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Impacts of Refugee camps on the Rural Livelihoods of the Host Community in Ethiopia: A case Study of Tirkidi South Sudanese Refugee Camp, Itang district

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MSc International Development Studies

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Declaration

I, Wuhibe Degfie Frew, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

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Abstract

The thesis assessed the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host community in Itang district, Ethiopia. The topics covered livelihood sources of refugee and host community, impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp, host community coping mechanisms of the camp impacts, relationships between host community and refugees, and interventions of agencies working in the camp for coexistence and sustainable use of resources between the host community and refugees. The study used mixed research approach and embedded research methods to address the research questions. The livelihoods framework is used as an analytical framework.

Tirkidi camp consists of South Sudanese refugees. The establishment of Tirkidi camp has brought challenges and opportunities, resulting both negative and positive impacts for host communities of ethnic Anywaa, Upo and Nuer in Itang district. However, the overall findings showed that the negative impacts of Tirkidi camp outweigh the positive impacts for ethnic Nuer, Upo and Anywaa people.

The camp has brought more positive changes than negative changes in socio-economic activities for host communities such as, constructing health centers, schools, and maintenance of routes, employing hosts, trainings, income generation projects and provision of pipe water. However, the camp causes the prices of some goods to increase, especially goods demanded by the hosts and refugees such as fish, milk, vegetables, and fruit. Some people who were already poor based on the context also become poorer and poorer, especially daily laborers because there is scarcity of labor jobs after establishment of Tirkidi refugee camp.

The camp has natural resource protection programme that plants and protects trees in order to increase the coverage of forests, but refugees do not have alternative energy sources and then use firewood and charcoal for energy from the environment. Refugees also use poles for making huts. Thus, the negative impacts of the camp on the natural environment of the host community is aggravated.

Almost all refugees are ethnic Nuer in Tirkidi camp and there are host communities of Nuer and Anywaa in Itang. Thus, the presence of several Nuer refugees may affect the tension that has already happened between host communities of Anywaa and Nuer on the ownership of land.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARRA	Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affair
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CSA	Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia
DFID	The United Kingdom Department for International Development
DICAC	Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontieres
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NRDEP	Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection
OAU	Organization of African Unity
SPLA	The Sudan People’s Liberation Army
SPLM	The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement
UN	United Nations
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

WDR World Development Report

WFP World Food Programme

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

When refugees live in developing countries for a long time, they bring about long-term economic, social, political and environmental impacts. Both hosts and refugees compete for limited resources such as water, food, housing and medical services. Besides, demands for education, health services, and infrastructure such as water supply, sanitation, and transportation increase in the host country due to several number of refugees. When refugees possess livestock, they compete with hosts for pastureland. In addition, hosts and refugee compete for firewood in most developing countries, which may lead to deforestation (World Development Report, 2011, p. 6). Host country can have challenges and opportunities because of influx of refugees (UNHCR, 2004 cited in World Development Report, 2011, p.6). The challenges and opportunities of host country depends on various factors. The political economy of the host countries, urban-rural interactions, and the nature of host-refugee relations are some of the factors determine the impacts of refugees. Additionally, when some economic projects are implemented to benefit both refugees and hosts, there are people from both hosts and refugees who can lose and gain from the economic project activities (World Development Report, 2011, p.6).

When many refugees came into a country, the host government arranges a camp to settle the refugees. However, hosts may utilize the place selected for the camp. The host community may live, farm, graze their livestock, hunt animals and so on. Thus, the establishment of the camp in local community areas disrupts the normal life of the host community and then the host community adapts to the changes and challenges due to the presence of the camp and refugees. The camp also brings about various impacts towards the host community livelihoods (Chambers, 1986).

Refugees commonly impose a burden on local infrastructure and environmental resources, but they also expand consumer market, give cheap labor and increase foreign assistance (Whitaker, 2002). Therefore, it is difficult to generalize whether host community benefits or not from the presence of refugees. Such cases should be examined in disaggregation in the sense who benefit, who lose, and why they lose, or benefit should be thoroughly studied within host communities (Chambers, 1986; Kuhlman, 1990; Sorenson, 1994 cited in Whitaker, 2002).

1.1 Problem Statement

When refugees exist in rural host country, they have various impacts on the rural livelihoods. Chambers said,

Refugee relief organizations and refugee studies have refugees as their 1st concern and focus. Adverse impacts of refugees on hosts are relatively neglected. When impacts are considered, they are viewed in terms of host country governments, economies, and services rather than people or different groups among host populations. In rural refugee-affected areas, the better-off and more visible hosts usually gain from the presence of refugees and from refugee programs. In contrast, the poorer among the hosts can be hidden losers. This is more so now than in the past, especially where land is scarce and labor relatively abundant. The poorer hosts can lose from competition for food, work, wages, services, and common property resources. (Chambers, 1986, p.245)

Chambers' explanation showed that refugee camps do not have only positive or negative impacts, but they can have negative impacts for some hosts, but positive impacts for others at the same time within host community. Their impacts can be different based on host community's economic status. Therefore, the impacts of refugee camps should be thoroughly studied in detail using different indicators within the host community in order to exactly know which age group, gender, ethnicity...and livelihoods have faced negative or positive impacts because of refugees and refugee camps. Then, we can eventually arrive to conclude that the refugee camp has more positive or negative impacts for the host community.

Following chambers, other scholars described about the different impacts of refugee camps on hosts, and refugees may result in different impacts on diverse classes, genders, sectors & regions within the host country, but little empirical evidence is known (Whitaker, 1992, p.2 cited in Maystadt & Verwimp, 2009, p.4). This shows that there is still a gap of empirical evidence of the impacts of a refugee camp on different people within host community and this is the good reason to study the impacts of refugee camps on host community.

As regards host community livelihoods in Gambella, the region is one of the four least developed regions in Ethiopia, identified by harsh weather conditions, poor infrastructure, a high level of poverty and poor development indicators. The natural environment of Gambella is damaged and access to alternative energy for cooking and light is very small, necessitating refugees to collect

firewood (UNHCR, 2018). Therefore, this study is an attempt to understand the impacts of the Tirkidi South Sudanese refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host communities of ethnic Anywaa, Upo and Nuer in Itang Special district, in Gambella region.

1.2 General Objective

To assess the impacts of the Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host communities of ethnic Anywaa, Upo and Nuer in Itang Special district. Thus, the following research questions are developed from the general objective.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the livelihoods sources for the rural host communities and the South Sudanese refugees?
2. What are the impacts of the Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host communities, both opportunities and risks?
3. How do the rural host communities cope with the impacts on their livelihoods after camp establishment?
4. What does it happen to the relationship between the refugees and the rural host communities?
5. What are the immediate, medium and long-term interventions to address the livelihoods needs of the rural host community and refugee communities created by the dynamics in the environment and the pressure on the available resources to ensure coexistence and sustainable use of resources?

1.4 Background

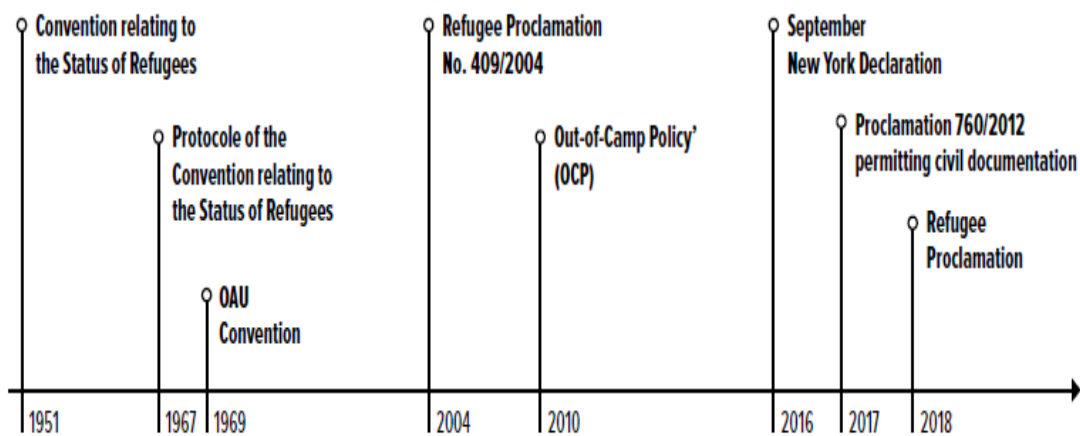
1.4.1 The Status of Refugees in Ethiopia

Ethiopia provides asylum and protection for refugees and supports their voluntary repatriation in safety and dignity on condition that the context allows. Ethiopia is a member to the United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees ratified on 28 July 1951, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees endorsed on 31 January 1967. Ethiopia is a

member to the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problem in Africa context, endorsed in Addis Ababa on 10 September 1969 (Proclamation No.409/2004, 2660). Therefore, Ethiopia enacted its national refugee law to implement The UN Convention refugee law and OAU regional legal instruments, to establish a legal and management framework for receiving refugees, to protect their safety, and to provide durable solutions whenever condition allows (Proclamation No.409/2004, 2660). After 2004, a number of refugee policies have been carried out to the well-being of refugees in Ethiopia: out of camp policy in 2010, adoption of New York declaration in 2016, and the new pledges of Ethiopia for improving the lives of refugees in 2016, and Proclamation 760/2012 for civil documentation for refugees.

After revising the previous refugee laws, Ethiopian parliament adopted the new law of refugees on 17 January 2019, and the new law gives refugees many rights such as integration right, right to work, to live out of camp, to reside out of the camps, access to social and financial services, and register life events such as births and marriages. Therefore, Ethiopia has greatly amended its refugee laws to improve the lives of refugees for the last 60 years from 1951-2018 (UNHCR, 2019, p. 5). Figure 1 provides the gradual development of the refugee law process in Ethiopia, from 1951 to 2018.

Refugee Context in Ethiopia



COMPREHENSIVE REFUGEE RESPONSE FRAMEWORK: THE ETHIOPIA MODEL

Figure1. The gradual development of the refugee law process from 1951 to 2018

Source: UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework:

The Ethiopia Model

Ethiopia is one of the largest number of refugees' asylum countries in the world. "Eritreans, South Sudanese, Sudanese, Yemenis, and Somalis originating from South and Central Somalia are recognized as prima facie refugees. Nationals from other countries undergo individual refugee status determination" (UNHCR, 2018. p. 5). A prima facie approach means recognition by a State or UNHCR of refugee status according to easily apparent, objective facts in the country of origin (<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/558a62299.pdf>). In the beginning of 2019, Ethiopia hosted 905, 831 refugees who were forced to flee their homes because of insecurity, political instability, military conscription, conflict, famine and other problems in their countries of origin. It hosts refugees coming from around 26 countries. The largest number of refugees has come from South Sudan due to conflict and is followed by Eritrea and Somalia. The refugee from Eritrea is because of political conditions, and from Somalia is due to drought and conflict (UNHCR, 2019, p.5- 6).

The largest number of refugees is found in Tigray Regional State, and the four emerging Regional States: Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella and Somalia. The name emerging here indicates that the states are least developed compared to other five states and two city

administrations of Ethiopia (ibid). The South Sudanese refugees' figure stands first in Ethiopia, constituting 422,240 individuals reside at the end of 2018. The existing conflict between Upper Nile, Jonglei and Unity States has greatly affected border areas, forced 17 554 new asylum seekers in 2018 too. Most of South Sudanese refugees are found in Nguenyiel camp in Itang Special district, Gambella Region. Somalis refugees comprise 257,283 persons, all of whom are found in five camps in Somalia Region. The Eritrean refugees consisted of 173 879 individuals at the end of 2018, including 14 567 new asylum seekers received in Tigray and Afar Regions. Moreover, Ethiopia constitutes 52 429 refugees coming from different countries including Sudan (44 620), Yemen (1, 891), and other countries (ibid).

Ethiopian government publicly pledged to improve its country's policy for refugees in Summit in New York, in September 2016 (See appendix 6). The pledges are aligned with the global Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) objectives and focus on priorities to implement CRRF in the context of Ethiopia. Next to the pledges, **civil documentation** for refugees in Ethiopia was passed in July 2017, followed by the first birth certificates for refugees were issued accordingly in October 2017. The pledges are divided into six thematic categories: out of camp, education, work and livelihoods, social and basic service, documentation, and local integration pledges (UNHCR, 2018). The three pledges and their contents are presented below.

Local Integration Pledge: Refugees who have been living for 20 years and above will legally, economically and socially integrate in the host country, availing themselves of the national protection of the host government (ibid).

Work and Livelihoods: The government has planned to cultivate 10, 000 hectares land with irrigation and to make 100,000 people including local community and refugees to work on crop production. The government has planned to build industrial parks that could employ up to 100, 000, of which 30,000 would be refugees (ibid).

Out of camp: The government pledges that it would continue out of comp policy and would increase 10 % of the total refugee population. This is additional figure of refugees to those living already outside camp and to those who are eligible to reside outside of the camps through other commitments made throughout the pledges, for instance, university students, employees in the industrial zones and farmers in crop production (ibid).

1.4.2 Gambela Refugee Camps

The First Sudanese Civil War occurred from 1955 to 1972 between the northern part of Sudan and the southern part of Sudan that demanded more representation and southern part autonomy (Poggo, 2009). By late 1960s, the war caused the deaths of around five hundred thousand people. Besides, many hundred and thousand South Sudanese people were compelled to leave their homes (<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/sudan-civil-war1.htm>).

The first Sudanese refugees came to Ethiopia in 1969 and settled in Ethiopia's western region of Gambela (<https://www.unhcr.org/en-my/4e93f2fa9.pdf>). After 11 years of the first civil war peace agreement, the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005) started in 1983 (Olay, 2017) that caused successive massive refugee influxes to Gambela in 1983, 1987 and the early 1990s. Therefore, several refugees necessitated the then Ethiopian government and UNHCR setting up refugee camps (<https://www.unhcr.org/en-my/4e93f2fa9.pdf>).

After the outbreak of the Second Sudanese Civil War, the first camp was established in Itang district in Gambella, in 1983. Other camps were subsequently set up in Gambela to host the massive influx of South Sudanese refugees (Olay 2017). Itang was once popular in 1980s because it hosted the largest number of refugees in the world (Young, 1999). In 1980s, 350 000 South Sudanese refugees fled to Ethiopia and settled in the camps of Gambela because most people who were victimized by the civil conflict were living near to Ethiopian border (Regassa, 2010).

However, Itang refugee camp was closed in 1991 when most South Sudanese refugees returned home due to the change of government in Ethiopia (Woube, 2005). The remaining refugees of Itang were transferred to other camps in Gambela region. The South Sudanese refugees in Gambella were 15 469 in Bonga camp, 31 704 Pugnido camp & 10 052 in Dimma camp, in July 1995 (ibid).

In 2005, ceasefire was signed between Sudan government and Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM). Following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between SPLM and Sudan

government, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) and other International Organizations repatriated 10,065 from Bonga, 5, 257 from Dimma, and 5, 493 refugees from Pugnido between March 31, 2006 to March 2007. These organizations continued repatriating voluntary refugees from the three already mentioned camps in Gambella region, especially after South Sudan declared independence from Sudan in July 2011. However, after two years of independence, South Sudan was yet again entangled in a civil war and that has continued to date. Then, after mid-December 2013, South Sudan people fled to neighboring countries including Ethiopia to save their lives following forces loyal to president Salva Kir and forces loyal to the former vice president Riek Machar started fighting against each other (Johnson 2014, p.168).

1.4.3 Tirkidi Refugee Camp

Tirkidi refugee camp is located in Itang Special district formally began working, on 26 February 2014. The camp was established with the purpose of admitting South Sudanese refugees coming from Akobo, Pagak and Burbiey gateways. It is the first camp for South Sudanese refugees in Itang district following South Sudan civil war late December 2013, and Tirkidi camp is 50 km far from the border of South Sudan (ARRA respondent interview, 2018).

Tirkidi is an Anywaa's language word means under the mountain. Tirkidi is also the name of the area and the camp. The area is also called Terfam, which is a Nuer's language word, meaning under the mountain. Thus, Tirkidi and Terfam have the same meaning, and describes the same thing in this thesis, which is under the mountain, because the camp is found under the mountain. The total figure of refugees as per Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) report is 74 000 in November 2018. All refugees, except nine individuals who belong to Shuluk tribe, are ethnically Nuer in view of ARRA report (ARRA Tirkidi, 2018).

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis outline is divided into five different chapters comprising various sub-sections. The first Chapter is an introduction section, which consists of problem statement, research objective,

research questions, and the background of refugees in Ethiopia. The second chapter deals with literature review that includes definition of terms and concepts, economic, sociocultural and environmental impacts of refugees, livelihoods and the livelihoods framework. The third Chapter deals with the methodology. It encompasses the philosophical overviews, the methods used to collect data and where to collect data, the types of samples selected and why they were selected. It includes the limitations during the data collection process. The fourth chapter will present the results of the research questions. This includes livelihood sources of refugees and hosts, impacts of refugees on the rural livelihoods of the host community, host community coping mechanisms, relations between host community and refugees, and interventions of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for peaceful existence between refugees and host community. Finally, the fifth chapter will discuss the results of chapter four based on the livelihoods framework and other relevant literatures.

Chapter Two

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definitions of Terms and Concepts

Host Community

A host community refers to an asylum country and the local, regional and national governmental, social and economic structures within which refugees live. Concerning camps, the host community may border the camp, or may simply neighbor the camp but interacts with, or otherwise be impacted by, the refugees living in the camp (UNHCR Resettlement Service, 2011).

Rural host community

Rural host community, in this study, refers to Upo, Nuer and Anywaa ethnic communities in Itang Special district. Therefore, rural livelihoods of the host community in this context refer to Upo, Nuer and Anywaa livelihoods.

Rural Livelihood

A rural livelihood is defined as

the capabilities, assets, and activities that rural people require for a means of living.” It is considered 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. (http://www.fao.org/3/Y8349e/Y8349e.htm#P64_6045)

Intervention

Intervention consists of any activity or activities of a program that concentrate directly on changing a determinant, and finally achieve goals of the programme after implementing the activities. Some intervention programmes can achieve the goal without mediating by the determinants, for example, food relief given to refugees is viewed as successful if foods are given to and consumed by refugees (Chen, 2005, p. 23). In short, intervention refers to any activity to

solve the existing problem, to prevent potential problem or to improve some parts of quality of life (ibid).

Impact

Impact implies changes in people's lives. This might include changes in knowledge, skill, behavior, health or living conditions for children, adults, families or communities. Such changes are positive or negative long-term effects on identifiable population groups produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended. These effects can be economic, socio-cultural, institutional, environmental, technological or of other types. (Hearn and Buffardi, 2016, p.8)



Figure 2. Example of a network of hypothetical impacts from the construction of a dam

Source: (Hearn and Buffardi, 2016, p.10)

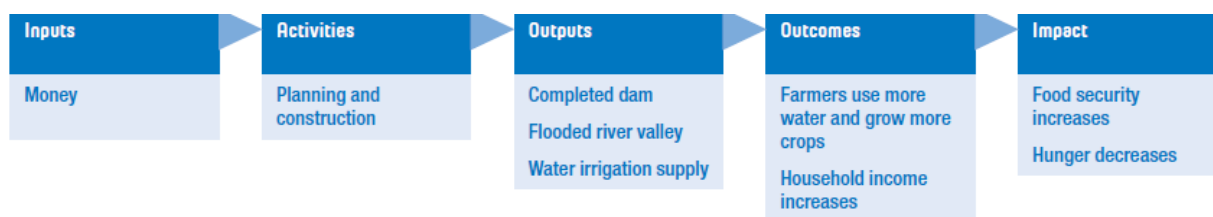


Figure 3. Results chain from the construction dam.

Source: (Hearn and Buffardi, 2016, p.11)

Refugees

The 1951 Refugee Convention mentioned requirements to give a universal definition of a refugee. The first and universal definition of a refugee that relates to states is included in Article 1(A) and (2) of the 1951 convention, as modified by its 1967 Protocol. The 1951 Convention defines a refugee is a person who has forced to leave his country of origin for another country because of well-founded fear of being persecuted, The person's life is in a risky condition because of his race, religion, nationality or membership of certain groups when he stays in his country of origin or a country of citizenship. Besides, he is unable to avail himself of the protection of his country of origin or is unwilling to return to his country of origin due to his proven fear of being persecuted. If a person has more than one nationality, the term "the country of his nationality" shall mean each of the countries, of which he is a national. The person shall not be considered to be without the protection of his country if, without any valid reason based on well-grounded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national (<https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/221761/refugee-definition>).

The main points found in the 1951 United Nations (UN) definition of a refugee are:

- A refugee is a person who has crossed the boundary of his country of origin.
- The person provides proven reasons or facts for his fear of being persecuted in his country of origin.
- The reasons that the person escapes from the persecution can be different, for instance, his ethnicity, opinion, religion, race, and membership of political party.

- The person is not able or unwilling to avail himself under the protection of his country of origin or return to his country of origin.

The regional instruments in Africa and Latin America supplemented the definition in Article 1 of the 1951. Based on Article 1(2) of the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention, OAU included the specific problems that caused people of Africa to become refugees at that time. OAU defines a refugee is a person who is forced to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another country. The reasons are external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin of nationality (<https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/221761/refugee-definition>).

