economic connection, through maintaining dependency on the export of primary products, introducing structural adjustment processes and imposing democratisation. Similarly, the structures of the global capitalist economy are the main causes of forced migration. Humanitarian responses only treat the symptoms and not deal with the causes. As for the responses, Betts argues that humanitarian and development assistance as part of a Northern hegemonic strategy to engage in the transformation and subordination of the South and contain possible transboundary spill-overs. He concludes that humanitarian responses often have mixed motives, which sometimes not altruistic, but still it is currently the best possible way to alleviate the suffering of many. International migration increases the dependency of peripheral countries to generate capitalist surplus for the Core countries. This suggests, that the combined impact of the refugees and the humanitarian response results in increased reliance on imported goods and external aid from the core countries, decreased trade surplus and weakened local markets (Stone and Vriese, 2004).

2.6.2. The Debate on the Economic Impact of the Presence of Refugees

There is a debate among scholars whether refugees have an overall negative or a positive impact on the host's economy. Many scholars investigated how the massive influx of refugees' influence supply and demand, both relating to products and the labour force, and their effect on wages and prices. The issue is examined from different angles, and there are many factors, which has to be taken into consideration, but existing studies on the economic effects of refugees serve as a useful point of departure.

Impact on Market Price

There are three possible ways refugees affect prices. In most of the cases, high number of displaced people have an increasing effect on basic commodity prices. This is shown for example in Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. However, studies also show, that the presence of refugees can decrease prices as evidenced in Kenya, where the prices decreased by 20% in areas with refugee presence (Betts, 2014).

The source of aid given to the refugees defines the price trends. If the aid comes from foreign supply, the market prices might decrease, while the domestically produced aid can increase prices. The increased population raises the demand for products, which leads to

price increases that are greater the closer is the market to the refugee camps. The humanitarian aid can ease the increased demand for goods with a downward effect on prices in case of foreign aid, but upward pressure can be created on prices if the aid is provided from local sources. However, the supply might not be able to fully adjust to the raised demand, because of limited substitute goods, high transaction costs and infrastructural difficulties, which can easily increase prices. Overall, the aid given to refugees as a bigger factor than the presence of refugees, concerning their impact on market prices (Masibo, 2014).

Impact on Trade

The economic impact of refugees can also be assessed with a focus on the form of aid. Aid is provided to refugees in the form of cash or it is in-kind aid. The aid provided in cash to refugees creates more positive income spill overs in the host country's economy, than if the aid is provided in-kind. Because, the trade with a specific product is limited since there might not be demand for that specific product. Refugees tend to sell their ration, but usually they gain less than the local retail price, due to the transaction cost of converting food products to cash. This negatively affects the demand, hence the spill over effect will be lower. Overall, cash makes it easier for refugees to engage in economic activities outside of the camps, and by increasing trade and businesses, they also increase the total real income of the host country (Taylor, 2016).

Impact on Wages

The influx of refugees logically means increased labour supply which cause decrease in wages in regard to low skilled jobs. However, labour market can enjoy benefits from the increased presence refugees that require low wages and minimum claiming of rights. Furthermore, in case refugees arrive to an area where there is shortage of labour supply, they can take part in the local labour market without any negative impact on wages. The main determining factor is the degree of substitution between refugees and locals. Substitution means language skills and educational background which make refugees able to create competition in the host labour market. Nevertheless, since the increased amount of people raises the supply on the labour market, and refugees tend to undertake work even with lower wages, generally wages are decreasing (Betts, 2011).

Impact on Informal Sector

Informal markets are outside of the sphere of the state, without taxation and with exploitation and abuse of workers. Refugees comprehend the importance of finding a job in order to avoid dependency on humanitarian aid. However, often they encounter obstacles from the host country, by denying their rights to work and permit to move and interact with people and businesses outside of the camps. This is a response of the host government for the increased supply of workforce on the labour market, causing fall in wages. On the other hand, an increase in investments could be a response to the increased supply of workers from the actors of the market, but investments tend to occur slowly, hence governments rather limit the movement of refugees or deny their work permit. If the refugees' ability to contribute to the society is limited, and they cannot be integrated into the local labour market, they either become dependent on humanitarian aid or become part of an informal labour market (Ruaudel and Zetter, 2018).

Impact on Basic and Social Services

A large demographic shock cause mismatch in the supply and demand of basic and social services and housing as well. Fiscal constraints and exchange devaluation can be introduced in case the investments cannot keep up with the demand. In addition, the impact of refugees on the public services and infrastructure, which are barely able to satisfy the need of natives in developing countries. The type of settlement defines the degree of impact. If refugees live in camps financed by international organizations, such as the UNHCR, they do not create as big of a burden, as they are using the public resources and facilities. However, in the economic inclusion context where refugees will reside out of camps perusing employment opportunities, public services will be overwhelmed. Hence, there is a strong need to invest in building the capacities of national basic and social services and systems (Dadush and Niebuhr 2016).

Impact on Government Budget

The ongoing international aid towards refugee response until a solution is found to the crisis will represent a yearly influx of goods and money to the country, which would again alter the local economy. In the long-term however, the continuous external assistance can have a negative macroeconomic impact resulting in strengthening currency, therefore more expensive export, increased import, less competition and weaker markets. In addition, the external aid is unpredictable, as there is no guarantee that the requested aid will be available in the requested time period, which can cause problems with the budgeting. All in all, long period of external aid can easily lead to the increased dependency of refugee hosting countries on the developed countries (Taylor, 2016).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

3.1. Research Approach and Design

This study looked into a situation where little is known in a relatively short duration. As Kothari (2006) explains, qualitative research would best fit when the aim is to produce a complete picture and understanding of a phenomenon instead of examining individual variables and their correlation which is common in a quantitative research. Moreover, when there is a literature gap, lack of theory or existing theory fails to explain a phenomenon satisfactorily, qualitative research would be very effective since the explanatory element can fill the literature gap in the field (Kothari, 2006).

The qualitative research approach of this research paper employed an exploratory research design since the researcher had to dig up new information on the limited literature concerning the issue of refugee economic inclusion of refugees. “Exploratory research is a type of research conducted because a problem has not been clearly defined. Its purpose is to gain background information and better understand and clarify a problem.” (Zegeye, 2009).

Since the study used qualitative research methods appropriate to the specified research objectives, primary and secondary sources have been used. The primary data was collected by means of key informant interviews. Secondary data was collected from the limited documents related to the topics and reviewed unpublished materials mainly the draft NCRRS.

3.1.1. SAMPLING

In qualitative study, the interest is not only to generalize to a population, but to develop an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon. Thus, to appropriately understand the phenomenon, the writer purposefully or intentionally selects individuals and sites (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, as there are no fixed rules for sample size in qualitative research and in light of the purposive sampling method utilized in the study, the size of the participants of this study was dependant on the amount of information deemed relevant to answer the research questions and sufficient enough to satisfy the objectives of the research.

Among the variables that determine the required sample size for a study, the size of the population, the sampling technique, data saturation, cost and time are very vital (Wolde, 2007). Hence, through purposeful sampling procedures, seven key informant interview respondents were selected to participate in the study based on the following key parameters that were utilized to define who is relevant for the study and the level of data saturation: -

1. Strategic involvement in supporting the roll out of Ethiopia's CRRF commitments in the context of economic inclusion of refugees or the work and livelihoods pledges.
2. Mandated government sectoral line ministries and agencies leading the nation's economic development and that are relevant to Ethiopia's economic inclusion pledges.
3. Humanitarian partners with more than ten years of experience in Ethiopia's refugee operation supporting refugee livelihoods. Also, engaged in the policy level discussion on the economic inclusion of refugees agenda.
4. Development partners investing in the refugee economic inclusion agenda with strategic projects targeting both refugees and host communities as well as engaged in the policy level discussions with the government.
5. Donor agencies and/or governments engaged in the refugee economic inclusion discussion with the government of Ethiopia with huge investment portfolios allocated for the subject matter.
6. Mandated government entity for managing refugee affairs in Ethiopia and internationally mandated agency under the New York Declaration and the CRRF to facilitate economic inclusion of refugees.
7. Potential private sector actors that are cognizant of the CRRF commitments of the government.

Through the purposeful sampling technique, the entities stated in annex II were selected. The researcher believed that the information gathered from the identified key informant interviewees was enough to inform the research mainly because the selected entities represent the divergence views on the economic inclusion subject and represent all the competing interests and agendas around the topic. More so, since the issue is new to the Ethiopian context, the strategic entities that are currently involved in the roll out process with sufficient information on the topic are included in the sample. It was also believed that

conducting more interviews in addition to the interviews conducted with the selected strategic entities will result in duplication of information in turn making the data analysis a lengthy process given the time constraints. The selected entities represent the Ethiopian government, development partners, humanitarian partners, the donor community and the private sector.

3.1.2. Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data was gathered through review of available literature on economic inclusion of refugees in general, and review of programme documents, laws, strategies, organizational publications, communication materials and articles on Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda. To his end, documents published by UNHCR, IRC, Samuel hall institution, DRS, World Bank and ARRA provided a relatively in depth analysis of Ethiopia's economic inclusion agenda. International and local media as well as UNHCR and World Bank's websites including relief web and other websites focusing on forced displacement gave facts, assessments and figures that are related with the research questions.

More importantly, the revised refugee proclamation that was promulgated in January 2019 and the final draft of the national comprehensive refugee response strategy drafted by the Agency for Refugee and Returnees Affairs were the key documents that informed the study in terms of defining Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda and the countries policy direction towards implementing the economic inclusion pledges.

3.2. Data Collection Procedures

3.2.1. Data Collection

One of the significant qualitative data collection instrument is conducting an in depth interview through semi structured interview guide, so that the participants can best voice their experience unrestrained by any perspectives. During the interviews with key informants, the researcher tried to ask most important questions with the flexibility to probe and change the sequence of the questions whenever required. During the course of the key informant interviews, the researcher managed to establish a rapport of the detail information without leading the respondents towards a specific answer. More so, the information gathered was triangulated and cross checked with different stakeholders in order to make the information valid and credible.

Based on the parameters set for selecting key informant interview respondents in light of data saturation level and relevance to Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda, the interviews were conducted with the following entities: -

Interviews with key informants and officers working in the aforementioned entities had the purpose of getting vital information relevant to the research. The interviews were specific and focused on economic inclusion of refugees and the CRRF roll out in Ethiopia. Pertinent officers were consulted and/or telephone interviewed through semi-structured interview guides including predetermined specific questions covering issues relevant to the research questions and objectives.

The researcher performed the following key activities during the process of the research work despite the difficulty of designing a sound process for a beginner researcher. Nevertheless, after developing a hypothesis based on the review of pertinent related literature, the following procedures were employed in the process of data gathering and thematic categorization.

The first step of the process was to set parameters for identifying and selecting key informant interview respondents. More importantly, reasoning for why the selected respondents were chosen and defining the saturation points were critical. Consequently, indicators for identifying key strategic entities as respondents for key informant interview were developed. More so, saturation point was defined taking into consideration the different roles of the identified entities in the refugee economic inclusion agenda and the divergent view regarding Ethiopia's policy changes towards ensuring the commitments made during the leaders' summit are properly executed.

Secondly, semi structured interview guides were prepared in light of the research objectives and questions and through an informed consent form, all key informant interview participants were informed about the procedures used in the study, the risks and benefits of participating in the study, and their rights as study participants was clearly indicated before the actual provision started.

Subsequently, interviews were conducted with the selected key informant interview respondents. Seven key informants were involved because the researcher believed that the information gathering from various angles and perspectives is required to meet the research objectives. The interviews were conducted both in the formal and informal contexts, in both cases, note taking has been very cumbersome which requires arranging each piece of information for later use.

For the purpose of keeping the confidentiality of the respondents, they are referred as Respondents 1 to 7. The key informant interview participants also preferred to provide the information anonymously given the sensitivity of the issue. All insisted that their names and roles in their institution should not be mentioned in the research. Few of the respondents were even uncomfortable to respond to some of the questions mainly due to the existence of social tensions in Gambella and other parts of the country at the time of the interview following the promulgation of the revised refugee proclamation as well as the different social media statements made regarding the rights to work and economic inclusion of refugees enshrined in the new refugee proclamation.

The researcher also conducted an in-depth review of the key secondary data sources. Mainly, the revised refugee proclamation (Proclamation 1110/2019) and the final draft of the national comprehensive refugee response strategy were given due attention in the study work.

3.2.2. Data Organization And Analysis

Data analysis which encompasses examining, categorizing and recommending based on evidences in the most important feature of any given research. The collected data has to be processed and analysed in accordance with the outline laid down to meet the purpose and it is very essential for a scientific research and to ensure important data for contemplated comparison and analysis are present (Khotari, 2006).

