



**St. MARY'S UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK**

**ASSESSMENTS ON CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF URBAN
REFUGEE LIVELIHOODS FROM THE GREAT LAKES REGION IN
ADDIS ABABA**

**BY
RIGBE TILAHUN ASSEFA**

August 2020

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the MA thesis written by Rigbe Tilahun Assefa titled “Assessments on Challenges and Opportunities of Urban Refugee Livelihoods from the Great Lakes Region in Addis Ababa” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Social Work complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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St Mary's University, Addis Ababa

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ACRONYMS

ARRA	Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affairs
DICAC	Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (Ethiopian Orthodox Church)
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GLR	Great Lakes Region
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OAU	Organization of Africa Union
OCP	Out-of camp policy
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
USCR	United States Committee for Refugees

ABSTRACT

In Ethiopia, particularly in Addis Ababa, there are many urban refugees from the Great Lakes Region. Addis Ababa is their first priority area to live compared to other cities in Ethiopia because it is the capital city of Ethiopia and is the center for national as well as international organizations. Urban refugees have different kinds of livelihood challenges and opportunities and this research examines it. In order to achieve the objectives of the research, descriptive type of research which is led by qualitative approach was employed. In-depth interview, key informant interview and document review were the central data collection techniques. For the study, refugees living in Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo areas were selected based on the prolonged settlement of the refugees in the respective areas. The finding of the study shows that there are several socio-cultural and economic challenges urban refugees have been facing: high cost of living, problem of cultural adaptability like language barriers, refugee's low self-esteem, psychological instability and mobility, economic crises, conflict, security challenges, violence, theft and robbery. This research also indicates that availability of supportive policy frameworks can be considered as a good opportunity for GLR refugees for self-reliance. Moreover, this research revealed that urban refugees have both negative and positive impacts for the hosting community. The positive impacts include transfer of knowledge and skills, influence better work habits, contribute for labor market in some sectors which Ethiopians cannot, and inject foreign currency into the market. The negative impacts burdened on the hosting community are aggravated the price of rental house, increase unemployment rate, injects deviant behavior such as addiction, conflict and violence. Finally, this research concludes that urban refugee's livelihood strategy is vulnerable for risk and shock as the result of less sustainable nature of their means of income.

Key words: *Refugees, Urban Refugees, Livelihood, Great Lakes Region Refugees*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

In 2019, an unprecedented 70.8 million people around the world have been forced from their home. Among them are nearly 25.9 million refugees and over half of whom are under the age of 18. Today, nearly 1 person is forcibly displaced every two seconds as a result of conflict or persecution (UNHCR, 2019).

The magnitude of refugee influx from African countries in recent years has generated concern throughout the world. Widely perceived as an unprecedented crisis, these flows have produced a mixture of humanitarian concern of the millions of people forced into exile and fear for the potential threat to the social, economic and political stability of host states caused by streams of unwanted newcomers (Atim, 2013).

As a region, the Horn of Africa is the most politically dynamic region which has been marred by conflicts for many decades resulting in influx of refugees in the region. Although countries from the Horn of Africa are amongst the top ten countries of origin of asylum seekers in the EU, by far the majority of migrants remain within the region, with Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya hosting the bulk of refugees from inter alia Somalia, Eritrea and South Sudan (Gashaw, 2017).

Refugee influx to Ethiopia is not a recent phenomenon. Its history dates back to at least when the Nine saints left Syria due to religious controversy, came to Ethiopia and established many monasteries in Ethiopia. Later, around 615 AD when Prophet Muhammad's earliest disciples including his daughter Makiya, have sought refuge in Ethiopia (ARRA, 2011; Wondwosen, 1995). In recent decades, Ethiopia has been hosting refugees from neighboring countries of South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Yemeni and others countries from Great Lake Region (Assefaw, 2006).

Ethiopia has an open-door policy towards refugees, for whom it is a destination and a transit country. Currently, it hosts more than 900,000 refugees, making it the second largest hosting country in Africa. This population comprises 422,240 South Sudanese, 253,889 Somalis, and 173,879 Eritreans, nationality groups that receive refugee status on a prima facie basis. Owing to its geographical location, and the political instability and humanitarian crisis in the neighboring

countries, Ethiopia continues to serve as a destination for those seeking international protection, and a transit point for others aiming to undertake journeys towards Europe. Currently, there are 26 formalized refugee camps in Ethiopia as well as a few settlements that are housing those refugees (UNHCR, 2018).

The Great Lake Region consists of countries in east and central Africa (Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Uganda, and Tanzania), forming a complex network of political and economic interactions with implications for peace issues, security and governance. The name, "Great Lakes Region" is derived from the fresh water lakes and river basins within the Central and Eastern part of Africa. However, the term now refers to a region with interlinked conflicts and common fundamental problems that emanate from post-colonial challenges to state- and nation-building (Vorrath, 2011).

GLR refugees believed to come to Ethiopia because of political and economic reasons. As of May 31st 2020, the total population of GLR urban refugee population is 719. The number of registered urban refugees settled in Addis Ababa is more than 20,000. Refugees from countries such as Somali, Eritrea, South Sudan, Yemeni and the Great Lake Region are the major ones in Addis Ababa (UNHCR, 2020).

By the end of December 2018, there were a total of 22,885 refugees in Addis Ababa, mainly from Eritrea, Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan and refugees of other nationalities, including those from the Great Lakes region (UNHCR, 2018).

In 2015 the Ethiopian government, together with UNHCR, drafted an Urban Livelihoods Strategy with the aim of implementing a comprehensive livelihoods program to improve self-reliance amongst refugees in Ethiopia's cities (UNHCR, 2017b). However, Urban refugee economies are multifaceted and complex that implementing such a program to improve refugee livelihoods is demanding for the strategy to be endorsed by the government and requires the active involvement of all stakeholders. In addition to this, efforts to reduce challenges of refugee livelihoods did not bring any fruitful results (Fisseha, 2019). Therefore, exploring urban refugee livelihoods challenges and opportunities in Addis Ababa is the focus of this study.

Hence, the driving factor which motivated the researcher to do a study on refugee livelihoods in general and urban refugees in particular is to examine the extent and distribution of urban

refugees, analyze economic integration; and examine the policy framework of urban refugees and its governance in Addis Ababa. Moreover, this research seeks to address the knowledge gap by providing new insights into the way refugee economies have spurred the development of new markets in Addis Ababa, a city where refugees — at least till the ratification of the new refugee proclamation in February 2019 — are not legally permitted to work. In addition, the researcher is keen enough to examine the contributions that refugees can make despite the significant challenges they face and understand how their resulting refugee economies can be understood as an asset.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

There is limited research conducted in the area focusing on challenges and opportunities of urban refugees' livelihoods and did not explain much about the issue critically. There was a previously conducted study on Eritrean and Somali refugees under the out of camp scheme by Wogene (2017). His work focused on only local integration and did not address issues related with urban refugee livelihoods and its challenges and opportunities. In addition to this, Aida (2017) also conducted a study on the Out of Camp Scheme for Eritrean Refugees and its impact of the scheme and integration with the host community. The study focused on self-reliance, food security and protection and did not touch the issue of challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods. In addition to this, Fisseha (2019) studied the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods. However, his work focuses on Somali and Eritrean refugees.

Moreover, little attention has been paid to mention about the contribution made by 'refugee economies' — economic activity generated by refugees through work, enterprise, consumption of goods and services, and the receipt of support, whether through aid or Diaspora remittances and trade.

In general, the local empirical studies have made little attention on the livelihood and its challenges particularly on the GLR refugees. However, to address the challenges and opportunities of urban refugees' livelihoods effectively, it is crucial to understand their livelihoods. In addition to this, Ethiopia approved a new Refugee proclamation which is published in Negarit Gazetta in February 2019 that can give broad opportunities for refugees to work in the formal sector and access the local economies through different livelihood activities.

To my knowledge, no researcher has been conducted a research about this specific issue since the ratification of this proclamation.

Therefore, the researcher needs to explore the extent and distribution of urban refugees, analyze economic integration; stress brought by them and examines the policy framework of urban refugees and its governance in Addis Ababa. Moreover, the researcher seeks to address the knowledge gap by providing new insights into the way refugee economies have spurred the development of new markets in Addis Ababa, a city where refugees — at least till the ratification of the new refugee proclamation in February 2019 — are not legally permitted to work. The researcher also needs to identify the contributions that refugees can make despite the significant challenges they face and understand how their resulting refugee economies can be understood as an asset with possible recommendations. The researcher believes that refugees are not passive recipients of donations rather they have untapped skills, knowledge and capacities that can make a difference.

1.3. Research Questions

To address the intended objectives the following research questions are formulated.

- What kind of challenges do refugees face in terms of earning their livelihoods in Addis Ababa?
- What contribution do refugees have in terms of local economic development?
- What are the opportunities of Great Lakes Region refugees in terms of livelihoods? Is there any legal and policy guide line that enables refugees to access labor market in Ethiopia?
- What are the local economic impact and stress brought by Great Lakes urban refugees in Addis Ababa?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in Addis Ababa.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this paper are:

- ✓ To assess the opportunities of Great Lakes urban refugee livelihoods.
- ✓ To assess the challenges of Great Lakes urban refugee livelihoods.
- ✓ To analyze the local economic impact and stress brought by Great Lakes urban refugees in Addis Ababa.

1.5. Significances of the Study

This paper has following significances. This study contributes to the existing literature on the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods. The study can also be used as a source material for those researchers who are interested in similar studies. Moreover, the study can contribute to social policy makers, NGOs, development practitioners, and other concerned bodies as input to formulate policy as well as to intervene on the issue.

1.6. Scope of the Study

This research focused on challenges of livelihood for urban refugees. The main focus is urban refugees who came from the Great Lakes Region. Even if urban refugees live in different parts of the country like Bahir Dar, Mekelle, Adama, Jigjiga, this research will focus only on those urban refugees living in Addis Ababa. In Addis Ababa, there are urban refugees coming from Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Yemen, Syria and GLR. This paper only deals with those urban refugees of GLR. The GLR urban refugees live in different parts of Addis Ababa. Through purposive sampling, the present study focuses only on those refugees residing at YekaAbado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo areas. Thematically, the study is limited to focus on the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in Addis Ababa. In other words, other issues are given less weight. Methodologically, qualitative method was employed and quantitative method of data collection was not used.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

The researcher has encountered various challenges including problem of accessing urban refugees and unable to get compiled refugee population data from the concerned officials. It was

a challenge to get compiled data about the refugees and urban refugees in general and Great Lakes Region urban refugees in particular. One of the challenges was problem of accessing ARRA officials and the researcher was forced to visit their office many times. This became a reality after frequent appointments for meetings. The other challenge was related with tough security issues in the ARRA. Initially, there was a plan to record the interview and focus group discussion but it was impossible to get into the ARRA compound with any electronic device including mobile phone.

The corona virus-COVID- 19 pandemics was another big challenge. The researcher planned to make one-to-one interview (in-depth and key informant) and met some informants before the state of emergency. However, due to COVID, the researcher forced to change face to face interview into telephone interview and online interview (using Skype and telegram). Nevertheless, with exertion of time and resource, the researcher collected all the available and necessary data for the study.

Another challenge is associated with meeting with the advisor. Because of the Covid 19 and state of emergency law Proclamation No. 3/2020, a State of Emergency Proclamation Enacted to Counter and Control the Spread of COVID-19 and Mitigate Its Impact, face to face meeting is prohibited. Due to this fact, meeting with the advisor was so difficult since Universities throughout the country are closed. In addition to this, email correspondence was shut down due to the unrest in the country and makes communicating with the advisor very challenging. As a result of the above-mentioned challenges, the researcher was unable to collect adequate data as planned a head of time.

1.8. Operational Definitions

Refugee: According to the 2019 Ethiopian refugee proclamation, refugee is any person where: 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.

Asylum seeker: Means any person or group of persons who presents himself or themselves at the border or frontier or within the territory of Ethiopia seeking for refugee status and wait for decisions of the Authority (FDRE, 2019).

Migrant: is not universally defined. The term is usually used to cover all cases when a person moves from one country to another different from his/her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months (UNHCR, 2018).

Migration: is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes are – either across an international border or within borders. It includes migration of refugees, displaced persons and economic migrants (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Urban refugees: refer to refugees who are allowed by ARRA to live in urban centers based on their quest to live independently in urban areas than in refugee camps (ARRA, 2018).

Livelihood: In a simple word, livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living, and in this case concerning the refugees (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Remittances: are money earned or acquired by non-nationals that are transferred back to their country of origin. Besides quantifiable financial remittances, there are also social remittances, such as networks and relations, skills and knowledge, ideas and values (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

1.9. Organization of the Study

The study has five chapters. The first chapter consists of introductory section, problem statement, study objectives, basic questions, scope of the study, limitation of the study and operational definition. The second chapter deals with relevant theoretical framework and review of related literatures and conceptual issues that are related to refugee and refugee livelihoods. The third chapter is all about the research methodology. It highlights the overall research approach and design, sources of data, sampling methods and techniques, methods of data collection and data analysis, trustworthiness of the research and ethical consideration to conduct the study. Issues related to results and discussions from the study are going to be discussed under chapter four. The chapter will entertain issues like the refugee profiles, the contexts of urban refugees,

livelihood strategies of refugees, challenges and opportunities associated with livelihood strategies of urban refugees and the impacts of refugees on hosting communities. The fifth chapter will focus on conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Drawing mainly on written sources, this chapter presents the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the study. The first section discusses concepts like refugees, typology of refugees, urban livelihoods, livelihood strategies and assets. The next section presents the theoretical framework of the study. The last section deals with the conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 The Notion of Refugee

For centuries, people have been discriminated and forced to flee their homes because of conflict, political, racial and religious persecutions, natural disasters and inhuman treatments that took place in their societies. In exile, they sought either refuge or the protection of other countries. Human beings have migrated since the earliest societies (Bacaian, 2011).

Daniel Warner cited in Bacaian (2011) writes that the first migrants were tribal people in search of food, water and resources. They were not yet refugees or asylum seekers; they were mere gatherers or hunters who began exploring new lands to settle. The land, provided for much of their basic needs and soon, “territory became associated with property”. Conflicts emerged in order to gain or protect one’s territory, just like governments were created to organize and defend this very territory. In those early years, governments instituted laws and policies for security reasons in order to guard their natural resources. Not much has changed since then. The migration regulations that exist today were also introduced to enforce security throughout countries, as well as to fight terrorism or illegal traffic of people, drugs or weapons. But what happens should governments fail to protect their citizens and if people become displaced for any reason? In such a case, they become refugees, asylum seekers, stateless or internally displaced persons (Bacaian, 2011).

When persecution, war or violence forces a person to flee his or her own country, that person becomes characterized as a refugee. A refugee has a well-grounded fear of persecution due to his or her race, religion, political opinion, nationality or allegiance towards a particular social group. Many of these refugees either cannot return home or are under a constant fear of doing so (Pathak & Sharmiladevi, 2018).

According to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is defined as “one who is owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership [in] a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, 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 events, unwilling to return to it”(Oswald, 2006).