When OAU adopted the 1951 UN definition of a refugee, most African countries were under colonialism. As a result, colonialism made some people leave their countries for other countries. However, colonialism was not in Europe in 1940s, but the problem in Europe was the Second World War (1939-45). When the war was ended, UNHCR was established in 1951 based on the European context to help primarily European refugees. Therefore, Africa defined a refugee as regards its context.

Similarly, Latin America defined a refugee based on its context. Conclusion III of the 1984 Cartagena Declaration defined refugees are persons who left their countries because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order (<https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/221761/refugee-definition>).

Generally, the UN, Africa and Latin America definitions of a refugee possess similar characteristics. Both Africa and Latin America adopted the 1951 Refugee Convention. However, they shaped the 1951 definition of a refugee from their specific aspects of the problems in their continents that compelled a person to leave his or her country.

2.2 Impacts of Refugee Camps on the Host Community

Many people from sub-Saharan Africa are forced to leave their countries to find protection because their lives were threatened by the civil war in their countries. Most of them seek asylum in neighboring countries. As a result, the host countries establish camps and call on the international community to help refugees when humanitarian crises happen. However, the characteristics and impacts of the refugees produce on host community are not sufficiently understood (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009, p.3). In fact, what people understood that the refugee camps are usually established in the outskirts areas in which hosts struggle to sustain their livelihoods because of poor and underdeveloped conditions (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009, p.3). It seems clear that refugees will add impacts on the host community living in that area. From a policy point of view, The United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) appear to know that such impacts have been neglected for many years (ibid). “A better understanding the channel through which local populations are affected help improve the efficiency of such programs” (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009, p.3).

People perceive that refugee camps exist for short time and refugees depend only on assistance. However, such perception does not reflect the reality. Some temporary camps can last for long, which may lead to the problem of protracted refugee situations (Crisp, 2003; Slaughter and Crisp, 2009 cited in Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009, p.3).

“Refugee influx and refugee camps can have various and many impacts on host communities such as price increase, wage competition, and natural resource competition” (Chambers, 1986 cited in Maystadt & Verwimp, 2009, p.3). Refugee camps also have unequal impacts on the host community, in the sense that those who have better economic status would more likely benefit from the presence of refugee camps, but poor hosts would not as equally as compete with the relatively wealthy hosts for work, food, service, & refugee programmes (ibid). Thus, the poor hosts would become vulnerable people because of refugee camps. Chambers called these vulnerable hosts as hidden losers (ibid).

2.2.1 Economic Impacts

The economic impact category covers the consequences of refugees’ settlements on the economy of host country in terms of macroeconomic and fiscal indicators. For instance, economic impact category may focus on the effect of refugees on the labor market, negative externalities, trade, banking, tourism, public spending, lost income, and customs fees (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018).

The issue of economic impact due to the presence of refugees is debatable over its positive and negative economic ramifications and the criteria refugees to be considered as a burden or a potential benefit to the economy of the host country (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018).

The massive influx of refugees may result in both negative and positive impacts on host communities who participate in different livelihoods. Studies showed in western Tanzania that both negative and positive impacts might happen on host community. Tanzanians farmers who were engaged in farming and producing surplus products benefited from the increased price of food crop because of influx of refugees. However, those who were poor and did not have land suffered from the high increase of food price (Whitaker, 2002, pp.339-358). Whitaker summarized that hosts who have assets such as land, education or power would resist or benefit from the presence of refugees, but those who were already poor in the local context become even further poor due to large influx of refugees (Whitaker, 2002, pp.339-358).

The price of goods increased in west Tanzania because refugees and humanitarian organizations' staff increasingly demanded the goods. Refugees also sold goods that they received and bought other goods from the hosts. Thus, the prices of some goods increased dramatically. Labor wages became low since refugees worked with less wages, which greatly benefited farmers who needed agricultural workers, but skilled workers were highly needed with good salaries. Refugees and hosts' private businesses were becoming successful. The study also showed that the region infrastructure, health care and sanitation were improved because projects were completed, for instance, roads, airfields and telecommunications. The camps' spatial concentration of economic activities produced positive spillover due to sharing of inputs and using of international assistance in west Tanzania (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018, p.158).

On the other hand, some scholars highlighted refugees are economic burden to the host countries, they justify host countries spend more cost for caring and supporting refugees than receiving international assistance. The burden becomes worse, especially if the countries are poor since hosts and refugees commonly use the available public services (ibid).

Different studies have different results related to the economic impact of refugees, depending on the cases. In the case of Syrian refugees in Jordan, the impact of refugees on Jordan economy was studied using major macroeconomic indicators such as unemployment rate, foreign direct investment, and food pricing. The high food prices in 2010-2012 caused inflation because the

massive influx of refugees demanded more food, and then Jordan increased importing food by 11%. After the influx of Syrian refugees in 2011, in addition to the Iraqi refugees of 1990 & 2003, Jordan spent more money for public services. Unemployment rate increased in Jordan and then Jordanians complained that Syrian refugee increased unemployment, saying Syrians refugees work illegally without work permits (Lozi, 2013).

2.2.2 Socio- Cultural Impacts

The social complications of refugees' presence in host communities related to cultural gaps and ethnicity, population density and other complexities are the social & cultural impacts used in this thesis (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). The inflow of refugees into asylum countries may affect the social and cultural structure of host communities and may result in social tension between refugees and hosts (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). Refugees compete with hosts for resources and public services. As a result, the relation between refugees and local hosts may be decreased due to competition for resources and inequalities (Betts, 2009). Nonetheless, such types of problems between hosts and refugees can be solved through organizations working for refugee support the hosts. For instance, the inflow of refugees in Tanzania benefited host communities because refugee organizations support public projects that were used for all people (Whitaker, 2002).

When large number of refugees come to host places, they change ethnicity balance of the host communities and increase the social tension. However, sociocultural tension between refugees and host communities decreases when refugee and hosts share the same culture, religion and language. Having shared such values, refugees may conveniently get social integration in host communities (UNHCR, 2007). When Pashtun Afghan refugees left for the North West Frontier Province in Pakistan, they were welcomed and considered as relatives because people of the Pashtun culture dominated the North West Frontier Province (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). This implies how homogenous culture is powerful to communicate and integrate different people from different countries.

From another point of view, refugee conditions per se result in social conflict because the refugee community experienced gender-based dominance, which in turn affects household relations (Women's Refugee Commission, 2009 cited in Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). To give illustrations, Somali women refugees in Sanaa in Yemen get jobs such as, housekeepers and earn wages for maintaining households, whereas Somali men couldn't find jobs there, and depend on the income

of their wives. Such economic relation causes social disorder and local violence (Gomez & Christensen, 2010; Morris, 2010 cited in Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018).

2.2.3 Environmental Impacts

The influx of refugees involves detrimental activities for environment, for instance, cutting trees for camps, construction and firewood. The negative effects of refugees may differ based on settlements, for instance, land degradation occurs in camp settlement in Kenya, but in case of Zambia and Tanzania, refugees are integrated, then the negative effects of refugees are diminished (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018).

Host countries usually settle refugees in environmentally sensitive areas. Thus, refugee camps are found in semi-arid, agriculturally marginal areas in Africa. Refugees may also settle around park or forest reserve areas, for example, Rwandese refugees in former Zaire (Congo). The other problem for environment is the size of camps are very large in Africa. Large camps facilitate different services for refugees and benefit the host countries to keep refugees in one place for political and logistical reasons (Sheperd, 1995). However, large camps would negatively affect the environment more than would be the case if many smaller camps providing for the same total number of refugees were established. The other critical problem is protracted situations of refugees. This means refugees may live in temporary sheltered places for many years, and the impacts on the environment around the camp may stay for long. In that case, for example, the Virunga National Park in former Zaire (present Congo), the environmental impacts may not be reversed (Sheperd, 1995).

Environmental and security impacts of refugees are increasing. Refugees' livelihood strategies that depend on access to land and common resources cause damage the refugee hosting areas and can cause security problems (Jacobsen, 2002, p.107). Refugees destroy vegetation when they clear forests for farming, obtain woods for construction and make charcoal. They may overgraze rangelands when they have their livestock. Refugees may pollute water and compete for water. Refugees may bring about loss of watercourses and may be engaged in uncontrollable fishing livelihoods (ibid). According to UNHCR Report in 1996, the impact of the refugees on the environment of host communities can be categorized as forest depletion, land degradation, water pollution, and spread of diseases and exhaustion of water ground resources (Martin, 2005).

2.3 Livelihoods and Refugee-Host Relations

The impact of refugees on the host countries is found in many writings, broadly emphasizes livelihood opportunities, constraints, and competition. Livelihood is the main issue regarding the relation between the hosts and refugees in most contexts (Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008). Host country policy is different for both refugees and host communities because the policy depends on whether refugees live in camps, or whether refugees are integrated into the rural areas or/ and urban center is the preferable livelihood strategy (ibid). Some studies showed that when refugees are integrated into local communities, it produces good results for both host and refugee communities in specific contexts: if population density is relatively small and labor shortages are available, then integration can fill the labor gap. Integration is effective when refugees and hosts possess the same ethno-linguistic family or where both refugee and host communities have historically experienced moving in each other regions (Leach, 1992; Bakewell, 2000, 2002 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008). If the integration is based on at least one of the three mentioned criteria, refugees can create their livelihoods without being involved in excessive competition and consequent enmity with local populations. However, integration into large urban areas or large population rural areas don't benefit both refugees and hosts because refugees and hosts compete for resources and associated livelihoods struggle and /or the host government takes measures which impede refugee populations to make a living (Black & Sessay, 1997 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008).

Large camps may be specifically unsuccessful, regarding their impacts on hosts, refugees and refugee-host relations (Harrell-Bond, 2000 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008) since the impacts of a big number of refugees in one place are easily observed on the ground. The environmental impacts of large camps are refugees remove vegetation and collect firewood (Martin, 2005), which damage livelihoods of the host communities. The direct social impacts of large refugee camps in Africa may include weakening local welfare services in the host country because NGOs employ qualified professionals of government office with better salaries and other attractive benefits than the host government (Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008). The poor host communities may also envy refugees because refugees

can get food and other necessary assistance from camp while host may not have such opportunities. Presently, some people “argue that camps, while administratively convenient for UNHCR and host government, by treating inhabitants, as dependent passive victims, are a violation of human rights” (Macchiavello, 2003 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008, p.232). Although there are burdens as described from large camps, refugees still live in big camps (ibid).

Whether refugees are in the camp or are integrated into local community, host governments perceive that refugee influxes result in adverse effects, namely, excessive resource pressures and related environmental degradation (Akopari, 1998), the potential of refugees to make a security threat (Jacobsen, 2002). The other danger of refugees is that refugees may lack access to formal employment, and then they get involved in informal sector or move into illegal activities, for instance, sex work or drugs-seller (Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008). When refugees design livelihood strategies, instead of dependency syndrome, host community may have negative attitude towards refugees (Kibreab, 2003; Jacobson, 2002 cited in Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008).

Refugees affect differently on the individual groups within the host community, and studies showed that the poorer society livelihoods are more negatively impacted, particularly in land-scarce, labor abundant regions (Chambers, 1986). In the same manner, refugees and international relief agencies differently impacted host community in western Tanzania. Some Tanzanians reap the benefit from refugees while others struggle even to fulfil their daily necessities. The impact depends on gender, age, settlement pattern, socio-economic conditions and local host –refugee relations in host communities. To illustrate more, females are responsible for collecting firewood and fetching water, and the presence of refugees causes shortage of firewood in nearby places. Thus, women travel long distances and spend more time to collect firewood. Regarding age, youngsters easily get jobs but those who are old don't get any benefit. Thus, old people struggle to manage their lives because of inflation after the refugee camp establishment in their place. In addition, those who are wealthy benefit from refugee camps because they invest in cars, restaurants and other income generating activities to get profits from refugees and staff of refugee camps whereas the poor become worse off since they don't have means to control high cost of goods and services (Whitaker, 2002).

Related to livelihoods and refugee –host relations of Ethiopia, large refugee population number in Ethiopia is considered as burden using a widely accepted indicator. Three widely accepted indicators measure the relative burden borne by different countries: total number of refugees in a host country, number of refugees relative to the national population (refugee per capita) or number of refugees relative to the wealth of the country (refugees per capita GDP). Experts employ these indicators to rank countries according to the scale of their refugees’ burden. With the indicator number of refugees per US \$ 1 GDP (purchasing power parity) per capita in 2015, Ethiopia ranked the first burdened country having 469 refugees per US \$ 1 GDP per capita, followed by Pakistan 322, and Uganda having 216 refugees per US \$ 1 GDP per capita (UNHCR, 2015a cited in Miller, 2018, p.2). Others also see the impact through the lens of protracted displacement, local integration, resettlement, burden or responsibility sharing, urban displacement (Miller, 2018). In addition, host states argue that refugees damage local resources, overwhelm health facilities and school, put a burden for social and administrative services, increase the rent of house and goods and services (Miller, 2018). On the other hand, others said that refugees are often hosted in isolated and remote border areas, which have scarce natural resources, and refugees only accelerate the economic problems of hosting refugees (UNHCR, 2011 cited in Miller, 2018). However, refugees can benefit the host country economy. “When refugees have access to land, the labor market and livelihood opportunities and enjoy freedom of movement, they can have positive economic impacts by creating jobs, services and facilities, or by contributing to agricultural production and the local economy” (UNHCR, 2011 cited in Miller, 2018, p. 2). For example, Uganda allows a policy of self-settlement for refugees, and then the policy helped refugees be self-reliant, almost become free of aid, and support the local communities (Miller, 2018).

2.4 Livelihood

The concept of livelihood is mainly found in modern literatures on poverty and rural development. However, a livelihood meaning is difficult to describe, either because of ambiguity or because of having different definitions in different literature (Ellis, 2000, p. 7). The dictionary meaning of livelihood is a “means of living”, which refers to more than conventional income because it describes the method that a living is acquired. Livelihood is not exactly the net results according to income collected or consumption obtained (ibid). Chambers and Conway defined a

livelihood “comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living” (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 7 cited in Ellis, 2000, p.7). Many people accepted this definition, and researchers who adopted rural livelihoods approach apply this definition with little improvements (ibid).

The relevant characteristics of this livelihood definition is to focus on connecting between assets and the options people possess in practice to follow alternative activities that can produce the income level needed for survival (ibid). To illustrate, lack of education means low human capital, one of many types of asset, and this prevents the individual from activities that require a specific level of educational or skill accomplishment for being involved in the activities (ibid).

Capabilities- describe “the ability of individuals to realize their potential as human beings, in the sense both of being (i.e. to be adequately nourished, free of illness and so on) and doing (i.e. to exercise choices, develop skills and experience, participate socially and so on). Strictly, capabilities refer to the set of alternative beings and doings that a person can achieve with his or her economic, social, and personal characteristics” (Dreze & Sen, 1989, p. 18 cited in Ellis, 2000, p. 8). However, viewing capabilities as a part of a livelihood definition possibly confuse people because their meaning overlaps assets and activities (Ellis, 2000). Capabilities influence and are influenced by livelihood strategies when they gradually develop over time (Ellis, 2000).

Assets- According to Chambers & Conway, a livelihood includes assets that possess both economic classification of different types of capital, and do not possess, for instance, claims and access. Although asset is recognized as the basic part of a livelihood, there is a problem to decide which types of capital or stocks being included to define asset in livelihood. Proponents of Chamber and Conway’s ideas of livelihood have tried to recognize five main classifications of capital are relevant to assets to define livelihood such as natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital and social capital (Scoones, 1998, cited in Ellis, 2000, P.8).

In short, natural capital specifies the natural resource base such as, land, water, trees and the like that produce output used by people for their survival. Physical capital contains of assets obtained by economic production processes such as tools, machines, and land improvements, for instance, terraces or irrigation canals. Human capital defines to the education and health conditions of individuals and people. Financial capital describes stocks of cash that can be accessed to buy either production or consumption goods, and access to credit might be covered in it. Social

capital encompasses the social networks and associations where people are being involved in, and from which they can derive assistance that adds to their livelihoods (Ellis, 2000, P. 8).

Physical capital and human capital conform to the acknowledged economic definition of capital. To put it differently, an investment is made to obtain returns in future, and the rate of return is computed. Regarding human capital, it is usually a public investment, i.e. the state provides education and health services although the benefits have both private and public dimensions, allowing individuals to command higher incomes due to their better health or skills, also increasing the productivity of labor. Even though the natural resource base is recently considered as capital stock, there are problems to value natural asset when little information exists about the stream of benefits that produces and the time span ranges far beyond the economic life of conventional investments (Ellis, 2000, p.8).

The concept financial capital is to some degree included an asset in the livelihood situation because it contains financial stocks such as savings, which can be used for either consumption or investment, and loans obtained with credit contracts which can also be used for investment for future productive capacity and other purposes. The access to loans, savings, credit or other forms of finance is vital to individual or household livelihood options, which are available to them. As a result, financial capital is a determinant of an individual or a household asset (ibid).

Social capital is comparatively a recent concept (Coleman, 1990; Putnam et al., 1993 cited in Ellis, 2000, P.8), which does not agree with the economic concept of productive assets. Moreover, social capital is still an argumentative concept due to its definition, focusing more on personalized networks more than formal existing community organization, for example, farmer associations, village committees and so on, and its ability as a method for describing political, social or economic change (Harris, 1997 cited in Ellis, 2000, p.9). Despite all these ambiguities of social capital, rural livelihoods in developing countries have paid attention to personalized networks, have established complex, but informal, systems of rights and obligations formed to advance future livelihood security (Berry, 1989; 1993 cited in Ellis, 2000, 9). Although there may be argument related to the agreed definition of social capital, individuals and households acknowledged that social capital as an asset needs investment with the aim of securing potential future returns (ibid).

Despite the problem of definition and difficulty of concept that surround some of the types of capital, all five types are adopted as analytically beneficial constituents of the assets underpin individual and household livelihood strategies. Consequently, all five types of capital are used to define a livelihood (Ellis, 2000, p.9).

According to Chambers and Conway's definition, access is found within asset, which means access is incorporated in asset component of livelihood. However, access is an important element of livelihoods that individuals or households possess to different types of capital, opportunities and services (Ellis, 2000, p.9). "Access is defined by the rules and social norms that determine the differential ability of people in rural areas to possess, control, otherwise "claim", or make use of resources such as land and common property" (Scoones, 1998, p. 8 cited in Ellis, 2000, 9). "Access also refers to the impact of social relations such as gender or class, on this ability" (Ellis, 2000, 9). Access is also defined as the ability to take part in, and obtain benefits from, social and public services of the state, namely, education, health services, roads, water supplies and the like (Ellis, 2000, p. 9)

Ellis emphasized access in a livelihood context in a greater extent than Chambers & Conway did. According to Ellis, access in a livelihood is considered important because access encompasses the impact of social relations and institutions that mediate an individual or family's ability to fulfil his or her consumption needs. Under livelihood context, social relation refers to gender, family, kin, class, caste, ethnicity, belief systems relationships, and so forth. Both social and kinship networks are vital for facilitating various revenue portfolios (ibid). Institutions are defined as acceptable pattern of behavior organized by rules that have extensive use in society (ibid). Institutions refer to "rule of the game in society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction" (North, 1999, p.3 cited in Ellis, 2000, p.10). Institutions rule, for instance, how market works in practice, including the degree of trust (or lack of it) in markets, and the method to reduce lack of trust; the local rules regulating access to community resources, for instance, grazing, forest..., land tenure and security of tenure. There may be conflict or overlaps between local institutions and institutions work for large territory. For instance, customary land tenure may conflict with country's land tenure system (Ellis, 2000, p.10).

In general, in considering the above discussions of asset, access, activities, and capabilities, the livelihood definition suggested by Ellis is somewhat different from the definition suggested by Chambers and Conway.

“A livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household” (Ellis, 2000, p. 10). The points to be noted from this definition, “a risk that attaches to any definition of this kind is that it fails to convey change overtime and adaptation to evolving circumstances” (Ellis, 2000, p. 10). The basic characteristic of rural livelihoods in poor countries is nowadays the capacity to adapt to survive, and therefore the creation of a livelihood has to be seen as a continuing process. That means the elements of a livelihood may vary from season to next season, year to next year. Assets can be constructed, weakened, or instantaneously destroyed, for example by flood. Likewise, available activities fluctuate seasonally, and over years, especially related to the larger economic directions in the national economy and beyond. Access to resources and opportunity may differ for individual households because of shifting norms and events in the social and institutional situations encompassing their livelihoods (ibid).

2.4.1 Sustainable Livelihoods

Sustainable livelihoods consist of capability, equity and sustainability. A livelihood is simply defined as a means of securing a living.