After the data collection process was concluded in May, 2019, the subsequent key step was to thematically categorize the collected information in such a way that reflects the research questions. The researcher familiarised himself with the collected data through reading the interview notes and identified critical points raised by the respondents. The identified patterns and key issues that emerged as findings to the research questions were expressed

both explicitly and implicitly. Subsequently, the researcher defined the themes and moved to analysing the collected and thematised information. The researcher tried to sort out the issues which were recurrently mentioned in the key informant interviews. Once the underlined common issues were identified, they were given subtitles that formed the findings and discussion part of this work.

The analysis continued with some sort of conclusion for each sub-topic discussed. The final conclusions were derived from the findings and the discussion in a concise form. Recommendations were put forward considering the various issues raised and discussed throughout the findings and discussion part in light of advancing the refugee economic inclusion of agenda in the Ethiopian context. Data that was collected from secondary sources that were relevant to the research questions were also included in the analysis process.

3.2.3. Ethical Considerations

With regards to ethical considerations, participants were informed about the voluntary nature of their participation in the study and confirmed their willingness to take part in the study by signing on consent forms. The consent form clearly stated the aim of the research, the expectations from the research, voluntary participation and withdrawal. The consent of participating respondents was asked prior the interviews. In addition, as Abiy (Zegeye, 2009) stated, “Autonomy or respect for persons requires a commitment to ensuring the autonomy of research participants, and where autonomy may be diminished, to protect people from exploitation of their vulnerability.” The research respected the dignity of the research participants in such a way that their right to privacy and confidentiality were recognized and respected. The findings of the research were and will only be used for the purpose of this research which is conducted for the partial fulfilment of a master’s degree.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Rationale for Policy Changes towards Refugee Economic Inclusion

4.1.1. Economic Contributions of the Previous National Refugee Response Regime

Prior to inquiring the study participant's responses on the issue of refugee economic inclusion in Ethiopia, it was the purpose of the research to know how the previous refugee response regime economically impacted refugees and contributed to the development of the refugee hosting regions. The previous refugee response regime with the exception of the out of camp scheme for selected Eritrean refugees, mainly followed an encampment approach. To set the background for reasoning the need for a policy change that lays the foundation for refugees and host communities to meaningfully benefit from the economic inclusion agenda, identifying the successes and draw backs of the previous regime in terms of creating economic opportunities and enhancing the self-reliance of refugees was very critical to the study. In addition, the economic impact of such initiatives on the refugee hosting communities and contributions to the national economic development agenda was also assessed during the in depth key informant interviews.

A. Contributions for Self-Reliance of Refugees

Some respondents agreed that the encampment approach of the government was not in any way contributing to the self-reliance of refugees as well as had counterproductive effect on the refugee hosting communities. Programmes that aimed at self-reliance of refugees have typically been designed and implemented by the UNHCR in collaboration with international humanitarian NGOs. Donors and host governments influence livelihoods programmes by the later controlling the legal and policy frameworks and Donor government by channelling funds to particular projects and/or regions.

In the previous refugee response regime of Ethiopia, economic programmes are mainly either supply focused where by skills development interventions are provided to refugees including vocational, language and soft skills trainings and technology access programmes or demand side interventions focusing on job creation programmes. However, the successful

implementation of such programmes are contingent up on the political and policy context of the host countries, the type and extent of economic opportunities available in the host economy and the capacity and willingness of refugees to invest in livelihoods.

The types and extent of economic opportunities available in the host economy are also limited hindering the economic inclusion of refugees. Humanitarian agencies are only able to connect refugees with employers or train them for specific jobs if such prospects actually exist in the host community. Programmes are often not designed with local labour market context and needs in mind, with the result that even those refugees who successfully complete training programmes may not be able to find work. In addition, the willingness of refugees to commit to finding legal work in Ethiopia is very low. In many cases, refugees remain interested in eventually returning to their country of origin or moving onward illegally through resettlements to a third country. Hence, refugees are reluctant to invest their time and energy in work programmes leaving the humanitarian assistance provided in camps.

More importantly, despite Ethiopia being party to the 1951 convention and ratifying other international instruments, refugees only have an implicit right to work in the conditions similar to foreigners, which equals the government denying refugees the legal status working in formal sectors and limiting their access to work in practice. Nevertheless, Ethiopia doesn't have a clear policy framework for expatriate employment in Ethiopia. The labour proclamation only states that foreign nationals must have a work permit from the Ministry to be employed in Ethiopia and this can be granted when the required qualification is not available in Ethiopia. Since the work permit is linked to the employer, there isn't the possibility of moving within the labour market for foreign workers. The laws and directives, which followed, while providing more details, still failed to define clear elements for implementation (Abebe, 2018).

As a result, programmes are not able to fill existing skill gaps, by limiting at the same time, the threats of dependency and labour market distortions. Also resource-based livelihoods are *de facto* restricted, since natural resources and especially land in Ethiopia belongs to citizens and it is administered by the Government. This implies that, in order to legally access and use natural resources and engage in resource-based livelihoods, an authorization from the host communities and the authorities is needed. Restrictions then apply to traditional livelihood activities, such as: beekeeping, fishing, etc, which are generally considered for

host communities only. Other activities such as mining are formally reserved to Ethiopians and need a work permit to be carried out.

For refugees, in addition to the restrictions, which are applicable to foreigners, there are other implicit limitations, such as the lack of recognised IDs, hence the impossibility to register a business and pay taxes and the encampment policy, with consequent restrictions of movement (which can be less or more rigid, depending on the regions). In some cases, since the right to work is not explicitly stated, there might be the understanding that refugees are not allowed to work in Ethiopia, under all circumstances (UNHCR, 2018)

Hence, in the previous policy environment, the livelihood opportunities for refugees were extremely limited to providing services within the camp. The training courses offered by the majority of the NGOs are not linked to the market and are often vocational, offering skills that might be used in case of resettlement or return to the country of origin (both options are unlikely to happen in the near future for the majority of refugees in Ethiopia and qualifications are hardly recognised at the international level) (World bank, 2017).

B. Contribution to Host Communities

Refugees are considered as competing for on local resources and overwhelm basic and social services and infrastructures. There are also concerns among the host communities that the massive influx of refugees results in the taking of jobs from nationals, and drive up the cost of housing, goods and other services. In Ethiopia, the presence of refugees does not necessarily mean that the government must pay salaries and expenses related to security and other officials, who are needed to carry out refugee-related tasks, including processing, setting up camps or settlements, and providing other health, education or social services. However, the fact that refugees are often hosted in isolated, remote, emerging regions that tend to be poor or limited in natural resources makes the economic challenge of hosting refugees more complex.

It was emphasized that, from the moment of arrival at the Ethiopian border, refugees competed with the local citizens for scarce resources food and medical services. Over time, their presence leads to more strain on the local administration. Regional authorities divert considerable resources and manpower from the pressing demands of their own development to the urgent task of national security and keeping refugees alive. On the other hand,

humanitarian and development partners argue that the economic impact of refugees on host areas is not necessarily negative. An economic stimulus was generated by the presence of refugees that led to the opening and development of the host regions. This stimulus takes place through the local purchase of food, non-food items, shelter materials by agencies supplying relief items, disbursements made by aid workers, the assets brought by refugees themselves, as well as employment and income accrued to local population, directly or indirectly, through assistance projects for refugee areas. The presence of refugees also contributes to the creation of employment benefiting the local population, directly or indirectly.

Nevertheless, few respondents agreed that, while recognizing that there may be some positive aspects of the impact of refugees on host economies, the presence of refugees regardless of the different contexts in Ethiopia, refugees remain to be burdens for the refugee hosting areas of Ethiopia. The contribution of the previous refugee response approach to local economic development was not significant in terms of creating economic opportunities for the host communities. In some cases, the camp based refugee response model only allowed for humanitarian financing to flow into the camps both in cash and in kind. This resulted into better refugee markets and services while the surrounding community was not given due attention. The economic impact of refugee also extends to the irresponsible and illegal utilization of natural resources surrounding the refugee camps mainly for addressing consumption gaps and energy.

4.1.2. The Need for a Change in Refugee Response Approach

The previous refugee regime in Ethiopia is not compatible with the needs of refugees particularly in the context of self-reliance and resilience. In Ethiopia, majority of the refugee cases are of protracted nature with more than 5 years presence in the country. In some cases, refugees have stayed in camps for more than 20 years. One of the respondents stated, “Some refugees have lived in camps since the Ethio – Somali war, now, they have become grandparents of third generation refugee children that are born in the refugee camps”.

Despite the long duration of their stay in Ethiopia, they were not living a dignified life. Almost all refugee households are still dependent on the food and non-food item support from UNHCR and other humanitarian partners. The subsequent generations that were born in

the camps continued to obtain this support without being able to provide for themselves and satisfy their basic needs. As the respondents noted, the refugee response approach was not only unfair but also against international human rights principles (ARRA, 2018)

The recent tremendous decline of available durable solutions for refugees also resulted in protracted refugee situations in Ethiopia: the possibility for local integration was non-existent as a result of the government's policy direction; the situations in South Sudan, Eritrea and Somalia remain to be volatile hindering voluntary repatriation and resettlement quotas in western countries deteriorated due to the rise of anti-refugee policies in the United States and Europe contributed to extended stay of refugees enclosed in camps (ARRA, 2018).

Likewise, the encampment approach did not benefit the country's living around the refugee camps and the host nation economy in general. The humanitarian funds that aimed at supporting refugees were channelled through either UNHCR or other humanitarian partners to the refugee camps without taking into consideration the needs of the local communities. Almost in all cases, the regional and *woreda* level governments have no control over the resources and in very few instances, the requests from the local government authorities were given due consideration.

The refugee camps, even though located in the regional states, are the mandates of the federal refugee protection entity called ARRA since the refugee issue is considered as a federal matter.

Following this arrangement, in majority of the camps the standards for services in the camps are based on international standards making in camp services better than host community services. The market infrastructure in camps and the availability of services coupled with the support from humanitarian partners create a relatively better environment for refugees whereas the host community gets an insignificant portion. One of the respondents (R-1) said, "One will be very surprised to see, in a single refugee camp, more than ten international and local partners supporting the refugee response operation in various sectors where as only one or two development partners support the host community"

In terms of economic opportunities also, the presence of refugees only created few jobs for host communities in the humanitarian NGOs working in the camps and enhanced host community businesses that are mainly involved in the retail sales of consumer products

which are limited to food items and other small items for house hold consumption. The food and non-food items distributed for refugees also created a value chain in the host communities since the price of such goods was relatively low given the fact that changing such items to cash was difficult.

Nevertheless, the major effect of the refugee presence was the devastation of the natural resources that belonged to the host communities. Mainly, trees were cut for firewood which resulted in massive deforestation and drought in the areas. This environmental impact of refugees even led to the development of a government led project in collaboration with the World Bank with a view of compensating host communities that shoulder the burden of hosting refugees (World Bank, 2017).

The project is called Development responses to Displacement Impacts Projects (DRDIP). The project was designed on the basis of the rationale to mitigate the adverse social, economic and environmental impacts of refugees on host communities. The issue get worst in the emerging regions of the country which are characterised by harsh weather conditions, poor infrastructure and weak institutional capacity. The project aims at; improving access to basic and social services; expanding economic opportunities, enhance sustainable environmental management and improve the livelihoods of host communities in the target areas. The project primarily targets host communities but refugees also benefit from the project as secondary beneficiaries.

The DRDIP is the first flagship project that showcased the humanitarian development nexus justifying the need to initiate development processes in refugee hosting regions that translate into meaningful economic opportunities for both refugees and communities. Development interventions are very critical to build resilience while humanitarian funding is significantly declining. The camp-based humanitarian assistance model therefore should cease to exist leaving the refugee space for development oriented and harmonized refugee response. The camp-based care and maintenance model need to shift to innovative responses to displacement by employing an integrated response at a *woreda/ kebele* level to address the needs of refugees and host communities. In supporting both refugees and host communities, interventions should go beyond meeting basic needs to ease tensions, boost local economy and contribute to social cohesion and integration.

In the international context, the most significant development towards a policy shift on international refugee response approach came with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the UNGA on 25 September 2015. The Declaration pledged to “leave no one behind” and marked a significant change in the scope of UN development planning by specifically calling for the inclusion of refugees and migrants in national development planning. Specifically, the Resolution recognized “the positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development.” States also pledged to work with the UN to strengthen the resilience of communities hosting refugees, particularly in developing countries (UNGA, 2015).