The growing number of refugees fleeing wars and internal conflicts in Africa, starting in the late 1950s, led to the adoption of what is generally considered the most comprehensive and significant regional treaty dealing with refugees. The Organization of African Unity, on 10 September 1969, adopted the OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa. The primary importance of this Convention is its expanded definition of the term refugee. African States felt that "well-founded fear of persecution" was not sufficiently wide a criterion to cover all the refugee situations in Africa. The second paragraph of article 1 of the African Convention provides that "the term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality"(UNHCR, 2018c).

For the purpose of this paper, the researcher used the most standard and acceptable definition of refugee which is defined by the New Refugee proclamation of Ethiopia which was enacted in February 2019. According to the proclamation, any person shall be considered as a refugee where:

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 (FDRE, 2019).

2.2 Kunz's Typology of Refugees

Kunz introduced Majority Identified, Event Related and Self Alienated Refugees as three most important typologies, derived from refugees' attitudes towards their displacement. Majority Identified Refugees are those who oppose social and political events in their home country shared by their fellow citizens (Colins, 1996). Good examples are refugees from Afghanistan and Pakistan, who because of the social and political unrest in these countries were forced to leave (Oswald, 2006).

In the African context, the Majority Identified category can be applied to refugees created in the period of anti-colonial wars. The Majority Identified Refugees had a strong attachment to their home nations and typically wanted to repatriate, and if they did return it would result in less of a burden on the host countries welfare system. Host countries often treat refugees based on the categories they belong to. The UNHCR gives higher priority to refugees leaving countries due to socio-political reasons (Stein, 1998).

Event Related Refugees are those who must leave because of active or latent discrimination against the particular group to which they belong and often outright violence feel that they are unwanted, or unsafe in their own homelands .Good examples are the refugees of Sir Lankan Tamil who faced oppression from the majority Sinhalese (Oswald, 2006).

Ethnic conflicts often lead to the creation of Events Related Refugees in Africa. An example of this type of migration is Burundi and Rwandans 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 recent upheaval in these two states in 1994, little hope was seen for thousands of refugees who had fled Burundi and Rwanda (Colins, 1996). The recent refugee migrations of South Sudan to neighboring countries 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 become refugees, the desire to return home can only be aroused were there to be substantial change at home. These refugees displaced from their home because of ethnic and socio-political conflict between the supporters of ruling

government and the opposition groups/parties. This conflict often leads to the creation of Events Related Refugees in Africa in general and South Sudan in particular.

Self-Alienated Refugees are those who have to leave their home country due to a variety of individual reasons, including physical and sexual assault or by some personal philosophy. In Africa, Self-Alienated Refugees have played only a minor role in the larger scale refugee picture (Oswald, 2006). For example, many Ethiopian intellectuals who fled the tyranny of the Mengistu regime could also be classified as Self-Alienated Refugees (Colins, 1996). Using Kunz's typology of refugees, the present paper will relate the Events related typology of refugees with the situations of GLR refugees in Ethiopia.

2.3 Livelihoods

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A sustainable livelihood allows to cope with and to recover from stress and shocks, to maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. It also contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term". Essentially, livelihoods refer to the means used to maintain and sustain life (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

A livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households derive their livelihoods. An easy way of thinking within a livelihood framework is using the household triangle of assets, capabilities and activities. Household members use their capabilities and their assets to carry out activities through which they gain their livelihood. Household assets refer to the resources that households own or have access to for gaining a livelihood where capabilities are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labor or command labor of a household (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Household strategies are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet households' objectives and are often based on past experience. It is evident that livelihood opportunities can be enhanced or limited by factors in the external environment. These factors determine the vulnerability context in which households have to operate. The vulnerability context is the range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable. The external environment is an important influencing factor on a refugee's

livelihood. Refugees do not only have to cope with the often-traumatic experience of flight and displacement, but also often end up with only limited resources due to loss of assets and capabilities (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

2.4 Urban Livelihoods

Refugees in urban areas are economically, politically and culturally tied to the larger urban community, therefore their livelihoods are inextricably interdependent upon local relationships and processes. Urban settings present specific opportunities and constraints for refugees seeking to improve their livelihoods. Urban refugees face similar challenges as the urban poor such as growing slum areas, rising unemployment rates, insecure housing access, increased pressure on state and community resources, compounded with barriers such as xenophobia and insecure legal status what makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and marginalization (Vriese, 2006).

Although the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy offer a wide variety of employment and business opportunities, livelihoods pursued on the margins of urban society present the risk of exploitation and serious protection problems. Women in particular are susceptible to the dangers of working in the streets without protection against theft, rape, sexual abuse, exploitation or unhealthy physical environments (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

The most common livelihood strategy amongst refugee men in urban areas is to perform day jobs. To get informed on job opportunities, they have to rely on a good information network and need access to the labor market. Hence, it becomes difficult for men to earn a stable and regular living, notably for those who formerly worked in agriculture and who uneasily adapt to the specifics of urban jobs. Women find it easier to earn a living, as they have the possibility to sell items on the market or to find work in the domestic sector, restaurants and hotels (Vriese, 2006).

2.5 Livelihood Assets

The livelihood framework is based on the premise that the asset status of the poor is fundamental to understanding the options open to them, the strategies they adopt to attain livelihoods, the outcomes they aspire to and the vulnerability context under which they operate. Assets refer to owned, controlled, claimed or in some other means accessed by the household. It is by these assets that households are able to participate in production, the labor market and exchange with

other households (Ellis, 2000). DFID distinguishes five categories of assets (or capital) upon which livelihoods are built – natural, social, human, physical and financial (Carney, 1998).

Financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. There are two main sources of financial capital; available stocks and regular inflows of money.

Social capital is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. They are developed through networks and connection, membership of more formalized groups and relationships of trust (Carney, 1998).

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. Clearly, natural capital is very important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from resource-based activities such as farming, fishing, gathering and mineral extraction (DFID, 1999).

Human capital is the skills, knowledge, ability to labor and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies (Scoones, 1998).

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. Infrastructure includes affordable transport, adequate water supply and sanitation, affordable energy, and access to communication (Carney, 1998).

2.6 Livelihood Strategies

Depending on the assets people have and the structures and processes that influence on them and the vulnerability context under which they operate people make a choice as to what livelihood strategies that will best provide them with livelihood outcomes. ‘Livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of household survival’ (Ellis, 2000).

Livelihood strategies change as the external environment over which people have little control changes. Carney (1998) lists these categories of livelihood strategies as natural resource based, non-natural resource based and migration, while Ellis (2000), in his framework, categorizes livelihood strategies as natural resource-based activities or non-natural resource-based activities (including remittances and other transfers).

Some of the refugee livelihood strategies include seeking international protection and migration as a livelihood strategy, receiving humanitarian assistance, relying on social networks and solidarity, falling back on subsistence farming, engaging in trade and services, investing in education and skills training, falling back on negative coping strategies, adopting new gender roles, wage employment, remittance and self-employment (Vriese, 2006).

2.7. Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 The Neo-classical Perspective

The first scholarly contribution to migration was done by the nineteenth century Geographer Ravenstein (1889), in which he formulated his “laws of migration”. He saw migration as an inseparable part of development, and asserted that the major causes of migration were economic. Migration patterns were further assumed to be influenced by factors such as distance and population densities (Skeldon, 1997). This perspective, in which people are expected to move from low income to high income areas, and from densely to sparsely populated areas, is the general notion that migration movements tend towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium, has remained alive in the work of many demographers, geographers, and economists ever since (Castles & Miller, 2003).

At the micro-level, neo-classical migration theory views migrants as individual and rational actors who decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit calculation. Assuming free choice and full access to information, they are expected to go where they can be the most productive, that is, are able to earn the highest wages. This capacity obviously depends on the specific skills a person possesses and the specific structure of labor markets. Neo-classical migration theory sees rural-urban migration as a constituent part of the whole development process, by which surplus labor in the rural sector supplies the workforce for the urban industrial economy (Lewis, 2002).

Neo-classical migration theory can be positioned within the functionalist paradigm of social theory, as the central argument of factor price equalization assumes that economic forces tend towards an equilibrium and also because it largely ignores the existence of market imperfections and other structural constraints on development. This is hardly realistic, particularly in the context of many developing countries. Place utility and other micro-theories assume that

migrants have perfect knowledge of the costs and benefits of migration (McDowell and de Haan, 1997).

Neo-classical migration economy has also been criticized for being a-historical and Eurocentric, supposing that migration (i.e., the transfer of labor from agricultural rural to industrial urban sectors) fulfills the same facilitating role in the ‘modernization’ of currently developing countries as it did in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe. In fact, the structural conditions under which contemporary migration in and from developing countries takes place are rather different, although perhaps not fundamentally so (Skeldon, 1997).

2.7.2 Historical-structural Theory

Contemporary historical structural theory emerged in response to functionalist (neo-classical) and developmentalist modernizations approaches towards development. Historical-structuralists postulate that economic and political power is unequally distributed among developed and underdeveloped countries, that people have unequal access to resources, and that capitalist expansion has the tendency to reinforce these inequalities. Instead of modernizing and gradually progressing towards economic development, underdeveloped countries are trapped by their disadvantaged position within the global geopolitical structure (Lewis, 1954).

Historical structuralists have criticized neo-classical migration theory, stating that individuals do not have a free choice, because they are fundamentally constrained by structural forces. Rather than a matter of free choice, people are forced to move because traditional economic structures have been undermined as a result of their incorporation into the global political economic system. Through these processes, rural populations become increasingly deprived of their traditional livelihoods, and these uprooted populations become part of the urban proletariat to the benefit of those core areas that rely on cheap (immigrant) labor (Papadimitriou, 1985).

However, historical structuralists have been criticized for being too determinist and rigid in their thinking in viewing individuals as victims or “pawns” that passively adapt to macro-forces, thereby largely ruling out individual agency. Moreover, rigid forms of historical structuralism have been refuted by recent history, as various formerly developing and labor exporting countries have achieved sustained economic growth in the past decades’ despite – or perhaps thanks to – their firm connection to the global capitalism (Sen, 1999). For most southern

European countries and some “Asian Tigers”, the incorporation into global capitalism and, possibly, high labor migration has apparently worked out well, despite gloomy predictions some decades ago (Papadimitriou, 1985).

2.7.3. Questioning the Push-pull Framework

Migration tends to take place within well-defined “streams”, from specific places at the origin to specific places at the destination, not only because opportunities tend to be highly localized but also because the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitates the passage for later migrants. Migration is selective with respect to the individual characteristics of migrants because people respond differently to “plus” and “minus” factors at origins and destinations and have different abilities to cope with the intervening variables. Therefore, migrants are rarely representative of their community of origin. This is consistent with the neo-classical perspective which explains migration selectivity by individual differences in human capital endowments and the discriminating aspects of costs and risks associated with migration (Skeldon, 1997).

The push-pull model is basically an individual choice and equilibrium model, and is, therefore, largely analogous to neo-classical micro models. The push-pull model has gained enormous popularity in the migration literature and has become the dominant migration model in secondary and university education (Skeldon, 1997).

2.7.4 Capability Approach

Human development cannot be limited to the growth of the gross national product (GNP), the rise in income, or the increased levels of industrialization and technological advancements. Income, utilities, resources and wealth act as the means towards an end for human development, and not as ends in themselves. The usefulness of wealth lies in the things that it allows us to do (Sen, 2000).

Human development is achieved when people have greater freedoms (capabilities). These substantive freedoms are seen in the form of individual capabilities to do things that a person has reason to value. The freedom that we enjoy is inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political, and economic opportunities that are valuable to us. Institutions and societal arrangements are of much importance for promoting the freedoms of individuals. Thus, human

development as an expansion of individual substantive freedoms occurs with the improving of institutional frameworks such as markets, public services, the judiciary systems, political parties, mass media, and public discussions (Sen, 2000).

Human development would really mean making the person more capable through investing in social sectors and public infrastructures and in the long term these goals will improve the health, education and social capabilities of people. This draws attention to what makes life worthwhile: people's 'centeredness'. This departure sees human development in terms of expansion of individual freedoms in the bundle of opportunities that one has reasons to value (Alexander, 2007).

The capability approach is a widely influential theory in contemporary political philosophy, social justice, development studies, studies on poverty and inequality, and in public policy. It was formulated by Sen and further developed by Martha Nussbaum (Palatty, 2009).

The capability of a person is that which "reflects the alternative combinations of functioning the person achieves and from which he/she can choose one collection. Capability is determined by the different lifestyles that an individual can choose. A capability is a person's ability to do valuable acts or to reach valuable states of being. It represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be. Thus, capabilities represent various combinations of functioning. It is also a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting a person's freedom to lead one type of life or another (Sen, 1995).

Capabilities of a person depend on a variety of factors, namely, personal characteristics and social arrangements. That is to say, capabilities as real opportunities engulf personal abilities as well as societal opportunities such as safety nets, social facilities, and economic opportunities. This combination produces a capability set which refers to the various available functioning from which the person can freely choose. A set of capabilities depicts one's freedom to choose from possible livings. A set of capabilities presents a larger menu of real opportunities unlike functioning which present one of the available choices in the capacity set (Sen, 1995).

The concept of functioning is derived from the verb 'to function' which generally means to be involved in an activity. Functioning is an achievement of people, that is, what they manage or succeed to be or to do (Sen, 1999).

Functioning are physical or mental states (beings) and activities (doings) that allow people to participate in the life of their society. Functioning range from elementary physical states like being well-nourished, being in good health, being clothed and sheltered, avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality, being literate, to the most complex social achievements such as being happy, taking part in the life of the community, having self-respect or being able to appear in the public without shame, participation in social and political life (Sen, 1995).

Capabilities and functioning are closely related to each other, but they are distinct: A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functioning are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead (Sen, 1987).

Agency refers to the various ways in which persons themselves act and exercise their choice to achieve valuable states of being; this includes the achievement of goals and fulfillment of commitments and obligations, the outcomes of which need not be advantageous to the agents themselves. Agency freedom concentrates on what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important (Sen, 2000).

The achievement can be judged in terms of one's own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria. Therefore, a responsible agent can decide what he/she should achieve. This implies that agency is a person's ability to act on behalf of what he/she values and has reason to value (Sen, 2000).

Well-being freedom and agency freedom in human development are very important in our day to day life. The well-being is important in the context of social arrangements and for making public provisions for security and so on, and the agency aspect of freedom is more concerned with responsibility towards others. Thus, agency aspect relates to what people can undertake to achieve public provisions through individual, collective political and social action. This requires inclusion of institutions in the development arena other than the state and market (Palatty, 2009).

2.7.5 Rights Based Approach

Respecting human rights is not only a legal obligation and a legitimate aspiration of all human beings but also a pre-condition for our societies to grow and prosper in peace and security. In the exercise of their national sovereignty, states may determine who enters and remains within their territory. Entering a country in violation of its immigration laws does not deprive migrants of the fundamental human rights provided by human rights instruments..... nor does it affect the obligation of states to protect migrants in an irregular situation (UNHCHR,2016).

International migration has tended to be seen primarily in development terms, as a response to disparities in income levels and employment opportunities between countries. Unemployment and poverty are often indicated as the main ‘push factors’ which impel individuals to leave their home countries, and cross border differences in wage levels and employment opportunities are among the ‘pull factors’ which direct them to more developed economies (UNHCHR,2016).