Capabilities are both an end and means of livelihood: a livelihood provides the support for enhancement and exercise of capabilities (an end); and capabilities (a means) enable a livelihood to be gained. Equity is both an end and a means: any minimum definition of equity must include adequate and decent livelihoods for all (end); and equity in assets and access are preconditions (means) for gaining adequate and decent livelihoods (end). Sustainability, too, is both end and means sustainable stewardship of resources is a value (or end) in itself; and it provides conditions (a means) for livelihoods to be sustained for future generations. (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p.5)

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) put sustainable livelihoods forward in the report of an advisory panel and called for a new analysis with sustainable livelihood security as an integrating concept, which was mainly mentioned in its report. WCED defines Sustainable livelihood security is as follows:

Livelihood is defined as adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. Security refers to secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income earning activities, including reserves assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies. Sustainable refers to maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on long-term basis. A household may be enabled to gain sustainable livelihoods security in many ways- through ownership of land, livestock or trees; rights to grazing, fishing, hunting or gathering; through stable employment with adequate remuneration; or through varied repertoires of activities. (WCED1987A, 2-5 cited in Chambers & Conway, 1991, p.5)

Sustainable livelihood security was an integrating concept because it was a prerequisite to stabilize human population, to improve agriculture and sustainable management. Additionally, sustainable livelihoods security is a means of restraining the causes of the problems, especially rural to urban migration. Thus, sustainable livelihoods are considered a means of serving the objectives of both equity and sustainability (ibid). However, Chambers and Conway proposed another definition which does not only focus on rural areas and situations where people are farmers or make a living from primary self-managed production. Rather, their sustainable livelihoods definition is considered composite (Krantz, 2001).

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term. (Chambers and Conway, 1991, p. 6)

2.4.2 Determinants of Livelihoods

Initial determinants of livelihood strategy are various, and those livelihoods are already decided by chance of birth may be ascriptive. For instance, children may be born into a caste with a given role as potters, shepherds in village of India. Gender as socially defined is another example of a common ascriptive determinant of livelihood activities. However, all livelihood strategies are not necessarily ascriptive, rather socialization. A farmer may have children who also become farmers because of socialization, but not they are being born into that farmer. A shopkeeper with shop and stock may have household members who are engaged in similar livelihoods as his/her father (Chambers and Conway, 1991, p.6).

Several livelihoods are less predetermined. In desperation, human beings have capacities to make suddenly livelihoods, and making a livelihood depends on social, economic, and ecological environment where they live in. Besides, an individual or household tends to choose livelihood with, namely, education and migration. People who are better off have increased their options compared to those who are worse off, and strong economy creates more opportunities. Change happens quickly in the world, and people should develop their capacity to adapt and to exploit the new opportunities may be both more important and more prevalent (Chambers and Conway, 1991, p.6).

2.4.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) developed the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, which is an analysis tool, consists of several factors that affect a person's livelihood and how the factors interact with each other. The DFID sustainable livelihoods framework considers livelihoods as system. This framework analyzes livelihoods using the asset people start using, strategies people developed to make a living, the context where a livelihood is developed, and those things that cause a livelihood almost vulnerable to shocks and stress (https://www.unisdr.org/files/16771_16771guidancenoteonrecoveryliveliho.pdf).

Livelihood assets can be three types. Tangible assets such as, food stores and cash savings, trees, land and so forth. Intangible assets may be claims, for example, of a refugee for food, assistance, and assets can be access to education, health services, and employment opportunities (ibid). Asset can also be classified into five groups: human, social, natural, physical and financial capitals

(https://www.unisdr.org/files/16771_16771guidancenoteonrecoverylivelih.pdf).

Box 1. Livelihood Assets

<i>Human capital:</i>	Skills, knowledge, health and ability to work
<i>Social capital:</i>	Social resources, including informal networks, membership of formalized groups and relationships of trust that facilitate co-operation and economic opportunities
<i>Natural capital:</i>	Natural resources such as land, soil, water, forests and fisheries
<i>Physical capital:</i>	Basic infrastructure, such as roads, water & sanitation, schools, ICT; and producer goods, including tools, livestock and equipment
<i>Financial capital:</i>	Financial resources including savings, credit, and income from employment, trade and remittances

Source: Eldis-Livelihood Connect, Retrieved from

<http://www.eldis.org/go/topics/dossiers/livelihoodsconnect/what-are-livelihoods-approaches/livelihoods-assets>

Livelihood contexts refer to the social, economic and political contexts in which livelihood is developed. Institutions, processes and policies, such as markets, social norms, and land ownership policies affect our ability to access and use assets for achieving our objectives. When these contexts change, they develop new livelihood problems or opportunities (ibid).

Box 2. Livelihood Contexts

<i>Social relations:</i>	The way in which gender, ethnicity, culture, history, religion and kinship affect the livelihoods of different groups within a community
<i>Social and political organization:</i>	Decision-making processes, civic bodies, social rules and norms, democracy, leadership, power and authority, rent-seeking behavior
<i>Governance:</i>	The form and quality of government systems including structure, power, efficiency and effectiveness, rights and representation
<i>Service delivery:</i>	The effectiveness and responsiveness of state and private sector agencies engaged in delivery of services such as education, health, water and sanitation
<i>Resource access institutions:</i>	The social norms, customs and behaviors (or 'rules of the game') that define people's access to resources

<i>Policy and policy processes:</i>	The processes by which policy and legislation is determined and implemented and their effects on people's livelihoods
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Source: Eldis - Livelihoods Connect, Retrieved from

<http://www.eldis.org/go/topics/dossiers/livelihoodsconnect/what-are-livelihoods-approaches/policies-institutions-and-processes>

When natural environment changes, livelihoods are affected. Natural environment includes the quality of soil, air and water, the climatic and geography of the environment, availability of animal and plant species, and the frequency and intensity of natural problems all determine livelihood (https://www.unisdr.org/files/16771_16771guidancenoteonrecoveryliveliho.pdf).

Livelihood strategies: refers to how people access and use the assets within the existing social, economic, political and environmental contexts form livelihood strategy. Strategies are many different types, for example, a person may attempt several activities to meet his (her) needs. One or many individuals may be involved in activities that contribute to a collective livelihood strategy. Within households, individuals often attempt different responsibilities to facilitate the necessities for existence and growth of the family (ibid). In addition, in some cultures, this

grouping may expand to a small community, where persons work together to fulfil the needs of the whole group when the community is small number, (ibid).

Livelihood Vulnerability: Livelihood strength depends not only on its productive outcomes, but also its resilience to shocks, seasonal changes and trends.

Shocks might include natural disasters, wars, and economic downturns. Availability of resources, income-generating opportunities, and demand for certain products and services may fluctuate seasonally. More gradual and often predictable, trends in politics and governance, technology use, economics, and availability of natural resources, can pose serious obstacles to the future of many livelihoods. These changes affect the availability of assets and the opportunities to transform those assets into a “living” people must adapt existing strategies or develop new strategies to survive. (https://www.unisdr.org/files/16771_16771guidancenoteonrecoveryliveliho.pdf)

Livelihood Interdependence: Most livelihoods are interdependent each other. A livelihood may depend on other livelihoods to access and exchange assets, for example, traders may depend on farmers to produce goods, processors to make them, and beneficiaries to buy them. In addition, livelihoods themselves compete for access to assets and markets. As a result, positive and negative impacts on any given livelihood will affect others. This is a specifically important attention when planning livelihood assistance (ibid).

2.5 Activities and Income

Although livelihoods and income differ, but both are inextricably linked since the composition and level of individual or household income at a given point in time is directly measured as outcome of livelihood process. Income consists of contributions of cash and in-kind to individual or household obtained from the set of livelihoods activities in which household members are involved in. Cash income types include cash from crop or livestock sales, wages, rent and remittances. The in-kind income includes consumption of on-farm produce. Payments in kind, or exchange of consumption items either between households in rural communities or between urban and rural households. (Ellis, 2000, p.11).

2.5.1 Farm Income, Off-farm Income and Non-farm Income

Farm income is an income acquired from farming his or her own land, or cash or share tenancy land. This income consists of livestock and crop income as well. The farm income includes consumption in-kind of own farm product and the cash income acquired from selling the product. In all situations, reference is to income net of the costs of production (Ellis, 2000, p. 11).

In contrast, off-farm income is wage or exchange labor on other farms, which is within agriculture. Wage is paid in kind, for example, sharing of harvest and other non-wage labor contracts that are commonly found in developing countries. Non-wage labor may be composed of incomes from environmental resources such as firewood, charcoal, house building materials, wild plants and the like, but the income from these environmental resources can be measured and can be valued (ibid).

Non-farm income is a non-agricultural income source. They are categorized into different types: Non-farm rural wages or salary employment, non-farm-rural self-employment or business income, income from leasing land or property, urban to rural remittances inside national boundaries, other urban transfers to rural households such as pension payments to retirees, and remittances arising from overseas (Ellis, 2000, 12).

2.6 Diversity and Diversification

The terms diversity and diversification are important in rural livelihood context. Diversity refers to the existence, at a point in time, of many various earnings sources, which normally requires diverse social relations to underpin them (Ellis, 2000, p.14). Nonetheless, diversification interprets the existence of diversity as a continuous social and economic process, and it shows the existing factors of both pressure and opportunity that make families use increasingly intricate and diverse livelihood strategies (Ellis, 2000, p. 14).

Rural livelihood diversification refers to the process by which rural households establish an

increasingly various portfolios of activities and assets to survive and improve their standard of living (Ellis, 2000, p.15).

2.7 The Livelihoods Framework

The livelihoods framework, figure 4, shows the complexity of people's livelihoods. It requires realizing the numerous dimensions of a person's livelihood, the strategies and objectives pursued, and associated opportunities and constraints (Ellis, 2000).

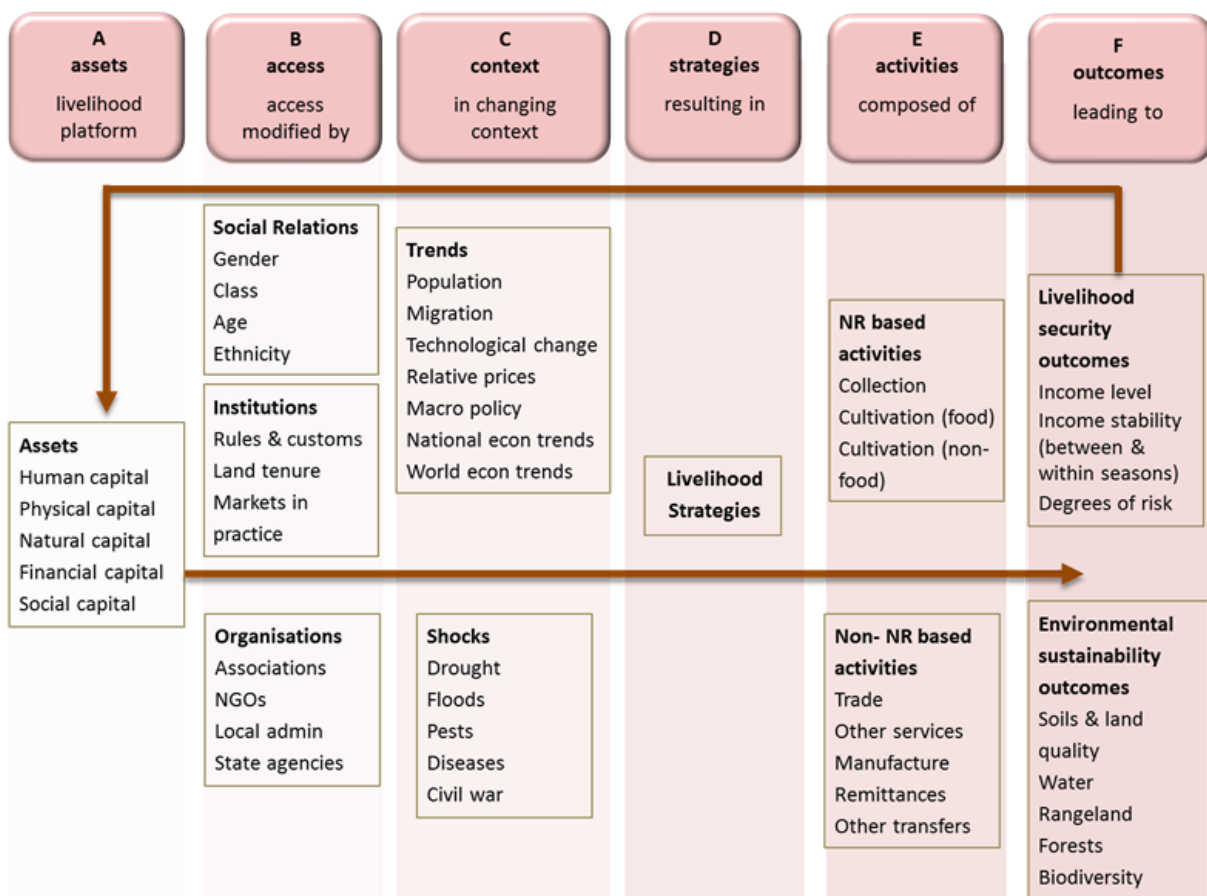


Figure 4. The Livelihoods Framework

Source: (Ellis, 2000)

https://www.soas.ac.uk/cedep-demos/000_P516_EID_K3736-Demo/unit1/page_15.htm

Chapter Three

3. Methodology

3.1 Philosophical Worldviews

Researchers should explain the larger philosophical ideas they adopt in their research because the philosophical ideas assist the researchers describe why they select qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods approaches for their research (Creswell, 2013, p.35). Philosophical worldviews influence the research process, but they seem unseen in research. Thus, they should be recognized (Slife & Williams, 1995 cited in Creswell, 2013, P. 35). Philosophical worldviews mean, “A basic set of beliefs that guide action” (Guba, 1990, p. 17 cited in Creswell, 2013, p.35).

3.1.1 Social Constructivism Worldviews

Social constructivists think that individuals want to understand the world in which they reside and work, and ontology (reality) is socially constructed, and reality does not have independent existence. Instead, reality refers to subjective meanings and experience of things of individuals. Then, the researcher’s philosophical worldview of ontology determines his/her epistemology perspective in research, and therefore the researcher draws on interpretivism epistemological view which means subjective meanings play main roles for social actions, and thus interpretivism epistemology aims to express meanings and interpretations of participants. The researcher’s views of ontology and epistemology determine the research methodology. As a result, the suitable research approach for social constructivism is qualitative that explores the complexity of views, the understandings and the meanings given to the research topic (Creswell, 2013, p.36).

3.1.2 Postpositivism Worldviews

Postpositivists believe in determination view in the sense that causes determine effects. As a result, postpositivists deal with the problem to explore the causes that influences outcome. Postpositivism also reduces ideas into a small, discrete set to test, namely, the variables that consists of hypothesis and research questions (Creswell, 2013, p.36). Besides, the postpositivists believe that epistemology or knowledge develops through “empirical observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists “out there” in the world” (Creswell, 2013, p.36). Therefore, using quantitative measurement for observation and studying the behavior of individuals are important for a postpositivists who believe that the laws and theories govern the

world should be tested and refined, and then people can sense the world. Thus, postpositivists deal with to verify theories with scientific method. In beginning with theory, the researchers collect data to support or refute the theory, and then they revise and conduct additional tests several times before reaching conclusion (ibid). According to the position of postpositivism worldview, the key assumptions are knowledge is conjectural which implies absolute truth can never be discovered. Thus, evidence provided in research is always imperfect and fallible. That is why researchers say that they do not prove a hypothesis, but they show a failure to reject the hypothesis. “Research is the process of making claims and then refining or abandoning some of them for other claims more strongly warranted, for example, most quantitative research begins with the test of a theory” (Creswell, 2013, p.36).

3.1.3 Pragmatism Worldviews

Pragmatism belongs neither to social constructivism nor to postpositivism philosophy and reality. Thus, mixed methods research uses pragmatism, and then researchers use both quantitative and qualitative approaches when they do a research. Researchers can use the method, procedures that best fit the objective of the research. Thus, mixed methods researchers apply many approaches for collecting and analyzing data instead of adopting either quantitative or qualitative (Creswell, 2013, p.39). In addition, “reality is what works at the time, and reality is not based on in a duality between reality independent of the mind or within the mind” (Creswell, 2013, p.39). Thus, researchers apply both quantitative and qualitative methods to the best realizing the research problem. The other characteristics of pragmatism is researchers should clarify the purpose why mixed methods are used. Again, pragmatists believe in an external world independent of the mind and reality embedded in the mind. Finally, when a researcher uses the mixed methods, pragmatism worldview is useful to apply many methods, different worldviews, different types of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2013, p.39).

Having discussed above about the philosophical worldviews in the three research approaches, I selected mixed methods research, which contributes to a greater degree knowledge of a research problem than either approach alone (Creswell, 2013, p.35). Mixed methods approach is a useful method for triangulation (ibid). In mixed methods research, the limitations related to qualitative research methods are reduced using quantitative methods. For instance, quantitative research methods can solve the problem of low levels of validity and reliability of the findings of

qualitative research. Triangulation process that refers to collecting information by using different data sources such as questionnaire, different types of interviews, secondary data and participatory observation can reduce the problem of validity and reliability of qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). Similarly, because the goal of this research is also to assess the perception, understandings of participants' experiences about the impacts of a Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host communities in Itang district, I employed mixed method research. The researcher collected data with quantitative research method such as self-administered questionnaire. The objective of survey study helps predict the result through models (Bryman, 2012).

Likewise, the researcher collected data with qualitative research methods such as key informants' in-depth interviews, individual semi-structured interview, focus group discussions and participatory observation. Henceforth, qualitative research enabled the researcher to gather in-depth information relating to both the refugees and host communities' perception, understandings, information, meanings in connection with the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host community (Creswell, 2013). Thus, qualitative research was also important for this inquiry.

3.2 Research Designs

“Research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Others have called them strategies of inquiry” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011 cited in Creswell, 2013, p.41). I have already chosen mixed methods approach that consists of convergent parallel, explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential and embedded mixed methods designs types. I also used **embedded mixed methods design**, which includes either the convergent or the sequential use of data. However, the basic and important objective is that a bigger design embeds a smaller design of either quantitative or qualitative data and the data sources have a supporting activity in the overall design (Creswell, 2013, p.44).

3.3 Study Area

3.3.1. Gambela People's Region

Gambela Peoples' Region, mostly known as Gambela, is one of the nine federation units of Ethiopia, and its capital is called Gambela. The region lies between the Baro and Akobo Rivers; the total figure of the population of Gambela Region is about 307 096, of which 159 787 men and 147 309 females, with urban population 77 925 (40, 934 males & 36 991 females) of the total population (Central Statistics Agency- Ethiopia, CSA, 2007, p.12). Hereafter, I use shortened form CSA. This figure is still used since the country has not officially had its population from 2007 until to date. Although census should be conducted every 10 years (FDRE, 1995), the political problem has internally displaced many Ethiopian people from their places since 2015 and thereby has not allowed Ethiopia to conduct census until to date. Having an area about 29,782.82 square kilometers, the Gambela region consists of an estimated density of 10 people per square kilometer. 66,467 households were counted in Gambela Region that produces an average of 4.6 persons to a household in the region, with an average of 3.8 for urban households and of 4.9 people for rural households (CSA, 2007).

Based on Ethiopian ethnic political administration, Gambela region politically belongs to five indigenous ethnic population: Anywaa, Nuer, Mezhenger, Upo, and Komo (The Gambella Regional State Constitution, 2002). Nuer 143 286 (76 623 males & 66 663 females), Anywaa are 64 986 (30 277 males & 34 709 females), Mezhenger 12 280 (6 036 males & 6 244 females), Upo 990 (501 males & 489 females) and Komo 224 (120 males and 104 females) are the population figure (CSA, 2007, pp.35-36). Different from the five already mentioned indigenous ethnic groups, other Ethiopian ethnic groups also live in the region although they do not have political power in Gambella region based on Ethiopian ethnic political system (FDRE, 1995).

During census of 2007, respondents were asked that which ethnic group they belonged to. A person's ethnicity is identified with his/her tribal origin (CSA, 2007). Out of the total figure of the region, Amhara 25 862, Oromo 14 833, Kembata 4 410, Tigray 4 052 are some of ethnic group other than indigenous ethnic groups residing in the region. The population figure in Gambella Region based on their mother tongue, for instance, 67 622 speak Anywaagna as their mother tongue, 148 491 Nuerigna, 34 119 Amarigna, 14 491 Oromigna, 4 503 Kembategna, 4 054 Tigrinya, 14 265 Keffagna, and 7629 Shekacho (CSA, 2007, p. 42)

Gambella Region is classified into three zones and one special district: Anywaa zone, Nuer zone, Mezhenger zone and Itang Special district. Zone is the administrative level next to the Gambella Regional State, and each zone has districts under it. However, Itang Special district, like the three zones, is accountable to the Gambella Regional State (CSA 2007, 44-46). Tirkidi refugee camp, where I did this project, is situated in Itang Special district.

3.3.2 Itang Special District

Itang Special district is a district in the Gambela Region in western Ethiopia and its town is called Itang (CSA, 2007). Since Itang is not a part of any Zone in the Gambela Region, it is considered a Special district, an administrative subdivision which is similar to an autonomous area. This district consists of 21 villages, of which 95% lies in the floodplain of the Baro river basin (Tamiru, A., Wagesho, N., & Alem, E., 2014, p.2). Itang town and most of other villages are found on the shore of the Baro River, which is important for ecology of the area and is a source of livelihoods to the people reside there (ibid). The total area of the district is 2,188 km². The indigenous host community ethnic groups are Nuer, Anywaa, and Upo in the district and other ethnic groups live there as well. Based on the 2007 national census of Ethiopia, the total population of the district was 35,686, of which 17,955 males and 17,731 females. The urban population was 5,958, of which 3,050 males and 2,908 females. The total rural population was 29,728, of whom 14,905 males and 14,723 of females (CSA, 2007, P. 15).