Building from this opportunity, key internal humanitarian and development organizations outlined the benefits of the humanitarian-development approach in a December 2015 report. The report argued that the 2015 Declaration created a normative base for exploring the benefits of the humanitarian development nexus more fully. The report called for a new framework based on four elements:

- Joint development-humanitarian assessments and multi-year planning and programming that account not only for the needs of the displaced but also the needs of host states and communities;
- Localized approaches to humanitarian and development assistance that focus on improving the resilience of host communities while creating incentives for host governments;
- Flexible, additional multi-year development financing instruments to secure host government support for including displaced populations in national development frameworks; and
- Implementing the plan through government law and policy, specifically through the provision of mechanisms to ensure the rights of refugees through regularized legal status (CIC, 2015).

Similar arguments were presented during the 2015 World Humanitarian Summit. Specifically, the report of the High Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing highlighted the

important role that development actors and approaches can play in shrinking the need for humanitarian financing by promoting greater self-reliance, mobilizing additional funds for humanitarian programs by allowing access to development budgets, and improving the efficiency of humanitarian assistance. Likewise, the Report of the UN Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit highlighted the need to “transcend the humanitarian-development divide” by supporting national and local capacities to implement the 2030 Agenda. To this end, the UN Secretary-General called for greater collaboration from the UN’s humanitarian and development agencies. As outlined above, the importance of the humanitarian-development nexus was similarly highlighted in the UN Secretary-General’s report, *In Safety and Dignity*, ahead of the UN Summit on Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants.

Eventually, the importance of the humanitarian-development nexus was recognized by UN Member States in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, adopted on 19 September 2016. Through the New York Declaration, states made the following commitments:

1. We will take measures to provide, on the basis of bilateral, regional and international cooperation, humanitarian financing that is adequate, flexible, predictable and consistent, to enable host countries and communities to respond both to the immediate humanitarian needs and to their longer-term development needs. There is a need to address gaps in humanitarian funding, considering additional resources as appropriate. We look forward to close cooperation in this regard among Member States, United Nations entities and other actors and between the United Nations and international financial institutions such as the World Bank, where appropriate.
2. We will ensure that all aspects of migration are integrated into global, regional and national sustainable development plans and in humanitarian, peacebuilding and human rights policies and programmes.
3. We are committed to providing humanitarian assistance to refugees so as to ensure essential support in key life-saving sectors, such as health care, shelter, food, water and sanitation. We commit to supporting host countries and communities in this regard, including by using locally available knowledge and capacities. We will

support community-based development programmes that benefit both refugees and host communities.

4. In order to meet the challenges posed by large movements of refugees, close coordination will be required among a range of humanitarian and development actors. We commit to putting those most affected at the centre of planning and action. Host Governments and communities may need support from relevant United Nations entities, local authorities, international financial institutions, regional development banks, bilateral donors, the private sector and civil society. We strongly encourage joint responses involving all such actors in order to strengthen the nexus between humanitarian and development actors, facilitate cooperation across institutional mandates and, by helping to build self-reliance and resilience, lay a basis for sustainable solutions. In addition to meeting direct humanitarian and development needs, we will work to support environmental, social and infrastructural rehabilitation in areas affected by large movements of refugees (UNGA, 2016).

Moreover, the adoption of the New York Declaration was followed by a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework devised to guide and inform the global effort to come up with a new Global Compact on Refugees which was endorsed by member states on December 2018. The CRRF, with Humanitarian – development nexus being its major feature, tries to shift the previous refugee response model to a development oriented response mechanism using the pledges made by refugee hosting countries and the financial commitments of western countries as vehicles for implementation.

4.2. Implications of the New Approach for Refugees And Host Communities

4.2.1. The Global Compact on Refugees

The global compact on refugees is a recent international covenant to formulate a stronger and reasonable response to the global refugee crisis. It emanated from the historic New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants of September 2016 and its comprehensive refugee response framework which was piloted for two years with intensive consultations with UN Member States, international organizations, experts, civil society, the private sector and

refugees. The compact translates the whole of society approach and the principle of responsibility sharing into practical, concrete, pragmatic measures that address the root causes of displacement in a sustainable manner. It's a blueprint to guide the refugee response so host communities get the timely support they need, that refugees are better economically included and can lead productive lives and that solutions to the plight of refugees are sought from the start. It is designed in such a way that make responses more systematic and stimulate action and resources at the local level (UNHCR, 2018).

Objectives of the GCR are:

1. Ease pressures on countries that host refugees

Through providing additional humanitarian and development support to refugee hosting countries, the GCR will capacitate national and local government authorities as well as other service providers in view of the increased needs and pressures on social services.

2. Build self-reliance of refugees

After refugees are registered and are provided with relevant civil documentation, opportunities of accessing education, health care, adequate housing and, more importantly, access to livelihoods opportunities and labour market will be expanded in a manner which also benefits host communities.

3. Expand access to third countries for refugees through resettlement and other pathways of admission

Mainly resettlement and complimentary pathways for admission of refugees including; encouraging private sector engagement and action as a supplementary measure; medical evacuation; humanitarian admission programmes; family reunification and opportunities for skilled migration, labour mobility and education scholarships.

4. Support conditions that enable refugees voluntarily to return to their home countries. (UNHCR, 2018).

Primary goal of bringing about conditions in countries of origin that would help refugees return in safety and dignity. The root causes of violence and armed conflict need to be

tackled through fostering reconciliation and dialogue and facilitate the participation of refugees, including women, in peace and reconciliation processes. Also, ensuring that national development planning incorporates the specific needs of returnees and promotes sustainable and inclusive reintegration.

The Global Compact on Refugees addresses one of the most significant gaps in the international refugee regime. The country of first asylum with the burden of protecting refugees and on the other hand the support from the international community in terms of easing the pressure on the host country remained merely on the good will of the donor countries. Meaning, while law shaped asylum, politics used to define responsibility sharing. This unfair disparity led to a major power asymmetry within the refugee system in which geography and proximity to crisis define the responsibility of a refugee host state. Distant donor countries' commitments to provide money or resettlement have been viewed as largely discretionary (UNHCR, 2018).

The historical background of the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) is mainly related to the Syrian and European refugee crises, which brought a huge demand for resources and inadequacy of responsibility sharing followed by its consequences for refugees and host communities. A sense of crisis in the rich world created an unprecedented degree of political and media attention around refugees. It offered a window for change and ideas were floated about how the United Nations (UN)-led conference in September 2016 should tackle it. Its aim was to secure more predictable burden- and responsibility-sharing. The New York Declaration provided the mandate and the pathway given the divergent interests of States relating to responsibility sharing. Hence, the Refugee Compact emerged with the backing of broad intergovernmental consensus (UNHCR, 2018)

The GCR therefore identifies and seeks to address the right problem. Many developed states tend to keep the decision making power on responsibility sharing. The world presents a different set of challenges and opportunities hence, new actors and new mechanisms for responsibility sharing need to be devised. In the past, responsibility sharing was a strictly intergovernmental practice. A central recognition of the Refugee Compact is its 'whole-of-society' approach, opening the possibility that new actors and new development processes can play a role. On the other hand, though, the Refugee Compact emerges in a context of major political constraint, with growing populist nationalism, often accompanied by anti-immigration politics that is taking hold around the world (Alfred, 2018).

However, the GCR is modest in scope and ambition mainly because it is not a binding document. This loose nature by itself does not necessarily mean it cannot have normative impact on states but, it will affect its basic aim, which is to get more resources into the system. As a document, the Compact essentially does three things: -

- Offers a summary of the actors (governments, business, development and humanitarian actors, and faith-based groups, for example) who can contribute to responsibility sharing.
- Identifies the areas in which they can contribute and some of the mechanisms for financial or in-kind contributions, some of which are genuinely innovative.
- Envisages some new structures in order to elicit such contributions, notably a ‘Global Refugee Forum’ and ‘Support Platforms’ for specific contexts, which will include ‘Solidarity Conferences’ (Alfred, 2018).

Nevertheless, all respondents agreed that, the GCR, by itself is an achievement which created an intergovernmental consensus around a new refugee response arrangement despite its non-binding nature with only set of principles and practices relating to responsibility sharing.

4.2.2. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework

The GCR annexed the CRRF as a working document to guide implementation. The CRRF was adopted in 2016 by member states when the United Nations General Assembly adopted a set of commitments known as the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants on 19 September 2016. The Declaration reaffirmed the international refugee regime, the core of which is of course the 1951 Convention, and committed the states to strengthening mechanisms protecting forced migrants. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, one of two annexes to the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, outlines a comprehensive response to large-scale movements of refugees, based on a collective approach engaging different actors and approaches. Fundamentally, the CRRF is about changing cultures, mind-sets and the ways we do business. It is about engaging a greater range of stakeholders, and thinking in more creative ways to enable refugees to be more self-sufficient, while better supporting the communities that host them (UNHCR, 2017).

The CRRF is meant to lead to a change in the way business is done, both by those stakeholders who are currently involved and by those that should be. Simply relabelling

ongoing efforts and programmes or resurrecting old ideas will not be sufficient to achieve the step-change required. There is a pressing need for communication and practical guidance showing clearly what is new and different, which can then be contextualised in each of the CRRF countries.

CRRF envisions a new model, which should give refugees and people who are forcibly displaced more opportunities to live and work outside of camps as part of the local host population. Only then can refugees and displaced people build a decent living that also benefits the local economy. But this should not put pressure on the local host population, which could lead to new tensions or shortages of resources. To this end, the new model aims to benefit the local host population as well as refugees and other displaced people, by improving services (energy, water, education and health) and employment opportunities for all. CRRF also works closely with governments hosting refugees and displaced persons. It should focus on expanding the capacities of local governments to deliver services to both the local host population and refugees and displaced people. To promote work opportunities for all, CRRF should stimulate local entrepreneurship, vocational training which responds to demands of the labour market, and investments from local and international companies (UNHCR, 2017).

4.2.3. Implications of The Global Compact In Ethiopia

Following the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants by all UN Member States in September 2016, Ethiopia became one of the first countries to apply the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in February 2017. The CRRF was officially launched in Ethiopia on 28 November 2017 with a view further strengthening the long established commitment of the country to protect refugees. The CRRF roll out was a vehicle to roll out Ethiopia's pledges that were made in a spirit of global solidarity and in line with fundamental principles of international refugee law. The CRRF presents an unprecedented opportunity to strengthen responses to refugee situations in a comprehensive manner. This encompasses not only the delivery of services and support to host populations from the onset of emergency, but also the involvement of a broader array of stakeholders to prepare for and facilitate durable solutions in a more effective and prompt manner (ARRA, 2018).

Table 3: Ethiopia’s pledges per thematic areas and related targets

Thematic Areas of the Pledges	Ethiopia’s Pledges	Targets / Indicators
Out of Camp Policy (OCP)	Expansion of the “Out-of-Camp” policy to benefit 10% current refugee population.	Up to 75,000 eligible refugees will have permission to reside in rural and urban non-camp locations.
Education	Increase of enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education to all qualified refugees without discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing enrollment of pre-school aged refugee children from the current 46,276 (44%) to 63,040 (60%). • Increasing enrolment of primary school aged children from the current 96, 700 (54%) to 137,000 (75%). • Increasing enrolment of secondary school aged refugees from the current 3,785 (9%) to 10,300 (25%). • Increasing opportunities for higher education enrolment from the current 1,600 to 2,500 students.
Work and Livelihoods	<p>Provision of work permits to refugees and to those with permanent residence ID, within the bounds of domestic law.</p> <p>Provision of work permits to refugees in the areas permitted for foreign workers, by giving priority to qualified refugees.</p> <p>Irrigable land for 100,000</p>	<p>Provide permits for 30,000 refugees to work under the government’s industrialization policy.</p> <p>10,000 hectares of irrigable land to</p>

	<p>people (refugees and local communities) for crop production.</p> <p>Building industrial parks where a percentage of jobs will be committed to refugees.</p>	<p>allow refugees and local communities to engage in crop production by facilitating irrigation schemes, subject to the availability of external financial assistance.</p> <p>This pledge is intended to benefit 20,000 households or 100,000 persons.</p>
Documentation	<p>Provision of other benefits such as issuance of birth certificates to refugee children born in Ethiopia, possibility of opening bank accounts and obtaining driving licenses.</p>	<p>The target number and indicator for provision of vital events registration, driver licenses and bank accounts are not defined in the specific pledge however, it is expected to benefit all eligible refugees.</p>
Social and Basic Services	<p>Enhance the provision of basic and essential social services – Initially Health.</p>	<p>Strengthen primary health care, nutrition and other medical services provided for refugees.</p>
Local Integration	<p>Allowing for local integration for those protracted refugees who have lived for 20 years or more in Ethiopia</p>	<p>At least 13,000 persons who have been living in camps already identified ARRA (those who have been in Ethiopia for over 20 years).</p>

Ethiopia's pledges made during the leaders' summit in New York (ARRA, 2017).