Less attention has been paid to the role of human rights during the migration process or to the ways in which a lack of respect for human rights of migrants reduces their ability to contribute to development. Unless migration is also approached through this perspective, two difficulties arise: first – and self-evidently – that the protection of migrants’ rights is not given priority; secondly, that where migration is seen only in economic terms, migrants may come to be regarded as commodities, rather than as individuals entitled to the full enjoyment of their human rights. Human rights and human development are thus ‘close enough in motivation and concern to be compatible and congruous, and they are different enough in strategy and design to complement each other fruitfully (UNHCHR, 2016).

There is also a complementary relationship between the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination, and strategies which focus on equity and equal opportunity: both assist development by giving all members of society similar chances to become economically productive. Thus, from a development perspective, greater equity in the long term underpins faster political, social, economic and cultural rights as a serious obstacle to development. Thus, policies recognizing the close relationship between human rights and development are needed to address the underlying causes of migration (UNHCHR, 2016).

Rights-based approaches to development take as their foundation the need to promote and protect human rights (those rights that have been recognized by the global community and are protected by international legal instruments). These include economic, social and cultural as well as civil and political rights, all of which are interdependent. Running through the rights-based approach are concerns with empowerment and participation, and with the elimination of discrimination on any grounds (DFID, 1999).

Rights-based and sustainable livelihood approaches are complementary perspectives that seek to achieve many of the same goals. The primary focus of the rights perspective is on linkages between public institutions and civil society and, particularly, on how to increase the accountability of public institutions to all citizens. From this starting point the approach then tries to identify the specific constraints which prevent the realization of people's rights and consequently the improvement of their livelihoods on a sustainable basis (DFID, 1999).

2.7.6 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Livelihood studies were brought to the center stage of development studies in the late 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium, when the so-called Sustainable Livelihood Framework was strongly promoted by the Department for International Development (DFID), the British state development cooperation agency. It was part of an attempt of the New Labor government to design a set of distinguishable policies that would profile the Blair administration as builder of the 'Third Way' between the rusted labor ideology of the past and the neo-liberal ideology of the preceding conservative administration. Sustainable Livelihoods became the core of DFID's poverty alleviation policy (Solesbury, 2003a, b).

DFID explicitly aimed at "a refocus on assistance to the poor". The pro-active, self-help image of the poor in Sustainable Livelihoods thinking fit very well with the image that the new Blair administration wanted to demonstrate (Geiser, et al. (2011b). As a consequence, DFID initiated a large number of new research projects and policy debates on the subject in collaboration with a

number of British think-tanks and research groups and started to finance development interventions based on that (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005).

A series of ‘core concepts’ is defined. Firstly, the approach is ‘people-centered’, in that the making of policy is based on understanding the realities of struggle of poor people themselves, on the principle of their participation in determining priorities for practical intervention, and on their need to influence the institutional structures and processes that govern their lives. Secondly, it is ‘holistic’ in that it is ‘non-sectoral’ and recognizes multiple influences, multiple actors, multiple strategies and multiple outcomes. Thirdly, it is ‘dynamic’ in that it attempts to understand change, complex cause-and-effect relationships and ‘iterative chains of events’. Fourthly, it starts with analysis of strengths rather than of needs, and seeks to build on everyone’s inherent potential. Fifthly, it attempts to ‘bridge the gap’ between macro- and micro-levels. Sixthly, it is committed explicitly to several different dimensions of sustainability: environmental, economic, social and institutional. Conflicts between these dimensions are, however, recognized (Murray, 2001).

Chambers and Conway (1992) discuss not just the complexity and diversity of individual livelihoods, but also the social and environmental sustainability of livelihoods in general. They suggest a measure of ‘net sustainable livelihoods’, which encompasses ‘the number of environmentally and socially sustainable livelihoods that provide a living in a context less their negative effects on the benefits and sustainability of the totality of other livelihoods everywhere’ (Chambers and Conway 1992).

Sustainable livelihoods are about getting institutional and organizational settings appropriately, and the framework should guide the questions to be asked towards achieving this end (Scoones, 1998).

The following table showcases the sustainable livelihood framework adapted by DFID.

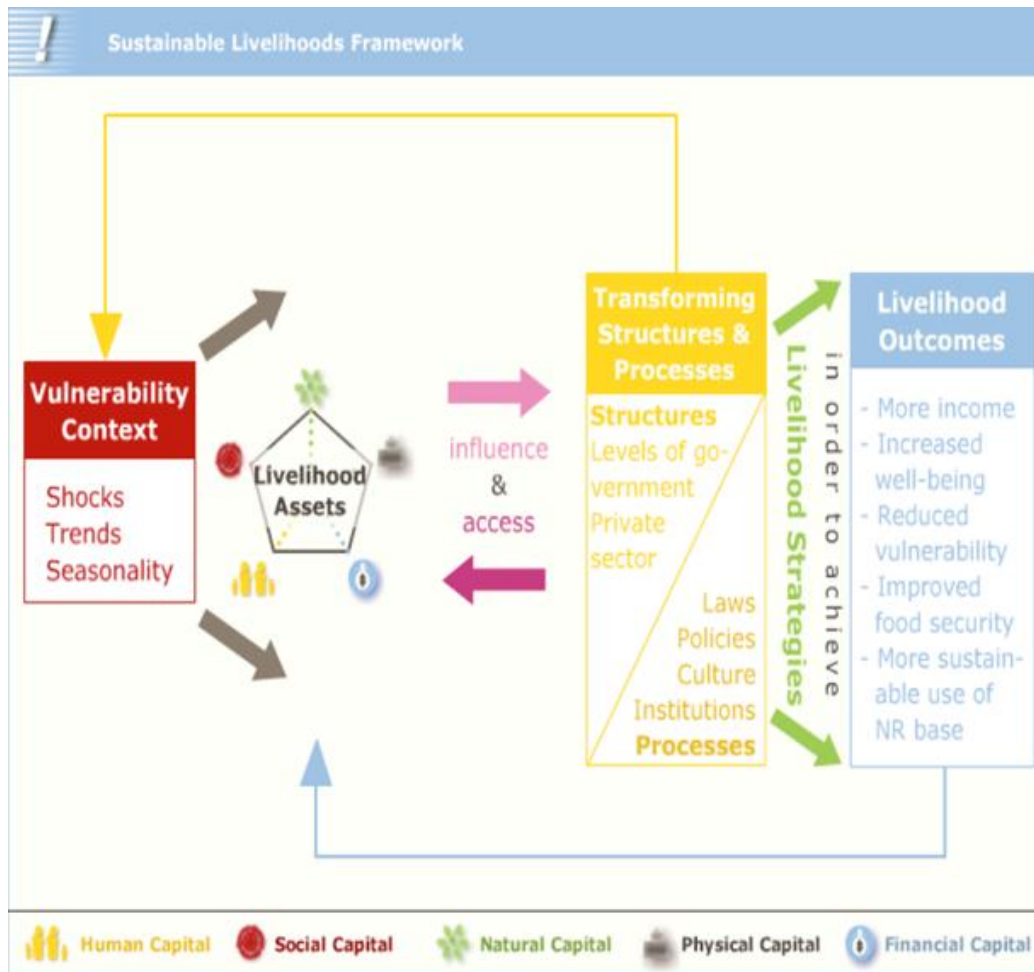


Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

2.7.7. Extended Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

According to Scoones (2015), in Extended Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Four core questions can be asked. These include:

- Who owns what (or who has access to what)? This relates to questions of property and ownership of livelihood assets and resources.
- Who does what? This relates to the social divisions of labor, the distinctions between those employing and employed, as well as to divisions based on gender.
- Who gets what? This relates to questions of income and assets, and patterns of accumulation over time, and so to processes of social and economic differentiation.

- What do they do with it? This relates to the array of livelihood strategies and their consequences as reflected in patterns of consumption, social reproduction, savings and investment.
- How do social classes and groups in society and within the state interact with each other? This focuses on the social relations, institutions and forms of domination in society and between citizens and the state as they affect livelihoods.
- How do changes in politics get shaped by dynamic ecologies and vice versa? This relates to questions of political ecology, and to how environmental dynamics influence livelihoods. These in turn are shaped by livelihood activities through patterns of resource access and entitlement.

2.8. Review of the Ethiopian Refugee Policy Framework

Ethiopia has hosted refugees from neighboring countries for decades, and 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 (Assefaw, 2006).

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 the 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 (Assefaw, 2006).

Various legal instruments deal with refugee issues in Ethiopia. The main national instrument concerning refugees is Proclamation No. 409/2004, which adopted many of the provisions of the 1951 Refugee convention and the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention. Moreover, Immigration Proclamation No 354/2002 and Security, Immigration and Refugee Affairs Authority

Establishment Proclamation No 6/1995 may also constitute additional national instruments to understand how the refugee situation in Ethiopia is handled (Abdulmelik, 2017).

Other domestic laws that may have considerable impact on the protection of asylum seekers and refugees in Ethiopia also included the 1994 FDRE Constitution, Proclamation No 378/2003 on Ethiopian Nationality and Immigration Council of Ministers Regulation No 114/2004. The constitution contains several provisions applicable to ‘everyone’ or ‘all persons ‘within the jurisdiction of Ethiopia regardless of their legal status(that is whether they are refugees or not). In the same vein, proclamation No. 378/2003 has rules governing circumstances where ‘any foreigner’-that is theoretically includes refugees-may acquire Ethiopian nationality, and Regulation No. 114/2004 provides for rules concerning travel documents for refugees (Zelalem,2017).

Although Ethiopia has always been a safe haven to asylum seekers and refugees, it never had a comprehensive legal framework to manage issues of refugees for a long time until the Ethiopian parliament decided to enact the Refugee Proclamation No. 409/2004 in June 2004. Prior to this time, Ethiopia simply had neither concrete national policies nor rules to regulate situations of asylum seekers and refugees (Zelalem, 2017).

Given the country’s long history of welcoming and thousands of refugees and its membership to the major international refugee instruments, this lack of domestic legal regime was astonishing and unfortunate, as refugees sometimes ended up being victims of treatments that fell short of international standards. With the dramatic increase of the number of refugees coming from neighboring countries in the late 1990s and the country having faced the inevitable administrative problems in handling asylum applications during the first years of the 21st century, the enactment of the Refugee Proclamation thus came as no surprise. The enactment of the Refugee Proclamation was the culmination of a long legislative process and the result of extensive efforts made by the Ethiopian government to come up with a national law that would incorporate the main universal and regional refugee protection norms into domestic law (Zelalem, 2017).

In 2016, Ethiopia co-hosted the Leaders’ Summit on Refugees, where it made nine ambitious pledges to improve the lives and livelihoods of refugees and host communities in the country.

Among its pledges, the government committed to: expand its out of camp policy; provide work permits to refugees; increase enrolment of refugee children in school; make irrigable land available to refugees; allow local integration of refugees who have lived in Ethiopia for more than 20 years; work with international partners to build industrial parks and generate jobs for refugees and hosts; expand and enhance basic and essential social services for refugees; and provide other benefits including birth certificates, bank accounts, and the option of obtaining a driver's license (UNHCR, 2018).

In February 2017, the government agreed to be one of the first pilots for the CRRF, which serves as the vehicle through which these commitments are expected to be realized. Importantly, the pledges not only align with the goals of the CRRF, but also with the government's national development plan, the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II), which sets the long-term goal of becoming a middle-income country by 2023 (UNHCR, 2018).

In 2019, Ethiopia enacted a new Refugee Proclamation No. 1110/2019 which gives righteous benefits for refugees and asylum seekers. The proclamation grant the refugees with the right to movement, access to education, justice, health care service, and employment, right to acquisition and transfer of property, drivers qualification certification license, own identity paper and travel document, access to banking and financial services, access to telecommunication services and vital events registration (FDRE, 2019).

The following are some of the major righteous benefits mentioned in the new proclamation.

Access to Education

- 1/ 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.
- 2/ Every recognized refugee and asylum-seeker may have access to 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.
- 3/ Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers may receive the most favorable treatment as accorded to foreign nationals in respect to education other than primary education, in

particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships.

Access to Health Services

Every recognized refugee and asylum seeker shall have access to available health services in Ethiopia.

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 favorable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws.
- 2/ Every recognized refugee and asylum-seeker shall have the right to engage, on his own account, including, in agriculture, industry, small and micro enterprise, handicrafts and commerce, and to establish business organizations, in the same circumstance as the most favorable 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 favorable 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 agriculture, environmental protection, industry and small and micro enterprises, shall be given equal treatment as accorded to Ethiopian nationals engaged in the same projects.
- 5/ A recognized refugee or asylum-seeker selected to engage in the projects indicated under sub-Article 4 of this Article may be issued with a residence permit, subject to renewal every five year.
- 6/ There shall not be any discrimination between recognized refugees or asylum-seekers and Ethiopian nationals who are engaged in activities stipulated under this Article.

- 7/ 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.
- 8/ Restrictive measures imposed, by applicable laws, on employment of foreign nationals for the protection of the national labor market shall not be applicable to recognized refugee or asylum seeker who has completed three years residence in Ethiopia or is married to Ethiopian national or has one or more child in possession of Ethiopian nationality.
- 9/ Notwithstanding this Article, any recognized refugee or asylum-seeker shall have no right to be employed on regular basis in the National Defense, Security, Foreign Affairs and other similar political establishments.

The Right to Association

Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers have the right to association, as regards non-political and non-profit making associations and trade unions in the same circumstances as the most favorable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws.

Freedom of Movement

- 1/ Subject to laws applicable to foreign nationals generally in the same circumstances, every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker has, within the national territory, the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence, as well the freedom to leave the country at any time he wishes to.
- 2/ Notwithstanding Sub-Article (1) of this Article, the Agency may arrange places or areas within which refugee and asylum-seekers may live. The arranged residence place shall be located at a reasonable distance from the border of the country of origin or former habitual residence of the recognized refugees and asylum-seekers.

The Right to Acquisition and Transfer of Property

- 1/ Recognized refugees and asylum seekers shall be entitled to the most favorable treatment accorded to foreign nationals as regards acquisition of movable or immovable property, to leases and other contracts relating to the property.

- 2/ Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers shall be treated in the same circumstance as Ethiopian nationals as regards intellectual property rights including patent, copy right and neighboring rights, trademarks, industrial designs, and other similar rights contained in other applicable laws.
- 3/ Without prejudice to provisions of applicable Customs laws regarding prohibited and restricted imports, asylum seekers shall be allowed to bring their assets and property to Ethiopia free of tariff at the time of their first admission to Ethiopia.
- 4/ Without prejudice to provisions of applicable laws regarding prohibited and restricted exports, recognized refugees or asylum-seekers, when leaving Ethiopia to their country of origin or third country, shall be allowed to take assets or property they brought to Ethiopia or have acquired in Ethiopia.

Right to Access to Justice

- 1/ Every recognized refugee and asylum-seeker shall have the same right as nationals as regard to bringing any justifiable matter to, and to obtain a decision or judgment by, the court or any other competent body with judicial power.
- 2/ Every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker may have access to free legal counseling or assistance provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or in accordance with the laws of Ethiopia.