The ethnic breakdown of the population was 9,175 Anywaa, of whom 4,191 males and 4,984 females, 8,233 are rural and 942 urban dwellers. The Nuer population figure is 22,824, of which 11,842 males and 10,982 females. 4,251 were urbans, of whom 2,205 males and 2,046 females; 18,573 were rural, of whom 9,637 males and 8,936 females. The other host community is Upo whose total population was 951 people of which 472 males and 479 females, 940 are rural of whom 467 males and 473 females. 10 are urban of whom 6 males and 4 females (CSA, 2007, p. 40-41).

3.4 Quantitative Approach

Survey design is a quantitative method that numerically describes trends, attitudes or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population with questionnaire or structured interviews to generalize from a sample to a population (Fowler, 2008 cited in Creswell, 2013, P.41).

3.4.1 Survey Samples

Survey questionnaires were prepared for Tirkidi refugee populations. The total refugee population figure participated in the survey were 66, of whom 15 were females and 51 were males. 74 000 refugees live in Tirkidi camp as per ARRA report as of November 2018 (ARRA, 2018).

3.4.2 Self- administered Questionnaires

The camp consists of four zones and I wanted to select representative samples for survey. Mr Getahun (ARRA camp coordinator) recommended me to contact health section and education section of ARRA for selecting survey samples, saying that they could assist me to have access samples to self-administered questionnaire. Then I contacted Melese, director of primary and junior school of ARRA. After discussing my purpose with him, he gave me the list of 104 primary school teachers who work as incentive teachers of level 1, 2, 3 and 4. In other words, level 1 teachers, for instance, can't teach level 2, 3, and 4, or vice versa. Each teacher works for the level assigned. The probability sampling that was appropriate for taking samples was stratified sampling. Stratified sampling is dividing the population into subgroups and a sample is chosen from each group (Bryman, 2012). For this inquiry, the subgroups were the refugees working as incentive teachers from level 1 to level 4. Afterwards, I decided to take 25 samples for self-administered questionnaire from them only.

To do so, there are steps how to get samples from sublevels in stratified sampling. First, I divided 25 samples to 104 (total number), then the quotient or the common factor is 0.240. The second step is multiplying each category by 0.240 to get the number of samples of each category. We already have incentive teachers in each level from the list: 18, 42, 61-81(21), and 82-104 (23) population from level 1 to level 4 respectively. When we multiply 18 times 0.240, then the result is 4.32, which rounded to four; we have four samples from 18 population in level 1. When we multiply 42 times 0.240, we get 10.08, which rounded to 10 samples for the second level. Level three incentive samples, 21 times 0.240 is 5.04, which rounded to 5 samples. The level four

incentive samples are, 23 times 0.240, 5.52 rounded to 6. The total samples now become 25. Having finished stratified sampling process from each category, the next step is who can be the 4, 10, 5 and 6 samples from level 1 to level 4 respectively. Simple random sampling can use to draw samples from each group. We cut 18 equal pieces of paper and wrote 1 to 18 on them. We rolled 18 pieces of paper, and we shook them to mix. After that, I asked Melese, director of the school, to draw 1 piece at a time for 4 times for level 1 while I was still shaking the tray. We drew Numbers 9, 18, 5 and 2 our samples, and then we registered the names of the samples against number 9, 18, 5, and 2 from level 1 teachers' list. We did the same thing for level 2, 3 and 4. We finished selecting 25 samples from four categories with stratified and simple random sampling (lottery system).

The second group selected for self-administered questionnaire were refugees working in community health services in the camp. The three reasons for selecting them were: they understood the questions prepared in English; they were trained in 16-health packages programme, and they represented all zones of Tirkidi refugee camp. I with Abraham, ARRA staff member, gathered refugee health workers in the compound of the clinic. These health incentive workers were 97, of which 10 were females on that day, and I stratified females from the male group and I wanted to take 8 females by using random lottery method that involves the process of giving each person to have an equal chance to participate in the process. Simple random sampling takes place if the population is uniform, or possesses common characteristics in all cases (Williman, 2016). I wrote number 1 on 8 equally cut pieces of paper, and 0 on two pieces. Then we rolled, shook the pieces, and made each of them draw one rolled piece of paper. Eight females, who drew a piece of paper on which 1 was written, were selected for the samples.

In selecting males, we used first systematic sampling followed by random sampling. I wanted to take 17 males from 87 males with systematic sampling from their list. When I divided 87 to 17, I got rounded 5, which was used for making systematic sampling by 5 units gap. Then we use random sampling to select from which digit we start sampling. We wrote 1 to 10 digits on 10 pieces of equal area paper, and we rolled and shook the pieces to draw one lottery out of ten digits. When we drew one rolled piece, then number 4 appeared. That means we start sampling from number 4, or a person whose number in the list is 4 and is followed by 5 gaps until we reach 17 samples. That means 4, 9, 14, 19, 24...84. We stop on 84, but if we add 5, the next figure is 89.

However, 89 is not included in our population, but 87 is the last. That is the reason we stop on 84. We have 25 samples, from refugees of health community workers, of whom 17 were males and 8 were females.

The other group selected for self-administered questionnaire with simple random sampling was refugee leadership committee of all zones together with central committee of refugees, church pastors, deacons, church leadership and women association. Then, I selected 5 out of 9 refugee leadership within the camp, 7 women from 9 women involved in leadership, and 5 out of 10 church leadership members. All these leaders have worked for all refugees in the camp, and they were presumed that they could serve as representatives like community health workers and primary teachers. Finally, 25 teachers, 25 health community workers and 16 individuals representing different associations that were 66 samples for quantitative survey were selected, of whom 15 were females.

Table 1. Samples of Refugees for Self-administered Questionnaires

Gender	Ethnicity	Roles in the camp	Number	Total
Female	Nuer	8 are community health workers & 7 are members in different camp associations	15	15
Male	Nuer	-25 Primary teachers -17 Community health workers - 9 Leaders & members in different camp associations	51	51
Total			66	

The questionnaire consists of two parts. The first 7 questions asked about background questions of the respondents such as age, gender, education status, marital status, head of family or not, and family size. The next 13 questions centered on the research topic. The total number of the

questions was 20. The background questions are short answer closed questions, and the rest 13 questions are multiple-choice questions. The choices range from 1 to 4 or 1 to 6.

Before conducting self-administered questionnaires, we pretested the questionnaires on the Tirkidi refugee camp to make certain that whether the respondents understood the questions, whether their responses to the questions were relevant to the study and whether there was no duplication of questions. After that, I moved level of education from the second section to background section. I also explained some questions in more understandable way than before, and I improved the questionnaire.

After finishing pilot study, we met the samples at school, health centre and Zone 4 in camp. I introduced myself, explained the aim of the study, and other ethical considerations although all these were written on the top of the first page of the questionnaire. Following that, we conducted the self-administered questionnaires to 66 refugee samples, of whom 15 were females. No other person or the interviewer help them fill their response. We wanted the samples to work instead. We only helped if they faced a problem to understand questions.

The director of the school, Melese, helped me distribute to, and collect the questionnaire from, teachers. I had explained how he would conduct the study beforehand. Within two days, all 25 primary teachers completed and returned the questionnaire. The incentive teachers cautiously did the self-administered questionnaire and I did not discard any questionnaire during analysis. In the same fashion, we collected data with self-administered questionnaire from 25 samples of community health workers, 16 persons from different association's members at camp level. I used all 66 samples' questionnaires for analysis because all 66 samples carefully answered the questions. However, I didn't use quantitative research for rural host community of Itang district because I couldn't get enough number of samples representing the population, and the better method I also found was qualitative research based on the selected samples' lack of experience for answering self-administered questionnaire.

3.5 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research uses non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling method refers to a researcher selecting participants who have information about the topic that the average population do not necessarily have much information about the phenomenon. This is one of the limitations of qualitative research since it is liable to bias (Bryman, 2012). There are different types of non-probability sampling. The researcher applied purposive sampling, convenience sampling and snowball sampling in this study. Purposive sampling targets key informant samples that have been designed to find out important segments of the population, or important experiences defined by the research (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). In purposive sampling, I deliberately selected samples to reveal important groups or experiences (ibid). Snowball sampling was mainly used in this study because all samples except for two key informants of NGOs of qualitative research were selected using snow-ball sampling techniques.

3.5.1 Key Informants

Three key informants were selected for in-depth interviews from Tirkidi camp. One South Sudanese refugee, one UNHCR key informant and one ARRA key informant that possessed pertinent information about Tirkidi refugee camp impacts on the rural livelihoods of the host communities were selected for in-depth interviews. I intentionally selected UNHCR and ARRA key informants because these two organizations are the main actors of refugee camps in Ethiopia. A South Sudanese key informant was selected because he was one of the representatives of the refugees in Tirkidi camp and he knows and can speak about the camp. Similarly, three key informants from host communities were selected for in-depth interviews based on their substantial knowledge and relationship to the topic under study. Thus, an agricultural expert, environmental expert and a businessperson became key informants of host communities of Itang district.

The key informants' interview took place during the whole period of the data collection to obtain in-depth knowledge about the impact of Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural host communities. I interviewed UNHCR key informant in his office inside the camp, the ARRA key informant in his office in Tirkidi ARRA compound, and a refugee key informant at zone 4 inside the camp. I conducted in-depth interviews with the three host key informants in Itang town.

The information from the key informants helped me understand the impact of Tirkidi refugee camp on host communities of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo. The interview explored Tirkidi refugee

camp impacts from different views and individuals. The researcher physically interviewed all six key informants in the area suitable for them, and the time took for each interview was, on average, about two and half hours, that was a total of fifteen hours for six individuals. After interviews, the transcripts information was prepared for coding analysis to make categories and to complement the information gathered with self-administered questionnaires.

3.5.2 Individual Interview

I made individual interview with the host community of Itang to generate information on the participant's view on the topic. With purposive, snowball and conducive sampling techniques, I selected 15 Anywaa (11 males & 4 females) host community for individual interview.

Table 2. Samples of host community individual interviewees

Gender	Means of Living	Ethnicity	Number
Male	farming	Anywaa	11
Female	farming	Anywaa	4
total			15

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

For focus group discussions with refugees, the camp coordinator again arranged for me to meet the refugee camp chair-man, Mr. Chan, who helped me conduct focus group discussion with refugees; Chan informed his vice-chairman to gather refugees from all zones of the camp at health center of the Tirkidi refugee camp. I asked vice chairperson to select me 80 refugees including equal number of males and females, who had information about the topic under study. However, 33 refugees participated, of whom 22 were males and 11 were females. I divided them into three groups. Each group comprised 11 individuals, two groups of which each consisted of 4 females and 1 group with 3 females. Each 3 groups took part in a focus group discussion alone with the researcher. However, we didn't group females only although they were 11 individuals.

This was because the females selected for focus group didn't speak English and they also preferred to be with males. Discussions in focus groups were conducted through translator since there were some who couldn't understand English. The place of discussions was inside Tirkidi refugee camp.

Likewise, for focus group discussions with host community, I selected Anywaa and Upo host communities. Although I tried to involve Nuer host community for focus group discussions, they were absent on the agreed day from the place we would meet because of burial ceremony. I attempted to meet them for second time, but they didn't come because they were busy for agricultural productions. Thus, Nuer host community didn't participate. However, as I said already, the study includes Nuer rural host community. The information obtained from host communities, refugee community, NGOs respondents, a South Sudanese refugee, secondary sources and participatory observation helped me analyze the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on rural livelihoods of Nuer, Anywaa and Upo host communities.

Tiglachin Tadesse, whom I have known him since 1996, is an agricultural coordinator in Itang district helped me select the right individuals from Upo host community in 1 village, and 12 individuals of Upo host community group participated in focus group discussions. Omod, whom I have known him since 1996 in Itang, also helped me identify focus group samples from Anywaa host community, and the Anywaa participants consists of 21 persons, of which 3 were females and 18 were males. We divided 21 individuals into two group, and one consists of 11 and the other 10 individuals. The focus group discussions with two groups took place in Itang town.

I conducted focus group discussion with Anywaa and Upo respondents in Amharic language because all speak and understand Amharic better than English. I noted down points during discussion, and my role was to lead the sessions. I motivated all to participate in discussions. I observed each of the samples while they were speaking to check the relation between their speech and physical appearance. The place of discussion with Upo focus group was in the open field of Wankie village. I used field notes, mobile record of voice, and participatory observation for all focus group discussions. I interpreted Amharic notes to English, transcribed from mobile, and put my observation of each session in my notes to complement self-administered questionnaire and individual interview.

All the members of the focus group actively took part in discussions that followed with a list of guidelines to conduct in the right direction. I used the information for data analysis. The collected information of the focus group with the purpose to see each focus group interacting one another and to explore their perceptions towards the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on the host communities. Each focus group perspective was used to complement the individual interview and self-administered questionnaire. Although different views were reflected about Tirkidi refugee camp impacts on rural livelihoods of the host communities of Anywaa, Upo and Nuer, the focus group discussion had its weaknesses. Some individuals controlled the discussions and others repeated what the influential ones said even though the researcher tried to control over the process of influence. The other limitation was organizing the information in each category since we had plenty of information.

Table 3. Samples for Focus Group Discussion of Refugee and Host community

Ethnicity	Types of community	Means of living	Male	Female	Total
Anywaa	Host community	Farming	18	3	21
Upo	Host community	Farming	12	-	12
Nuer	Refugees	Live in camp	22	11	33
Total					66

3.5.4 Other Data Collection Instruments

I used participant observation where I learn about the daily lives of refugees and host communities and wider context of a community by spending time observing and participating in community life (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). I also employed relevant different publications of

refugees and livelihoods as a source of data, which are preserved and read, but are not produced for research purpose (Bryman, 2012).

3.6 Data Analysis

First, quantitative data results presented and analyzed. Second, focus group interview will be presented, and then host community's key informants and NGOs key informants' interviews will be presented in chapter four and is followed by discussion in chapter five. The individual interview is used in both results and discussions wherever necessary.

For quantitative research, after collecting data, the data were put into MS Excel for analysis. Statistical analysis software R was employed, and then MS Excel workbook was uploaded into R commander to analyze the self-administered questionnaires. We used descriptive statistics such as means, standard deviations, standard error. The level of statistical significance, the researcher applied, was p –value 5%.

For qualitative research, content analysis is a method with a set of techniques to produce results and put them into context and is used to analyze documents obtained during research (White & Marsh, 2006). Content analysis is a method that may be applied either in deductive or inductive approach with the objective of the research (Elo & Kyngås, 2008). I employed inductive analysis since the research objective is to know about the phenomenon to be studied. The study, in other words, is not based on previous knowledge or testing theory, but the study gives direct information from interviewees without theoretical perspectives of the empirical data, and inductive analysis is preferred when a researcher searches for patterns of informants' feelings, perceptions and lived experiences in the specific context of the Tirkidi refugee camp. The aim of making categories is to give a system, which explains and gives new insights about a phenomenon or many phenomena, and most importantly, to answer the research questions (Berg & Lune, 2012). Data was included based on their relevance to answer the research questions and to add information that expressed social patterns, relationships and processes related to the research questions (Berg & Lune 2012). I employed analytical framework to organize the

discussion that arises from findings.

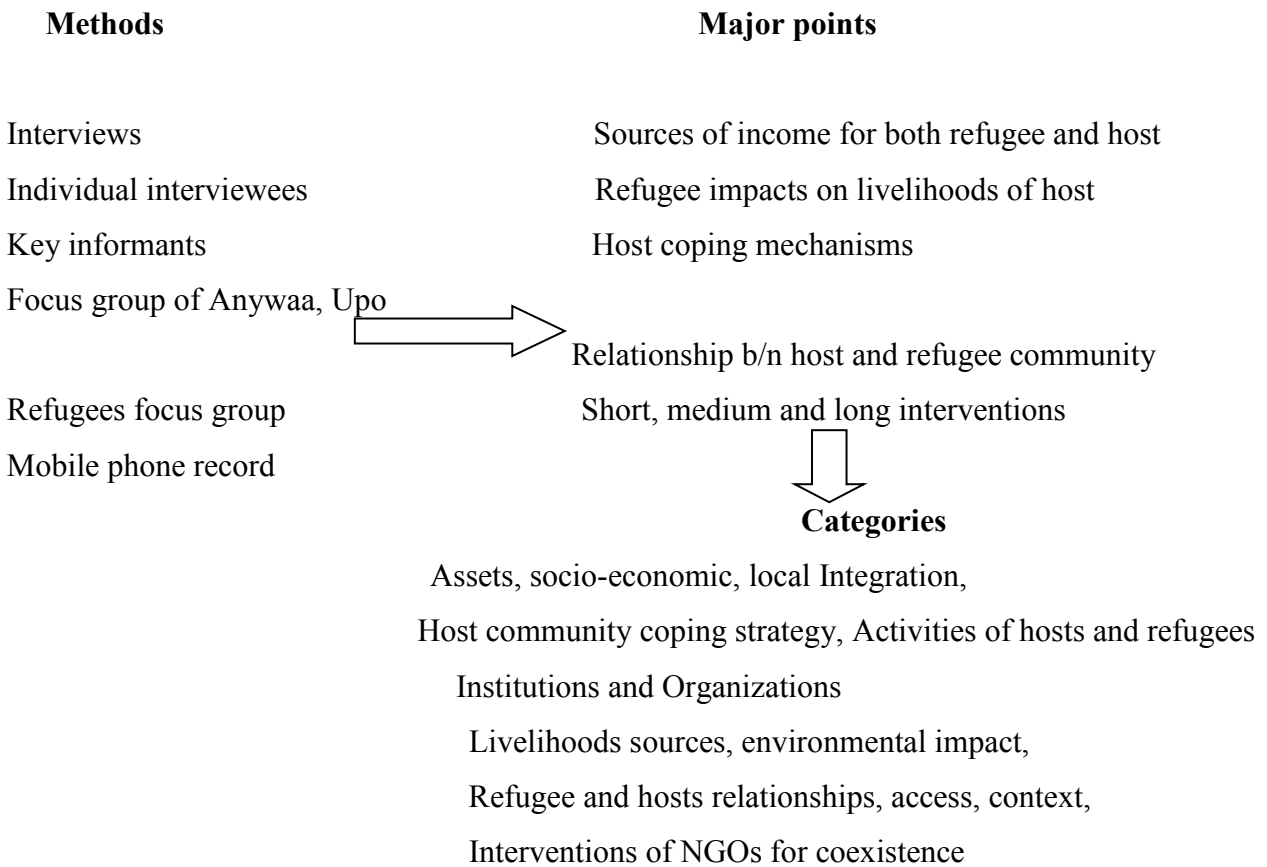


Figure 5. Plan of the analytical framework

3.7 Limitations and Research Ethics

3.7.1 Limitations

Limitations in the field study are inescapable. The main challenge, in this study, was that I didn't make self-administered questionnaire for host community because it was difficult to get the samples I need, so I shifted to focus group and individual interviews and key informants' interview for host community. The other limitation was respondents were usually engaged in different activities such as farming, field works. Under those circumstances, some respondents already selected couldn't come to our meeting. Thus, I rescheduled to find other respondents. The other limitation was that I couldn't get Nuer host community samples because they had burial

ceremony in our first schedule day. However, I rescheduled for them for second time and I couldn't get them since they were busy in farming activities.

The other problem for the researcher was that there was no staying place near to or in a refugee camp, where I conducted data collection, I was travelling 80 km round trip from Gambella early in the morning, 7:00 o'clock, and returning from a refugee camp in the afternoon, 5:00 o'clock for twenty days. In this case, I sometimes arrived late at ARRA Office, but the ARRA staff of Tirkidi had already travelled to camp for work. As a result, I spent without work for some hours until I got a car, which travelled to camp because the camp is a bit far from the refugee administration office.

3.7.2. Research Ethics

Ethical issues are crucial in doing research, especially while collecting data. The research process unavoidably develops unbalanced relationship between respondents and researcher. Perception of respondents towards a researcher influences the quality of the data. In that case, the researcher should realize these biases and should work to get good information from respondents (Bryman, 2012). This research was done based on research ethics principles. Ethical considerations were kept throughout the research process. One of the principles of research is not to harm respondents during and after the research and a researcher should be responsible to protect them. For this reason, I kept all the information collected confidential and anonymous throughout the study. I used it only for this thesis. I used and wrote IIT1, IT2...IT15 to identify fifteen individual interview (IIT) of Anywaa host community interviewees of Itang special district. HO1, HO2, HO3 for three key informants of host community and I didn't mention the South Sudanese key informant's name. I also said UNHCR respondent and ARRA respondent, but I didn't mention their names and positions. The other principle of ethics is informed consent of samples to participate in the research (Bryman, 2012). The research objective, content and use of the research should be clearly presented to samples before collecting data. I described the objective to all respondents. I also told them that their participation was voluntary, and they had the right to quit responding any question that they don't and could quit the research process at any time for different reasons if they don't want. No one forced or cajoled respondents to participate in the research (Berg & Lune, 2012; Walliman, 2016). In the end, having got their full consent, I collected data.

Chapter Four

4. Results

4.1 The Refugee Characteristics

Sixty-six Nuer refugees participate in self-administered survey of which 15 are females and 51 are males. The education levels of the samples are 3% master's degree, 20% bachelor's degree, 15% college (1 to 3 years), 47% high school (11 to 12), 11% secondary (7 to 10), & 4% primary (1 to 6). As shown in figure 6, most respondents' level of education is high school and is followed by 1st to 3rd year college levels. The least number of respondents is master level of education. Out of 15 females' respondents, 33 % college (1 to 3 years), 40% high school (11 to 12), 20% secondary (7 to 10) & 7% primary class (1 to 6). Thus, most female respondents have high school level of education. Only 1 female respondent has primary education status. These respondents are relatively supposed to give a better information for self-administered questionnaire since they are literate and can come from different levels of formal education.