To guide the roll out of the CRRF, a National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy was drafted. The draft strategy indicates that the overall goal of the framework's implementation in Ethiopia is to ensure the self-reliance of refugees and host communities through socio-economic integration and facilitating voluntary repatriation and resettlement opportunities.

Within a 10-year timeframe, the strategy aims to achieve the objectives of: -

1. Enhance capacity to manage sustainable responses to the needs of refugees and host communities;
2. Ensure refugees and host communities have access to and benefit from diverse economic and livelihood opportunities, which ultimately ensure self-reliance and socio-economic integration of refugees and host communities;
3. Strengthen and build individual capacities of refugees and host communities, and prepare refugees for durable solutions by building their human capital; and
4. Support conditions in countries of origin and advocate for meaningful responsibility sharing, including expanded access to resettlement options in various countries, using regional and international processes.

A. Implications of the Compact for Refugees In Ethiopia

According to respondents, the roll out of the CRRF and the GCR in Ethiopia present an expanded access to economic opportunities for refugees. The government of Ethiopia pledged to avail up to 30,000 jobs for refugees in Industrial Parks and make available 10,000 hectares of irrigable land for refugees to cultivate. These pledges were followed by the significant policy changes in the country ensuring a conducive enabling environment for refugees to participate in economic opportunities.

In the previous encampment model, economic opportunities of refugees were limited to small petty trading activities in camps and informal economic activities in host community markets. Moreover, refugees used to work as daily labourers in privately owned farms around the refugee camps and shared cropping activities with host community farmers were evident.

In such informalities, the magnitude of refugees accessing meaningful economic opportunities were scarce and dependent on the good will of the host community. Refugees were also getting lower wages and the least of the produce in shared cropping activities with farmers. However, with the GCR coming into play, such informalities will be recognized in the national policy radar and formalized through the policy changes that are going to be effected by the government.

The other benefit of the GCR for refugees is related to appropriate documentation. Currently, refugees only have refugee identification cards provided by ARRA as a valid document. This document makes refugees eligible only for care and maintenance services provided by humanitarian partners operating in the camps. A special permission from ARRA is required for refugees to move outside the refugee camps and access basic services. More importantly, refugees did not have access to vital events registration documents.

However, following the roll out of the documentation pledge, which aims to provide refugees with the possibility of opening bank accounts and obtaining driving licenses, as well as providing birth certificates to refugee children born in Ethiopia, the Ethiopia's Vital Events Registration and Nationality Identity Card Proclamation, which came into force in August 2017, provides the national legal foundation for refugees' access to vital events registration. Vital events registration for refugees is now being offered in all refugee hosting areas, and is now an available service for all refugees.

In addition, respondents noted that, the GCR in Ethiopia entails freedom of movement and the right to acquisition and transfer of property. Refugees will be accorded the liberty to move within the national territory and choose their residential areas. Moreover, refugees will be allowed to own and entertain other rights related with movable and immovable properties with the same treatment accorded to foreign nationals. They can also bring in properties without tariffs and also take their properties upon leaving Ethiopia.

More importantly, access to national basic and social services including health and education are key advantages of the GCR for refugees residing in Ethiopia. As stipulated in the revised refugee proclamation, every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker shall receive the same treatment as accorded to Ethiopian nationals with respect to access to pre-primary and primary education, secondary education; higher education; technical and vocation education and training; and adult and non-formal education within available resources and subject to the education policy of Ethiopia. In a similar manner, every recognized refugee and asylum seeker shall have access to available health services in Ethiopia.

Finally, the GCR in Ethiopia plays a vital role in providing durable solutions to refugees. The objectives of the GCR are geared towards resolving the protracted refugee issues in a sustainable manner. In Ethiopia, the GCR will enable refugees to become self-reliant and

economically resilient but also its whole of government and whole of society approaches calls for the principles of international solidarity, cooperation, and responsibility sharing are central to the Refugee Compact, which acknowledges the urgent need for more equitable sharing of the burden and responsibility for hosting and supporting the world's refugees. Thus, countries will together to expand third country solutions through enhanced resettlement opportunities while initiating peace building processes in countries of origin.

B. Implications of The Compact For Host Communities

The GCR in its programme of action sets up specific mechanisms for supporting responsibility sharing in practice in light of the principles of international solidarity and cooperation. It includes the Global Refugee Forum and pledging or solidarity conferences in support of context-specific national plans for host countries, countries of origin, and other actors. The GCR is premised on more predictable and more comprehensive responses to large-scale movement and protracted refugee situations. It places great emphasis on easing pressure on hosting countries and communities and finding solutions. Indeed, this may be the very motivation for many states including Ethiopia to want to implement the CRRF approach, where the burden of hosting large groups of refugees has been felt the most and for lengthy periods of time.

These mechanism embedded in the GCR provides a valuable opportunity, in particular for resource-poor countries like Ethiopia, to raise funds and seek assistance in providing durable solutions for refugees. However, their success will depend largely on concrete commitments by the international community and the degree to which resources are put aside in more predictable and equitable ways to address protracted refugee situations and the needs of refugee hosting communities. In Ethiopia, for the GCR to achieve meaningful responsibility sharing, clearer financing and responsibility sharing mechanisms will be necessary – Additional, Predictable, Sufficient and Timely support from the international community must be guaranteed.

To enhance the benefits of the GCR to Ethiopia as a refugee hosting country, the GCR is also linked with the national development agenda. Creating a strong nexus between humanitarian aid and development is central to the CRRF process. To this end, Ethiopia's

comprehensive refugee response framework and the pledges are tied with Growth and Transformation Plan-II.

The GTP-II provides Ethiopia’s development roadmap, with the aim of transforming the country into an industrialised middle-income nation by 2025, achieving the following three objectives; to maintain an annual average GDP growth rate of at least 11%; to pursue measures towards rapid industrialisation and structural transformation; to ensure sustainable growth by advancing a stable macro-economic framework and climate-resilient.

Table 4: The link between Ethiopia’s Nine Pledges and GTP II focus areas (UNHCR, 2018)

GTP II Focus Area	Ethiopia’s Pledges
Ensuring Good Governance and Building Developmental Political Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Expansion of the “Out-of-Camp” policy to benefit 10% of the current total refugee population. * Provision of work permits to refugees and to those with permanent residence permits. * Provision of work permits to refugees in the areas permitted for foreign workers. * Allowing for local integration for those protracted refugees who have lived for 20 years or more in Ethiopia.
Human Development and Technology Capacity Building <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and Training • Health Sector Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Increase of enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education to all qualified refugees without discrimination and within the available resources. * Enhance the provision of basic and essential social services. * Provision of other benefits such as issuance of birth certificates to refugee children born in Ethiopia, possibility of opening bank accounts and obtaining driving licenses
Economic Development Sector Plan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture and Rural Transformation • Manufacturing Industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Making available irrigable land to allow 100,000 people (amongst them refugees and local communities) to engage in crop production. * Building industrial parks where a percentage of jobs will be committed to refugees.

The prominent example of the contributions of the GCR for Ethiopia as a refugee hosting nation is the World Bank financing to the Development Responses to Displacement Impacts projects. The government of Ethiopia obtained 100 million USD to implement interventions in refugee hosting areas that are burdened by the presence of refugees. The programme being led by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, tries to meaningfully address the needs of the host communities through an operational CDD approach where by the planning for interventions and the selection of priority activities is done by the communities themselves.

However, the implications of the GCR is not only its contribution in terms of additional support from the international community but also adverse consequences if not properly managed. These are mainly related with internal conflicts in the country and the change in political dynamics. The application of the GCR in some contexts might lead to unnecessary conflicts between refugees and host communities making all the efforts counter-productive.

Respondents mentioned the refugee-host community conflicts in Gambella that were provoked following the promulgation of the proclamation in January 2019. The Anuak host community were against the passing of the law with a profound fear of being outnumbered by refugees. The rights accorded to refugees in the revised refugee law will grant refugees access to social services, employment opportunities, land and other key infrastructures in the region. Hence, this was not welcomed by Ethiopian citizens.

Similarly, according to the respondents, there was national social media campaigns against the proclamation particularly on the issue of access to employment opportunities. Many highlighted that granting refugees the right to work in a country where there is huge unemployment and under employment rate is unacceptable.

The long term of impact of the GCR and Ethiopia's pledges made during the leaders' summit is also questioned by respondents. Ethiopia through the then prime minister Mr. Hailemariam Dessalegn made specific pledges related to; availing local integration solutions for refugees who stayed in Ethiopia for more than twenty years; open up employment opportunities for skilled refugees; and grant the freedom of movement for ten percent of the population to live an out of camp setting. However, the long term effect of changing national policies and laws to implement these pledges will be counterproductive. One of the noted

that, ‘the pledged commitments might seem easy to accomplish but, in the long run, it will be very hard to manage.’

4.3. Ethiopia’s Refugee Economic Inclusion Agenda

The government of Ethiopia has long taken a leading role in managing refugee response. The country is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Convention on Torture, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment (UNHCR, 2018).

At the regional level, it has ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights and the 1969 OAU Convention. At the domestic level, its Constitution and 2004 Refugee Proclamation have occasionally been at odds with one another, including over freedom of movement—which is provided for anyone in Ethiopia under the Constitution, but limited under the Proclamation, which requires all refugees to remain in camps. Other notable limitations under the 2004 Proclamation include the right to marry, the right to work, and relating to education. It is therefore encouraging that Ethiopia is updating the Proclamation (ODI, 2018).

However, Ethiopia’s current refugee policies have been somewhat prohibitive as they do not allow refugees to work or move freely from camps. Some Eritrean refugees have been permitted to live outside of camps, however they are not allowed to work; meanwhile refugees of other nationalities are not even permitted to live outside of camps. This unequal treatment of different refugee populations has led to unequal outcomes; Eritrean refugees have lower poverty rates and higher standards of living than Somali, Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees, though all refugees remain more impoverished than their host communities (World Bank, 2018).

Thus, in order to fully execute Ethiopia’s pledges related to job creation and livelihoods, an enabling legal, policy and regulatory environment is a pre-requisite. Ethiopia’s parliament enacted a new refugee proclamation on 18 January, 2019, which was officially gazetted on 27 February 2019. All respondents believed that this proclamation provides a framework and a

conducive policy level enabling environment through which Ethiopia's economic inclusion agenda shall be discharged.

Respondents also emphasized that, the GCR as a Government - led process, requires clear messaging on the proclamation and refugee economic inclusion across the various public institutions and on the interpretation of how Ethiopia's pledges align with the national development agenda. In addition , in order to create increased awareness amongst host communities and refugees on the proclamation and the GCR. Also, the capacities of Government entities need to be enhanced to support the effective implementation of the economic inclusion pledges. It is moreover very essential that, the GCR initiatives are aligned to Ethiopia's development priorities and to strategies at federal and regional levels.

Meanwhile, pilot economic inclusion projects are being implemented in Dolo Ado and Bokolmanyo *woredas* of the Somali region by UNHCR with the support from Ikea Foundation. 1,000 hectares of irrigated agricultural land has been developed to benefit 2,000 refugee and host community farmers (50/50) half hectares each. Out of the 1,000 hectares, 750 has been developed and is benefiting 1,500 refugee and host community farmers. Likewise, in Afar and Tigray regional states, refugees and the host community farmers have been sharing land for irrigation and crop production through informal arrangements. The refugees pay a fixed fee as a rent for the land. These crop and horticultural productions were successful and provided a great support to the refugee and host communities with the technical support from the regional bureaus of agriculture (UNHCR, 2018).

More importantly, the government and the international community are designing projects that are aimed at creating opportunities that will translate into self-reliance for refugees and host communities. The government is building industrial parks and enhancing the investment climate of refugee hosting areas to attract private sector investments in line with the national industrialization agenda. The international community is committed to support Ethiopia in addressing the growing problem of refugees and immigration. In light of this, numerous donor agencies and governments are interested in investing in economic inclusion initiatives that benefit refugees and host communities.