Driver's Qualification Certification License

- 1/ Subject to fulfilling the requirements stipulated in provisions of applicable laws, every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker in possession of a valid foreign or international driving license recognized by the Government of Ethiopia may apply for and be issued with an equivalent driver's qualification certification license in Ethiopia.
- 2/ To assist in obtaining an equivalent driver's qualification certification license pursuant to Sub-Article (1) of this Article, the recognized refugee or asylum-seeker may be exempted from requirements applicable to persons holding valid foreign or international driving license

pursuant to relevant laws provided that the refugee is willing to take the necessary training or tests, as may be required.

3/ Notwithstanding provisions of other laws to the contrary, every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker has the right to apply to acquire an Ethiopian driver's qualification license using his refugee identification documents subject to fulfilling the necessary requirements stipulated under relevant provisions of applicable laws.

Identity Paper and Travel Document

1/ Every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker shall be issued with identity paper attesting to his identity.

2/ Every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker shall be entitled to a travel document for the purpose of travel outside Ethiopia up on written application to the Agency.

3/ The preparation, validity and issuance of refugee travel documents as well as other relevant details thereto of recognized refugees and asylum-seekers shall be determined in accordance with immigration laws as well as applicable international instruments.

Access to Banking Services

Every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker has the right to open a personal bank account, deposit, transfer or withdraw money and obtain other banking services using identification document issued by the Service.

Access to Telecommunication Services

Every recognized refugee or asylum-seeker has the right to access telecommunication services using the identification document issued by the Agency.

Rationing

Where a rationing system exists, which regulates the general distribution of products in short supply, recognized refugees and asylum-seekers shall be accorded the same treatment as nationals.

Vital Events Registration

Every refugee or asylum-seeker shall be treated in the same circumstances as nationals with respect to the registration and issuance of certificate of registration of vital events, in accordance with applicable laws.

Fiscal Charges

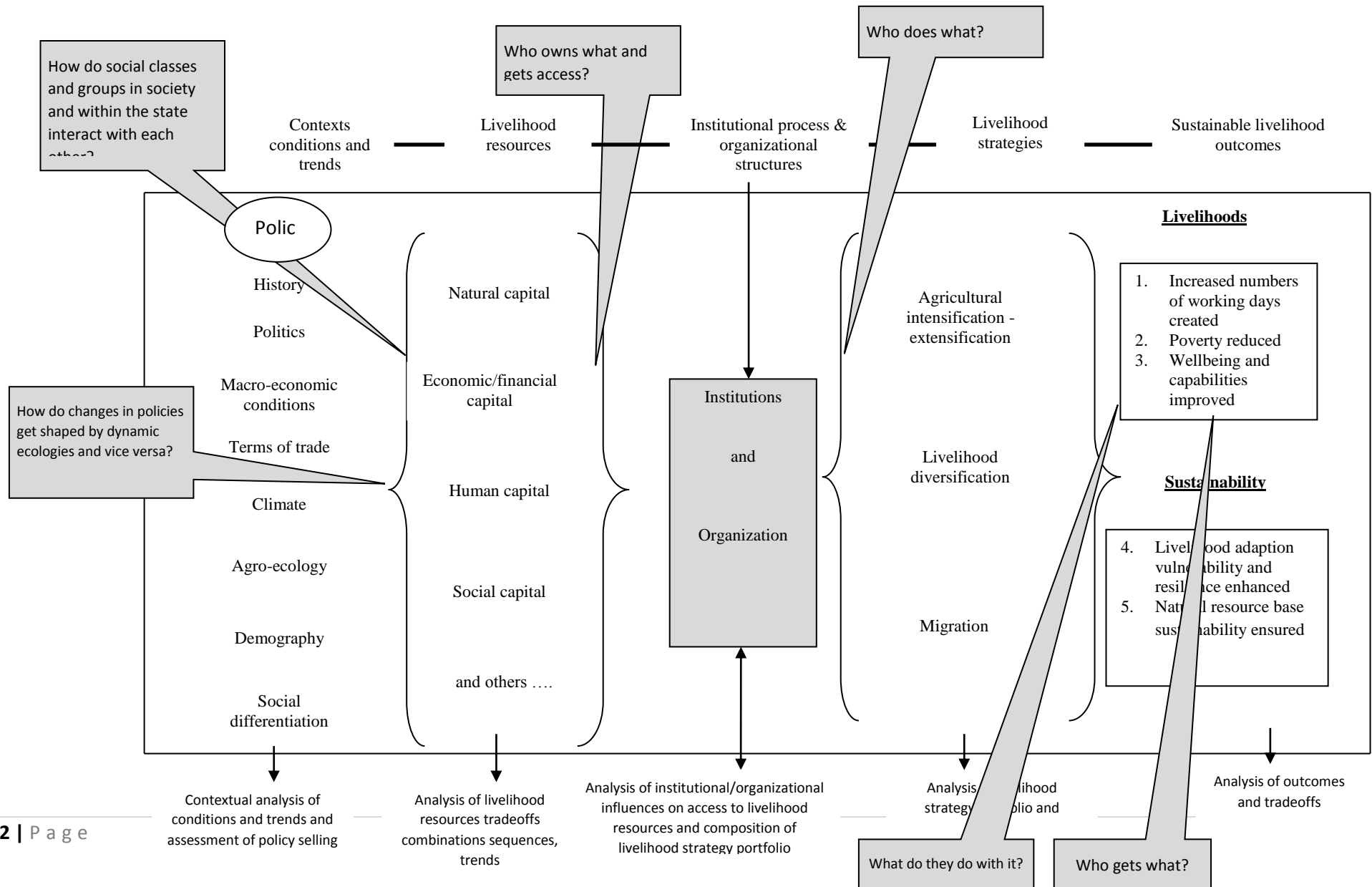
- 1/ Recognized refugees and asylum-seekers shall not be subject to imposition of any duty, charge or tax, of any description whatsoever, higher than imposed on nationals in the same circumstances.
- 2/ Without prejudice, refugees and asylum-seekers shall be entitled to have identity documents, travel documents, exit visas and similar services free of charge.

2.9 Conceptual Framework of the Study

As McGaghie et al. (2001) put it: The conceptual framework “sets the stage” for the presentation of the particular research question that drives the investigation being reported based on the problem statement. The problem statement of a thesis presents the context and the issues that caused the researcher to conduct the study. The variables that this study focused on were challenges and opportunities of Urban Refugee livelihoods. The challenges of Urban refugee livelihoods include: Regulatory and policy factors, high cost of living, security issues, lack of protection, lack of permission to work, and financial factors. The opportunities include availability of the new Refugee proclamation, availability of Supportive Policy Frameworks among others.

The following diagram represents the conceptual framework of the study.

Figure 2: An extended livelihoods framework [from Scoones, 1998] cited in Scoones (2015)



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter has focused on literature review by identifying conceptual and theoretical frameworks for the study. This chapter deals with research methodology used in this paper. It begins with the description of research approach and design to be followed by description of the study area. Then, the chapter presents methods of data collection and analysis employed in this study. The final part of this chapter discusses ethical issues used during data collection and write-up of the thesis.

3.1 Research Approach

This research uses qualitative research method. Catherine (2007) notes that this kind of research is conducted in the dynamic social environments where subjects of study are human beings and their interactions, the qualitative approach found to be more appropriate strategy to answer research inquiry. Qualitative methodology is about understanding personal experience, phenomenon and detailed understanding of processes in the social world (Kalof et al., 2008; Dawson, 2002). Taking the above ideas in to consideration the researcher used qualitative approach to grasp the attitude of respondents regarding the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in Addis Ababa and to analyze the data collected from respondents. Therefore, the research context, purpose, and nature of research study push the researcher to select qualitative approach. These all aforementioned issues are being the rational for the researcher to use this research approach.

3.2 Research Design

Based up on the objective of the research, descriptive type of research design is used. Due to the fact that the research will be conducted for the partial fulfillment of graduate study, this research will employ descriptive research design, because the data will be conducted once to describe trends, contexts, livelihood strategies, and livelihood opportunities as well as challenges of urban refugees. Writers such as Catherine (2007) asserted that the qualitative research design is used to explore attitudes, experiences and an in-depth opinion from participants, and emphasis on the interpretation of observations in accordance with subjects 'own understandings.

For the purpose of exploring refugee's reaction to the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods, qualitative research method was employed. Qualitative research helps to

explore individuals' lives, experiences, behaviors, emotions and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations (Creswell, 2009). This research method also makes more sense in answering the basic research questions and objectives of the proposed study. In addition to this, qualitative research method, specifically phenomenological approach was found more applicable method for gathering data on the basis of human lived experience. The phenomenological approach is exploratory in nature and, as such seeks to describe a particular phenomenon from those with first-hand experience with the phenomenon. The description of the experience should be as free from unexamined presuppositions on the part of the researcher as is possible (Kalof et al., 2008).

Taking the above ideas into consideration, the researcher used qualitative approach to grasp the attitude of respondents regarding the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in Addis Ababa and to analyze the data collected from respondents.

3.3. Sampling Method and Techniques

The researcher used non-probability sampling method and specifically purposive sampling technique as the study is conducted in Addis Ababa around areas where many of urban refugees especially those from GLR residing in Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo.

A purposive sampling technique was employed to select interviewees. Even though there are urban refugees that live in Addis Ababa from many countries in East and Central Africa, this research purposively selects refugees from GLR. In order to access the subject of the research, such as interviewee, the researcher chooses study sites such as Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo. Because information obtained from ARRA officials indicates that large number of GLR urban refugees mostly live in these areas.

As of May 2020, the total number of refugees from GLR is 719. Accordingly, 20 in-depth interviews of urban refugees from GLR (10 from DRC, five Burundians, three Rwandans, one Tanzanian and one Ugandan), 5 key informant interviews (2 each from ARRA and JRS, and 1 from DICAC), and 5 key informant interviews with the officials from local authority and 20 interviewees were selected to conduct in -depth interview with hosting community member from Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa, Yeka Abado and Jemo areas. A total of 50 Interviewees were participated. Related with the areas, refugees from GLR who are residing

at Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo. Key informants were from Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA), DICAC and JRS, one each from Bole sub city Woreda 11 and Yeka sub city Woreda 10 administration, two from community members, and neighbors and two each from ARRA and Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) and 1 from DICAC were selected to get necessary information.

The following table summarizes the sample size to be taken for this research from is Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo areas.

Table 1: Number of GLR refugee population and selected informants by neighborhood

Respondents by Area	Total population	Total sample size	Remark
DRC refugees	446 refugees	10	
Burundian refugees	55 refugees	5	
Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda refugees	218 refugees	5	
Host community members from Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula, Bole Arabsa and Jemmo areas	---	20	
ARRA, JRS, DICAC and Woreda officials from three sub cities	-----	10	(2 each from ARRA and JRS, and1 from DICAC), and 5 from Woreda officials
Total	719	50	

3.4. Sources of Data

For the purpose of this research, the researcher employed both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources mainly include empirical data gathered through in-depth and key-informant interviews from the study area of local government officials, Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affairs officials, urban refugees, house renters, employers and neighbors.

3.5. Methods of Data Collection

Interview was the major data collection technique employed. Accordingly, unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the two types of interviews used to collect appropriate information. Unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the two types of interview used by the researcher. Since semi-structured interview provides the interviewees with great leeway to reflect perceptions with the regard to the issue freely while fairly directed towards the specific topic to be covered, it's found appropriate to the study. While Unstructured is more open and give freedom for informants to say what they like (Bryman, 2012).

The fact that the research approach is qualitative, interview guide was just used as data collection tool. The researcher has prepared interview guide questions to help the conversation framed. Based up on the objective of the research, lists of questions were prepared to guide the general however, probing questions were used in order to explore and get intensive information about the life of urban refugees. In the middle of the interview and telephone conversations, the research used to raise more questions to find out the exact information which is assumed to increase the trustworthiness of the research.

Therefore, in order to address the basic questions of the study the researcher used in-depth interview, semi-structured interview and key informant interview. In-depth interview enables the researchers to gain insights about people`s opinion, feelings, emotions and experiences in detail. In light with my basic research questions, the researcher has prepared semi-structured in-depth interview question to explore the views of the respondent by preparing some semi-structured questions which covered the major themes of the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in the study area.

3.6. Methods of Data Analysis

In order to finalize the research work, data analysis has an indispensable role. Based on the research approach, research design and objectives of the research, thematic analysis technique was employed. Data collected through in-depth interview and key informant interview as well as secondary sources were analyzed thematically. First, the recorded data through interview was transcribed with the original language collected. Then, the transcribed data was translated into English. This was followed by data reduction by which data has been reduced into themes and analyzed accordingly. The data analysis begins in categorizing and

putting data into theme-the data with regards to the challenges and opportunities of urban refugee livelihoods in the study area.

Furthermore, the data gathered from different documents were analyzed in the form of narration. The data gathered through interview is analyzed on how the participants experience on the phenomena under study.

3.7. Trustworthiness of the Research

Triangulation of data collection techniques and instruments, getting approval of the data collection tools by the advisor, researcher's commitment for empirical research which help the research only depend on the actual life of the research participant, and following scientific as well as ethical standard of the research helped to keep the research valid.

Key informant interview and in-depth interview data were used to triangulate and get holistic information from different sources like officials, partners, refugees, and hosting community. In addition, the data collection tools were reviewed by peers and approved by immediate advisor confirming the tools address to answer the objectives of the research. The other thing the researcher was concerned to keep the research trustworthy was using empirical research. Every information and literature mentioned are properly sited and acknowledged. Furthermore, following scientific as well as ethical standard of the research was another factor considered for the validity of the research. Scientific procedures stating from getting support letter from the university, communication officials and other including preparing informed consent were contributing factors to get empirical data from the intended research subjects.

3.8. Ethical Consideration

Careful attention has been given to meet the basic ethical principles of research. The research participants were asked their willingness to be part of the research. Once the research participants agreed, the researcher initially explained what the research is all about including the aim of the research and about the role the participants have in the research. The researcher has prepared informed consent which was signed by the participants once they confirm their participation. They were also told the right to withdraw anytime if they wanted and/or skip any part of the questions.

In terms of the confidentiality and anonymity of the research, the researcher was very curious of not using names of any participant's personal information that could expose the identity of the interviewee as well as the discussants. The researcher either used pseudo names or just simple narration without stating their names. The identity of the participants was treated anonymous in data analysis and in reporting the study to protect the privacy of the participants.

Information collected from the interviewees as well as discussants kept secret and disposed immediately after completing the report writing. In addition, the researcher was curious of using literatures with appropriate reference and citation.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Ethiopia as Refugee Receiving Nation

Ethiopia has hosted refugees from neighboring countries for decades, and 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 (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 (IRC, 2018).

With a less- strict refugee policy than neighboring states, and its peace and stability, Ethiopia attracts refugees from various nationalities. As of May 2020, Ethiopia was hosting close to a million refugees residing in various refugee camps scattered throughout the country mainly in Somali, Tigray, Gambella and Benishanghul-Gumuz regional states. Quite few refugees of Kenyan Borena origin live in Oromia region, some 100 kms. away from the Ethio-Kenyan border town of Moyale (ARRA,2020).