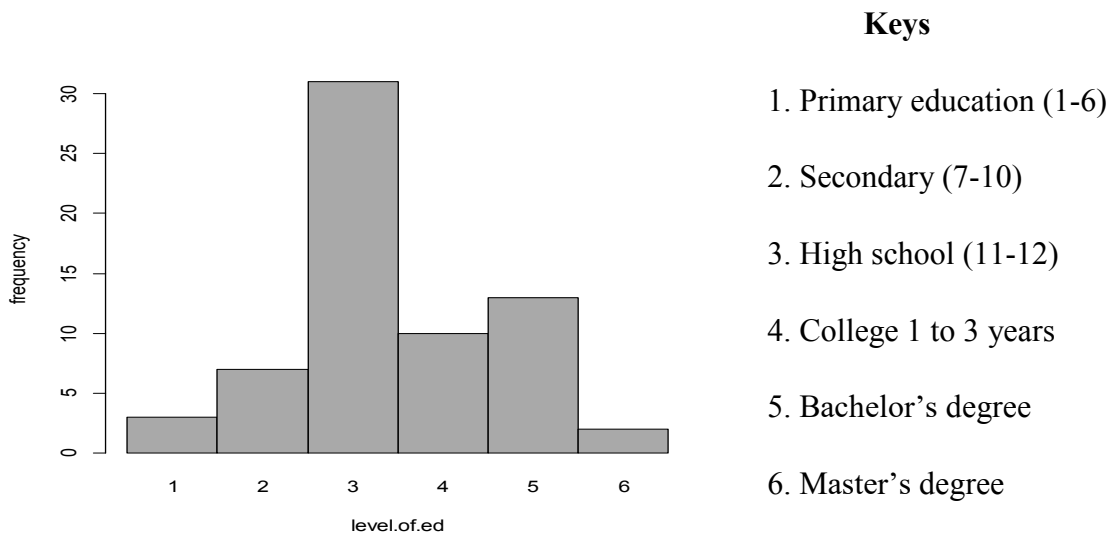


Figure 6. Education profile of refugee respondents

The ages of samples range from 18 to 61 (See figure 7). The median and mean age of the samples are 30.50 and 31.92 respectively. The perception of the impacts of refugees on the rural livelihood may vary in different ages, and the age differences are important to show representativeness of the data based on age. The age level of female covers from 19 to 37. The female samples ages of 19,21,24,26 & 29 have each five respondents. The rest 2 females are 37, 3 females 32, 2 females 28, & 3 females 20.

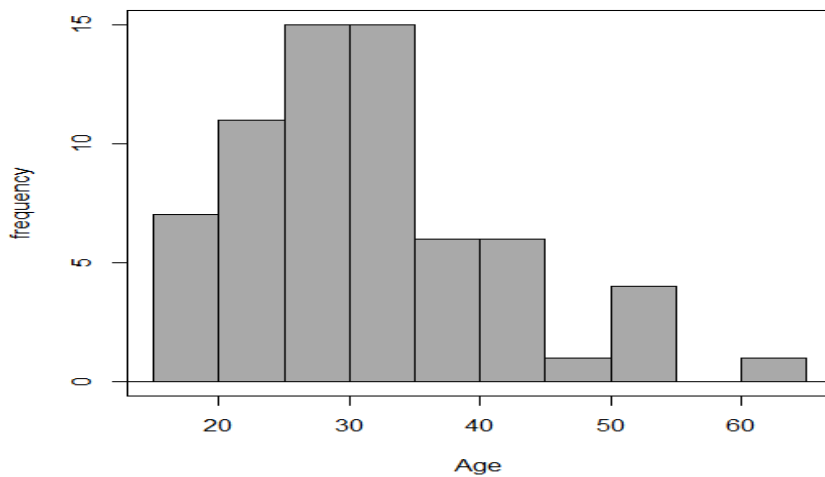


Figure 7. Age of 66 Tirkidi refugee respondents

Table 4. Summary of the descriptive statistics of the variables

Variables	Min	Median	Mean	St.Dev	S.Error	Max
Local integration	0.000	3.000	3.379	1.2	0.15	5.000
satisfaction	1.000	3.000	3.652	1.1	0.13	5.000
Camp presence	1.000	4.000	3.909	1.092	0.1344	5.000
Income improvement	1.000	4.000	3.5951	1.301	0.1601	5.000
Losing land	1.000	3.000	3.438	1.3977	0.1720	5.000
Firewood competition	1.000	3.000	2.864	1.094	0.1346	5.000
Coexistence	1.000	3.000	3.727	1.117	0.1375	5.000
Conflict b/n.	1.000	2.000	1.924	0.933	0.1149	5.000
possession	0.000	0.0000	0.2424	0.432	0.0532	1.0000
Advantage of refugee camp	1.000	3.0	3.500	1.113	1.370	5.000

In the above table 4, average sample mean values are used together with the results obtained using qualitative methods for triangulation when I discuss the case in the discussion section.

The sample mean results are interpreted in words based on the variables they represent in self-administered questionnaires (See appendix 1).

- The mean of satisfaction for the benefits from the camp is 3.652 (almost 4), which means refugees are satisfied (Question 19).
- The refugees' attitude towards the presence of refugee camp in Tirkidi is 3.909 (4) which means agree to the place of the camp (Qn.8).
- Host's income improvement due to the refugee camp has a mean of 3.595 (almost 4),

which stands for agree (Qn.9).

- The response for host community lost agricultural land for camp has a mean of 3.438 (3), which stands for neither agree nor disagree (Qn.10).
- Competition for firewood between refugees and host has a mean of 2.864 (3), which stands for usually, that is, refugees replied that they usually compete with hosts for firewood (Qn.11).
- The co-existence between hosts and refugees mean is 3.727(4), which stands for good (Qn.13).
- Conflict between refugees and host community has a mean of 1.924 (2), which stands for sometimes (Qn.14).
- Possession of land by refugees has a mean of 0.242 (almost zero=No). This question has yes and no choices. Yes, is coded as 1 and no as 0. The population of Tirkidi camp therefore don't have their own land (Qn.17).
- Advantage of the Tirkidi refugee camp for host community has a mean of 3.5 (4), which stands for high advantage (Qn.20).

4.2. Livelihood Sources of Tirkidi Refugees

Livelihood sources of refugees mainly depend on the food assistance from the camp. Some also work in different organizations in the camp, and they earn some amount of money per month in addition to food ration. However, others have diversified their livelihoods, as they explained, and then they participate in different small trade activities, namely, bakery, tearoom, soft drinks room, local drinks, agriculture wage, foreign and domestic remittances for their survival (Refugee Focus Group Discussions, 13 &17 December 2018).

Table 5. Refugee samples responses of benefit from Tirkidi Camp

# respondents	percentages	Benefits
5	10%	Education services
7	14%	Health services
8	16%	Food assistance
6	12%	Employment
3	6%	Education and health
2	4%	Education and employment
3	6%	Education, health and employment
32	50 %	Education, health, food. Employment, and other income generation activities such as teashop, bakery, shop businesses
Total=66	100%	

The self-administered survey showed that half of the samples, which is 50% (Table 5), responded that refugees in Tirkidi benefit from services such as education, health, food assistance, employment, and other income generation activities from the camp. That means 50% of the sampling units have different ways of making a living or livelihoods. Besides, 16 % of respondents said food, 14% said health service from the camp. The smallest percentage from survey (4%) said education and employment are available for refugees. However, all the assets listed in the table 5 are available in the camp with focus group discussion, key informant interviews and participatory observation (triangulation methods). In that case, the rest 50% of self-administered samples, who do not choose all choices, either they choose what the best is for them or they may have their own different understandings.

4.3 Livelihood Sources of Host community

The rural host communities of Upo and Anywaa are engaged in different activities. The main livelihood sources for rural host community is agriculture, mainly food crop farming before and after the presence of the camp (Focus Group Discussions of Upo, December 15, 2018; Anywaa, December 21, 2018). Fishing, hunting and gathering wild plants, producing fruit and vegetables, poultry farming and public employment (i.e police, teachers...administrators, agriculture expert) are also the next group of livelihood sources (Focus Group Discussions of Upo, December 15, 2018; Anywaa, December 21, 2018). In supporting the focus group response from individual interviewees, “We [Anywaas] farm with hoe, producing maize and sorghum. In the meantime, fishing livelihood except for high overflow of the Baro River in a few rainy days. Hunting is also the third means of getting our food sources,” IIT1 said, “Our farmers community are fed fish, and also sell fish for money, later buy oil, sugar...coffee with that money” (Individual Interview, 18 December 2018). Another individual respondent also said, “We [Anywaas] produce mangoes, papaya, banana, sweet potato. For the most part, mangoes productions cover at least for three months, which is a very good source of financial income and food. All these fruits have substantial benefits next to food crops” (IIT2, 18 December 2018). Previous studies showed as well that Anywaa agriculture is based on hoe farming; their main productions are maize and sorghum. Fishing is also another income source besides to hunting of wild animals, especially in dry period. Comparatively, fruits such as mangoes, papayas, sweet potato, cassava are produced (Kurimoto, 1996). Anywaa and Upo host communities are mostly farmers, Nuer people are agro pastoralists (Dereje, 2006, p.244). The findings also showed that Nuer, Anywaa and Upo hosts have diversified rural livelihoods implying that the notion of livelihoods in which their own farming has become relatively small amount of the total survival livelihoods put together by farm families (Ellis, 2000).

4.4 Impacts of Tirkidi Refugee Camp on the Rural Livelihoods of the Host Community

4.4.1 Environmental Impacts

Both Anywaa and Upo focus groups discussions said that before refugees settled, trees covered Trkidi camp areas, and the areas comprised wild animals and pools. Nuer host community lived, cultivated and grazed there. However, the area now consists of huts of refugees and few buildings of the humanitarian organizations. As a result, natural resources such as forests are depleted; wild animals don't exist, and water bodies are dried. Similarly, according to the key informant (HO1), before establishment of Tirkidi camp, the area was covered with vegetation. There were some pools (water bodies), which were sources of fish for the local Nuer people living in the areas and pools were habitats for crocodiles and water sources for terrestrial wild animals and domestic animals. Wild animals such as monkeys and baboons existed. The other advantage of Tirikidi before occupied by refugees was that local Nuer people collected firewood from the forest and sold a bundle of firewood, for Itang town residents, for 20 Eth Birr (Interview, 25 December 2018). However, he said that natural vegetation was cleared during camp establishment. He further stated that scarce of firewood for fuel following camp establishment. A bundle of firewood is very expensive and has been sold for 60 or 70 Eth Birr in Itang town since camp establishment. Refugees also use firewood for their own consumption and sell firewood and charcoal as well. As a result, scarcity of firewood is very high. The key informant (HO1) emphasized that agricultural investment is also a problem for shortage of firewood in addition to the refugee camp. Forests were devastated beyond Tirkidi camp because the refugees still use trees to make their huts. However, most non-indigenous host communities living in Terfam and Itang town bought eucalyptus trees to construct houses. Eucalyptus trees are not grown in Itang or Gambela but are brought from highland Ethiopia for sale (Interview, 25 December 2018). HO1 also described that the activity of the camp for natural forest protection is very little, and Natural Resource Development and Environmental Protection (NRDEP) distributes very small number of tree seedlings to locals because NRDEP does not grow large number of seedlings, as they are demanded. NRDEP has not also planted trees as equal as devastated forests. The camp's follow-up growth of plants is little. The camp did not work for soil protection (Interview, 25 December 2018). Related to the destruction of natural environment, especially forests due to Tirkidi camp, Key informants of HO2 and HO3 similarly understood as both Anywaa and Upo focus Group host communities and key informant HO1.

A South Sudanese key informant said that refugees collected dry firewood from a very far place and some refugees buy charcoal, firewood from host community Nuer in Tirkidi market. Furthermore, he said that UNHCR built one house for households having 1 to 9 family members. If a household has beyond 9 family members, UNHCR also builds one extra house. However, 1 house is not enough for households having 5, 6,7,8, or 9 family members. As a result, some refugee families built themselves additional house with woods, and grass (reeds) for thatching the roof of the hut (Interview, 14 December 2018). However, he didn't want to explain in detail how refugees get woods for construction. This implies that refugees collect poles for construction from forest.

4.4.2 Socio-economic Impacts

Key Informant HO1 also said that the positive impact by Tirkidi camp for host people is water service for Itang town and Terfam residents. He added that there was tap water shortage in Itang town because the previous water pipe that was made by government got dysfunctional. However, the camp dug a new ground water well in Itang and put two tankers to collect water from the well, one of which serves for Itang town and the other serves for refugees. He also stated that the other positive impact is employment. The camp employed members of host communities of Nuer and Anywaa for different jobs such as drivers, protection officers, and health professionals and so on. Different NGOs of the camp have given host communities trainings in natural resources, income generations, health and water, and those who have participated in trainings are professionals in different sectors of government offices in Itang and farmers from rural villages of Itang district. The camp also made host youngsters in some village to be organized in a group up to 12 members and financially helped them be involved in income generation activities they prefer, and some are engaged in, for example, horticulture and goat husbandry (Interview, 25 December 2018).

He added that the other positive livelihoods impact by a refugee camp is expansion of market livelihoods. Terfam town was established after refugees. As a result, various businesses expand such as restaurant, hotel, café, commodities shop, bank... food crop market. In the market, refugees sell and buy commodities. When refugees receive wheat as their food ration per month, then they sell the wheat, which is not a favorite crop for refugees, and they, in turn, buy maize

from market in Terfam or Itang because maize is their cultural food. Food commodities are expensive such as, vegetables, milk, and fish because refugees buy these commodities. Thus, residents of Itang and Terfam face high cost for such commodities in the market. However, he said refugees also sell sorghum to buy their extra needs such as milk, sugar, fish, tea and others. As a result, accessibility of sorghum is found in the market. Refugees also sell non-food items such as plates, cups when they receive non-food materials assistance (Interview, 25 December 2018).

Key informant (HO3) stated that the positive impacts of the camp on the host community livelihoods are so many. Camp employed members of Anywaa and Nuer host communities, and many traders' people get rich. Terfam town is created in the refugee camp, and refugees move every day, from Terfam to Itang and vice versa, from Terfam to Gambella and vice versa. As a result, many people are engaged in transportation livelihoods. Water availability increases in Itang town. The refugee camp also gives trainings to host communities of Upo, Nuer & Anywaa. For example, one agency gives the young Anywaa and Nuer hosts cash grants to start income generation activities such as goat-rearing (Interview, 27 December 2018).

Key informant (HO2) emphasized that the camp dug well and built two tankers for collecting water in Itang. One tanker is functional, but the other is completely dysfunctional. The camp also helped expand health centers and primary schools, repaired small routes inside the town, gave trainings to rural farmers including environment, agriculture, health experts and others of Itang district. Few, though, employment was for host communities of Upo, Nuer and Anywaa, the agencies of the camp employed many people from other places. Based on the rules of UNHCR, all NGOs of the camp should utilize 25% of their budget for the host communities, but the host communities have not benefited even 1% of they deserve (Interview, 26 December 2018).

Key informant HO2 also added that refugees increase the price of some foodstuffs such as fish, vegetables, milk because refugees do not get such foods from the camp, and they compete with host people for buying such foodstuff in the market. Refugees also buy commodities in Itang town market, which is 7km from Tirkidi camp, so residents of Itang suffered from lack of some commodities, and if available, the commodities become expensive. The farmers of Upo, Anywaa

and Nuer are subsistence farmers, and they produce for themselves but not for a market. However, they sell such as, mangoes, egg, chicken, banana, maize and may get good price. Nevertheless, these farmers may also buy other commodities such as coffee, sugar, oil with high price. Therefore, the existence of the camp does not benefit the rural host communities of Anywaa, Upo and Nuer.

Key informant HO3 also stated that food becomes expensive in restaurant too because of the camp, and food price affects negatively some beneficiaries of restaurant. Some daily laborers become very poor because they may not get work. This might be because refugees' engagement in physical work with cheap wages. Some traders also become poorer and poorer due to high competition. Public workers who earn small monthly salary suffered from high price of food in restaurant and house rent, and high cost affects their livelihoods (interview, 26 December 2018).

Furthermore, Anywaa and Upo focus groups stated that refugees compete with host community over limited commodities such as milk, fish, meat, fruits and vegetables in the market. Such commodities shortly last in the market because they are found in limited amount, and their price is very high, adding that despite obtaining food ration from the camp, refugees still purchase food crop from local market. As a result, food prices increase. Host farmers are also subsistence farmers, and they do not produce enough amount for market. However, crop dealers provide for market, but the price is still high (Anywaa Focus Group Discussions, 21 December 2018).

Related to security impact, HO2 said that some Nuer refugees are found being involved in crimes in Anywaa villages such as robbing, physical attack of Anywaa individuals. To give illustrations, he said, five villages people of Anywaa host communities were displaced after they lacked security in their villages, but he said that local government rehabilitated the displaced Anywaa host communities in their place in December 2018 (interview, 26 December 2018). Most individual interviews and focus group discussions also repeatedly said the prevalence of social problems of stealing and attacking people at night after refugees had come to Tirkidi (Focus Group Discussion, 21 December 2018).

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) key informants' feelings and understandings about the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp are included which help for triangulation of our data. UNHCR

key informant of Tirkidi said that some local Nuer people lived in the area of the camp (zone 1 to zone 4) before establishment of Tirkidi camp. After discussion with government, the locals resettled to another area. UNHCR gave the displaced persons poles to construct their houses. Following Tirkidi camp establishment, refugees have created market for local and themselves. Local Nuer farmers sell their milk products to refugees. He also said that interventions of NGOs have positively influenced local communities. UNICEF has dug water wells for local communities and has constructed schools. UNDP supports local schools. The camp creates jobs and employs many host communities. Hosts get life skill trainings, youth empowerment, etc. However, the main negative impact of Tirkidi camp is depletion of natural resources (Interview, 12 December 2018).

ARRA key informant of Tirkidi also expressed the impact on the rural livelihoods of the host by the camp, saying that there are different agencies in Tirkidi camp. NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), for instance, works on youth education, vocational training including carpentry, construction, tailoring. NRC also provides these trainings to host communities. The camp works 25% services for host communities and 75% for refugees. After trainings, hosts are given cash grant to run their own projects. Host communities freely benefit 100% from health services of ARRA in the camp, especially those living in Tirkidi. The camp helps the hosts get pipe water. NRDEP works to protect natural environment, and plants trees every year and protects the growth of trees as well. NRC, DCA (Dan Church Aid) and other NGOs work on livelihoods in the camp, and they do for hosts too (Interview, 14 December 2018).

Regarding to socio-economic effects, the South Sudanese key informant said that each refugee person receives 13.5kg sorghum per month, and some additional crops such as white beans, oil and salt, but refugees did not get salt for the last three months he said during interview. The refugees sometimes receive food crop, which might not be cultural such as cereal like rice, meaning it is not a staple food for them. For example, if they receive wheat, refugees sell the wheat, and buy maize or sorghum (cultural foods) from Tirkidi market. When they buy maize, it might become expensive because the demand increases. He stated that the incentive work in camp is very few compared to 74 000 refugees. ARRA is the agency that gives most incentive works, the incentive work is for 200 refugees for cleaning, and a total of incentive workers are

around 700 refugees in Tirkidi. There are also refugees run their own small businesses in the camp such as tearoom, shops to complement their income since the food ration given is not suffice. Some refugees also get remittance to complement their income from relatives living in Europe, North America and Australia (Interview, 14 December 2018).

4.5 Host Community Coping Mechanisms

I was able to realize that Anywaa rural host community are engaged in different activities to resist the high price for commodities because of refugees. As they explained, they diversified their activities, for instance, some gets jobs in public office in addition to cultivation in the riverbank of Baro. Others also work in private businesses, such as small trades, and some hosts receive domestic remittances, and 2 persons receive foreign remittances besides to their agricultural income. They also diversified agricultural activities such as crop farming, vegetables growing, fishing. Upo also diversified their agricultural activities. Both Anywaa and Upo reported that they are engaged in on-farm and non-farm activities to cope with the high cost impact on their livelihoods (Focus Group Discussions, 21 December 2018). One female individual interviewee said that she worried about her people's future and if refugees continue living in Tirkidi for long, she thinks that refugee will destroy the natural environment and Anywaa people may lose some of their land (IIT6, 24 December 2018). Another interviewee added that the negative consequences would continue unless government relocate refugees to another far place where many host communities do not utilize (IIT15, 24 December 2018).