As the respondents elucidated, the refugee economic inclusion agenda of Ethiopia is designed to benefit refugees and host communities through three pathways, in accordance with the national development priorities. The three recognized pathways are: -

- A. Wage employment – Refers to refugees and host communities being formally hired as salaried employees earning a set amount of money on a monthly basis. Such employment opportunities are availed for refugees in industrial parks which are located far from the refugee camps and where the monthly salaries range 650 to 1,200 Ethiopian birr. Refugees are also allowed to access wage employment outside industrial parks in private sector companies willing to hire refugees. However, given the skill profile of the refugees in Ethiopia, they are most likely to end up as daily labourers where their rights and benefits are not properly protected.
- B. Self-Employment – Refers to own account/sole proprietorships. Refugees that are qualified and accredited in liberal professions including lawyers, engineers, doctors and accountants amongst others will be supported to run their own businesses. Particularly, the government will provide the required support to such businesses if there is a shortage in meeting the demand for such services in refugee hosting areas. Currently, accreditation services and business licensing and registration laws are impediments for refugees not to mention social risks and impacts.
- C. Enterprise Development - Refers to employment opportunities through legally recognized cooperatives, small and micro enterprises and other economic groups that consist of both refugees and host communities. Though not being properly executed through private sector development approaches, this pathway is currently being implemented by few livelihoods projects around refugee camps; engaged in cooperative farming, share cropping and farming through rental land arrangements. This pathway presents both an opportunity to create significant number of jobs for refugees and significant protection risks and the legal and social impediments with huge adverse impacts on refugees and the peaceful co-existence with the host communities.

Although it is not included in the formal employment pathways, the informal economic sector which includes diversified set of economic activities and enterprises that are not regulated or protected by the government is also another key area where refugees will be engaged in as a

source of their livelihoods. The protection risks in the informal sector is also very vast and mitigation strategies and actions need to be proposed to ensure key rights of refugees are safeguarded.

4.3.1. The Enabling Policy, Legal And Regulatory Environment

A. The Revised Refugee Proclamation – Proc No. 1110/2019

On January 17, 2019, the Ethiopian parliament promulgated a new refugee proclamation which repeals the 2004 refugee proclamation. The revised refugee proclamation, though it is not sufficient enough to ensure an enabling legal, policy and regulatory environment that will facilitate implementation of the pledges related to economic inclusion, it entails key rights that allow refugee economic inclusion. The prominent provision in the proclamation is article 26 which grants the right to work for refugees. Article 26 reads as the following: -

Article 26 - The Right to Work

1. Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers shall have the right to engage in wage earning employment in the same circumstance as the most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws.
2. Every recognized refugee and asylum-seeker shall have the right to engage, individually or in group, in agriculture, industry, small and micro enterprise, handicrafts and commerce, in the same circumstance as the most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws.
3. Every recognized refugee who has academic credentials authenticated by the competent government authority, and who desires to practice his profession, may be accorded the most favourable treatment as accorded to foreign nationals in areas permitted to foreign nationals.
4. Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers engaged in rural and urban projects jointly designed by the Ethiopian government and the international community to benefit refugees and Ethiopian nationals, including in environmental protection, industry and small and micro enterprises, shall be given equal treatment as accorded to Ethiopian nationals engaged in the same projects.
5. Without prejudice to the provisions of sub Article (4) of this Article, the use of agricultural and irrigable lands shall be made in accordance with national land use

laws, and in agreement with Regional States using a land lease system, subject to payment of lease price, for a period renewable every seven years.

6. The Agency may issue a residence permit, subject to renewal every five year, to any recognized refugee selected to engage in the projects indicated under sub-Articles (4) and (5) of this Article.
7. There shall not be any discrimination between recognized refugees or asylum-seekers and Ethiopian nationals who are engaged in activities stipulated under this Article.
8. Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers who are engaged in activities stipulated under this Article shall be entitled to the rights conferred and be subjected to the obligations imposed by applicable national laws.
9. Restrictive measures imposed, by applicable laws, on employment of foreign nationals for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applicable to recognized refugee or asylum seeker who is married to Ethiopian national or has one or more child in possession of Ethiopian nationality.
10. Notwithstanding to provisions of this Article, any recognized refugee or asylum-seeker shall have no right to be employed in the national Defence, Security, Foreign Affairs and other similar political establishment.

The first three sub paragraphs of the Article stipulate the right to work for refugees in the aforementioned recognized pathways. These are wage employment, enterprise development and self-employment for skilled and trained refugees through liberal professions. However, refugees are accorded with the most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals.

According to the respondents the most favourable treatment as foreign nationals as a rights to work for refugees will only benefit less than one percent of the refugee population mainly because foreign nationals are allowed to work in Ethiopia being employees of governmental or private organizations. However, such employment opportunity for foreigners is only available after being treated and approved by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. According to article 174(1) of the Ethiopian Labor Proclamation 377/2003, “Any foreigner may only be employed in any type of work in Ethiopia where he possesses a work permit given to him by MoLSA.” The Labour Law failed to clearly indicate the scope of application of the provisions of the law on expatriate employment of foreign nationals and has not provided a clear direction on the interest of the country from the expatriate employment service.

In addition, the Investment Law, whereas, explicitly indicates the policy interest of the country in terms of employment of expatriates. Article 37 (1) of the Investment Proclamation No. 769/2012 states that an investor may employ qualified expatriate experts required for the operation of his business. Under sub-article two of the same provision, it makes the requirement more stringent by stipulating that the employer shall be responsible for replacing the expatriates by Ethiopians by arranging the necessary training.

Yet, the gap in the Labour Law in regard to expatriate employment seems left to a Directive approved pursuant to sub-article 1(e) of article 170 of the Labour Proclamation. The Ministry issued a Directive that governs work permit to foreigners in 2009. Article 6 of the Directive lists, though it does not seem exhaustive, the necessary preconditions to acquire a work permit for foreigners. In addition, article 8 of the Directive, which is similar with the requirements in the Investment Proclamation, the employer shall train Ethiopians that replace the expatriates and duly report this to the Ministry. Further, under sub-article 2 of the same provision, the Ministry shall make the necessary follow up on skill transfer to the Ethiopian.

Thus, it could be deduced that work permit to expatriates is given only to qualified experts and the work permit is temporary in nature and the employer is expected to replace the expatriate after giving the necessary training to Ethiopians within a limited period of time. In other words, the expatriate is recruited if an Ethiopian that is versed with the required skill is not available. The above points are also equally applicable on refugees as they are subjected to the same rights and restrictions conferred on foreigners when it comes to wage earning employment.

In the self-employment context, respondents also highlighted that the right granted to refugees to engage in self-employment in the same circumstance as the most favorable treatment accorded to foreigners is not a meaningful right that can be easily exercised by refugees. In Ethiopia, foreigners can only engage in different business modalities, having followed the necessary legal preconditions, except for those areas reserved for Ethiopians. Article 3(1) of the Investment Regulation No. 270/2013 lists down the areas of investment that are exclusively reserved for Ethiopian nationals. Whereas, article 4 of the Regulation states the areas that a foreigner can engage on. Meaning, refugees can only participate in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce as any foreigners on those authorized areas, as per article 4 of the Investment Regulation.

However, subject to the interpretation of the government and stakeholders with vested interest in the subject, currently, the most favorable treatment in Ethiopia is accorded to Foreigners of Ethiopian origin in line with a proclamation Providing Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin with Certain Rights to be exercised in Their Country of Origin, Proc. 270/2002. According to article 5(5) of the proclamation, a foreigner of Ethiopian origin shall have the right to be considered as Domestic Investor to invest in Ethiopia. Domestic investor means an Ethiopian or a foreign national permitted by the relevant organ to be deemed as domestic investor, who invests his capital in business activities. Thus, the specific sub paragraph in the revised refugee proclamation can be interpreted as refugees being allowed to engage in all business activities as any domestic investors.

Article 26 (4) - The Joint Projects Approach

As all respondents alluded, sub article 4 of Article 26 specifies a win – win solutions that will facilitate the appropriate implementation of Ethiopia’s refugee economic inclusion agenda. The sub article states that refugees will be treated as Ethiopians if the international community and the government of Ethiopia jointly designed projects to benefit both. The government is willing to grant rights to refugees in a similar manner to that of Ethiopians engaged in the same projects. The projects can be either self-employment through irrigated agriculture, small and micro enterprises, environmental protection works or wage employment in industries outside or inside industrial parks.

More details on what the joint projects approach entails is also stipulated in subsequent sub articles. According to sub article six, eligible refugees participating in joint projects will be residence permits which is renewable every five years. The residence permit will allow them to obtain work permits and engage in self-employment ventures with host communities. In addition, it will enable them access basic and social services outside of their refugee camps.

Moreover, for joint projects that aim at availing land for irrigated agriculture, the projects will be subject to lease arrangements in accordance with the lease laws of the federal government as well as regional governments. The lease prices will be set through negotiations with the regional government but, the lease agreements will have to be renewed every seven years. The land allocation for such joint projects will also depend on the good

will of the regional governments and the availability of sufficient support from the international community to support such initiatives.

In addition, the revised refugee proclamation provides the freedom of movement, the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose residence within the national territories of the country. Also, the right to acquisition and transfer of property. The most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals as regards to ownership, lease and other contracts related to movable immovable properties is granted to refugees. Refugees and asylum-seekers are allowed to take assets to their country of origin or any third country.

Additionally, every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker has the right to open a personal bank account, deposit, transfer or withdraw money and obtain other banking and financial services in accordance with relevant financial laws using the refugee identification number. Further, refugees are granted the right to apply to acquire Ethiopian driver's qualification license using refugee identification documents subject to fulfilling the necessary requirements stipulated under relevant provisions of applicable laws.

B. National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy

The NCRRS is a national strategy designed by the Government of Ethiopia in coordination with its strategic development and humanitarian partners. It serves as a framework and provides strategic directions for the refugee responses and host communities supporting the country. Subject to flexibility in response to the dynamic situation, the strategy has a 10-year timeframe and will be implemented in line with Ethiopia's refugee policy and related legal framework, GTP and other relevant plans.

As stated in the strategy document, the Government of Ethiopia envisions seeing refugees and host communities become socio-economically active and self-reliant global citizens. The main objective of the draft strategy is to ensure self-reliance and resilience of refugees and host communities; and to prepare the refugees for durable solutions by supporting their socio-economic inclusion and strengthening gradually phase-out the camp-based model of assistance within ten years.

The strategy aims at:

1. Enhance capacity to manage sustainable responses to the needs of refugees and host communities.
2. Ensure refugees and host communities have access to and benefit from diverse economic and livelihoods opportunities, which ultimately enhance ensure self-reliance and socio-economic integration of refugees and host communities.
3. Strengthen and build individual and service delivery system capacities of refugees and host communities.
4. Prepare refugees for durable solutions by building their human capital and supporting local system.
5. Support conditions in countries of origin and advocate for a meaningful responsibility sharing, including expanded access to third country solutions.

The NCRRS has a ten-year time frame, within which it foresees to make significant progress towards transforming the lives of refugees and host communities. The strategy has six strategic components/pillars: (i) capacity and system development; (ii) targeted humanitarian responses; (iii) community based public workfare; (iv) livelihoods and job creation; (v) human development; and (vi) durable solutions: voluntary repatriation and resettlement of refugees. Linked to these strategic pillars, the interventions of the strategy will contribute to the achievement of the ‘Leaving No One Behind’ Agenda of the 2030 SDGs having a national shared perspective on refugees’ and host communities’ social cohesion; integration and participation; equitable access to quality services and economic opportunities; as well as resilience-building.

The strategy has a dedicated pillar that deals with economic inclusion of refugees. The Livelihoods and Job Creation Pillar aims to enable refugees and host communities run sustainable livelihoods and jobs and enhance self-reliance through building sustainable assets, incomes, jobs/businesses. The pillar envisions to enhance livelihood opportunities for refugees and host communities through three pathways: crop and livestock, off-farm income generation, and employment. Job opportunity creation is facilitated through enterprise development, employment and livelihood diversification. Also, it indicates that small and medium enterprises and the expansion of the industrial parks, agro-industrial parks, and the move towards private sector development will expand opportunities for wage and self-employment.

Refugees and host communities are considered in the strategy as potential market outlets for the business-oriented livelihoods and job creation. Businesses by refugees and host communities would trigger new business models, value chain development, local development and economic growth in refugee operational areas. In order to realise the Work and Livelihood pledges, there is the need to link existing livelihood development approaches to the overall economic opportunities and private sector development initiatives. Aligning initiatives for refugee inclusion with the key sectors such as services, agriculture and manufacturing will ensure better and sustained outcomes for both refugees and host communities.