In February 2017, the government agreed to be one of the first pilots for the CRRF, which serves as the vehicle through which these commitments are expected to be realized. Importantly, the pledges not only align with the goals of the CRRF, but also with the government's national development plan, the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II), which sets the long-term goal of becoming a middle-income country by 2023. The government of Ethiopia has taken critical steps to fulfill its pledge to issue birth certificates to children of refugees born in Ethiopia—an essential step to their accessing a number of rights related to education, employment and access to health care. The government's Federal Vital Events Registration Agency (FVERA) and ARRA conducted a joint assessment in late 2016 to determine how to include refugee children in the national registration system. Following this assessment, the agencies proposed an amendment to Ethiopia's legal framework for the registration of vital events, Proclamation 760/2012, which requires Ethiopians to record major events (e.g., births, deaths, marriages, etc.) with the government. The amendment,

which was passed by Parliament in July 2017, enables ARRA to record and register vital events within the national structure (IRC, 2018; UNHCR, 2018).

The government of Ethiopia reaffirms its commitment to continue availing the necessary protection to refugees and is dedicated to the implementation of the internationally set refugee protection and assistance principles and other provisions as per the standards (MoFA, 2017). In addition, the government has currently revisited its 2004 proclamation to ensure that laws and regulations enable the country to meet its other commitments, including revisions to the out of camp policy. The countries progress toward protecting the refugees including the opportunities related to the new proclamation will be discussed in detail under discussion part of this study.

4.2. General Profile of Refuges VS urban Refugees in Ethiopia

4.2.1. Refugees in Ethiopia

Table 2: Total population of refugees in Ethiopia from 2012-2018

Year	Countries of Origin					Total
	South Sudan	Somalia	Eritrea	Sudan	Others	
2012	60,597	223,452	64,384	26,511	3,788	378,732
2013	70,457	246,600	83,668	35,229	4,404	440,357
2014	252,605	245,957	126,302	33,237	6,647	664,749
2015	278,785	249,439	154,065	36,682	14,673	733,644
2016	341,128	237,996	166,597	39,666	7,933	793,321
2017	421,400	253,800	164,600	43,900	7,507	889,400

Source: UNHCR (2017) Ethiopia fact sheet

As indicated above, the total number of the refugee by the year 2017 is about 889,400. However, information obtained from Agency for refugees and returnees Affair indicates that this number increased to 950,000 refugees in Ethiopia as of 2020. Currently, there are 26 refugee camps where the refugees are placed, located in different part of the country.

In terms of the pattern of migration, it is indicated that the number of refugees has been increasing from time to time. As a result, the number of refugees in general and urban refugees in particular has been increased dramatically in Ethiopia. Ethiopia hosts refugees

from different countries including South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan. These countries are the top most contributors chronologically.

4.2.2. Urban Refugees

In Ethiopia, there are 26 refugee camps where the refugees are placed. These camps are located in different parts of the country including Tigray, Somali, BenishangulGumuz, Gambella, Afar and Addis Ababa. It is known that as soon as asylum seekers crossed Ethiopian border, they had to go through series of screening processes at the entry points and reception centers. After the screening process is over, they had to move to the reception centers in some areas and to the designated camps. Accordingly, ARRA in collaboration with the local as well as international non- governmental organizations provide basic and social services like water, food, shelter, healthcare, non-food items, education, and other services. This is the usual ways how the government receives and allows the refugees to live here in Ethiopia (ARRA, 2018).

Table 3: Total population of urban refugees in Ethiopia from 2014-2018

Year	Countries of origin of the urban refugees					Total
	Eritrea	Somalia	South Sudan	Sudan	Others	
2014	1439	147	479	218	344	4427
2015	3681	3763	1963	349	478	10234
2016	4519	5980	2178	612	578	13891
2017	5034	5701	2198	783	621	14337
2018	14122	18279	3872	1286	756	38315

Source: (ARRA, 2018)

4.2.3. The Great Lakes Region

The Great Lake Region consists of countries in east and central Africa (Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Uganda, and Tanzania), forming a complex network of political and economic interactions with implications for peace issues, security and governance. The Bantu Swahili language is the most commonly spoken language in the GLR. It also serves as a national or official language in Tanzania, Uganda and the DRC. Kinyarwanda is also another local language commonly spoken in eastern and northern DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. “The similarity of historical background in the GLR countries (colonial matters, ethnicity, and poverty) involves almost all countries in similar conflict. That means that those countries

share borders and share conflict impacts as well. And sometimes their implications in certain conflicts in that region lead to explosive situations” (Vorrath, 2011, pp.2). Since the 1990s, we have seen some of the worst civil wars in the region with no tangible peace prevailing. “Civil wars in Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC, and Uganda were mutually reinforcing and strongly linked in a regional conflict formation that at times seemed almost impossible to break up.” (Vorrath, 2011, pp.3)

4.2.4. Urban Refugees from the Great Lakes Region

Currently, Addis Ababa accommodates over 4,000 urban refugees. Quite more than 1,500 of them live as part of the government initiated ‘out of camp’ program targeting Eritrean refugees who enjoy staying in Addis Ababa with relatives/friends or by themselves. Refugees living in Addis Ababa (who are of the target population of this study) having urban refugee status number a little over 4,500 by the beginning of April 2020. The number of urban refugees continues to swell. Many leave camps due to various reasons, most importantly a city appeals better opportunity not found in camps as described by many participants of key informant interviews.

According to figures from DICAC, by the beginning of April 2020, there are a total of 4,542 urban refugees of various nationalities living in Addis Ababa who came mainly from Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, Yemen, Djibouti, and the GLR. The figure, however, doesn’t include other types of refugees who live as part of an out of camp program, initiated by the government, benefiting mainly Eritrean refugees.

Urban refugees of the GLR living in Addis Ababa are specifically coming from the DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania. This group of refugees could easily be identified; for they are few in numbers compared to Eritreans, Somalis and Sudanese and a relatively distinct physique and complexion. They are not the most difficult group to distinguish unlike Eritreans, Sudanese and Somalis, as the refugees may have physical features and relatively visible cultural markers and complexion that easily differentiate them from Ethiopians.

Refugees from the region often speak Bantu languages that have words in common with Swahili such as Kinyarwanda where several of the refugees speak in their own countries. Kinyarwanda is commonly spoken in eastern and northern DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. Refugee population of GLR origin living in Addis Ababa make up 16% of the total refugee population having urban refugee status. According to DICAC’s April 2020 figures, the

number of GLR urban refugee population totals 719, of which 176 are women. The age limit of the population ranges from a two months old baby as old as a woman of 114 years. Refugees from the DRC top the list with 86.4% followed by Burundians, Rwandese and Ugandans, respectively.

The following table illustrates the total number of Urban Refugees of Various Nationalities living in Addis Ababa. (DICAC, April 2020)

Table 4: Urban refugees of the Great Lakes Region (DICAC, April, 2020)

NO.	Countries of Origin	Sex		Total
		M	F	
1.	Burundi	4	51	55
2.	DRC	104	342	446
3.	Rwanda	102	38	140
4.	Tanzania	21	4	25
5.	Uganda	43	9	53
Grand Total		274	445	719

4.3. Flight Stories: Preference to Migrate to Ethiopia

Prior to inquiring the social integration and livelihoods of the study participants, it was also the purpose of the research to know why the refugees chose Ethiopia as their destination to seek asylum. When asked to explain why they preferred coming to Ethiopia rather than staying in neighboring countries, some said they wanted to distant themselves from the danger and the threat which they said the ‘enemy’ originating from their countries of origin that can trace and hunt them if they were still staying in adjacent neighboring countries like Rwanda for those who flee from Burundi or DRC. Hence, they opted to seek refuge in a relatively distant lands like Ethiopia, in which, for most of them, was a twist of fate to end up in Addis Ababa.

A Burundian lady said that she preferred moving to Ethiopia because she wanted to avoid the enemy by migrating to a far place. Others said, particularly those coming from Tutsi dominated areas; they had no previous knowledge about Ethiopia but have had once heard that the origin of the ethnic group to whom they belong have had some ties with the land Ethiopia.

We sometimes used trucks and for some short distances travelling on foot. We wanted to go far from the enemy because Uganda, DRC and Rwanda are close to Burundi. That is why we chose Ethiopia. We have no any idea about Ethiopia. I just moved and ended up in Ethiopia. As a Tutsi, what I only knew about Ethiopia is that we used to hear that the origin of Tutsi is from Ethiopia. (Burundian, In-depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

Quite some of the participants have previously stayed in Kenya which helped them know about neighboring Ethiopia before making the decision to move on to Addis Ababa.

I did not know about Ethiopia. Even I never knew about Ethiopia. It was until I met somebody in Kenya that told me saying that it would be safer for me to stay in Ethiopia. That is how I came. I had personal political problem back home. I came in 2006. (A Rwandese Refugee, In-depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

Another Congolese refugee woman in her mid-30s adds to the Tutsi-Ethiopian connection.

For me, it was because of someone I met in Kenya who told me that I better go to Ethiopia. I remember the woman saying 'you are like Ethiopia' because I am Tutsi. As a Tutsi myself, though I can be safe in Kenya, people can still chase you. I just only stayed for a month in Kenya. There in Kenya, you can't even trust the police. While staying in East Leigh neighborhood in Nairobi where Somali refugees live, I got the idea that I can go by bus. That is why I decided. (A Rwandese Refugee, In- depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

The need for security and safety in their attempt to find a safe place to settle has also been the reason for many to remain staying in Addis Ababa once their luck made them end up in Ethiopia. One ARRA official says that “refugees living in Ethiopia feel relatively safe and secure; there is no state driven xenophobia or hatred against the refugee populations against the GLR, and against any other categories.”

Refugees coming from the GLR mention various reasons for their displacement. Some are here because of natural disasters while others due to “political persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, being member of a particular social group

4.4. Why Refugees Choose to Live in Addis Ababa?

The number of urban refugees in Addis Ababa is the largest which constitute more than 22885. In the previous OCP as well as the current refugees' proclamation, the refugees have the right to use those privileges and rights in both rural and urban areas. The total number of urban refugees is being increased in urban areas. This is due to the fact that urban centers are attractions of employment opportunity and better access to social services (ARRA, 2019).

Table 5: Total population of urban refugees in Addis Ababa from 2015-2018

Year	Countries of origin of the urban refugees					Total
	Eritrea	Somalia	South Sudan	Sudan	Others	
2015	3419	327	38	12	428	4224
2016	8720	548	321	76	876	10541
2017	11872	897	542	102	1360	14773
2018	18122	1243	617	166	2737	22885

(Source: ARRA, 2019) Only registered refugees and assisted urban refugees

From the above data, it is clear that the number of urban refugees in Addis Ababa is 22885. Key informant interviewees from ARRA, Experts from JRS and DICAC and the themselves noted that there are two main reasons why they prefer to live in Addis Ababa than other urban centers in Ethiopia.

According to the operating procedures put forth by ARRA/UNHCR/DICAC, urban refugees are allowed to live in Addis for various reasons. Some are here for protection reasons, for fear of their personal security in a situation where they might face a threat while living in refugee camps. When such conditions persist, a refugee wouldn't find it preferable staying in a camp. In this case, the refugee is advised to leave his place of residence and often settles in Addis Ababa maintaining an urban refugee status. A refugee with serious ailments could also leave a refugee camp and settle in a bigger town/city where he/she could receive better medical treatment and a close follow up. Records from DICAC show majority of urban refugees stay in Addis because of medical needs.

Refugees in search of particular services more readily available in urban centers also may choose a city over camps. Health and education services are generally better in Addis Ababa than in a refugee camp, for instance than in Sherkole- the only refugee camp where refugees from the GLR are settled.

Living in a city and in a camp is different. In towns you can easily access to basic and social services than in camps. Even the standard of living is not the same.” (Congolese In-depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

For many of the refugees living in Addis Ababa, the city is a place where they can search out services; receive better medical treatment, schooling for their children, safety and a rare employment opportunity. We can get medical treatment, electricity, clean water and relaxation when you see your surroundings are developing.” (Congolese, In-depth Interview, May 2020).

Another the interviewee who came from DRC said the following for preferring to live in Addis Ababa;

I could have a chance to live in other towns but I prefer to live in Addis Ababa for two main reasons; the first reason is that my friend whom I knew in my country live here who came many years ago. He supports me financially, psychologically and socially including supporting me associated with language related constraints. Initially I had lived together with him for about one year but through time I got my own rental house together with other Congolese urban refugees. (Congolese In-depth interviewee, May, 2020)

Another interviewee who came from Uganda said that he prefers Addis Ababa because of the accessibility of services.

..... As I told you before, my plan is to find sponsor either from international organizations like UNHCR or from my friend and/or relatives, and go to abroad. I want to go to Germany, Italy or Australia. Since Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia, all services including embassies and federal offices to process passport and visa are found here. Therefore, the reason to choose Addis Ababa is to get these services easily without much costs (Ugandan, In-depth interviewee, May, 2020).

4.5. The Context of GLR Urban Refugees

As mentioned by ARRA officials, the idea of urban refugee which is associated with out of camp policy in Ethiopia was started by 2010. The main goal of the policy is to increase harmonious relationship between mainly Great Lakes Region and Ethiopian community. There were also international and continental conventions and protocols. In practice, however, the policy provides many advantages for those refugees from Eritrean and Somalia. It helps them to work, get more income, allows freedom of movement which at the end help them to be out of the feeling of being a migrant which results to develop a sense of hopelessness. These all encourage refugees to empower themselves psychologically, socially and economically.

In Addis Ababa, GLR refugees mostly live in great numbers in Yeka Abado, Bole Bulbula and Bole Arabsa than in the other areas of the city. They live in groups and mostly in condominium houses which give them more liberty to add more people and live together to share the rental costs. The life style is more or less the same with the refugee population living in the other areas of the city.

One of the interviewees from Congolese refugees who live in Yeka Abado condominium together with his friend responded as follows;

We live in group. We are, four in number. The total cost of the rental house is 4000 birr (115 dollar). We pay 1000 birr individually. We share not only the house but also everything we have. For example, one of our friends may not get money on time so that we cover the cost and support each other. We will be here for may be short period of time, so we have to support each other. If things will be good, we all may get the chance to go to abroad either to Europe or USA (Congolese in-depth interviewee, May, 2020).

4.6. Local Economic Contribution of Urban Refugees

The presence of urban refugees has contributed greatly to the transformation of neighborhoods into a commercial and business area of central importance. Notwithstanding the deeply ingrained prejudices and legal constraints that restrict refugees' ability to work in the formal sector, refugees have been able to engage in a wide variety of informal livelihood activities and have, ultimately, managed to survive (Pavanelloet. al, 2010). Quite a significant

number of such types of urban refugees are engaged in economic activities such as in coffee houses and groceries, bars and restaurants, merchandise procurement and selling, barber shops, retail outlets, tea and coffee making among other things.

This is often true in Gofa-Mebrathayle, Bole Michael, and HayaArat areas of Addis Ababa and some other neighborhoods where Eritrean and Somali refugees inhabit. In such areas, one may find a relatively proportional presence of refugee economic activity. Such types of refugees often contribute legally as consumers, and sometimes illegally as employees and business owners and the benefits of such economic activity may enhance further development in the area, they live in.