4.6 Relationship between Refugee and Host Community

4.6.1 Refugees with Host Nuer

Key informant HO1 said that the indigenous host communities are Nuer, Anywaa and Upo in Itang district. Since all Tirkidi refugees belong to ethnically Nuer, they live with host community Nuer in a peaceful relationship, but there was conflict between Nuer themselves to some degree of deaths in previous years. The conflict is based on tribes, in the sense that the same Nuer tribes

from camp and host community became together in one side, and another different Nuer tribe from camp and host Nuer in other side. It is sometimes difficult to identify host and refugee Nuer in rural areas. They speak the same language. They get married each other and even some refugee and hosts have blood relationships. Some Nuer, who claim they are Ethiopians, live in the camp like refugees, and receive all benefits of refugees. Thus, host Nuer and refugee Nuer help each other, especially based on tribes and clans (Interview, 25 December 2018). Key informant HO2 have similar response. Key informant (HO2) said that Nuer hosts and refugees have lived together on the border of Ethiopia and Sudan, and they don't have problem because of being hosts and refugees, but they might conflict because of other reasons (Interview, 26 December 2018). Key informant HO3 asserted that there is no conflict between Nuer host community and Nuer refugee Community (Interview, 26 December 2018). In the same manner, refugee focus group discussions, UNHCR respondent and ARRA respondent and a South Sudanese key informant interviews confirmed that Nuer host community and Nuer refugees have peacefully lived in Tirkidi.

Although Nuer hosts are not against Nuer refugees and vice versa, Nuer people conflict each other to control land resource in Itang district. The population density is the smallest in Gambella Region, but the pressures to control land is evolving, especially the fertile land on the banks of the river that Anywaa host community is used to farming after flood-retreat and Nuer host community also uses for grazing their livestock in dry season.

This riverine land is contested not only at the inter-ethnic level but also intra-ethnically, and the various Nuer clans have frequently fought to access the water points. The protracted conflict between the Jikany and Lou Nuer and the violent conflicts among the various Gaajak clans are cases in point. The leasing of hundreds of thousands of hectares of land for foreign companies with the advent of large-scale commercial agriculture in the region has further created land scarcity. (<https://life-peace.org/hab/the-spillover-effect-of-the-south-sudan-conflict-in-gambella/>)

This text explains that the conflict is between not only Anywaa and Nuer for land resource, but there is also conflict among Nuer based on clans, and even within clans due to access to resources. The other point from the text is that it generally says about Gambela region. However, the area in which Nuer and Anywaa hosts live together and they conflict on natural resources is in Itang district, but not in all Gambela region. Thus, the text focuses on Itang district.

4.6.2 Refugees with Anywaa and Upo

According to key informant HO1, Upo people are very few and live very far from Tirkidi camp. Anywaa people are the second largest population number next to host community Nuer figure in Itang district. Most lands belong to Anywaa in the district, and when refugees of Nuer population number increase in Itang district, Anywaa people may not support the high number of Nuer refugees because high number increases resource competition. There were conflicts between host community Nuer and host community Anywaa over land right in the past. There was also recent conflict in Gambella town, in November 2018. The conflict of host communities of Nuer and Anywaa may create bad perception of relationship between Anywaa people and Nuer refugees. Generally, when small incidences occur between host and refugees in Itang district, there is a committee of the local government of Itang district, and Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affair (ARRA). They work together either to bring solution or report to higher levels (Interview, 25 December 2018).

However, key informant HO2 said that the relationship between Nuer refugee and host Anywaa is good although Anywaa people have not benefited from the presence of Tirkidi camp (Interview, 26 December 2018). Key informant HO3 expressed the same as HO2, adding that both Anywaa and Nuer are the largest ethnic host communities in Itang district. However, Some Anywaa and Nuer host communities sometimes conflict in rural villages on claim of land right. Since Nuer refugees and Nuer hosts are ethnically the same, some Nuer refugees may wrongly perceive Anywaa host community when Anywaa and Nuer conflict. However, Nuer refugees peacefully live in Itang district, and there has not been conflict between Anywaa host community and refugees for the last 5 years (interview, 27 December 2018).

Participants of the Anywaa focus group discussions stated that Nuer refugees live in a camp, but Anywaa host communities live in their places. Thus, they do not have daily interaction because the camp is a bit far from Anywaa residences. The relationship is generally good because no conflict between them. They also said that the establishment of the camp near to Anywaa host communities' areas brought problems. Some refugees robbed and physically attacked individuals and committed other crimes at night (Focus Group Discussions, 21 December 2018).

Upo focus group said that refugees spread social problems following Tirkidi refugee camp. Two Upo individuals were robbed by five Tirkidi refugees while Upo people were going to and from their villages on foot through Tirkidi camp. Refugees also attacked physically two other persons while the two persons went home on foot near to Tirkidi camp. The Upo host community focus group further said that such social problems did not exist before the refugees came to Tirkidi (Focus Group Discussion of Upo, 15 December 2018).

UNHCR key informant in Tirkidi camp also expressed that coexistence between refugee community and Anywaa host community is good, but the political tension between host communities of Nuer and Anywaa has some negative implication for coexistence between refugee Nuer and Anywaa (interview, 12 December 2018). A refugee Key informant also said that even though there was no clear conflict between Nuer refugee and Anywaa, there was recent conflict between two host communities of Anywaa and Nuer in Gambella in November 2018, and some people were dead because of conflict between Nuer and Anywaa. When the conflict arises between the two host communities (Nuer and Anywaa), the Nuer refugees may fear. As a result, it is difficult to describe good relation between Anywaa and Nuer refugee, he said (Interview, 14 December 2018). During refugee focus group discussions, Nuer refugees said it is difficult to say that there is good relationship between Anywaa and Nuer refugees (Focus Group, 13&17 December 2018).

4.7 Local Integration

The key informant HO1 puts his perspectives about local integration policy. Conflict can happen if refugees are to be integrated into host communities. When refugees Nuer are integrated, then Nuer have by far more population figures than Anywaa population. The Anywaa may feel that Nuer will flood them. That is a true concern, he said, from their experience. Local Integration leads to shortage of work for five indigenous host communities' people of the region and other non-indigenous host communities too. Besides, conflict may be aggravated between Nuer and Anywaa if Nuer refugees are integrated since Nuer refugees may expand into many areas and might not obey to any order of local administration. Investors have occupied most lands in Itang, and shortage of grazing and farming lands can exist for host communities if refugees are

integrated into Itang district. Gambela Region doesn't also have excess land for integrating around 400, 000 South Sudanese refugees, which may be estimated either equal or more to the total population figure of the region (Interview, 25 December 2018).

Similarly, HO2 responds to the question of local integration as follows, he said that integration law has not yet approved until to date (Note that the interview date was on 26 December 2018). First, Anywaa people opposed the establishment of a refugee camp near to Itang town. The existence of a refugee camp near to Itang town brought so many negative consequences as it had been mentioned, he said. If integration is approved without consultation of host peoples, especially Anywaa, it will create problem. First, Nuer refugees expand into town and other areas of Anywaa people, so conflict arises between Anywaa and refugees. There is no enough land for both refugees and hosts, and thus integration worsens the problem of environmental degradation, water resource use, and agricultural land use. As a result, integration is not acceptable (Interview, 26 December 2018). HO3 also stated that integration policy is not useful not only for the areas of Itang but also for Gambella Regional State. There are around 200 000 South Sudanese refugees in three camps including Tirkidi, in Itang district, and there are more than 400, 000 refugees in Gambella Region including Itang district. Therefore, no space to accommodate all these refugees, which means no place for residence and livelihoods. In addition, if integration is implemented, it leads to conflict, especially between Anywaa and Nuer refugee because of resource use. For instance, when refugees cut trees for hut, collect firewood, fish from river, they may quarrel with Anywaa since most lands in Itang district belong to Anywaa people. If integration law is ratified, it affects non-indigenous host community too, in Gambella region, because shortage of jobs increases, thus all negative impacts of Tirkidi camp will perpetuate and get worsened (Interview, 27 December 2018).

On the other hand, the perspective of the UNHCR key informant about integration is positive. If refugees are integrated, there is no shortage of land since there are wide areas, which are not utilized in the district or in the region. Furthermore, he strengthened that the goal of UNHCR is to give durable solutions for refugees, and local integration is one of the three methods. Thus, integration helps refugees be engaged in activities and become self-reliant. Nowadays, there are shortage of donors and integration solves the problem of resources UNHCR faces (Interview, 12 December 2018). Similarly, ARRA key informant stated that there is local integration bill of

refugees by the Ethiopian government, and if local integration bill is adopted, refugees have certain benefits, and they can be engaged in different livelihoods based on the laws. He also stated that refugees become self-reliant, and they contribute to the development of the economy of the country (Interview, 14 December 2018).

However, a refugee key informant said that plenty of opportunities are available at home but life in asylum country is not good. He preferred repatriation. If that does not work, he will integrate if chances are available. He thinks that most South Sudanese refugees will prefer repatriation to local integration. However, repatriation is impossible unless peace exists at home he said (Interview, 14 December 2018). Similarly, the refugee focus group discussions expressed their feelings and all wish that peace would prevail in South Sudan and return home, but they also say local integration creates better opportunities than camp situations. The result, with self-administered questionnaire, related to integration to the place refugees live has the sample mean of 3.4, which means an **intermediate thing**, that is, between “agree”, and “neither agree nor disagree” because the rate for agree is 4, neither agree and disagree is rated 3 (See Appendix 1 Question number 18). Thus, refugees have positive perception towards local integration although repatriation is their first choice. Generally, NGOs respondents support local integration, but all host community respondents are against local integration.

Chapter Five

5. Discussions

5.1 Livelihood Sources of Host Community

I used the livelihoods framework (figure 4) to frame the discussion that happened from the results (findings). Assets, activities, institutions and organizations, context framed the discussion of RQ1: what are livelihood sources of the host community and refugees?

5.1.1 Livelihoods Assets

Asset is discussed by sorting out the asset itself, then subsections of the assets, and finally analyzing each section of the asset based on availability and access conditions for the different assets and resources (<http://www.livelihoodstoolbox.org/?q=node/73>). Livelihood assets consists of human, financial, physical, social and natural capital (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1. Livelihood Assets).

Human capital includes traditional knowledge, knowledge, skills and abilities, educational level, health status, access to education and health services, and so forth (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1 Livelihood Assets). These are some of the descriptions used to discuss the human capital of the host communities of Nuer, Anywaa and Upo. Availability and access of education exist for the host communities, I was able to learn when I asked host communities where their children learn, and they responded that all their school-aged children go to government school. Furthermore, all respondents of Anywaa host community said that host communities of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo people get treated in health center of government in Itang town, but the camp agency, for example, Mission Without Borders has supported the health center in terms of health professionals for some time, medicines and other health materials. Upo communities also have school in their village and all school-aged children get school there. They also get health services in their village and Itang town. Nuer also have school in their villages. Moreover, Itang town

school consists of classes from 1 to 12 in one compound and all indigenous host communities of Anywaa , Nuer and Upo together learn .

In sum, all Anywaa and Upo host focus group samples, individual interviewees and three key host informants said that human capital in relation to education and health is not a constraint asset either before or after the presence of Tirkidi refugee camp. However, they said that the camp has somewhat improved both in terms of expanding the health centers, providing educational materials and building schools. ARRA health centre also provides free health services for host communities, and Nuer hosts living neighbor to Tirkidi camp have mostly benefited from ARRA health services. All host respondents also said that refugees do not learn in local schools. Consequently, the presence of the camp has positively influenced human capital of Anywaa, Nuer, Upo host communities.

Natural capital includes access to, and availability of natural resources (such as land, tree, water, forests), the quality of these natural resources, pollution, effects of climate change, weather, etc. (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box1). All the host respondents stated that Anywaa and Upo's people livelihoods are predominantly agriculture and they cultivate crops and vegetables. Prior research also indicated that the Anywaa and Upo ethnic groups are largely farmers (Feyissa, 2006).

All host community respondents, including key host informants said that refugees destroyed the natural forests. However, NRDEP agency plants trees every year. I was also able to observe nomads in Itang district that also affect the natural resources since these nomads have many livestock (cows, oxen, calves, bulls) and pack animal such as donkeys. They move with their livestock from place to place in Itang district. I also learnt that the nomads stay within Itang district about 4 to 6 months in a year. All hosts also mentioned pollution problem since there is no solid waste-dumping place in the refugee camp, saying that if infectious disease arises from Tirkidi refugee camp, the disease will easily spread to host communities.

On the other hand, ARRA key informant said that the camp undertook many projects in different forms to protect natural resources including forests; strict actions are taken upon refugees found being guilty of cutting trees, and environmental education is given with community service workers, hence refugees have realized the negative effects of destruction. Refugee key informant also said that refugees may lose even their refugee status if they repeatedly cut trees. He added

that different punishments are practiced such as money, imprisonment and others. However, UNHCR key informant still stated that natural resources are depleted because of refugees.

In general, in relation to natural capital, all respondents of host communities and UNHCR key informant agreed that refugees have negatively affected the natural resources, especially forests. Based on participatory observation, I was able to understand that NRDEP employed guards to protect the forests, and NRDEP plants trees in destruction areas every year. Despite efforts of protection of natural environment from camp, some refugees still make additional house using forest trees or wood, refugees also collect firewood for fuel from forests. At the same time, some refugees also sell firewood and charcoal to get cash income. Thus, the researcher's participatory observation and objective evidences from most respondents showed the continuation of the natural resources problem, especially cutting parts of trees by refugees. The self-administered survey result from Tirkidi refugees also showed that competition for firewood between refugees and hosts has a sample mean of 3 (three), which represents “**usually**” (Appendix 1, question 11). This means refugees still use firewood from forests because there are no other options to get firewood. Previous study also reported that the natural environment of Gambella is devastated and access to alternative energy for cooking and light is very small, compelling refugees to collect firewood (UNHCR, Ethiopia Country Refugee Response Plan, 2018). However, as the host key informant (HO1) said, the agricultural investment also destroyed forest areas. All host respondents including Upo viewed that the natural capital, especially forest destruction has brought negative results for them such as lack of woods for construction, firewood and charcoal for fuel energy, wild plants for food, honey made by bees on forest trees, and other benefits.

Physical capital assets include availability, access and condition of infrastructure (transport services, roads, electricity, water and sanitation, housing, public shopping areas, health centers, schools, livestock and so on (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1. Livelihood assets). With regard to the lists of physical capital assets, most host respondents said that most assets were available before the presence of Tirkidi camp. People buy commodities from individual traders but no public (government) shopping. However, host sanitation infrastructure is still a problem.

All host respondents reported that transport services are available throughout the day. This is because people come from Gambella to Itang and vice versa for trade activity because of

refugees. Transportation expands and creates a lot of income for those engaged in this livelihood. However, the Anywaa and Nuer are still very few in this livelihood, but no Upo community is engaged in such livelihoods.

Most host respondents said that they faced with road problems for long since it was inaccessible during rainy season, especially the road from Tirkidi to Itang when they came from Gambella to Itang and vice versa. The host respondents said that the government built up first level asphalt road 11 years ago before the establishment of the camp. However, the big lorry that transports food items to refugees have damaged some places between Terfam and Gambella the host respondents said.

Housing i.e in the sense of a place of accommodation, host respondents have divergent perspectives. Most argued that rent is increasing although many houses are constructed in Terfam and Itang after a refugee camp establishment, the demand is still high, while some argued that rent cost is not high. Housing rent have both negative and positive results according to host community. Almost most supported expansion of housing and increasing of rent, but some support expansion but against the high rent. Housing is another livelihood source that is strongly strengthened due to the presence of the camp.

All host respondents and all key host informants reported that the camp constructed health centers and primary schools in a few villages, first cycle (1 to 4). IIT12 said that the camp agency like Plan International helped Itang high school with school materials and designed to construct additional rooms in future in Itang high school. Thus, Tirkidi camp has contributed to physical assets of the host community. One agency from Tirkidi camp, for example, built a primary cycle school for Pulkot village (figure 8).



Figure 8. Primary cycle school for Pulkot village (host Nuer village)

Source: My own source from fieldwork, in December 2018

Financial capital includes availability, access and quality of financial resources: credit, revolving funds, savings in money or in kind (jewels, for instance), trade and remittances, income from employment and other cash income (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1. Livelihood Assets). Tirkidi camp is one of the sources of income for hosts because it employs the hosts. All host respondents

also said that the camp has created projects for their young people to earn finance. Anywaa and Upo host communities obtain domestic remittances from their relatives. Most host community respondents receive financial support, especially during lack of crop produce, from their close relatives working in government, private and non-governmental agencies in Gambella and other parts of Ethiopia.« Although our community [Anywaaa] help each other, salaries in government office are not enough now to manage their lives [those people who give money]. Thus, helping one another decreases” (ITI2). Correspondingly, remittances depend on the level of income and the regular employment obtained by the people who can assist their family members (Ellis, 2000). However, only two Anywaa respondents get remittances from overseas. In like manner, remittances are considered as non-farm income sources (ibid). In other words, most Anywaa, Upo and Nuer host respondents have two types of income sources, namely, on-farm, and non-farm (Ellis, 2000, 11-12).

Social capital concerns availability, and participation in associations (employer/employee), trade unions, common funds, solidarity networks, community groups (development committees, trade or community associations), instance and so on (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1. Livelihood Asset). Related to social capital, I was able to learn Nuer, Anywaa and Upo have informal strong personalized relationships according to their culture, they help each other among relatives. Personalized solidarity networks are important to get remittances (financial capital), for farming work and constructing house as they responded. However, other types of social capital of figure 4 do not exist since it is a rural area and there is no industry there, and thus trade unions and employer and employee associations are not relevant issues within the host community. Literature indicated that personalized solidarity network is an important asset for livelihood in many parts of developing countries (Ellis, 2000).

5.1.2 Activities of Host Community

Natural resource-based activity livelihood includes activities in agriculture, manufacturing in rural livelihoods (figure 4). The results of this study and other literature showed that most Anywaa and Upo livelihoods sources are from cultivation (Feyissa, 2006, p.244) and they have their own lands in the sense that they do not rent land to cultivate. Anywaa areas are better endowed with resources, and they settle along the banks of the rivers and live in scattered settlements that show low density of Anywaa (Feyissa, 2006, p.247). The Anywaa have

ownership right along the rivers because they early settled there. Additionally, their early settlement along the river gives them conventional right over the adjacent rangeland (ibid). “The Anywaa are predominantly cultivators while the Nuer make a living off livestock production, although they are increasingly becoming agro-pastoralists” (Feyissa, 2006, pp-246-247). The host community also get wild plants from forests. However, almost all host communities are subsistence farmers, and do not produce cash crop or other non-food items for market. However, there are foreign and domestic agricultural investments in Itang district, which employ host communities for agricultural activities.

Non-natural resource-based activity livelihood covers remittances, trade, industry etc. (figure 4). According to this livelihood dimension, the results showed that most Anywaa and Upo are farmers and Nuer are agro pastoralists. Some are engaged in non-farm activities such as running small businesses such as small commodities shop, public workers in different positions, NGOs workers, etc. Generally, the rest host communities of Nuer, Anywaa and Upo are engaged in non-farm activities. However, no industry was built up in Itang district, which gives employment for the host community.

5.1.3 Institutions and Organizations Mediate the Access to Assets

Social relations, institutions and organizations mediate access to assets (figure 4). The transformation of assets into a strategy for sustainable livelihood comprises a list of income generating activities is implemented by mediating institutions and organizations (Pons, 2008, p.18). Institutions refer to patterns of behavior or regularized practices organized by rules and norms of society, which have continuous and prevalent use (Giddens, 1979 cited in Scoones, 1998, p.12). Institutions can also be defined as rules of the games which can be formal or informal (Ellis, 2000, p.18). Institutions include rules & customs, land tenure, markets in practice (figure 4). Organizations are associations, which have common purpose (Pons, 2008, p.18). Organizations include NGOs, associations, local administration and state agencies. Most host respondents said that they have the right to access and use the asset. No organizations created problems. Therefore, there is no any problem to host community of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo. For instance, NGOs of the camp contribute to host community, and local administration works for host community according to its mandate. However, the camp has its own negative consequences because some local Nuer were displaced, left their residence, farmland and pastureland due to

Tirkidi camp establishment. The refugees destroy natural resources. Social relation is defined as the position occupied by the different members of the families within society (Pons, 2018, p.18). Social relation includes age, gender, class, ethnicity (figure, 4). There is no problem to have access to asset because of social relations factors from my findings. Similarly, institutions also operate well. Most respondents said that there are no barrier rules and custom to have access to assets, activities. The Anywaa, and Upo people don't have clans, class strata and discrimination to have access to assets. However, there is conflict in Nuer ethnic people based on clans, sub clans to control resources. Different Nuer clans have often fought to access the water areas. For example, Jikany and Lou Nuer have continuously fought. Gaajak clans comprise so many sub-clans, and the sub clans have fiercely fought to access to resources (Feyissa, 2014). Anywaa and Nuer ethnic groups have also conflicted various times because of ownership of land (Olay, 2017).

5.1.4 The Context

According to figure 4, the context consists of trends (population, migration, technological change, relative prices, macro policy, national eco trend, world eco trends) and shocks (drought, floods, pests, diseases, civil war). The framework also shows “the vulnerability of the people in such a context, which it is expected they could overcome if their livelihood were to be sustainable” (Pons, 2008, p.19). Refugees compete with hosts for resources. As a result, the relation between refugees and local hosts may create conflict due to competition for resources and inequalities (Betts, 2009).

For my purpose, I take trend (population, relative price) and shocks (conflict) from the framework to discuss my findings. Based on the results, refugee and host community usually compete for firewood. Population of refugees in Tirkidi is 74 000 in November 2018. Thus, the impacts of the largest refugee population on natural asset may continue, and when the firewood is not available at some point, conflict may arise between host community and refugees because of lack of firewood. The price of some food commodities has increased due to refugees. The refugee and host community compete to buy fish, vegetables in market and the trend shows the price of these commodities will go up more and more, especially fish since fish is a common food for refugees and the three indigenous host communities.