4.3.2. Driving Factors of Refugee Economic Inclusion In Ethiopia

According to Betts (2014), there are several factors that affect economic inclusion of refugees:

- A. Political factors - generally function on the national level, and concern tactical security and cross-country relations. Political factors would be prevalent when host governments are influenced by global opinion, interaction with sending countries and geo-strategic issues.
- B. Security factors - respond to the domestic concerns of the host country aiming to protect its citizens from what it perceives to be dangerous outsiders, whether as rebel insurgents or as criminals.
- C. Legal factors relate - to the status of the refugee in the host country. Determined by the host government, UNHCR, contracting agencies, or some combination thereof, legal factors can be presumed to prevail when official legal status and high levels of integration go hand in hand.
- D. Economic factors - view refugees in terms of the market – as either a convenient pool of labour or a threat to domestic employment, as either a drain on resources or a boost to demand.
- E. Social factors - are comprised of ethnicity, language, religion, and a history of trade and labour migration across communities. Evidence of social factors' prominence would be when refugees who are socially similar (Ethnically, linguistically, and religiously) to the local host community are able to integrate.

- F. Individual factors - refer to issues such as pre-migration experiences, the departure process and the post-arrival experiences and environment.

In the context of Ethiopia, despite the lack of a consolidated definition, the following basic elements have been highlighted by respondents as central for successful economic inclusion. The elements relate to the legally recognized participation of refugees in the local economy in ways corresponding with their skills, cultural values and the attainment of a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements. In addition, equal access to goods and services in a similar manner to that of the host communities regardless of income levels, including housing, public utilities, health services and education are considered to be critical driving factors.

A. Right to Work

Denial of the right to work has most impact on refugee self-reliance. This denial of rights means that refugees often work in the informal economy of host cities where social protection is limited. However, participation is often reliant on local municipal authorities allowing refugees to engage in economic activity. When permitted to engage in safe and lawful work, refugees can fulfil their basic needs for survival and recover aspects of their lives that have been disrupted by displacement.

On the other hand, when refugees are refused the right to work, they become vulnerable to increased manipulations such as lower wages, undesirable work, higher rents and lower work place standards. They are also exploited in the labour market because they are undocumented and fearing arrest or revocation of their refugee status. Employers will not pay them regularly and they are also prone to arbitrary termination of employment.

Furthermore, refugees lack access to recognized and accredited vocational training and to financial capital which constraints refugee livelihoods and increases indebtedness. For instance, refugees in Addis Ababa tend to suffer from poor conditions of employment and are often exploited by Ethiopian employers. Moreover, Eritrean OCP beneficiaries are often paid less of the equivalent wage for Ethiopian workers, with some not getting paid at all for casual labouring.

As respondents stated, even after the proclamation granted the rights to work for refugees, they are significantly more likely to be unemployed than locals because of local employers'

lack of knowledge of the refugees' right to work. It is not sufficient to provide the right to work, there needs to be practical follow-through. This may mean creating a conducive regulatory environment through issuing specific identity documents or residence permits to refugees that local employers recognize and accept as well as conduct information campaigns targeting private sector companies and the local community to clarify the legal rights accorded to refugees.

B. Freedom of Movement

Economic inclusion and self-reliance can only take place if refugees have freedom of movement and freedom to make their own choices of where to live, how to support themselves, how to best utilize the limited resources that they have, and which markets to access. Refugees will be able to maximize their income and achieve the lowest dependency levels on aid when they are free to move, following their best opportunities for integration into the local economy. Freedom of movement is a pre-condition for refugees to thrive, rather than merely survive. The fact that Ethiopia recently allowed refugees to move freely will enable refugees to establish and draw on their social ties to facilitate trade and build businesses, making them successful at providing for themselves and to achieve self-reliance.

C. Access to Land

Abundance of arable land is an important factor for successful economic inclusion and economic inclusion is more likely to occur when refugees are granted access to arable land. Economic inclusion will be fully realized if tied with joint agricultural ventures that consists of both refugees and host communities. It will generate diversified local economic systems and increased opportunities for both refugees and host communities. The prominent case of the economic inclusion of refugee and host community in Dolo Ado *woreda* of the Somali region proved the added value of access to arable land. Refugees through the investment of IKEA and UNHCR in constructing irrigation canals and putting in place appropriate technologies, obtained the usufruct right to use and benefit from the produce of the land with host communities. This resulted in refugees and host communities establishing cooperatives to work together and improve their income.

D. Access to Finance

Access to finance is an important component of successful economic inclusion strategy of Ethiopia. The narrative in the Ethiopian context considers refugees as illiterate, non-skilled

and as only eligible for care and maintenance support from humanitarian partners. Financial inclusion is the access to wide range of financial services provided in a cost effective and sustainable manner. Financial inclusion is key to enable refugees become an agent of themselves – not dependent on aid. One of the greatest barriers to scaling up business is lack of access to finance and capital, given restrictions on refugees’ access to formal banking facilities. The financial sector, since its private sector driven, will remain to provide services in a sustainable manner even if humanitarian assistance cease to exist.

Financial inclusion in Ethiopia need to take place in three layers. Firstly, at a client level where refugees and host communities are given access to financial services facilitated through informal village loan and saving groups or rural saving and credit cooperatives. In addition, financial literacy interventions that aim at enhancing the saving culture of this communities need to take place. Secondly, interventions at institutional level that focus on encouraging micro finance institutions and other financial service providers to come into the refugee space considering refugees and host communities as potential clients. Finally, interventions at market level of ecosystem level that aim at enhancing the enabling legal, policy and regulatory environment to facilitate refugee financial inclusion.

E. Peaceful Coexistence

The relationship between refugees and the host communities and local governments is key to their facilitate refugee economic inclusion at the local level. For instance, refugees’ legitimacy to live in a specific area may be built on localized understandings of belonging that transcend national identities. Conflict dynamics between host communities and refugees need constant managing to prevent the undermining of successful economic inclusion. Respondents suggested that efforts to compensate host communities for the burden of hosting refugees and strengthen mutually beneficial economic interactions between locals and refugees is a must to ensure peaceful coexistence.

F. Linguistic, Ethnic and Cultural Similarities

The degree of linguistic, ethnic and cultural similarities between the host and refugee population is an important factor in the process of economic inclusion. Linguistic and cultural similarity, the relationship between ethnic ties and similarity of religious values are key determinants of successful economic inclusion of refugees. Ethnic homogeneity and psychological compatibility between refugees and host communities are vital entry points.

As respondents noted, Eritrean refugees from the Tigre ethnic group now in northern Ethiopia have a strong advantage in securing employment opportunities. On the other hand, the Somali refugees in the camps of Dolo Ado were from the Digil-Rahanweyn clan, which is looked down on by the other ‘majority clans and the host community around the Dolo Ado camps is not from the same clans, which limits opportunities for economic inclusion.

G. Social Networks

Social networks are highlighted by respondents as fundamental to refugees’ ability to sustain their livelihoods, but often under-estimated in aid strategies. Social networks are particularly important for newly arrived refugees, as they may provide them with employment opportunities in established refugee businesses. Social networks provide a necessary resilience and risk management function for refugees. In Ethiopia, particularly refugees from Somalia have been carving out a solution of their own based on creative exploitation of the opportunities presented by having access to transnational social networks. Remittances from relatives living abroad diaspora provide supplementary income support. This transnational community provides resilience and a risk management function that enables people to survive in communities where employment opportunities are lacking, and for those living further away to contribute to and manage family matters, business activities and even political engagement even while they live further away.

H. Market Driven Private Sector Solutions

Respondents stresses the importance of markets and private sector solutions for successful economic inclusion. Successful economic inclusion is not just about integration in the state system, but must involve integration in the global economy. While the Ethiopian government plays a crucial role in ensuring the minimum conditions of protection, the private sector in the major driver of creating opportunities for refugee inclusion in markets will ultimately allow refugees to achieve autonomy and self-reliance. Provided the right conditions, refugees become drivers of economic development and internationalization, identifying new market opportunities and transforming local environments. Improved opportunities for education, skills development, access to micro-credit and financial markets, business incubations, better transportation links and infrastructure and internet access and connectivity are some of the major components that will lead to private sector market driven solutions that can translate into refugee economic inclusion.

I. Inclusion of Refugees in National Systems

Sustainability is a central measurement of successful Economic Inclusion. Given the severity of the economic crises and the environmental degradation facing many of the refugee hosting regions in Ethiopia, the major issue is whether Ethiopia is be able to establish policies, legal frameworks and institutions which could allow the absorption of hundreds of thousands of refugees living within its territories into national systems permanently. However, it is demonstrated that the benefits to host communities of hosting refugees can balance the costs, if structures are set up in such a way as to promote joint development. In order to be sustainable, inclusion must benefit both the refugees and the local communities among whom they settle.

J. Contributions of the International Community

Economic inclusion at a local level is generated by the interactions between refugees and host communities irrespective of legal issues. Refugees and host communities are able to coexist and sharing the same economic resources if the economic resource are available for both. The permanent nature of economic inclusion is a process of host community's accepting the presence of refugees on a permanent basis. However, in order ensure the sustainable social cohesion and peaceful coexistence of both communities, the international community mut significantly contribute in availing sufficient resources to develop the refugee hosting areas. Economic inclusion emerges as a fundamentally actor-driven process. It thus needs to be handled with care by the international community. In a similar perspective, economic inclusion is the result of a complex and finely tuned process of negotiation between refugee hosting countries like Ethiopia and donor governments and development partners. Hence, it would likely be undermined if external actors sought to limit the resources flowing into the refugee hosting areas.

4.3.3. Implications of Refugee Economic Inclusion in Ethiopia

A. Challenges

There are several challenges that may hinder appropriate execution and more importantly cause and escalate internal conflicts. Respondents highlighted key challenges that require immediate attention before effecting policy changes towards refugee economic inclusion. The following section presents the findings from the key informant interviews in this regard.

As noted by respondents, the major challenges that may arise as a result of refugee economic inclusion is the conflict between refugees and host communities. In some contexts, host communities and governments are already raising concerns regarding the presence of refugees in their localities. Particularly, in Gambella and the Somali region where there are existing conflicts between different ethnic groups and xenophobic attitudes towards peoples of other ethnic origin, opening up economic opportunities that are linked with jobs and agricultural land will definitely cause vast conflicts. According to one of the respondents, “In Gambella, refugee economic inclusion may add fuel to the existing fire between the Anuak and Nuer communities.”

In the specific context of Gambella, the refugee population currently outnumber the Ethiopian population in the region. Among the Anuak population, there is a feeling of being undermined as a minority ethnic group against the Nuer because of the numerical imbalance, which many contribute to the inflow of ethnic Nuer refugees. The tensions between the Ethiopian Anuaks and the South Sudanese Nuers over land and other resources are already beyond the control of the regional government.

The economic opportunities that are going to benefit refugees through the refugee economic inclusion agenda might also become a pull factor for a huge influx of refugees from neighbouring countries given the fact that the internal situations in South Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea remain to be volatile. Moreover, the refugee population in the country is not a stable one whereby there is a trend of moving in and out of the Ethiopian border for many reasons including farming seasons, family visits, change in natural conditions and to check on property left on the other side. This trend will be a vehicle to transmit the information on the opportunities in Ethiopia resulting in massive influx of refugees.

According to the respondents, the other major challenge is the availability of sufficient opportunities in Ethiopia to absorb the additional number of refugees to enter the labour market. At the moment, the country is troubled with huge number of rural and urban unemployment and under employment. The numerous youth movements in various parts of the country that led to the political reform is an evidence for the severity of the scarcity of economic opportunities in the country. Hence, adding the refugee population to the scramble

for livelihoods and job opportunities will have adverse effect on the country's peacebuilding process and transformation agenda.

Further, the issue of scarce resource is augmented by the current approach that development partners are taking to support the execution of Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda. Instead of investing in the creation of additional jobs through enhancing private sector participation and developing viable agricultural value chains to benefit host communities and refugees, some of the initiatives that commenced implementation focus on job matching services assuming existing jobs in the market suffice for Ethiopians and refugees.

As emphasized by respondents from the Ethiopian government, the major concerning challenge is the lack of guaranteed continuous support from the international community. In the initial years of the implementation of the refugee economic inclusion agenda, the international community is highly involved in advocating for policy changes that aim at creating a conducive enabling environment however, there is no guarantee that this support will continue as there are no binding agreements to this effect. The global compact in itself is also a mere declaration of intent lacking the binding effect. If the international community, due to other pressing global incidents or change in internal policies decided to withdraw from the committed support, the burden will be left to Ethiopia to shoulder.

Moreover, the support of the international community, mainly the financing of the international financial institutions is in the form of loans. Ethiopia is borrowing to create economic opportunities for refugees. This might be justified since the country is in financial crisis and obtaining a single dollar at this moment is of an added value to the economy. However, in the long run, borrowing for the refugees will not be justified and it will create a crisis for the generations to come. This must be properly thought through by the Ethiopian government and better bargaining for international support in the form of grants need to take place.