4.7. Livelihood Strategies of Urban Refugees

Until recently, refugees in general and GLR urban refugees, however, are not entitled to access to an employment opportunity which they may supplement the in-cash assistance they receive from UNHCR. Almost all participants of the in-depth interview and information collected from the questionnaires indicated that they are sitting idle and doing nothing in terms of self-employment and from an employment in the city's economy. Among the eight respondents of the open-ended questionnaires, only two said they have been engaged in washing clothes for neighbors and one in tutoring French language. Participants of in-depth interview have indicated that some were having skills that could be used to earn income in the city if appropriate legal provisions were there to allow them to get employed or self-employ themselves.

Some are educated while others are not; some have the skill to make hair the same skill like Ethiopians. Some are tailors, bank accountants, and medical professionals. The problem is that some or most of them don't come with their documents. If they might get any chance to work, they will not have anything to present (Congolese Refugee, FGD, May2020, Addis Ababa.).

When asked if they had any means of making money and support themselves by engaging in any form of income generating activities, they totally refuted any previous reports of engaging in any form of work. They all said “no” with unanimity. Nevertheless, some refugees were engaged in some formal and informal economic activity namely hair-dressing, tailoring, tutorial services for kids of African diplomats, particularly those who have French language proficiency. In addition to this, hairdressing appears to be particularly popular

business amongst Congolese refugee women. GLR refugees and most importantly Congolese are reported to be popular as musicians, dancers and painters. It is evident that, nonetheless, irrespective of government permission, refugees might engage in some form of economic activity in order to survive and improve their livelihoods.

Direct support from international organizations, remittance, self-employment and wage employment are the major source of income for urban refugees. ARRA officials' as well in-depth interviewees mentioned that once the government registers the refugees, they immediately relocated to protracted camps. They get monthly ration/support on individual basis including 10kg of wheat, 1 Litre oil, 1 kg sugar, salt and other services. Furthermore, with the help of ARRA, UNHCR, local and international non-governmental organizations, they are also provided with free educational and health care services in all the camps.

However, after minimum of 45 days in the camp, the refugees have the privilege to live in urban areas independently without getting any support from any local as well as international organizations. Accordingly, they get one-month vacation letter from the camp and come to Addis Ababa to request ARRA to give them permission letter to move and live in urban areas independently. They may justify the reason to live together with their friends, relatives, or anyone else including living independently through self-support.

Accordingly, in order to get the Out of camp policy benefits and to become an urban refugee, they will be asked the full name and address of the guarantor who must have an Ethiopian citizenship even though it is very tough to get a guarantor. This is done in order to ensure their protection, and need responsible person to communicate in time of emergency. Once they apply, ARRA notify the list of applicants as urban refugees in the main office within two weeks' time. Sometimes it is also posted in their respective camps. Then once they get their name posted, they provide the guarantor to ARRA in person to sign the form. Finally, they will get one-year residential letter/ID, shift from the camp to urban centers and start to live in cities. The guarantor is responsible for any issues happened with the refugee. When one-year residential Permission or ID is expired, ARRA will issue a new three years permission/ID again.

4.7.1. Remittances

From the response of the interviewees, remittance is the main source of income for urban refugees. Many refugees have one or more relative or at least friends who they know very

well. Since they all know the challenge, either he/she is relative or best friend, sends money back for the refugees. Initially, when they move from the camp to urban areas, their main means of livelihood is assumed to be self-employment, direct support from their friend or relatives who live in Addis Ababa, wage employment. But in reality, the main source is remittance. From the discussion as well as the interview, they said that the main source of income for their daily life is remittance. They at least have one or more relative or friends who live abroad like Canada, Germany, USA, Australia, and other more countries.

One of the interviewees who came many years ago from DRC mentioned as follows;

I am here together with my family; our only source of income is remittance. My relative who lives in Canada sends me 150\$ per month. I know he is not rich enough to send that amount of money for us but no option. He knows the challenge and does not hesitate to do that. Sometimes he borrows money from his friends and sends to us (Congolese, In-depth Interview, May, 2020).

Another Congolese refugee said they rarely receive remittances from friends and relatives living in Europe or elsewhere outside Ethiopia.

“Some of us have had relatives and friends who can send us some money. But you can’t depend on them, you know. They might send you or not send you. They can’t send you always” (Congolese Refugee, In-depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa)

Literatures indicate that a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Ashley and Carney 1999; Carney 1998). Income relying on only remittance is a risk for the refugees, which force them to lead hand to mouth than creating strategies for their sustainable life.

4.7.2. Wage Employment

One of the interviewees who came from Uganda mentioned the following about his job;

Last time, I had got three months painting contractual job together with my friend who lives here. After the contract is over, I got nothing, and just become unemployed. Link is very important to get job. Otherwise we are losers. Now I do nothing and am unemployed and I am totally dependent on my friends. Since we are from the same country, we share each other. Everyone who has more money from the remittance or

daily job shares for others. They consider each other as brothers and sisters (Ugandan, in-depth interviewee, May, 2020).

4.7.3. Self-employment

Interview made with official from the hosting community, refugees themselves stated that some of the refugees are also engaged in petty trades. Refugees ran informal enterprises involved in service provision (such as hairdressing, laundry, translation, rental brokers, plumbers and mechanics), retail, leisure and hospitality businesses, and construction. Some enterprises were run under a license belonging to an Ethiopian. Refugee-owned enterprises varied in size and productivity: some ‘surviving’, some ‘managing’ and some ‘thriving’ due to shortage of start-up capital and unfavorable working atmosphere including the right to work. Due to lack of startup capital and unfavorable working conditions in the city, many of the Great Lakes Regions refugees are not interested in self-employment.

4.7.4 Direct Support from International Organizations

ARRA officials said that urban refugees includes refugees who have decided to live independently in urban areas without getting direct support from local as well international organizations, refugees who have medical cases who has extended follow up, refugees who came to urban areas for vacation, and refugees who came from any country but very few in number to relocate them in the camp.

Of these urban refugees, only those refugees who have decided to live in urban areas independently without the support of any organization do not get aid or direct support. Otherwise the other types of the refugees get monthly support which accounts about 2000 birr per month. In addition to this support, still they also request their friends who live abroad to send them money. Otherwise 2000 birr is not enough for their monthly expenses.

Humanitarian assistance varied in type and by organization. All non-OCP registered urban refugees receive monthly financial assistance from the UNHCR. Livelihood assistance is also provided by various governmental and nongovernmental organizations including ARRA, NRC, DICAC and JRS in the form of business grants and loans, and skills training.

According to participants of the interviews with key informants, the support from organizations working with urban refugees is sometimes not up to their expectation. This doesn't mean they are not availing the basic services deemed necessary to sustain an urban

life nor GLR are less regarded to other refugees coming from other regions, say the Horn of Africa.

Despite the difficulty for refugees to enter the labor market legally, refugees continue to reside with the little lifesaving cash assistance they receive from UNHCR through a local implementing partner called DICAC. As most participating refugees reiterated, the allowance they receive isn't enough for them to sustain their livelihood throughout the whole month before the next month allowance payment is made, having not enough food on the table and running out of money to pay house rent. "We sometimes get advantage of the transport allowance we receive to attend language courses. We prefer to walk; then we use that transportation money for other needs." (Burundian, In-depth Interview, May 2014, Addis Ababa).

Urban refugees, particularly those from the GLR are often said to aim staying in Addis pending resettlement opportunities and when individual cases of resettlement process are delayed or at times when resettlement quotas are few, it is not uncommon for refugees to complain about the services of organizations helping them. Nevertheless, many said the services they are getting including medical treatment, protection needs as well as education are most of the time acceptable, indicating the need for additional assistance considering their peculiar needs.

The NGOs are doing what they are able to help us. We feel well represented. The problem is with the organizations because of reasons we don't know. Financially and medical treatment wise particularly when you reach at a certain point and need to leave abroad then you find yourself unable to get such treatments. (Rwandese Refugee Woman, Key Informant Interview, May 2014, Addis Ababa).

4.8. Challenges Associated with Livelihood Strategies

4.8.1. High Cost of Living

The interviewees stated that in Addis Abba, the cost of living is very high. Housing is very challenging; it costs a minimum of 2000 up to 5000 birr (55 to 145 USD) per month. The price of food is also challenging for the refugees. Associated with inflation and cost of living, one of the participants mentioned his ideas as follows:

Life in Addis Ababa is very difficult. Let alone for us, the urban refugees, even the people who permanently live and have permanent job face serious challenges to cope up. Whatever the amount of money you get, the cost of rental house, food, and other services are very high. Sometimes we get money and able to pay for the rental house on time. Otherwise mostly we borrow money from our friends or relatives to pay for our house rent and to cover our food costs (In-depth interviewee from Somali, May, 2020).

Almost all interviewees and discussants noted that it is very difficult to cope and live in Addis Ababa unless an individual urban refuge has relative or friend who can support him/her. Especially the cost of housing rent is very high and that is why most urban refuges live in groups to share the costs.

4.8.2. Language Barriers

Language and cultural knowledge are perceived to be necessary to effectively integrate within the wider community. Being able to speak the main language of the host community is, for example, consistently identified as central to the integration process (Ager and Strang, 2008). In Addis Ababa, where Amharic is the primary and working language of the city, almost all GL Refugees live in an environment of cultural and social make up different from the area they came from. Therefore, communication and proficiency in local languages knowledge is much of a barrier. Hence, considering the language difference and the subsequent communication barriers, finding employment and creating social networks among locals and getting by in the city is not easy for them.

The difficulty of speaking, writing in and understanding the Semitic Amharic language has been for much the biggest challenge and a cause to lose interest in trying to comprehend the most basics of the language. It is quite easier said than done for many GLR refugees who speak Bantu languages such as Swahili and Kinyarwanda. Even though refugees might have the skills needed to make money in an urban setting such as business skills, the lack of other important abilities such as being able to communicate with the host community and speak the local language is a great challenge.

We are trying to know it from friends. Amharic is very difficult. I am stressed out when I think about speaking Amharic. I have many Ethiopian friends but I tried to speak many times, but I can't. Some Ethiopian friends of mine say 'you hate us

because you don't want to learn our language.' I am trying my best to know the language, but it is very difficult (Burundian, In-depth Interview, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

A Rwandese woman says she has been staying in Addis Ababa since the last 8 years and the difficulty of learning Amharic and particularly getting used to write the alphabets have been a great impediment for any potential venture in any supplementary means of survival and livelihoods. “I work as an interpreter for IOM, she says, “but it is only because I can speak English and some two languages from my home country which is Swahili and Kinyarwanda”.

Some among the refugees who took part in this study said that the inability to speak local languages and most importantly the Amharic language often left them to wonder and devoid of some basic protection needs at times when badly needed.

When we go to the police to find help when for instance reporting beatings by locals, they [the police men] say you to 'bring a translator...Bamarigna'. They will not help you to bring a translator. Finally, we give up and that is it (Burundian, FGD, May 2014, Addis Ababa).

All participants of the research prioritized language as a barrier and repeatedly mentioned problems in health care communication, inability to meet their neighbors, and the inability to secure a would-be work to earn additional income leading to anxiety.

4.8.3. Psychological Instability and Mobility

Urban refugees in general and GLR urban refugees in particular are less committed and not encouraged to work in Addis Ababa through long term vision and sustainable development plan. They use Ethiopia as a transit to go to other African countries, Europe, USA, and somewhere else. One of the interviewees who came from Tanzania expressed his idea as follows:

My brother lives in Canada, who went there as a refugee from Ethiopia with the support of UNHCR and other NGOs. He wanted me to take to Canada. That is why I came to Ethiopia and register as a refugee. I spend 45 days in the camp and came to Addis Ababa as urban refugee three months ago. Now my brother has been

processing the visa to take me to Canada. Unless unexpected issue happens, I will go there within maximum of one year (In-depth interview, Rwandese, May 2020).

Urban refugees with which I had communication are eager to go abroad, and psychologically they are not ready to work in Addis Ababa. As a result, their ultimate aim is not to live permanently in Ethiopia rather to go to third country either through legal ways using their friends or relatives or using illegal means through Libya, or South Africa. He also added:

I am doing nothing. We live together with my friends in one house, and we get money from our relatives from abroad as a remittance and spend our life in that way. Just I am waiting the Visa process to be finalized soon. My plan is to go to abroad and help my family like that of my friends and relatives. I am not interested to find job eagerly in Addis Ababa. He uses to send me 100 dollar per month and that is enough for me (In- depth interview, Congolese, May 2020).

4.8.4. Contemporary Global Economic Crises

According to the information obtained from ARRA officials, previously NRC, JRS, DICAC and UNHCR were providing support for urban refugees to augment their expenses and at least to cover either the cost of rental housing, food, or health care services. However, as a result of the current global economic crises, these organizations have already ceased the program and give nothing by now for urban refugees.

4.8.5. Housing Problem

Refugees in urban areas faced with a number of disadvantages in comparison with other low-income city-dwellers. In addition to the protection problems with which they are confronted, they often lack the community support systems that help poor nationals to survive. They may also find it difficult to access or afford, the ever-increasing housing costs, daily living expenses (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Urban refugees living in Addis Ababa, however, enjoy relatively better Medicare than the majority city dwellers because of free medical treatment offered by ARRA and its partner organizations with financial support by UNHCR-BO. “It is not easy to manage life in Addis Ababa. We keep changing house to get the cheapest. The big problem in Addis Ababa is house renting. When people find out that you can’t speak

Amharic, they think you're a diplomat working in ECA or AU. So, they charge us extra amount than Ethiopians (Congolese woman, In-depth Interview, May 2020).

Directly connected to the ability to earn money is the ability to find adequate housing. Urban refugees within the cities of Sub-Saharan Africa usually become part of the urban poor, as such their marginalized position in the city means they often live in the slums of the city. Although rent may be cheaper in the poor, slum areas of the cities, if one is not earning an income rent becomes near impossible to pay (Mattheisen, 2012).

When refugees are unable to pay their rent, landlords are quick to evict them out of their rented houses. The threat of constant eviction is of great concern to many refugee families. “When we can't afford to pay, we change or we are forced to live in a congested condition with many people living together.” (Congolese, May 2020, Addis Ababa).

Refugees of the GLR live in some out-skirt parts of Addis Ababa. They say they are forced to move to cheaper areas where they may find accommodation that is more spacious enabling them to live in big numbers, though they are often asked to add on the monthly housing fee or face forced eviction. “Housing is not affordable because we don't work and the money that we receive from you is so little and it is the only money we depend on.” (Rwandese, Interview, May 2020).

If we are more than 2 or 3, they [the landlords] would ask you for bigger amount of money. We are sometimes forced to hide our exact numbers. We say we are six. Once we rented the house; later on, other members join us week by week. But when the landlord finds out at the end that we are all nine, they would charge us more for the three new people. (Congolese, In-depth interview, May 2020).

4.8.6 Harassment and Abuse

Even if urban refugees have got recognition in the country, they are still facing problem of harassment by police, including beatings, intimidation, illegal detention, confiscation of documentation and demands for bribes. Women, especially, are targeted by police and other officials and suffer verbal, physical and sexual abuse (Brown et al, 2018).

GLR refugees living in Addis Ababa reportedly suffered some sort of discrimination and verbal abuse, often stemming from the perception that they are unfairly benefiting from government and UNHCR/NGOs support.