5.2 Livelihood Sources of Tirkidi Refugees

According to the survey research, all 66 samples (100%) refugees depend on the refugee camp for their livelihood sources. However, during focus group discussions, we found that refugees who had relatives abroad could also get foreign remittances that complement to their livelihoods. We analyze livelihood assets of refugees below.

Human capital: Refugees get education from kindergarten up to high school in the camp, and they obtain health services in camp. In addition, refugees get different trainings of peace, business, agriculture and so forth. Therefore, according to the requirements of human capital (Ellis, 2000, p.8;), both results of quantitative and qualitative studies showed that human capital assets are available for refugees in Tirkidi refugee camp (Ellis, 2000, p.8). Thus, Tirkidi refugees do not compete with host communities for public services of education and health. Although some people viewed refugees as economic burden, especially in poor countries like Ethiopia, because refugees and hosts commonly use the public services (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018, p.158), However, Tirkidi refugees don't use government schools and clinics. Instead, the camp provides free medical services to all host communities in Tirkidi.

Natural Capital: When we see the natural assets (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1. Livelihood Assets) from findings, refugees are legally restricted to use natural resources such as land and forest although refugees collect firewood for fuel and wood for construction of huts. This shows the argument of host respondents of Anywaa and Upo that refugees devastated forests is reasonable, and the problem will continue for long if alternative energy source is not available for refugees.

Physical capital: Based on the conceptual framework (Ellis, 2000, p.8; Box 1), the physical capital such as health centers, schools' buildings are available and accessible to all refugees. Refugees also get pipe water and there are water points inside the camp. Refugees have their own huts, have small market shops inside the camp, and they mainly exchange goods for money and vice versa with the local people or with other refugees in a market of Tirkidi town. Regarding road, I was able to learn from host community interview that "The Ethiopian government has constructed asphalt road from Itang to Gambella...Addis Ababa, but this is not constructed for refugees' sake, but for the citizens as a part of Ethiopian government development road project

programme before refugees came to the areas. Tirkidi is seven km from Itang and is found on the edge of the main asphalt road. The roads are accessible to refugees as well” (IIT 8, 2018). However, refugees could not get electric power supply because the asylum country economic development couldn’t do such supply for all its citizens, let alone for refugees.

Financial capital: The financial asset of refugee is analyzed in light of the conceptual framework (Ellis, 2000, p.8: Box 1), and there are refugees who are supported with foreign remittances, and that means Ethiopia government might benefit from bank service. Refugees also work physical jobs available around their areas and receive wages; ARRA employs refugees as cleaners, guards, community service workers, primary school teachers, and pays them incentives per month. Other agencies also employ refugees. Thus, daily labor wages, incentives and remittances are financial livelihood sources of refugees.

Social capital: The social capital described (Ellis 2000, p.8-9; Box 1) existed in Tirkidi refugee camp. Community associations and personalized solidarity networks are common to bring income. In South Sudanese culture, solidarity networks exist such as helping each other for food and work. Most importantly, solutions for problems are carried out with informal solidarity networks more than formal institutions in Tirkidi camp (Ellis, 2000, p.8).

5.2.1 Activities of refugees

Natural resource-based activity- Natural resources are resources that most rural livelihoods rely on at least to some degree (Scoones, 1986, P.4). Refugees can’t legally cultivate land and use forests although some refugee use forests for construction, firewood & charcoal. Refugees cultivate land around their huts with hoes. Refugees who were interested in farming were given trainings by the local NGOs working on livelihoods in the camp. However, refugees have not largely used on-farm activity because trainings of farming, hoe cultivation of a plot of land around their huts are not sufficient evidences to argue that refugees use agricultural activity. However, refugees depend on natural environment for fuel energy and construction, even some refugees sell woods and charcoal to get financial income. Thus, refugees negatively affect the livelihoods of the host community by exploiting natural resources such as wood.

Non-natural resource-based activity: In relation to this activity, refugees get remittances as we mentioned in the financial asset. In addition, they have other financial sources mentioned already in the financial capital. All these non-natural resource-based activities in camp and outside camp and from other countries serve to complement the food ration given from the camp. Hence, non-natural resource-based activities, which include remittances, trade, employment in camp, daily labor are available for refugees (Ellis, 2000).

5.3 Impacts of Tirkidi Refugee Camp

Livelihood security outcomes and environmental sustainability outcome (figure 4) framed the discussion of RQ2. What are the impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host community, both opportunities and risks?

To realize the impact, we will discuss **livelihood security outcomes and environmental sustainability outcome** (figure.4).

Security refers to secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income earning activities, including reserves assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies. **Sustainable** refers to maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on long-term basis. A household may be enabled to gain sustainable livelihoods security in many ways - through ownership of land, livestock or trees, rights to grazing, fishing, hunting or gathering; through stable employment with adequate remuneration; or through varied repertoires of activities. (Chambers and Conway, 1991, p. 5)

In short, **livelihood security outcomes** focus on livelihoods, and resilience of livelihoods and natural resource base, which are disaggregated into income level, income stability and degrees of risk of security outcomes for analysis (figure 4).

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies, such as more income, increased well-being, reduce vulnerability, improved food security and a more sustainable use of natural resources. When thinking about livelihood outcomes, the aims of a particular group as well as the extent to which these are already being achieved has to be understood.

(http://www.glopp.ch/B7/en/multimedia/B7_1_pdf2.pdf).

We also discuss or analyze environmental sustainability outcome through soils and land quality, water, rangeland, forests and biodiversity (figure 4). Furthermore, the socio-economic impacts can be analyzed based on our research results' indicators, namely, employment, infrastructure (schools, health center, roads, etc.), firewood, commodities, social problems, cost increase of food. Both livelihood security outcomes and environmental sustainability outcome are the impact (figure 4). Impact can be immediate change or long-term change based on the hypothetical dam (figure 2 &3) and all activities finally produce long-term change (figure 3). Similarly, assets, livelihood strategies, context, activities finally achieve livelihood security outcome and environmental sustainability outcome, which are long-term effects. We have already discussed the assets, access, context, livelihood strategies, and activities. Thus, the researcher discusses the status of livelihood security outcome (income level, income stability and degree of risk) with socio-economic impacts of the host community by Tirkidi refugee camp. In other words, when we analyze the impact of the camp on socio-economic of the hosts, we can realize the status of livelihood security outcome of the host community (figure 4). Similarly, we also analyze environmental sustainability outcome of the host communities with the variables used for analysis (figure 4).

5.3.1 Socio-Economic Impacts

UNHCR stated that refugees may positively impact the economy of the host community (UNHCR, 1997). Based on the results of Tirkidi refugee camp, UNHCR and ARRA are the main agencies and there are also other national and international implementing partners, namely, WFP, UNICEF, NRC, IOM, IRC...MSF. These different agencies have projects to help refugees economically, socially, and the agencies are in principle supposed to work 25% of their services for host community. As a result, the camp agencies may contribute to socio-economic of host community.

Host community members get jobs in different agencies in the camp. With focus group discussions, individual interviews, and key informant in-depth interview of hosts, I was able to learn that the camp agencies sent vacancies in letter to Itang district administration. Then the administration posts up the vacancies where all residents of the town could see it. Then those who fulfil the requirements will apply and compete to get the job. This shows that there is employment for host as already mentioned in financial capital. All host respondents said employment is available in the camp. When I was in the camp for the fieldwork, I was able to observe that host communities worked as protection officers, heads of UNHCR, drivers, and food distribution workers in Tirkidi camp.

As explained in results section in chapter four, Tirkidi camp agencies carried out different infrastructures such as roads, school, and health centers. The researcher observed some infrastructures made by agencies, for example, Itang town path maintenance and Pulkot primary school construction in Nuer village for Nuer students. However, all host respondents are not satisfied with the work of Tirkidi camp for host communities, and they need more infrastructures in future. According to all host respondents, the biggest infrastructure work for the last five years is the water service because it has solved the major pipe water problem of hosts living in Itang town, Tirkidi town and surrounding villages. The other socio-economic impacts are trainings and income generation activities. In findings, host communities were given trainings and cash grant to create income generations. Host communities, especially Anywaa and Nuer young hosts are organized in different groups, and run goats breeding, horticulture income generation activities so that hosts would boost their income or economy. However, Upo hosts do not participate in income generation projects because they live very far from Itang. Therefore, camp agencies have worked to improve host communities. In fact, most host respondents feel that camp agencies should increasingly improve corresponding to the right that host communities deserve.

The other factor related to economy is market. Because of refugees, market expands, especially in a refugee camp town (Tirkidi or Terfam), and refugees are engaged in trade activity. Refugees sell some of the food crops in the market and buy other goods because the camp does not fulfil all commodities for them, and thus refugees and host compete each other for buying such as

vegetables, fish, fish and milk. Then the costs of such goods become expensive since both hosts and refugees demand such items. Therefore, the refugees make the commodities cost increase. House rent and food price in restaurant increase very much in Itang and Tirkidi because of the camp. There are people who become very poor, especially those who are daily laborers and those persons who earn small amount of monthly fixed income from public offices.

In my observation in Tirkidi (Terfam) market, host community Anywaa and Upo are not engaged in Terfam market, but Nuer hosts sell milk to Nuer refugees in Terfam. Other non –indigenous host communities have hotel, restaurant, tearoom, shops, vehicles... cafeteria in Terfam. In focus group discussions, I learnt that host community of Anywaa run small businesses only in Itang town. Most Anywaa respondents said that the presence of a Tirkidi refugee camp doesn't have any positive impact upon their small businesses such as commodities shop, home-brewed drink. However, some Anywaa farmers benefited because they sell fish, mangoes, maize, chicken and other agricultural yields with high price in Itang market due to refugees. Related to Upo, they live very far from Tirkidi market, and Tirkidi market doesn't have much role for them. However, Nuer hosts mostly rear cows and sell milk to refugees. Thus, Nuer hosts benefited from Tirkidi market.

Based on the above discussions, the economy of host communities generally can change due to the camp engagement in host economic activities. Therefore, livelihood security outcomes, particularly income level of host communities can be increased due to interventions of Tirkidi camp. At least, agencies of the camp added some incomes, irrespective of the amount, to the hosts of Nuer, Anywaa and Upo although it is not satisfactory. The second component of livelihoods security outcome is income stability. It is difficult to know whether hosts' income is stable or not. This needs a lot of statistics document and making comparison of different years. Thus, I cannot say anything about income stability based on the findings. The third component is a degree of risk, which is analyzed through resilience of livelihoods and natural resource base. Host communities of Upo and Anywaa have diversification in their livelihoods such as fishing, farming, and non-farm income sources and may cope with the vulnerability of their livelihoods. Nuer increasingly work on farming, non-farm income sources, and Nuer are used to living off on

livestock (Feyissa, 2006). This show diversification. However, natural resource base, for example, forest is damaged because of refugees, agricultural investment and even hosts themselves. Hosts may cope with the risk of deforestation if Tirkidi camp, government and hosts themselves work together to stop deforestation since the main natural resource problem is deforestation due to refugees in Itang district.

Therefore, livelihood security outcome in terms of income level has at least added some income to host community, but it is difficult to know with the respondent's information to discuss income stability. The camp contributes the host economy somewhat be resilient since it creates jobs like income generation, employment in the camp, and trainings to improve agricultural productions. However, the degree of risk for the natural resource base still exists due to refugees. The projects of environmental protections by camp may not offset the risk of the natural environment such as cutting of vegetation. This implies that the work of natural resources such as soil protection, forest and rangelands protection should deserve more attention.

5.3.2 Environmental Impacts

The environmental sustainability outcomes are discussed or analyzed with indicators mentioned in rural livelihoods framework (figure 4), and the samples' responses of findings section. I was able to use other supporting literature to strengthen the discussions.

According to UNHCR report, the impact of the refugees on the environment of host communities can be categorized as forest depletion, land degradation, water pollution, and spread of diseases and exhaustion of water ground resources (Martin, 2005). Refugees can impact the environment through over grazing of rangelands when they come with their livestock, pollute water, loss of water courses and overburdened water supplies, and may have uncontrolled fishing (Jacobsen, 2003, p.107).

Soil & Land Quality- Corresponding to soil & land quality, most host respondents stated that natural resources are depleted which include soil and land.

Water- Itang district is endowed with water resources and fertile virgin land. The Baro River passes through Itang town that has swampy areas. However, some pools found in Tirkidi were dried because trees were cleared for making camp in the areas. Although pools are dried, there are no problems of water for host communities and refugees. The refugee camp dug water well in Itang town, and both the camp and host communities benefit tap water. Most host respondents said that they are very satisfied with the water infrastructure work of Tirkidi camp.

Forests& Biodiversity- All focus group discussions, key informants and individual respondents seriously speak the problem of destruction of forests. The indicators for forest destruction from findings are firewood consumption and cutting of lives trees for huts construction by refugees, and hence forest destruction brings about loss of biodiversity. Host community also use firewood, also cut trees for houses, but their number is small compared to refugees in Itang. IIT10 angrily stated that If refugees had not settled in Tirkidi, the forests destruction would not have been accelerated. I was able to observe Upo host community forestland in Wankie, and Anywaa forestland in Itang changed to agricultural investment. However, negative impacts of refugees on forests and biodiversity seem more than agricultural investments.

Rangelands- Here operationally used to mean as pastureland for analysis. Most host respondents said that a few refugees have livestock and kept livestock around their camp, but host community respondents didn't see the negative effects of livestock. Refugees focus group, refugee key informant, NGOs informants said that refugees don't have livestock in the camp. Three individual host community respondents provided similar ideas about refugees related to rangelands "Although they [South Sudanese refugees] don't have livestock which negatively impacts the rangelands, refugees themselves cut grass for making roofs of huts coupled with fencing of their compound" (IIT6). Individual interview respondents of IIT12 and IIT15 also support IIT6 arguments.

Another individual host community respondent said, "The negative effects of rangelands concerning grazing is by other African nomads coming from Nigeria. These nomads stay in Gambela region every year, from October to May, which are dry seasons in Ethiopia, but the nomads leave Gambela for Sudan when the Ethiopian rainy season begins, and they will stay outside Ethiopia during Ethiopian rainy seasons (June- September). These nomads have created

disturbance for rangelands in the district for long period” (IIT15). Overall, refugees do not have livestock that affect pastureland, but the nomads came for pasture and may have their own negative implications. In December 2018, I was able to observe the nomads who lived with their family and livestock in the savanna land in Itang district.

The presence of the largest number of refugees aggravates the already existing social, economic, environmental, at times, political problems in the least developed countries. These countries mostly face with all these four together (UNHCR, 1997). South Sudanese refugees are found in very large number in Tirkidi. This implies the problem of social, economic, environment, and politics will be aggravated (ibid). Refugees may restrain development efforts of the host community in poor countries because the demand of refugee population for energy source, economy and infrastructure affects local population (ibid). Host community may not realize some negative effects of refugees while refugees reside in host areas. For instance, refugees of Tirkidi use firewood from forests, and host communities now feel that trees or forests decrease, and they may not see other consequences. In future, when climate change happens, host communities may feel the negative effect of climate change by loss of forests. Therefore, some environment destruction impacts are felt after long period of time (UNHCR, 1997). Studies in Africa showed that large camps with many refugees have resulted in negative impacts on the environment around the camp, and the problem will exist if refugees stay in the camps in asylum country for long periods (Shepherd, 1995, p.1). Most respondents argued that cutting of forests for firewood is the biggest cause for forest destruction, in relation to this point, the requirement for firewood has been the main causal factor of environmental damage (UNHCR, 1997). Other studies in Gambella state in another district, in Bonga refugee camp, the environmental impact of refugees was deforestation (Martin, 2005, p.336). In the areas like Tirkidi, when refugees exploit natural resources, the host community will feel that they lose out the common property (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 10-11). One host community respondent strongly responded, “In general, UNHCR funds NRDEP, which is an implementing agency in the camp, to carry out natural resource protection. NRDEP has started planting tree seedlings and protecting the forest from destruction since the time refugees have come in this area; however, the destruction of forests has markedly been intensified by refugees for the last five years” (IIT7).

Based on the researcher's observation and the information collected from most respondents, refugees commonly used firewood for cooking and trees for huts construction, which have escalated the destruction of forests. Similarly, Anywaa, Upo and Nuer host communities use firewood for cooking and trees for house construction. Other non-indigenous host communities living in Tirkidi and Itang also buy firewood and charcoal from market. Besides, agricultural investment policy also damages natural resources. As a result, refugees are not the only communities who have deteriorated the destruction of natural resources, especially forests. In fact, I can argue that the refugees are very large number compared to others and they have affected forests more than agricultural investments. Another study also showed that forests may be damaged because refugees need poles for houses and latrines, firewood, medicine, thatching and fodder (Sarah, 2018).

5.4 Host community Coping Strategies

Coping Strategies “are mechanisms that people choose as a way of living through difficult times. They are usually set off by events affecting their livelihoods and way of living” (<https://www.preparecenter.org/resources/ifrc-guidelines-livelihoods-programming>). In terms of impacts of the Tirkidi refugee camp, most host respondents recognized results of both positive and negative opportunities. However, they stressed that negative impacts outweigh the positive impacts for their livelihoods. As explained before, there are efforts done at camp level and within host community to reduce the negative impacts on the livelihoods of the host community

Related to camp agencies, they carried out different strategies to manage environmental problems like planting trees, protecting natural environment and preventing deforestation for improving natural environment. Besides, different camp agencies carried out different projects to improve the socio-economy of the host community. They give jobs for host community and work to benefit 25% of the services of the camp for host community. However, according to the findings, it is difficult to know that the camp fulfills 25% service budget for host community. The results show that most camp agencies' work for host community is not properly planned to improve the

lives of the hosts. If all agencies of the camp had used 25% of their service budget for hosts, big changes in socio-economic and environment have been observed within host community for the last five years.

Host respondents also made efforts to increase their income to be resilient and to reduce vulnerability for the high cost of goods and services. Individual household members have tried to have more than one livelihood. Thus, Anywaa respondents use livelihood diversification as coping strategies, for instance, one household family said that they work on crop farming, fishing, horticulture, poultry rearing (Ellis, 2000). This shows that they have different means to acquire incomes. However, hosts may have big challenges to cope with the environmental problem such as deforestation because of refugees and agricultural investment in forest areas.

5.5 Relationship between Refugees and the Rural Host Community

As per the results, the relationship of Nuer refugees with host communities are analyzed according to each ethnic host community. Thus, indigenous host communities are disaggregated into three in Itang district: Nuer, Anyaa and Upo.

We have explained results in previous section that host Nuer and refugee Nuer live harmoniously, but conflict exists based on tribes and clans of Nuer themselves to have access to water areas resources. Thus, there is no problem between the same Nuer ethnic people in Tirkidi because of being hosts and refugees. UNHCR studies also strengthened the results of Tirkidi. If refugees resemble the host people culturally and linguistically, refugees and host identify and help each other. Sociocultural conflict between refugees and host communities diminishes when refugees and hosts possess the same culture, religion and language (UNHCR, 1997).

According to results, Upo hosts live very far from Tirkidi camp and Upo respondents do not have many cases except a few social incidences happened such as physical attack and stealing by refugees around Tirkidi camp. As regards to refugees and Anywaa host community, the relationship might be peaceful. However, there have been conflicts between Nuer host and local Anywaa depending on different factors. When I was in the fieldwork, there was also tension between Anywaa and Nuer hosts in Gambella region. According to my key informant from

UNHCR, the problem originated from political power struggle between Anywaa and Nuer in the region, in the sense each of them wants to dominate the politics of the region. However, another host interviewee said “...the main problem between Anywaa and Nuer is not only political struggle, but also the issue of land rights.” (IIT14 Interview, 13 December 2018). IIT9 & II10 agreed to IIT14. Another study provided that an influx of several thousand Nuer refugees into Anywaa settlements of Gambella region resulted in conflict between Nuer and Anywaa ethnic groups (Feyissa, 2014). It is understood that Nuer and Anywaa have conflicted on claims of land. The refugees in Gambella region have effects on the security because they participate in domestic politics, which results in political tensions, violence, and attacks against other ethnic groups (Olay, 2017). By late January 2016, Nuer and Anywaa ethnic host communities conflicted each other over land rights, claiming dozens of lives. Refugees were involved in the problem. Thus, refugees have serious security impact on the host communities (ibid). This implies that the existence of refugees in large number may cause conflict. In this case, UNHCR recognized that the presence of one (ethnic) group of refugees may affect ethnic balances within the local population and exacerbates tensions (UNHCR, 1997).

5.6 Interventions for Co-existence between Refugees and Host community

5.6.1 Interventions for Refugees

UNHCR key informant stated that there are different livelihoods programme given to refugees. The first thing is fulfilling their basic needs such as food, shelter, health service, protection, school. Other interventions will also follow basic needs. All school-aged children get education in the camp, and there are school from class 1 to class 11 in Trkidi camp, but the camp will open class 12 in September 2019, and those promoted to class 12 will continue their school in Tirkidi camp. Education is a key intervention for long term. I was able to observe that education intervention is a determinant even at camp level because some refugees who have relatively better education than others have jobs and earn incentive money in Tirkidi camp. Some refugees get employed as guards, cleaners, teachers in the camp, and these livelihoods help refugees get additional income to complement food ration. Thus, refugees alleviate their financial constraints.