The willingness of refugees and the skills set available in the refugee population is also the other major challenge impeding refugee economic inclusion. According to respondents, currently, through the humanitarian support of UNHCR and other partners, refugees get free services in camps in addition to food and non- food items amounting to more than five

thousand birr per month. Thus, refugees will not be willing to leave their camps and pursue economic opportunities that may probable provide less benefits. Particularly, refugees will not be interested to work in Industrial parks where the maximum wages paid for Ethiopians are not more than 1,200 ETB per month. The issue becomes more challenges with existence of routes for human smuggling and trafficking around some of the refugee camps, aggravated by large numbers of out-of-school and unemployed youth and adolescents exacerbates irregular migration.

In addition, formal economic opportunities require certain level of educational qualifications and accredited skills to be able to effectively engage. However, the educational attainment of the refugee population and their skills set do not match the requirement of the labour market. The refugee populations are mainly women headed with high level of uneducated adults. In addition, the young population is also not able to reach a certain level of educational qualification or technical skills that match the demand.

Respondents also underlined the capacity of the local government to lead, facilitate and coordinate refugee economic inclusion. The refugee hosting areas are underserved with limited budget and attention from the federal government that led to limited capacity in terms of effectively delivering on the nation's economic development agenda. The refugee hosting areas are also repeatedly affected by natural hazards like draught, flood as well as effects of climate change and other issues. Consequently, the local government will be challenged with the capacity of managing refugee economic inclusion as well as leading sustainable responses that aim at creating economic opportunities for refugees even through the support of the international community.

B. Opportunities

Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda has many opportunities for Ethiopia. At the outset, it will align the country's refugee response approach with the global trend. In recent years, particularly, since the adoption of the New York Declaration in September 2016, the global trend of addressing refugee crisis shifted from a humanitarian care and maintenance to a more developmental response approach. In the shift, it is envisioned that the humanitarian emergency assistance will be linked with development interventions that aim at preparing refugees for durable solutions. In this context, Ethiopia plays a leading role in

the new way of working since the country made substantial policy changes that allow refugees to be economically included.

The willingness of the Ethiopian government to include refugees made Ethiopia one of the few countries globally who benefited from the additional financing. Currently, there are several projects and programmes that commenced implementation and many more are in the pipeline with a total value more than 1 billion US dollars. For instance, currently three World Bank projects are providing support to the government namely; DRDIP, EEOP and GEQIP-E. Likewise, EU funded projects such as RDPP and EUTF that aim at stimulating economic opportunities and jobs for refugees and host communities; DFID's support through its SHARPE and BSRP focusing on self-reliance of refugees and host communities; The Dutch government support to refugees and host communities through Dutch partnership and ARC-HOPE projects and finally, IKEA foundation's 110 million USD support in the Somali region are some of the key initiatives and financial supports to Ethiopia following the recent shift in refugee response policy.

The additional resources are mainly directed to the underserved, neglected and emerging refugee hosting regions. The emerging refugee hosting regions are characterized by poor infrastructure, food insecure, low capacity of local government, unattractive business environment, lack of vibrant markets, naturally challenged by harsh weather conditions and high poverty rates. Additionally, the attention given to these regions by the federal government is very low in terms of budgetary allocations and other government led development projects like roads, electricity and drinking water and connectivity. Hence, the additional finance that comes in the name of refugees will fill the gap in the emerging regions and stimulate local economic development.

Moreover, strategic private sector investments will flow to Ethiopia to invest in Industry parks and in refugee hosting areas with a view of profit making and changing the lives of refugees as part of their corporate social responsibilities. The Jobs Compact programme of the government only plans to construct three new Industrial parks in Assosa, Semera and Ayisha with the support from the European Investment Bank and aim at attracting more foreign direct investment into the refugee hosting regions which will translate into expanded economic opportunities for Ethiopian nationals in addition to refugees.

The capacity of the government at a local level will be enhanced as a result of the additional financing linked with the development priorities of the local government. The DRDIP programme for instance utilizes a community driven development approach which responds to the needs of the communities and the local government. Moreover, the various development initiatives include components that aim at enhancing the capacity of the government to be able to extend its services to refugees and improve outreach and quality to host communities.

Refugee economic inclusion will also enhance partnerships and coordination of development and humanitarian partners operating in refugee hosting areas. According to respondents, in majority of the refugee hosting areas, there are several humanitarian partners providing services in refugee camps where as only one or two development partners provide support for host communities in the refugee hosting areas. The new approach which allows refugees to participate in local economies will open opportunities for humanitarian and development partners to work together in a coordinated manner benefiting both refugees and host communities.

The partnership between humanitarian and development partners will in turn translate into joint planning and programming followed by joint monitoring and evaluation of initiatives. Since the expertise and experience of the partners operating in the humanitarian and development space vary, the collaboration will ensure better impacts through providing local solutions for refugees and host communities.

As noted by some respondents, the investment of IKEA foundation through UNHCR in Dolo Ado woreda of the Somali region is a prominent example of how economic inclusion enhances investments in irrigated agriculture that translate into enhanced production and productivity. With funding from the IKEA Foundation, UNHCR, ARRA and the Somali regional government have signed a Tripartite Agreement that allows refugees to have access to 1,000 hectares of arable land on a 50/50 basis with their host community. Irrigation schemes have also been built in Buramino, Hilaweyn, Kobe, Kole and Melkadida and are run by cooperatives supported by UNHCR and partners. With investments from IKEA of around USD 110 million since 2012, the project improves the livelihoods of up to 2,000 farmers.

C. Prospects

Ethiopia's leading role in refugee economic inclusion will enhance the country's acceptance amongst the international community following the country's contribution to the global refugee crisis in the umbrella of the principle of responsibility sharing. Ethiopia's negotiation power and influence in global forums will also increase. At a regional and continental level, Ethiopia will be best placed to lead the forced displacement agenda and influence peace building processes in the east and horn of Africa. This was evidenced in the recent peace agreement with Eritrea and the contributions of the Ethiopian government Somalia and South Sudan peace negotiations.

The policy shift towards refugee economic inclusion also plays a vital role in making the country eligible and attractive for additional development oriented support from international financial institutions and donor governments. The global humanitarian financing that used to support the refugee care and maintenance tremendously declined in recent years while financing for development oriented interventions for refugees and host communities significantly increased. The World Bank established a separate refugee sub window for forced displacement with a particular focus on refugees. Similarly, many donor governments and agencies expanded their development business cases to include support to interventions that aim at creating economic opportunities for refugees.

The refugee economic inclusion agenda will also minimize the country's foreign currency problems. In recent years, the country is experiencing a financial crisis with regards to shortage of foreign currency. The major sources of foreign currency are remittances and grants and loans from the international communities. Allowing refugees to access bank accounts and engage in formal employment pathways will ensure additional foreign currency flow in the form of remittances. In addition, the additional development financing flowing into the country to the support the refugee economic inclusion agenda will have substantial contribution in solving the foreign currency issue in the country.

The additional support from the international community will also improve the lives of host communities in the refugee hosting areas. The economic inclusion agenda of Ethiopia envisions a joint projects approach whereby projects aiming at creating job opportunities for refugees need to also target host communities. In addition, the job creation pledges of the

government also indicates that out of the 100,000 jobs to be created in the industrial parks, 70,000 jobs will be for Ethiopians.

Economic inclusion of refugees will enable better humanitarian and development nexus that result in linking humanitarian assistance for refugees with development oriented responses through the government systems. According to the draft NCRRS, the humanitarian assistance model which is currently isolated in camps will evolve into a development oriented village style settlements incorporating refugee hosting communities. In this case, the support will not be limited to camps but also the host communities living around the camps will benefit.

The abolition of parallel systems will also enhance the partnerships with various government entities. Mainly, ARRA, the federal agency mandated for refugee protection and solutions and the regional and local level government offices are currently working discretely. ARRA manages and monitors the resources flowing into the refugee camps where as the local government undertake local economic development for the communities living around the camps. In the economic inclusion context, this isolation will be changed into better coordination and partnerships for better economic impact in both communities.

Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda gives a priority focus for irrigated agriculture. The revised refugee proclamation, in recognition of the agricultural led industrialization agenda, stipulated a lease arrangement for joint projects focusing on agricultural production. This high level government's direction presents an opportunity for investments of irrigation technology and infrastructure in refugee hosting areas to boost agricultural production and productivity as well as contributes to food security and better nutrition. As one of the respondents puts it, "A single quintal of onion produced by refugee farmer is a plus to the country's GDP".

Economic inclusion of refugees will also lead to better social and cohesion and solidarity among refugees and host communities. Currently, refugees as seen by host communities as invaders distorting local markets and devastating the natural resources of the refugee hosting areas. Additionally, host communities and local government complain that the presence of refugee in the area has not benefited or contributed to the local economy. In the new

approach, host communities will be part of the development processes that will meaningfully benefit them leading into peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand, since refugees will be part of local development processes, they will invest in one way or another in the local economy. Hence, their solidarity and belongingness to the local community will enhance. Subsequently, refugees will be responsible in terms of efficient utilization of natural resources and abide by local rules and customary practices as part of the local community.

Finally, refugee economic inclusion will prepare refugees for durable solutions. The skill sets and the experience acquired in Ethiopia coupled with the level of economic viability achieved will encourage refugees to voluntarily repatriate to their countries of origin in a dignified manner since they will have the economic capacity to reinvest and become productive in their countries. Moreover, if the government of Ethiopia decided to locally integrate refugees, economically included refugees will not be a burden to the nation rather continue to contribute to the local economic development. In addition, economic inclusion also helps refugees to lead a better economic future in third countries when resettled.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary of Major Findings

The CRRF and the GCR in Ethiopia play a vital role in providing durable solutions to refugees. The objectives of the GCR are geared towards resolving the protracted refugee issues in a sustainable manner. In Ethiopia, the GCR will enable refugees to become self-reliant and economically resilient but also its whole of government and whole of society approaches calls for the principles of international solidarity, cooperation, and responsibility sharing are central to the Refugee Compact, which acknowledges the urgent need for more equitable sharing of the burden and responsibility for hosting and supporting the world's refugees.

The responsibility sharing mechanism embedded in the GCR provides a valuable opportunity, in particular for resource-poor countries like Ethiopia, to raise funds and seek assistance in providing durable solutions for refugees. However, Respondents emphasized that, for the GCR to achieve meaningful responsibility sharing, clearer financing and responsibility sharing mechanisms will be necessary – Additional, Predictable, Sufficient and Timely support from the international community must be guaranteed.

The implications of the GCR is not only its contribution in terms of additional support from the international community but also adverse consequences if not properly managed. These are mainly related with internal conflicts in the country and the change in political dynamics. The application of the GCR in some contexts might lead to unnecessary conflicts between refugees and host communities making all the efforts counter-productive.

The implications of refugee economic inclusion has both prospects and challenges for refugees and Ethiopia as refugee hosting nation. As the respondents noted, Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda will align the country's refugee response approach with the global trend. Ethiopia's leading role in refugee economic inclusion will enhance the country's acceptance amongst the international community following the country's contribution to the global refugee crisis in the umbrella of the principle of responsibility sharing.

The willingness of the Ethiopian government to include refugees made Ethiopia one of the few countries globally who benefited from the additional support from international community. Currently, there are several projects and programmes that commenced implementation and many more are in the pipeline with a total value more than 1 billion US dollars. Strategic private sector investments will also flow to Ethiopia to invest in Industry parks and I refugee hosting areas with a view of profit making and changing the lives of refugees as part of their corporate social responsibilities.

Despite the long list of prospects of refugee economic inclusion in Ethiopia, there are several challenges that may hinder appropriate execution and more importantly cause and escalate internal conflicts. The economic opportunities that are going to benefit refugees through the refugee economic inclusion agenda might also become a pull factor for a huge influx of refugees from neighbouring countries given the fact that the internal situations in South Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea remain to be volatile. More so, the other major challenge is the availability of sufficient opportunities in Ethiopia to absorb the additional number of refugees to enter the labour market. Hence, adding the refugee population to the scramble for livelihoods and job opportunities will have adverse effect on the country's peacebuilding process and transformation agenda.

As emphasized by respondents from the Ethiopian government, the major concerning challenge is the lack of guaranteed continuous support from the international community. There is no guarantee that this support will continue as there are no binding agreements to this effect. The global compact in itself is also a mere declaration of intent lacking the binding effect. Moreover, the support of the international community, mainly the financing of the international financial institutions is in the form of loans. Ethiopia is borrowing to create economic opportunities for refugees.