Some think that refugees have a whole lot of money. They also think that we are using government money given to us in dollars. Therefore, we want the UNHCR and the government to know that some landlords are charging us much amount that we don't have and this is affecting our whole life. (Burundian, In depth Interview, May 2020).

Some have said they have experienced some form of harassment but not in a scale like sexual or physical attack. Some said locals, when they discover that they are “African” or not from Ethiopia, they may mock at them and utter some bad or belittling and derogative words.

We don't experience what we call it harassment. But when you speak on the phone, people nearby you might repeat what you say in a lousy; not a good way. Or when you pass by, they may call you 'Africa'. Some may even say 'why you don't leave this country'. 'Don't talk to me this is not our country.' Mocking at us. When an Ethiopian find you that you are not an Ethiopian, they call you African or different names. Some who find out that we are refugees they pity you. They feel sorry for us. But many people confuse us if we are not refugees. (Rwandese, Key Informant Interview, May2020).

Many, nevertheless, view Ethiopians as welcoming and cooperative though the language barrier remains to be the great challenge in establishing fruitful engagement.

4.8.7. Legal and Policy Related Issues

Until recently, limited access to employment resulting from the lack of a legal right to work is the most significant barrier to securing refugee livelihoods. Providing an affordable and accessible work permit system for refugees is critical — although not sufficient on its own — in helping them to establish stable livelihoods.

It is also finding out that with no labor protections, refugees face workplace discrimination that includes low wages, wages being withheld or payments being made in the form of ‘incentive money’ rather than regular salaries, or employment being ended arbitrarily.

Urban refugees also have problems of lack of access to business license means most refugee-run businesses operate under a license belonging to an Ethiopian business, limiting reinvestment and growth potential. However, even though the real implementation is not underway, the Ethiopian government ratified a new refugee proclamation that will allow

refugee to access different social and economic services without discrimination. This will be discussed further below in the opportunities section.

4.9. Opportunities Associated with Livelihood Strategies

4.9.1. Availability of Supportive Policy Frameworks

The previous out of camp policy in fact allowed them to live in urban areas but didn't give the right to work and other privileges. The previous policy allows urban refugees to come and live in the urban areas but did not allow to work. The urban assisted refugees come to the city with their specific reasons but they get assistance from UNHCR.

The policy has been revised after the commitment of the 9 pledges made by the Ethiopian government in 2016 during the Obama Summit in Network. The pledges give righteous benefits to refugees including the right to work, the right to have business licenses, to have a Driver's Qualification Certification License, to open bank account, access to education, health care and other basic services which will make things easier for urban refugees. The new refugee Proclamation has been ratified and approved by the House of Peoples' Representatives but still waiting for the implementation strategy and guidelines in order to make it practical.

The current proclamation has given refugees more option to increase their independency and promote self-reliant and sustainable development on the life of the refugees in general. Some of the new refugee proclamation privileges for urban refugees are: Access to Education Access to Health Services, The Right to Work, Right to Association, Freedom of Movement, Right to Acquisition and Transfer of Property, Driver's Qualification Certification License, Access to Banking Services, Access to Telecommunication Services, Rationing and Vital Events Registration.

These and other more rights enable the urban refugees to reduce dependency and increase self-reliance and empowerment. The right to work promotes the refugees to get hired and get salaries and improve their living standards. In addition, business license and driving license also help the refugees to easily interact and integrate with the local community. Moreover, permission to movement allowed them move from one place to another place to find an area that is suitable to them to work and live according to their ability and capacity (Negarit, 2019).

4.10. The Impacts of the Refugees on the Hosting Community

Literatures and information obtained from the interview indicates that urban refugees have both negative and positive contribution for the hosting community.

4.10.1. Positive Impacts

Contribute for labor market

Urban refugees have been working in different private business organization. This helps the community to get cheap labor. Refugees enhance existing enterprises by creating links with host community businesses and creating new customer and supplier bases. Urban refugees spend their earnings, remittances and assistance money locally and skilled refugees work in local schools, hospitals, nightclubs and formal organizations.

Inject foreign currency to the market

The other contribution is remittance; they inject more money from abroad which has been contributing for the community to provide foreign currency. In addition, whatever there is similarity between the hosting community and the refugees; there could be different cultural practice or way of life which could be used for the hosting community.

Refugees create new markets in Addis Ababa by providing a consumer base for niche products aimed at a minority or Diaspora market. Refugees and their businesses are also part of broader economic systems that operate at national and international levels, and include cross-border value chains. Specifically, Diaspora links internationalize the local economy and can be key in generating new commercial opportunities.

4.10.2. Negative Impacts

In fact, urban refugees have been contributing a lot for the hosting community; they have also negatively affected the hosting community. Increased competition in using basic and social services, increase unemployment rate, Inflation of the cost of rental house, and addiction, conflict and violent behavior were burdened with the hosting community.

Inflation of the cost of rental house

Officials of the government with respective urban refugee sites indicate that the cost of rental house has been increasing from time to time after the arrival of urban refugees. The cost of

house rent has increased because of the big demand from refugees. The land lord increase the price of the rental house because the community mostly assume that Refugees get more money from international organizations as well as money from abroad. There is a belief that all refugees get remittance from abroad.

It can be imagined that the demand for house rent in many condominium sites is growing high that resulted with an increase in the cost of renting. Thus, this will become a burden to the host community as refugees' number is growing. The rental cost of condominium houses has increased because refugees prefer them for living. Condominium house has bed rooms, kitchen, bath room which is very impossible to find such type of houses from landlord house renters. Therefore, it results to increase the rental cost of the house which finally affect the host community.

Increase unemployment rate

The other dimension is about labor issue. It is well-known that in Ethiopia, there are millions of unemployed young people who are waiting for employment opportunities. On the other hand, the refugees share the limited job/business opportunities from hosting communities.

Deviant behavior: addiction, conflict and violent behavior

As the unemployment rate in the refugee community is high, there will be a high tendency for these refugees to be engaged on theft, murder or join gangster groups. This will result a burden to the host community in terms of security. There is also problem of deviant behaviors including violence and conflict observed from urban refugees. The hosting community has been witnessing frequent conflict between the urban refugees themselves as well as the urban refugees and hosting community. One of the focus group discussants mentioned his concern associated with the impacts of violent behavior of urban refugees on the hosting community as follows:

Previously the number of urban refugees was very small and the hosting community always had welcoming communication and interaction with urban refugees. However, through time the name and attitude towards urban refugees has been changed. Since they are young, they commit mistakes easily while they are drunk. As the result, the attitude of the hosting community towards urban refugees becomes negative and always picture violent and addicted behaviors. Now, the hosting community is not even willing to rent house for urban refugees because they assume that we are

criminals, addicted and have violent behavior. (Congolese, In-depth interview, May 2019).

He pointed that this behavior is the characteristics of only few urban refugees but the community finally develop such type of conclusion. Only few refugees act in that way but the host community misunderstand that these few deviants represent the whole. It is the youth who are mostly accused of being deviant. In whatever ways, this phenomenon impacts the society's culture and norm.

Increased competition in using basic and social services

Whenever refugees number get growing, it increases the case load in basic and social services. This can be manifested, for instance, on services such as hospitals, schools and transportation. In other words, it will be a burden to the host community especially in our context on which these services are limited and challenging to address the needs of the host community.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

This study argues that responding to the needs of urban refugees represents a growing challenge for all concerned actors, including the government and humanitarian agencies. Refugees of GLR settling in Addis Ababa face different problems and barriers and in many cases they are less advantageous compared to their counterparts living in camps.

Faced with limited assistance and income generating opportunities to improve their livelihoods, refugees who live in Addis Ababa are left to their own self in order to meet basic needs of food, daily expenses, shelter and other needs. Difficulties in learning Amharic have often made it difficult for GLR refugees to communicate with the host community which leads to less socialization. When coupled with language and cultural differences, and the lack of work permit, GLR refugees are left in an extremely vulnerable situation. In such scenario, securing self-reliance is nearly impossible for all refugees. For many they have to rely on the humanitarian assistance to sustain them.

The number of urban refugees has been increasing from time to time. Remittance, Wage employment, Self-employment, Direct support from relatives and/or friends, and direct support from international organizations are the main livelihood strategies of Great Lakes urban refugees.

Findings of the research show that a lot of refugees in urban settings are part of trans-national networks including refugees in camps as well as relatives in urban centers in Europe, Australia and North America and that remittances from abroad are often vital to their survival.

The findings of the research show that urban refugees have been facing with various socio-cultural and economic problems. High cost of living, problem of cultural adaptability like language barriers, refugees low self-esteem, psychological instability and mobility, contemporary global economic crises, conflict and security challenge, violence theft and robbery are the main challenges associated with their daily activities which influence their livelihood strategies.

Urban refugees face similar challenges as the urban poor such as growing slum areas, rising unemployment rates, insecure housing access, increased pressure on state and community

resources, compounded with barriers such as xenophobia and insecure legal status what makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and marginalization.

Even though the above mentioned are some of the challenges of livelihood for urban refugees, there are also opportunities available on the ground to be used for sustainable development and self-reliance. The first opportunity associated with livelihood strategies is availability of supportive policy frameworks.

The current refugee's proclamation provides righteous benefits to refugees including the right to access education, health services, the right to work, right to association, freedom of movement, right to acquisition and transfer of property, driver's qualification certification license, access to banking services, access to telecommunication services for the refugees.

Urban refugees have both negative and positive impacts for the hosting community. Some of the positive impacts are strengthen socioeconomic and political relationship with neighboring country, contribute for labor market and inject foreign currency to the local market.

Urban refugees contribute for formation of Business agglomerations and create dynamic new markets for both local and refugee communities. As part of their livelihood strategy, refugees engage in petty trading, such as buying and selling goods (perfumes, clothes, vegetables, prepared food, cigarettes, sweets, etc.) or in providing services (hair dressing, mechanics, food preparation, construction, telephone booths, language tutoring or interpreting, money transfers, etc.).

In addition to this, refugees create new markets in Addis Ababa by providing a consumer base for niche products aimed at a minority or Diaspora market. Moreover, refugees enhance existing enterprises by creating links with host community businesses and creating new customer and supplier bases. Urban refugees spend their earnings, remittances and assistance money locally and skilled refugees work in local schools, hospitals, nightclubs and formal organizations.

On the other hand, there are also negative impacts observed and make some burden on the hosting community. Aggravated the price of rental house, increase unemployment rate, injects deviant behavior such as addiction, conflict and violent behavior are also some of the negative impacts of hosting refugees on the part of the local communities.

According to Kunz's typology of refugees which is stated in the literature part of this paper, Event Related Refugees are those who must leave because of active or latent discrimination against the particular group to which they belong and often outright violence feel that they are unwanted, or unsafe in their own homelands. Great Lakes Refugees who are living in Addis Ababa are good examples of this type. Ethnic conflicts among the Great Lakes regions often lead to the creation of Events Related Refugees among Burundi, Congolese and Rwandans displaced to each other's country and to Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. The majority of these refugees were displaced by the ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi. The Great Lakes refugee migrations of GLR refugees to neighboring countries and to Ethiopia tend to fit into Kunz's Events Related category.

5.2 Recommendations

Information from ARRA shows that the number of urban refugees has been increasing from time to time. Therefore, the government together with international community has to assess the available resources and create environment convenient for urban refugees.

Urban refugees have better opportunities available on the ground to be used for sustainable development and self-reliance. These includes the policy and legal framework associated with refugees' access to education, health services, the right to work, right to association, freedom of movement, right to acquisition and transfer of property, driver's qualification certification license, access to banking services, access to telecommunication services are very crucial. Therefore, in order to promote the wellbeing and development of the refugees, the government and international organizations should work for the practicality of the policy.

Urban refugees have positive impacts for the hosting community like strengthening socioeconomic and political relationship with neighboring country, contribute for labor market, and inject foreign currency to the local market. This has to be articulated and communicated with the community as urban refugees are not only problems but have positive contribution for the development of hosting community in many ways.

Refugees should not be considered as simply mere recipients of humanitarian aid rather they are coming with their own skills and transfer their knowledge to the local community. Like other people, urban refugees possess skills which under the right conditions, would lead them to become self-sufficient. Urban refugees should not be regarded as helpless people or as

people with needs for others to fill but as people with a number of assets for the refugee community as well as the host community.

In addition, urban refugees have negative impact on the hosting community like aggravated the price of rental house, increase unemployment rate, injects deviant behavior such as addiction, conflict and violent behavior. Local, international and partner organizations should focus on reducing this impact like creating strategies of job opportunities for the refugees, facilitating housing and other social services to reduce the impact and create harmonious relationship with the hosting community.

Conflict and violence have been observed between the hosting community and refugees. Therefore, the local government and international organizations should Campaign for peaceful coexistence of refugees and hosting community.

The government and other stakeholders should survey the skills and work experiences of such caseload of refugees. In such a way, the expertise and skills these refugees brought with them might be tapped to the benefit of the host community and the city at large. Some opportunities where such refugees might engage in are not often occupied by Ethiopians such as tutoring French language classes, entertainment in African music and dance, and the like.

The government together with the support from other donor institutions may find ways whereby some refugees could use their prior skills to start up their own small business and earn a living. It is said that there are quite considerable number of GLR refugees engaged in entertainment, painting, and other skills that can be traded to gain income.

Providing livelihood support to host populations can help mitigate tensions between the displaced and the local communities, and may also enable host populations to share their resources more readily with the displaced. Indeed, often livelihood activities can help re-create and maintain social and economic inter-dependence within and between communities.

The government and other stake holders including their implementing partners should come up with innovative strategies and policy provisions to address the specific challenges facing a unique profile of refugees from the GLR. GLR refugee stories should be listened to, understood, and used to inform assistance policy and provisions in order to meet the process of cross-cultural integration and communication with the host community of Addis Ababa.

Moreover, there is a need for a policy decision to help refugees become productive members of society by adopting a livelihood approach. The newly adopted refugee proclamation which gives a righteous benefit to refugees by allowing the right to work together with the comprehensive refugee response framework (CRRF), the Global Compacts on refugees (GCR) and the 9 pledges committed by the government of Ethiopia during the Obama Leaders' summit in New York in 2016 should be implemented.