He added that the other intervention is training in different skills such as tailoring, farming, etc. The main objective of these trainings is to create their own livelihoods with the skills they are

trained. Income generation activity is another intervention such as petty trades are for refugees in Tirkidi camp. As explained by UNHCR key informant in results section, once refugee status has been approved and the immediate protection needs are fulfilled, refugees need support for long-term and durable solutions. UNHCR has promoted voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement as long-term and durable solutions.

Whenever refugees do not repatriate to their country because either they don't want or they can't return, then they spend years of living in asylum country in camps or unnecessary situations, which is a protracted situation. In protracted situations, refugees do have few means to support themselves and educate their children. In addition, they are not granted full asylum in the host country or they don't get resettlement in the third country (Jacobsen, 2001). In such cases, "One of the "durable solutions" promoted by UNHCR is local integration, where refugees are offered permanent asylum and integration into the host society by the host government.

As set out in international refugee conventions (Article 34 the 1951 Refugee Convention), local integration refers to the granting of full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status, by the host government. It takes places through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating in the offer of citizenship. (Kibreab 1989, p.469 cited in Jacobsen, 2001, p.1)

Based on this humanitarian idea, Ethiopian Government parliament adopted local integration law of refugees on 17 January 2019. Local integration generally seems good for refugees living in Ethiopia. However, implementing local integration of refugees without realizing the feelings of host communities, especially the different ethnic host communities may not be a durable solution. Local Integration, according to prior studies, brings about good results, when refugee and host possess the same ethno-linguistic family or where both refugee and host communities have historically experienced moving in each other regions (Leach, 1992; Bakewell, 2000, 2002 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008). When refugee and hosts share the same culture, religion and language, refugees may easily get social integration in host communities (UNHCR, 2007). Based on the results of Tirkidi refugee camp, local integration may have challenges for implementation in Itang district or Gambella region since the major host communities themselves are ethnically polarized and have conflicted each other on the issue of

land rights.

Most hosts explained that there is no surplus land for refugees in Itang, even within Gambela Region, but UNHCR key informant said that there are enough lands for refugees to be integrated. However, during my participatory observation, all lands have owners and there is no surplus land in Itang district. Other studies in other country showed that local integration into large population rural areas don't benefit both refugees and hosts, because refugees and hosts compete for resources and associated livelihoods struggle (Black & Sessay, 1997 cited in Porter, Kampshire, Kyei, Adjaloo, Rapoo & Kilpatrick, 2008).

5.6.2 Interventions for Host Community

As ARRA and UNHCR key informants described, host communities have received various advantages because of the presence of Tirkidi camp, namely, infrastructure development (schools, health centers), trainings, pipe water development, employment and natural environment protection. These activities improve the host communities' socio-economic status, and protects the natural environment for short, medium or long term. For example, health centers and school buildings serve for many years. The ARRA key informant added that the camp has done 25% services for host community and 75% for refugees.

Intervention is used for alleviating the existing problems and preventing potential problem or for improving certain parts of quality of life (Chen, 2005, p.23). Thus, interventions of NGOs have contributed to socio-economic development of the host communities in Itang district, but the presence of the camp is the major problem for environmental destruction by refugees. Host respondents also complained that Tirkidi agencies have not implemented projects as the host community deserves. However, humanitarian organizations working in refugee camps can have potentials to implement big projects that improve host communities because 25% service for host communities can produce various livelihoods if each agency properly plans and implements projects based on the needs of the host communities. Humanitarian agencies of refugee camps contributed to big infrastructure developments such as road, airfields and telecommunications, thus they improved sanitation and health care in Kagera, west Tanzania (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018, p.158).

5. Conclusion

The goal of this study was to explore the impacts of South Sudanese refugee camps on the rural livelihoods of the host community in Ethiopia: the case of Tirkidi refugee camp, Itang district. Host community in this study refers to Nuer, Anywaa and Upo ethnic people of Itang district. This study has attempted to assess livelihood sources of refugee and host community, impacts of the refugee camp, relationship between hosts and refugees, host community coping strategies and interventions by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for host community and refugees. This study has been done from the point of views of refugee participants, host community samples, and Non-Governmental Organizations members working in the Tirkidi camp.

The main methods employed to gather data were in-depth interview with key informants, individual interview, focus group discussions, participatory observation, and self-administered questionnaire. The research approach was mixed methods approach and the design was embedded mixed methods. The sampling techniques are probability sampling such as simple random sampling (lottery system), stratified and systematic sampling methods are used. Non-probability sampling such as purposive, conducive and snowball sampling methods were also employed. The livelihoods framework is used as analytical framework.

The results showed that Tirkidi refugee camp has both negative and positive impacts in different sectors of the host communities. The camp has more positively contributed to socio-economic development of the host communities of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo. However, the refugee camp has negatively affected the natural environment of the host community. The camp has also negatively affected the relationship between host communities of Anywaa and Nuer because Nuer refugees created very large imbalance figure between host communities of Nuer and Anywaa in Itang district. As a result, conflicts happened between host Nuer and Anywaa in the past few years over land issues. Nuer refugees partially were the cause of a conflict for these host communities. However, taking all the negative and positive impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp into account, the overall results of this study lead to drawing a conclusion that the negative impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp outweigh the positive impacts on the rural livelihoods of the host communities of Upo, Nuer and Anywaa in Itang district.

The research findings showed that rural host communities of Anywaa and Upo livelihoods are mainly farming of food crops. Fishing, hunting, productions of fruits and vegetables are additional sources for Anywaa and Upo rural people. Nuer are mostly pastoralists, but they now increasingly become agropastoral. The three host communities also have non-farm incomes such as private work, public employment and NGOs employment. However, refugees of Tirkidi depend on the camp for foodstuffs and other livelihood sources. With quantitative method, the average mean of results showed that refugees agree to the presence of the camp in Tirkidi area and the qualitative results showed that they like the place where Tirkidi camp is situated.

The main impacts observed in the rural livelihoods of host communities of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo are categorized into social, economy and environment (natural resources) and security. Related to environment, the camp was established after clearing of vegetation and displacement of local Nuer and disrupting cultivation. Forests were degraded due to refugees. As a result, host communities have faced problem in some of their livelihood sources after the presence of a refugee camp in Tirkidi. Hosts may not easily get firewood and poles of tree for construction because refugees have speeded up the destruction of forests for firewood, charcoal, and poles for construction. This happens because the camp does not provide firewood for refugees. Refugees also make additional huts themselves although UNHCR has already constructed for all refugees. Their additional huts are made using the poles of the forest. Agricultural investment also posed destruction of natural resources such as forests in Itang district. Host communities also depend on forests for firewood, construction, to some extent for food. Hosts also have their impact on natural resources, but the negative impacts of refugees on natural resources, especially forests are very high compared to others. However, Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection (NRDEP), which is an organization in Tirkidi camp, works for development of natural resources and protection of the environment, and NRDEP plants trees every year to replace the lost forests, and prevents the forests from destruction, but the loss of forests immensely increases more than trees planted and grown in the areas. Therefore, the presence of the camp has negatively affected the natural environment.

On the other hand, a refugee camp has benefited the socio-economic of host communities. The camp has employed hosts, trained skills, and made income generation activities with cash grant for Anywaa and Nuer host communities in their villages, for instance, horticulture and goat

rearing in Itang. Upo host community lives very far from Tirkidi, thus they don't benefit from income generation projects. The camp agencies build health centers, primary cycle schools, maintains small paths for host community, it supports schools with educational materials, health center of government with medical materials. The health centre of the camp gives 100% free medical services for all people including non-indigenous community in Tirkidi. However, Anywaa and Upo host communities do not utilize camp clinic because Anywaa community uses the health centre in their villages and Itang town, and Nuer host community living around Itang town uses health center in Itang town because the Tirkidi camp health centre is a little far. Upo community lives very far from camp and gets health services in their villages. However, Nuer hosts living around the camp benefit from free medical services of Tirkidi camp. The camp has alleviated the water problem of Itang town and Tirkidi area residents, so tap water service is available for both host communities of Itang town and Tirkidi, and refugees.

Market expands and house rent increases due to Tirkidi camp. Refugees sell food crop, other food substances and non-food items in the market, and buy goods they want, but refugees make the cost of some goods to be expensive. Tirkidi camp contributed to expansion of businesses such as, transportation livelihoods, hotels, shops, restaurants, tearooms in Tirkidi small town, and non-indigenous host communities are the main actors in businesses in Tirkidi and make more profits. Yet, some poor traders become poorer and poorer because they cannot compete with relatively rich traders. Host community of Nuer sells milk for Nuer refugees in Tirkidi camp. Anywaa and Upo host communities do not trade in Tirkidi because they do not live in Tirkidi, but they run their small businesses in their respective villages, but some Nuer refugees go to Itang town from Tirkidi to buy fish, mango and other vegetables from Anywaa host community. As a result, refugees compete with host communities for buying fish, mango and other vegetables in Itang town. Refugees make the cost of such commodities is very high. This, in turn, affects those host people working in public jobs with less salary and daily laborers who have less opportunity of getting jobs after refugees came to Tirkidi. In contrast, most Anywaa, Nuer and Upo rural communities who have diversified their rural livelihoods would be able to reduce vulnerability and resist to increased cost of goods and services. However, high cost of some goods and services is the major problem because of refugees. Host communities of Nuer, Anywaa and Upo are not major beneficiaries of expansion of market in Tirkidi since trade is not their main livelihoods.

As regards to the relationship between the rural host communities and Nuer refugees, we find that it is both peaceful and conflictual relationships. Nuer refugees and Nuer hosts peacefully live, and some local Nuer villages are near to camp. They have strong informal relationship, especially the same clans and sub clans of Nuer refugees and Nuer hosts. In connection with Anywaa and Upo host communities, Tirkidi camp has also brought about security problems according to the results. Both Upo and Anywaa host communities complained that some Nuer refugees secretly created social problems such as crimes of robbing, violence, physical attack upon host communities of Anywaa and Upo. Some Anywaa host communities living in some rural villages were displaced because of lack of security although the local administration later rehabilitated them in their villages. Both Upo and Anywaa people perceive Tirkidi Nuer refugees as threat for them because Nuer refugees affect the security of the host communities of Anywaa and Upo.

The implementation of local integration programme of Nuer refugees also may exacerbate the problem between host communities of Nuer and Anywaa. The findings showed that implementation of local integration law is not as easy as adopting of local integration law in Itang district or Gambella region. To implement local integration of refugees, feelings of host communities, especially the different ethnic host communities should be considered. The availability of livelihoods for refugees are not the only criterion for local integration. According to the studies from another country, when refugee and host possess the same ethno-linguistic family, culture and language, then refugees may easily get social integration in host communities.

However, the relationship of Anywaa and refugee Nuer in Itang is the mirror image of the relationship of host communities of Nuer and Anywaa. Host communities of Nuer and Anywaa have conflicted on land resources and political power in Gambela region. Based on this study results, Anywaa host communities are opposed to local integration of South Sudanese refugees in Itang or Gambela region.

Regarding interventions, Tirkidi camp has carried out short, medium and long-term interventions for peaceful existence between refugees and hosts. Different NGOs of Tirkidi camp have projects to improve the lives of refugees living in the camp. The refugees participate in petty trades, incentive jobs, trainings and different associations. Refugees get education services in the camp. Some of the interventions given in the camp are used to complement their food ration for short

term, but other interventions are used for long term too. For example, education, skill trainings help refugees for the rest of their lives. UNHCR has three long-term durable solutions for refugees, which are repatriation, resettlement and local integration. Based on that, Ethiopian government adopted local integration law of South Sudanese refugees on 17 January 2019. However, Anywaa host community of the district have been against the bill of local integration from the beginning.

The Tirkidi camp interventions have also contributed to socio-economic development of host communities. Host communities recognize that the camp has contributed to their livelihoods although they expected that the camp should have carried out more since the camp should work work 25% services for the host communities.

Based on the findings of this study, the following activities are highly recommended to improve rural livelihoods of the host communities of Anywaa, Nuer and Upo in Itang district:

- Tirkidi camp needs projects that reduce the pressures of firewood and provides alternative technologies for refugees that prevent fuel energy wastage.
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working on environment protection should increase trees that are planted every year and involve the host communities to plant trees in their villages.
- The negative impact of the camp on natural resources should be seriously taken and the camp should strengthen working on protection of natural resources.
- Trees that are conducive for the ecology of the areas and that grow quickly should be planted to cope with deforestation impacts.
- Itang district needs big projects, which create livelihoods for its people and the camp agencies are encouraged to set up big projects that benefit all host communities of Itang district.
- NGOs should be encouraged to implement 25 % of services to host community.

- The district administration of Itang is responsible for supervising all activities in its jurisdiction, including the implementation of 25 % services from the camp for host community.

7. Future Research

This study primarily focused on exploring impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp on the rural livelihoods of the host community. The rural livelihoods in this study cover only indigenous communities of Itang special district, and these are Anywaa, Upo and Nuer ethnic people. The results of this research are specific to impacts of Tirkidi refugee camp, but do not include the impacts of other South Sudanese refugee camps in Gambella region, and don't also include other ethnic host communities. Thus, the results of this research can't be applied to other South Sudanese refugee camps in Gambella Region. Therefore, it needs further studies in other camps and makes comparisons so that the best practices can be understood.

The other aspects of refugees could be studied further were the role of Nuer and Anywaa host politicians in the relationship between refugees and hosts communities. I heard during data collection that Nuer and Anywaa politicians affect the refugee and hosts relationship. The findings can contribute to peaceful existence between refugees and hosts. I didn't take the viewpoints of authorities in Gambella town because I understood the importance of their roles for refugees and host relationship while I interviewed UNHCR key informant. The key informant told me that the main problem for host and refugee relationship is the tension between Anywaa and Nuer hosts' politics. That means it needs to examine the roles of the Anywaa and Nuer authorities' roles for refugee and host relationships. The possible topic can be the roles of the local government in the relationship of refugees and host communities.

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Appendices

Appendix one

Dear Sir/Madam, I am a student at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). I write my thesis on “Exploring impacts of refugee camps on the rural livelihoods of the host communities in Ethiopia: A case of South Sudanese refugee camp in Gambella region.” I ask you for help to respond to self- administered questionnaires. Your response is important for the result of the research. Participation in this research is voluntary and you have an absolute right not to participate or to interrupt during the process of the research. Nonetheless, it would be useful if you answer the questions. You also have a right not to respond to questions which make you feel uncomfortable or are not relevant to you. Furthermore, your answers are confidential and anonymous and will be used only for this research.

Instruction One. Please, answer the following questions (1 to 6) in the appropriate blank space.

1. Are you male or female?

2. What is your age or year of birth?

3. What is your marital status now? Married=1, single=2, divorced=3, widower=4, widowed=5

.....

4. How long have you been living for in this area?

5. Are you a head of a household?

6. If **yes** is your answer for question number 5 above, what is the size of your family members?

7. What is your highest level of education?

- A. Primary (1-6)
- B. Secondary (7-10)
- C. High school (11-12)
- D. College (1to 3 years)
- E. Bachelor's degree
- F. Master's degree

Instruction two: Please, choose **the one answer** that best represents your views by encircling the appropriate response letter unless it is mentioned to choose more than one answer for the question.

8. How do you agree to the presence of the refugee camp in this district?

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Undecided
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

9. How do you agree to the statement saying that the host peoples' money income through employment in a refugee camp has been improved?

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Undecided

- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

10. How do you agree to the statement that the host communities have lost agricultural land because of the refugee camp?

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Neither agree nor disagree
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

11. How often do host communities and refugees compete for firewood in this area?

- A. Always
- B. Usually
- C. Rarely
- D. Never

12. Which of the following benefits do you get from the refugee camp? (Please, encircle all that apply.)

- A. Education service
- B. Health services from the camp
- C. Food assistance from the camp
- D. Employment from the camp as laborer or other jobs
- E. Other (specify).....

13. What do you think about the coexistence between the host and refugee community now?

- A. Very good

- B. Good
- C. Fair
- D. Bad
- E. Very bad

14. How often do you see conflict between the host and refugee communities?

- A. Always
- B. Usually
- C. Sometimes
- D. Never

15. What is the cause of conflict if conflict exists between host and refugee communities?
(Please, encircle all that apply.)

- A. Pasture use
- B. Firewood use
- C. Water use
- D. Agriculture land use
- E. Other (specify).....

16. If conflict arises between refugees and host communities, who does settle the conflict?
(Please, encircle all that apply.)

- A. Administration of refugees
- B. Local government administrators
- C. Elders (religion institutions) from host communities
- D. Police of the district
- E. Zonal/Regional administrators of Gambella

F. Other (specify)-----

17. Have refugees possessed their own farmland outside their specified camp?

A. Yes

B. No

18. What do you feel if local integration policy of South Sudanese refugees is implemented in the area?

A. Strongly agree

B. Agree

F. Neither agree nor disagree

G. Disagree

H. Strongly disagree

19. How are you satisfied with the benefits you get from the camp?

A. Very satisfied

B. Satisfied

C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

D. Dissatisfied

E. Very dissatisfied

20. What do you say about the advantages of the refugee camp for the host people living near to the refugee camp?

A. Highest

B. High

C. Neither high nor low

D. Low

E. Lowest

Appendix two

Individual semi-structured interview checklist for Host Rural Communities

Interviewee Code.....

Education Level.....

Sex.....

Age.....

Years of Living in the Area-----

- What were your main income sources for living before the camp was established in your area)?
- Do you observe a change in your income sources for life since refugees came here? If yes, how?
- How do you find your income for you and your family now?
- Do you own lands to grow crops and vegetables? If yes/ no, how or why?
- Have you lost your own income source of lands because of refugees are camped here? If yes, explain it.
- Can you get enough amount of water from river for irrigation if you need? If yes/ no, how?
- Do you have scarce of water for drinking, cooking, bathing, washing clothes? If yes/no, elaborate it.
- How do you get firewood for your own benefit?
- How do you get woods for your house construction?
- Can you fish and/ or hunt animals for food? If no, why?
- If you are engaged in animal farming, do you have enough grazing land for your livestock? If yes/no, why?
- Do you get medical services in your area when you get sick? If yes/no, how?
- How do you or your children get access to school?
- How do refugees get medical services when they get sick?
- How do refugees get fire-wood?
- How do refugees construct house?

- Are refugees engaged in
 - farming?
 - fishing?
 - rearing livestock in your area? If yes, how?
- Do refugees use water for their different services from the same place of local people use? If so, what happen to the water content?
- Did you face some sort of conflicts between host and refugee communities? If so, why?
- What Non-Governmental Organizations working for refugees have done for the host communities living around the camp?
- What are the contributions of NGOS in infrastructure such as road, clinic construction for the host, creating jobs, providing health, education, water services for the host; in protecting soil, natural forest, wild animals?
- What are the roles of NGOS to create peace between refugees and host communities?
- What have local governments done to create coexistence between refugees and host communities?
- What are your benefits because refugees settled around the area your live?
- How do you perceive the constraints of refugees being camped here?
- Do you support the policy of refugees to integrate into host communities in Gambella including your areas? Why?

Appendix 3

Focus Group Questions for Host Communities

- What types of benefit have you got since South Sudan refugees has been starting to live in the camp in your area?
- What types of difficulties have you been experiencing since camp was established and refugees came to this area?
- How do you perceive the roles of different non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in the camp play for creating coexistence between host community and South Sudanese refugees?
- What do you think about if South Sudanese refugees are integrated into host community?

Appendix 4

Focus Group Questions for Refugee Communities

- What are the benefits do you get from the camp?
- Have you been engaged in farming, rearing livestock, trading or any other income generating activities outside the camp? If yes, what?
- How do you get social services such as education, health?
- What is the relation between refugees and different host communities?
- How do you feel if local integration policy of refugees for South Sudanese is implemented?

Appendix 5

Interview Guide for NGOs

1. What is the name of the non-governmental organization (NGO)?
2. What does your organization do in the camp?
3. How long has the organization done for in this camp?
4. How do you describe benefits of the host communities from the presence of a refugee camp in this area, especially from your organization?
5. How do you explain the coexistence between refugee and host communities?
6. If there is conflict between refugee and host, how does it settle down?
7. What strategies do organizations apply to create peaceful environment between refugee and host community?

Appendix 6

At the Leaders' Summit on Refugees, which Ethiopia co-hosted on 20 September 2016 in New York, Ethiopia made the following pledges:

1. To expand the “out-of-camp” policy to benefit 10% of the current total refugee population.
2. To provide work permits to refugees and those with permanent residence ID.
3. To provide work permits to refugees in the areas permitted for foreign workers.
4. To increase enrolment of refugee children in preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary education, without discrimination and within available resources.
5. To make 10,000 hectares of irrigable land available, to enable 20,000 refugees and host community households (100,000 people) to grow crops.
6. To allow local integration for refugees who have lived in Ethiopia for over 20 years.
7. To work with industrial partners to build industrial parks to employ up to 100,000 individuals, with 30% of the jobs reserved for refugees.
8. To expand and enhance basic and essential social services for refugees.
9. To provide other benefits, such as issuance of birth certificates to refugee children born in Ethiopia, and the possibility of opening bank accounts and obtaining driving licenses.



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