5.2. Conclusion

The findings of the study have shown that refugee economic inclusion in Ethiopia has significant prospects for refugees and refugee hosting communities in Ethiopia. Despite the critical challenges that were identified in the study, Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda is expected to contribute to the local economic development of refugee hosting regions in light of national development priorities. Thus, the study concludes that, the GCR

and the CRRF present an opportunity for humanitarian-development nexus that will translate into a shift from camp-based care and maintenance model to an advanced response to displacement by employing an integrated response at local level. Implementing the GCR and the CRRF will also change the refugee oriented response approach that only addresses the needs of refugees to a more development oriented response that benefit Ethiopia's refugee hosting communities and refugees.

Secondly, Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda presents the opportunity for the government to take advantage of the international community's commitment in supporting Ethiopia in addressing the growing problem of refugees and immigration. Numerous donor agencies and governments are interested in investing in economic inclusion initiatives that benefit refugees and host communities. Therefore, the government can leverage the additional resources availed by the international community to advance national economic development through aligning refugee response interventions with national and local development priorities.

Nevertheless, the initiated critical steps in terms of effecting policy changes that provide a conducive enabling legal, policy and regulatory environment for the implementation of the refugee economic inclusion agenda need to continue to a certain level that permits the flow of additional resources into the county. Such critical policy changes will strategically position Ethiopia to be the leading country in terms of refugee economic inclusion agenda. This in turn will enhance the country's acceptance, negotiation power and influence amongst the international community. It will also make the country eligible and attractive for additional development oriented support from international financial institutions and donor governments. Strategic private sector investments will also flow to Ethiopia to invest in Industry parks and in refugee hosting areas with a view of profit making and changing the lives of refugees as part of their corporate social responsibilities.

In Ethiopia, refugee economic inclusion will also enhance the partnership between humanitarian and development partners for joint planning and programming for better impacts on refugee hosting areas. Ethiopia's line of refugee economic inclusion gives a priority focus for irrigated agriculture, this high level government's direction presents an opportunity for large scale irrigation and infrastructure investments in refugee hosting areas to boost agricultural production and productivity as well as contributes to food security and

better nutrition. It will also lead to better social and cohesion and solidarity among refugees and host communities.

However, the implications of Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda are not limited to contribution in terms of local economic development and changing the lives refugees and host communities. But, also have adverse consequences if not properly managed. These are mainly related with internal conflicts in the country and the change in political dynamics. In some contexts economic inclusion might lead to unnecessary conflicts between refugees and host communities making all the efforts counter-productive.

The major challenge that may arise as a result of refugee economic inclusion is the conflict between refugees and host communities. Particularly, in Gambella and the Somali region where there are existing conflicts between different ethnic groups and xenophobic attitudes towards peoples of other ethnic origin, opening up economic opportunities that are linked with jobs and agricultural land will definitely cause vast conflicts. Thus, unless significant contributions are made by the international community towards creating economic opportunities, adding the refugee population to the scramble for livelihoods and job opportunities in Ethiopia will have adverse effect on the country's peacebuilding process and transformation agenda.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The refugee economic inclusion agenda in Ethiopia should prioritize managing sensitivities. Prior to embarking on the full implementation of the refugee economic inclusion agenda, awareness creation campaigns with proper messaging approaches and tools need to be undertaken at various levels. The right message need to be communicated to the federal, regional and local government officials, refugees, host communities and the private sector. The messages should focus on 'what is in it for Ethiopians'. Meaning, the messaging approach need to highlight the benefits that the refugee economic inclusion agenda presents to Ethiopians and particularly refugee hosting communities.

In addition to managing the sensitivities, the government need to devise a mechanism of preventing additional influx of refugees from the volatile neighbouring countries. Prevention of causes of migration and displacement as well as solving issues in countries of origin is one

of the objectives of the GCR. Hence, the government should continue to play the leading role in the region leveraging regional platforms like the IGAD to influence peace building processes in Somalia, South Sudan and Eritrea. On the other hand, the government, in collaboration with humanitarian and development partners and donor agencies, should also strengthen its emergency response systems to prepare for the unfortunate situation of additional influx of refugees.

Subsequently, creating an enabling environment for refugee economic inclusion should be a priority to the government so as to be able to attract more development oriented resources into the country. So far, the government has made significant steps in revised the refugee proclamation with progressive rights to refugees including rights to work, freedom of movement and right to own property. Furthermore, the ARRA has finalized a draft national refugee response strategy where economic inclusion is dealt with in depth. However, the regulatory environment needs to be improved. Secondary legislations including regulations and directives, working procedures and guidelines need to be developed. The government at all levels also need to own the refugee economic inclusion agenda and enhance its readiness to facilitate, coordinate and enable implementation.

Moreover, rigorous negotiations and advocacy with the international community for additional support are mandatory. Currently, the support from donors and international financial institutions is limited to few projects that focus on studies and few area based interventions. Even so, the sustainability of the support is not guaranteed. Hence, the government, leveraging its pioneering place in the refugee inclusion agenda globally, should advocate and aggressively negotiate with the international community for additional, sustainable, timely and predictable support to the refugee economic inclusion agenda through securing bilateral agreements, legally binding pledges and commitments.

Prior to embarking on refugee economic inclusion, the availability of jobs in the market that suffice both Ethiopians and refugees need to be assured. Otherwise, the agenda will be counterproductive and lead to massive conflicts. Hence, development and humanitarian partners with vested interests in the economic inclusion agenda need to invest in creating additional jobs in the market. In line with the national development priorities of the government, the additional economic opportunities should focused on host community assets,

viable market opportunities and potential sub sectors taking into consideration the comparative and competitive advantages of the refugee hosting areas.

The focus of investments that are geared towards job creation need to be tied with creating innovative private sector solutions since the private sector is the major driver of jobs. Enhancing the participation of the private sector in refugee hosting areas will result in sustainable solutions. In order to do so, the enabling business environment need to be improved, the legal and administrative barriers impeding business to grow should be altered, access to favourable financing and access to viable national, regional and international markets need to be facilitated.

Interventions need to also focus on the supply side of the continuum. Pertinent skills development for both refugees and host communities are very critical to foster the economic inclusion agenda. The link with the labour market demand and the potential economic base of the refugee hosting areas need to be established from the onset to ensure that the skills translate into jobs, entrepreneurship and businesses resulting in self-reliance and resilience of refugees and host communities.

In addition, the institutional and technical capacity of the government need to be enhanced to ensure that the refugee economic inclusion agenda is better owned, facilitated, coordinated and more importantly other stakeholders including the private sector are enabled to fully participate. The whole of government approach is very critical to the success of the agenda vis a vis the whole of society approach to enhance responsibility sharing and coordination for better impacts.

Finally, the government must take steps to assure the continuous support from the international community as the lack of guaranteed continuous support from the international community will leave the burden of hosting refugees on Ethiopia. In the initial years of the implementation of the refugee economic inclusion agenda, the international community is highly involved in advocating for policy changes that aim at creating a conducive enabling environment however, there is no guarantee that this support will continue as there are no binding agreements to this effect. Moreover, the support of the international community, mainly the funds from the international financial institutions is in the form of loans. Ethiopia is borrowing to create economic opportunities for refugees. This must be properly thought through by the Ethiopian government and better bargaining for international support in the form of grants need to take place.

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Annex I - Semi Structured Key Informant Interview Guide

Name	
Organization	
Interview Date	
Interview time	
Interview Place	

Introductory Remarks

- Introducing the interviewer/researcher
- Explanation on the purpose and scope of the study exercise
- Explanation on ethical considerations; confidentiality, anonymity and utilization of information.

I. Introductory Questions

1. What is your name and role in your organization?
2. What is the current role of your organization in Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda?
3. Do you have any questions on the purpose and scope of this interview and research exercise?

II. The GCR and CRRF Roll out in Ethiopia

4. What is your take on the economic contributions of the previous refugee response regime (the encampment approach) in Ethiopia in the economic context?

Sub Questions

- Do you think refugees are able to become economically self-reliant through the previous refugee response regime?
- In your view, what is the impact of the encampment approach on national/local economic development?
- Do you think there is a need for a change in approach? How?

5. What is your analysis of the Global Compact on Refugees and the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework in the context of Ethiopia?

Sub Questions

- What are the GCR and the CRRF in the Ethiopian context?
- What are the implications of the GCR and the CRRF on Ethiopia's refugee response?
- What are the implications the GCR and the CRRF for Ethiopia as a refugee hosting nation?

III. Ethiopia's Refugee Economic Inclusion Agenda

6. What's is you view on Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda under the CRRF?

Sub Questions

- How do you see Ethiopia's economic inclusion pledges made during the Leaders' Summit?
- How is Ethiopia envisioning to implement the refugee economic inclusion agenda?

7. What are the driving enabling factors of economic inclusion of refugees in Ethiopia

Sub Questions

-
- What is the legal, policy and regulatory enabling environment in place to implement the refugee economic inclusion agenda?
- In your view, what are the key driving factors of economic inclusion of refugees in Ethiopia?

8. In your view, what are the expected roles of the various pertinent stakeholders in order to realize a successful economic inclusion of refugees?

Sub Questions

- Who are the key stakeholders relevant to advance Ethiopia's refugee economic inclusion agenda?
- What is expected from each stakeholder? The government, the international community, development partners, humanitarian partners, private sector, civil society organizations, host communities and refugees.

IV. Prospects and Challenges

9. In your opinion, what are the key challenges of economically including refugees in the context of Ethiopia?

Sub Questions

- What are the key challenges from the refugee stand point?
- What are the key challenges from a national development perspective?

10. What are the benefits of economically including refugees in the context of Ethiopia?

Sub Questions

- What are the prospects in terms of advancing national economic development?
- How is the agenda aligned with Ethiopia's national economic development strategy?
- What are the prospects for refugees and refugee hosting communities?

Annex II – List and details of purposefully sampled entities

No	Entity	Type	Relevance to Economic Inclusion of Refugees
1	ARRA	Government	The mandated refugee protection agency leading the CRRF roll out in the country. Currently, the Agency is drafting a 10 years national Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy which incorporates the government’s direction towards economic inclusion of refugees.
2	EIC	Government	In line with the industrialization agenda and the government’s commitment to enhance private sector investments, the commission is currently the lead implementer of the World Bank’s Economic Opportunities programme (jobs Compact) which aims at creating employment for 30, 000 refugees.
3	UNHCR	Humanitarian partner	UNHCR is the internationally mandated refugee protection agency and under the New York Declaration and the GCR, UNHCR is given the task of facilitating the CRRF roll out globally. In Ethiopia, UNHCR plays a key catalytic role in bringing partners onboard for the refugee economic inclusion agenda through a whole of society and whole of government approaches.
4	World Bank	Development partner	The World bank’s international development assistance framework (IDA) has a refugee sub window for refugee hosting countries. In Ethiopia the World Bank has three milestone programmes targeting refugees and host communities. The Development response to displacement impacts project (DRDIP) aims at compensating refugee hosting areas which are impacted by the presence of refugees, the Jos Compact or EEOP programme is designed to created employment opportunities for up to 30, 000 refugees in line with the government’s pledges and the GEQUP-E Education project is also looking at including refugees in national systems by harmonizing and integrating systems.
5	DFID	Donor Agency	Amongst the donor community, DFID is the prominent one in terms of advancing the economic inclusion agenda. DFID’s contribution is very significant; it has a 50 million contribution in the World Bank’s jobs programme through the MDTF basket; BSRP which targets refugee hosting

			communities and a new programme called SHARPE which aims at enhancing self-reliance of refugees and host communities through market based livelihoods interventions.
6	ZOA	Humanitarian partner	ZOA is an international NGO with many years of investment in refugee self-reliance and humanitarian assistance ventures. Currently, ZOA leads a consortium partnership for the implementation of a Dutch funded multi-year Addressing Root Causes - Hope and Opportunities for people In Ethiopia programme which aims at addressing the root causes of irregular migration and the entrenched vulnerability of young refugees through enhancing youth access to employment opportunities.
7	ECSA	Private Sector	The Ethiopian Chamber of Sectoral Associations is a federal level establishment which coordinates and facilitates sectoral associations composed of private sector companies. The chamber echo the voices and concerns of sectoral associations with a view of consolidating the efforts for an enhanced bargaining and negotiation with the government. The chamber is selected as key informant interview because, the private sector is expected to be the major driver of jobs and is the potential employer of refugees in the economic inclusion context.

Key Informant Interview details

No	Name	Entity	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	R - 1	ARRA	Addis Ababa	03/04/19
2	R - 2	EIC	Addis Ababa	06/05/19
3	R - 3	UNHCR	Addis Ababa	17/04/19
4	R - 4	World Bank	Addis Ababa	26/04/19
5	R - 5	DFID	Addis Ababa	04/05/19
6	R - 6	ZOA	Addis Ababa	11/04/19
7	R - 7	ECSA	Addis Ababa	20/03/19

DECLARATION

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

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

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

Advisor _____

Signature _____

Date _____