The draft National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS) should be ratified and detailed action plans and guidelines should be in place to make refugee livelihoods sustainable.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: In-depth Interview guide questions for urban refugees

1. Personal background of the informant

No	Question	Expected answer
1.1	Age in years	
1.2	Sex	1 /Male 2/ Female
1.3	Marital status	1/married 2/Single 3/Widowed 4/Divorced 5/ Others
1.4	Educational backgrounds	1/Could not read and write 2/Read and write 3/ Primary school 3/ High school 4/ Preparatory school
1.5	Religion	1/Catholic 2/Protestant 3/ Islam 4/Others
1.6	Occupation	1/Farmer 2/Trader 3/Daily laborers 4/Government official 5/Others
1.7	Economic status	1/Rich 2/Medium 3/Poor
1.8	Nationality	1/ Congolese 2/ Rwandese 3/Burundian? 4/ others (Please specify)
1.9	Number of years spent in Ethiopia	1/1-year 2/2 years 3/ 3 years 4/4 years 5/5 years and above
1.10	Number of years spent in Addis Ababa	1/1-year 2/2 years 3/3 years 4/4 years 5/5 years and above
1.11	Disability status	1/Visual 2/ Physical 3/ Hearing 4/Other

2. General Context of the Refugees in Addis Ababa

- 2.1. Can you tell me how and why you settled in Addis Ababa? (probe all the process from the place of origin to the current destination)
- 2.2. What made you prefer to live in Addis Ababa? Which part of Addis Ababa do you live in? Why?
- 2.3. How is living in Addis Ababa different staying in a refugee camp?
- 2.4. How do you describe your interactions with Ethiopians in the area you live in?
- 2.5. What kind of assistance do you get?
- 2.6. When, how and why did you settle in Addis Ababa in general and in your current location in particular?
- 2.7. Are you registered or unregistered refugee under ARRA or other authorized bodies as refugee/asylum seeker?
- 2.8. What challenges have you faced any for being unregistered, if any? And any benefit for being registered?
- 2.9. What is your major source of livelihood? (probe more about all sources of livelihood)

3. Socio Economic Integration

- 3.1. Do you live together with Ethiopians? What is your interaction with the community in Addis Ababa?
- 3.2. What are the major social barriers/problems you have faced while living in Addis Ababa?
- 3.3. What did you do for your living apart from the assistance you receive from humanitarian organizations? (try to capture all alternative sources of income and means livelihood they have been using)
- 3.4. Do you wish to be hired or self-employed? (Why? And how?)
- 3.5. If employed in other private or government organizations: what is your job?
 - if employed in other private or government organization: what is your job?
 - Monthly salary If self-employed, what is your job? Sources of income (remittance, Aid, own revenue)
 - Monthly salary
 - If self-employed, what is your job?
 - Source of income (remittance, Aid, own revenue)

- 3.6. How do you manage to live in the city? How do you access to have accommodation?
 - Rental
 - Freely given
 - Rented but liven in group
 - Live together with friend or relative
 - Other
- 3.7. How do you manage to get health?
- 3.8. How do you manage to get education? Are you perusing education in Addis Ababa? What about your children? What do you think in the future about your and your children's education?
- 3.9. How do you manage to get appropriate legal, and water and electricity services?)
- 3.10. How do you describe your relations or interaction with hosting community (friendship, a social network like *Idir*, attending different ceremonies wedding, funeral, intermarriage...)? If there is limitation on this, as why)
- 3.11. How do you interact with your neighbor or the community at large and who take the initiative? (if limited interaction, ask why)
- 3.12. Do you have knowledge of the local system and culture? If yes, explain.
- 3.13. Do you face any problem with regard to interpretation when getting services? Explain? (Capture all language related constraints hey have faced so far)
- 3.14. How do you describe your engagement with government and non-government organizations?
- 3.15. Have you ever experienced any form of racial, cultural or religious discrimination or harassment? If so, describe such incidents.
- 3.16. What do you think about the community's perception and response about refugees, as threat and contributor? How do you consider yourself in the community, as opportunity or threat for the community?
- 3.17. Any concerns associated with socio economic integration in Addis Ababa? How? Why? By whom?

4. Enabling Environment

- 4.1. What is your plan in the future? (probe where he/she want to live)
 - Plan to go back to place of origin
 - Want to live here in Addis Ababa
 - Went to go to other countries abroad
- 4.2. Do you get any self-upgrading trainings? (If the response is yes, probe what kind of training?)
 - TVET
 - Skill based training
 - Others
- 4.3. What type of benefit do you get from the training? (if he/she has got any training)
 - Get employment based on the training
 - Become input to start own business
 - Help to Create smooth relationship with the community
 - Other benefit
- 4.4. What are the major legal and regulatory barriers you have observed or faced while living in Addis Ababa?
- 4.5. Is it possible to partner with Ethiopians? If yes, how do you establish formal or informal partnerships? (partnership interim of what)
- 4.6. What kind of financial services do you get? Can you get loans? (Have you been using banks, loans)
- 4.7. Do you access TVET and/or other higher education services?
- 4.8. Do you have proper accreditation of your Degree/Diploma/Certificate by the government?
- 4.9. What are the major challenges faced by refugees who partner with Ethiopians to do businesses?
- 4.10. What are the major challenges hindering you from getting formal employment?
- 4.11. What are the major challenges hindering you from opening your own business?
- 4.12. Do you feel you can freely work in Addis Ababa? Both formally and informally?

- 4.13. Are you eligible to financial services? Bank accounts, micro credit services and other financial services?

5. Support Service

- 5.1. What type of support do you get?
- Disability support
 - Migrant support
 - Other types of support
- 5.2. What are the support services you get from humanitarian/ development organizations?
- 5.3. Do you speak Amharic language? Does your language proficiency affect your interactions with Ethiopians?

6. Market System(Access to market)

- 6.1. Which sectors of the informal/formal economy are easily accessible to support your livelihood?
- Formal what type of formal economy
 - Informal what type of informal economy
- 6.2. Do you have the required skill/knowledge on the sector you mentioned above?
- 6.3. Can you use your remittances as capital for establishing businesses?
- Own capital, how, why?
 - Capital from remittance and other aid?
- 6.4. Do you think you have established yourself well in Addis Ababa? If you think so, explain how?

7. Possible ways forward

- 7.1. How do you evaluate the changes in your life before and after coming to Addis Ababa?
- Before (from social, psychological and economic perspective) how and why
 - After (from social, psychological and economic perspective) how and why?
- 7.2. Changes after the enactment of the new proclamation? (From social, psychological and economic perspective) how and why?
- 7.3. What is your future hope about your life?

- 7.4. What do you think are the major problems associated with different supports given to you? How and Why?
- 7.5. What do you think are the major problems associated with the socio-economic integration and sustainable development of the refugees? How and Why?
- 7.6. What do you think to be taken in consideration to improve the life of the refugees? Types of services to be given??
- 7.7. In your view, what are the key policy changes that need to be taken to ensure socio economic inclusion of refugees?

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide Questions for Government officials

1. How do you describe the context of Great Lakes Region refugees residing in Addis Ababa?
2. What are the peculiar characteristics of these refugees when you compare it with other urban refugees?
3. How are the refugees a burden to the host community in terms of the labor and local consumer markets?
4. How are the refugees a burden to the host community in terms of basic and social services?
5. How are the refugees a burden to the local government in terms of government services and security?
6. What are the social and economic contributions of the refugees to the local community?
7. Do they play a key role in catalyzing local markets? Do they bring resources to the local economy?
8. What are the key policy changes that can enable refugees to socio economically integrate?
9. What is the Policy framework of urban refugees and its governance in Ethiopia?
10. How do you assess the support provided by partners in terms of ensuring the self-reliance of refugees?
11. What are the major challenges of refugees in terms of livelihood and self-reliance activities?
12. What are your key recommendations for the successful socio-economic integration of refugees?

Appendix III: Key informant Interview Guide Questions for Local Authorities

1. How many refugees in general found in your Woreda?
2. How do you interact with these refugees?
3. How do you provide services for refugees like health service, if any?
4. Have the refugees been participating in different activities in your Woreda? If so how?
5. What are the social, economic and/or political effect or contribution do the refugees presence in your Woreda has brought?
6. What is the Policy framework of urban refugees and its governance in Ethiopia?
7. When there is any conflict with the refugees and the local people or between refugees, how do you settle the situation?

Appendix IV: In- depth interview guide questions with hosting community

1. How do you describe your relations or interaction with the refugees (friendship, social ties like *Idir*, attending different ceremonies wedding, funeral, intermarriage...)?
2. How do you interact with the refugees and who takes the initiative?
3. What are the social, economic and/or political effects or contributions do the refugees? Presence in your community has brought?
4. How do you see the refugees' cultural compatibility with yours?
5. What is your perception towards integrating with the refugees as people that share a common fate?

Appendix V: Key informant Interview guide with ARRA officials

1. How many urban refugees found in different cities of Ethiopia in general and Addis Ababa in particular? And from which countries? How many of them are from Great Lakes Regions?
2. What are the justifications for the settlement of refugees in Addis Ababa? What is the role of your institution in creating an enabling environment in their stay in urban areas in general and Addis Ababa in particular?
3. How many Great Lakes Refugees have been benefited from the Out-of-Camps scheme? And what are the challenges and prospects in implementing the scheme?
4. How long can the refugees stay in Addis Ababa and what are the supports provided by your institution? And what does the trend of returning those refugees to the camp looks like?
5. How many unregistered or undocumented refugees are settled in Addis Ababa, why and from which states?
6. Has there been any official count of urban refugees?
7. What policy guideline or administrative directive and its governance does have to administer the urban refugees? If any, how do you explain it vis-à-vis the 2009 UNHCR Policy on Urban Refugees?
8. Does Ethiopia recognize local integration as a durable solution for refugees in general and urban refugees in particular? If not, what will be the solution in sign for both registered and unregistered refugees in urban areas in general and Addis Ababa in particular?

Appendix VI: በጥናቱ ላይ ለሚሳተፉት የፈቃደኝነት መጠየቂያ ቅፅ

የጥናቱ አጠቃላይ ሁኔታ

ይህ ጥናት የሚካሄደው በቅድስት ማሪያም ዩኒቨርሲቲ የማህበረሰብ ስራ ት/ት ውስጥ የማስተርስ ተማሪ በሆንሁት ርግብ ጥላሁን ለማህበረሰብ ስራ ማስተርስ ትም/ት ማሟያ ይሆን ዘንድ የተዘጋጀ ነው። ከማሟያነቱ በተጨማሪ ከዚህ ጥናት የሚጠበቅው ውጤት በተጠቀሰው የጥናት ቦታ ላይ የስደተኞች አጠቃላይ የኑሮ ሁኔታ ማጥናት ነው።

የዚህ ጥናት ውጤትም የተለያዩ ስደተኞችን የሚመለከቱ ፖሊሲዎች፣ ፕሮግራሞች፣ እና እድገት ላይ አሉታዊ ተፅዕኖ የሚያሳድሩ ችግሮችን አስቀድሞ ለመከላከል እና ስደተኞች ባላቸው የራሳቸው እና አካባቢያዊ ሀብቶች ላይ ለሚሰሩ ፕሮጀክቶች በዋነኛነት እንደ ግብዓትነት ሊያገለግል ይችላል። ይህም ስደተኞች በአካባቢያቸው ላይ ውጤታማ ሁኔታ እንዲኖሩ ያደርጋቸዋል። ይህንን አላማ ለማሳካት ማለትም ስለስደተኞች አጠቃላይ የኑሮ ሁኔታ መረጃ ለመሰብሰብ አጥኝው ይህንን ቃለመጠይቅ አዘጋጅተል። በመሆኑም ለዚህ ጥናት እውን መሆን የእርስዎ በፍላጎት ላይ የተመሰረተ ትክክለኛ መረጃ መስጠት ጉልህ ሚና ይኖረዋል።

የቃለ መጠይቅ ተሳታፊዎች መብት:

ተሳታፊዎች በዚህ ጥናት ላይ የመሳተፍ ወይንም ያለመሳተፍ ውሳኔው የራሳቸው ነው። ምንም እንኳን በጥናቱ ለመሳተፍ ቢስማሙም ቃለመጠይቁ በሚካሄድበት በማነኛውም ሰአት ሙሉ በሙሉ ቃለ መጠይቁን የማቋረጥ ወይንም የተወሰኑትን ጥያቄዎች ያለመመለስ ሙሉ መብት ይኖራቸዋል። በተጨማሪም ተሳታፊዎች ግልፅ ያልሆኑ እና አወዛጋቢ የሆኑትን ጥያቄዎች በማነኛውም ሰአት የመጠየቅ እና ተረድተው የመመልስ መብት አላቸው።

ለቃለ መጠይቁ የሚያገለግሉ መሳሪያዎች:

በቃለ መጠይቁ ሰአት ከተሳታፊው የሚነሱትን ሁሉንም ሀሳቦች ሳይዛቡ እና ሳይታለፉ ማስታወሻ ለመያዝ አስቸጋሪ ሙከራን በመረዳት እንዲሁም መረጃዎችን በተደጋጋሚ እያዳመጡ ለመጻፍ ይረዳ ዘንድ አጥኝው ኤሌክትሮኒክስ የድምጽ መመዘገቢያ መሳሪያ የሚጠቀም የሆኗል። ነገር ግን ይህ በጥናቱ ተሳታፊዎች መልካም ፈቃድ አማካኝነት የሚሆን ይሆናል።

የጥናቱ ተሳታፊዎችን ግላዊ መረጃ/ሚስጥርን ስለመጠበቅ:

በመጀመሪያ የጥናቱ ተሳታፊዎች ትክለኛ ስማቸውን እንዲናገሩ አይገደዱም። ስማቸውን ከተናገሩም መረጃው በሚጻፍበት ጊዜ አጥኝው የሃሰት ስም የሚጠቀም ይሆናል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪም አጥኝው ለማንኛውም የጥናቱ ተሳታፊዎች ግላዊ መረጃዎች ጥንቃቄ ያደረጋል። ሁሉም የሚሰበሰቡ መረጃዎች በጥንቃቄ እና ሚስጥራዊ በሆነ ስፍራ የሚቀመጡ ይሆናል። አጥኝው ጥናቱ ከተጠናቀቀ በኋላ ከተሳታፊዎች የተገኙ መረጃዎችን እንዲቃጠሉ ይደረጋል።

የአጥኝው መረጃዎች እና አድራሻዎች:

በማንኛውም ሰዓት ከጥናቱ ጋር የተያያዙ መረጃዎች፣ አጠራጣሪ ሁኔታዎች፣ እና ግልጽ ያልሆኑ ነገሮች ካሉ ሁሉም እንዲጠይቁ ይበረታታሉ። አጥኝውም ጥያቄዎችን ለመመለስ ሁሉም ዝግጁ ነው። ለዚህም የሚከተሉትን የአጥኝውን አድራሻዎች መጠቀም ይቻላል፡- ስልክ ቁጥር 0911304762 እንዲሁም ለጽሑፍ መረጃዎች ኢሜል፡- rigtilahun2006@yahoo.com መጠቀም ይቻላል። በተጨማሪም አስፈላጊ ከሆነ በቅድስት ማሪያም ዩኒቨርሲቲ የቢሮ ስልክ +251 115 54 66 69 በመጠቀም መጠየቅ ይቻላል።

አጠቃላይ የጥናቱ ሁኔታ ይህንን ይመስላል። ግልጽ ያልሆኑ ጥያቄዎች ካሉ መጠየቅ ይቻላል። በዚህ መሰርት በጥናቱ ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ ከሆኑ መስማማትዎን ለመግለጽ እንዲፈረሙልኝ በማክብር እጠይቃለሁ።

እኔ የጥናቱ ተሳታፊ ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን መረጃዎች ስለተረዳሁ እና ግልጽ ያልሆኑልኝን ጥያቄዎች ጠይቄ መልስ ስላገኘሁ በጥናቱ ለመሳተፍ ስማምቻለሁ።

የጥናቱ ተካፋይ ስም -----

እስማማለሁ አልስማማም

ፊርማ ----- ቀን -----

የአጥኝው ስም ----- ፊርማ ----- ቀን -----