
Socio-economic Impact of Somali Refugees on the Host Community in Addis Ababa: A case of Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael Area

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Foreword

The study by Kibrom Tekelwold titled *Socio-Economic Impact of Somali Refugees on the host community in Addis Ababa: a case study of Woreda 1/2 of Bole Michael* (May 2013), is a timely and well constructed empirical research project using qualitative data methods. The relevance of this study is that a limited amount of research has been done on the impact of large and cohesive refugee populations, who are found to be settled in host communities with, establish socio-economic, cultural and religious identities, practices and organisation. The research is firmly based in relevant theoretical models which were used to construct the research tools, as well as in the analysis of the collected data. Even though the sample range is a relatively small sample, it is reflective of the micro-district, Woreda 1/2 of Bole Michael, Addis Ababa, in which the refugee population (mainly Somali) has settled. The research study provides an empirical basis from which to understand a range of important issues related to this host community, and as a comparative research tool to be utilised within Addis Ababa, other Ethiopia cities or other urban host communities in the developing country context.

Chapter 2 is based on an overview of relevant theoretical points of entry, for example. Refugee Aid Development Theories, and defines the empirical and methodological tools, terms and approaches to the analysis of the data. The methodological approach utilised in this research project is to identify specific interest groups; for example, House and land owners, Small Business owners, and 'Chat' Sellers and other service providers, and to apply **open ended questionnaire**' on these groups with a specific focus area to collect the necessary empirical data.

Chapter 3 is the analysis of the collected data and a number of important thematic issues are revealed through the analysis of the data collected. There are specific economic cost and benefits to both refugee population and host communities. These relate to the increase in market size, but also an increase in **competition** for access and control over this increased market for good and services. These cost and benefits are further stratified by the lack of, or access to resources of both the refugee and host community, the old maxim applies, "poor get poorer and the rich get richer". However, the new economic and social opportunities are being grasped by women, who had played a relatively small economic role in these substrata of Addis Ababa, and this situation is offering new economic and social opportunities to reconfigure the traditional gender roles and divides.

The social and cultural effects are reflective of identity and religious profiles, and cannot be broken down to identifiable or clear patterns, as the research reflect intense integration on a micro level, to the opposite effect, the development of extreme xenophobia, dependent on individual circumstances and issues. The effects on developmental indices, for example, health, will have to be studied over a longer time frame. A possible further longitudinal study could be considered in this regard. Specifically, the increased use of 'Chat' over and above the population influx is indicative of behavioural change which could be problematic in the future.

The study could not unpack specific patterns of social impacts, as family based interaction was shown to have taken place in some instances, but this could not be generalised. Inter-marriage in the short term was not taking place. Reasons for this were identified as mainly religious and belief differences. The handling of traditional approaches to the buying of goods and services, specifically the use of short term 'credit' prevalent in the host communities, was leading to breakdowns of trust as host communities were not finding their expectations in this regard being met. The reasons for this were not able to be identified by the research project.

In conclusion a range of negative and positive impacts on, and within, the host communities were identified. The negative impact was related to increased economic competition and the ability of the poorer elements of host community to cope with this increased cost of living and economic competition. The spread of negative social behaviour, for example, increased use of 'Chat' and the changing/ breakdown of perceived gender roles were raised as issues of concern in the host community. The different attitudes to repayment of 'credit' and problems of the collection of payment of 'rental due', were also identified as negative issue as perceived by the host community. Positive impact are also seen as the increased market size and competition, but generally by those with access to resources within the host communities, as new and greater opportunities were available to this group. The refugee populations were generally seen as peace loving and were not seen as a disruptive social group with whom the host communities are not able to coexist. The resolution of the economic, social and specifically, the problems of access to housing etc. would have to take a micro, meso and macro approach; as only a stable government in Somalia would allow the return of the refugee population to their home state. The issues of housing and the relief to the poor from the host communities would have to be resolved from the Ethiopian authorities on national, and /or municipal level with assistance from local and international NGO's and IGO's.

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Acronyms

AACC All African conference of Churches

ARRA Administration for Refugees/Returnee Affairs

HPRFDRE House of people's Representatives of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

ICEM Inter Governmental Committee for European Migration

OAU Organization for African Unity

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UN United Nations

Abstract

*The principal aim of this book is to explore the Socio-economic impact of Somali refugees on the host community of Woreda 01/02 of Bole Michael area, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Accordingly, the study intended to look at the social and economic changes brought about by the Somali refugees on their host community. It also gives further emphasis to the dimensions of the impact, especially, in terms of its positive and negative aspect and measures the attitudes of the locals toward the refugees. Furthermore, the study employed **Refugee Aid and Development Theories** as theoretical orientation in order to have a clear road map regarding the impacts of refugees on the host community*

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, a total of 30 respondents were selected purposively from among the host community and were divided in to four groups with the aim of including those segments of the society who are at the immediate contact with the refugees; hence, the groups are: land lords, small shop owners, Chat sellers and inhabitants of the study area.

In order to make the qualitative analysis lucid, the data obtained through in-depth interview were presented in the form of direct quotes and discussions were made where appropriate.

Results of the study revealed that economic and social changes which were brought by the Somali refugees on the host community in Woreda 01/02 were of significant to be taken in to consideration. For instance, the Somalis were helping in expanding the local market by running small shops. On the other hand, some of the local shop owners were complaining at the Somali owned shops for losing clientele. The result further corroborates that the positive impact appears to have been on those already economically better off i.e., those with assets like renting house, Chat shop and small shops while those without assets were found non beneficiaries. With regards to the social impact, indicators like the frequency of interaction between the locals and the Somali refugees and attitudes of locals towards marriage with the Somalis were used. And the findings show that overall the social impact is positive.

At the end, the researcher of this study recommends that mechanisms should be designed at different stages to avert the problem arising due to the Somali refugees. Hence, local NGOs in Woreda 01/02 as well as the Woreda administration must work to address the issue of those sections of the host community who are suffering due to lack of renting house because of Somali refugees' presence. Apart from this, concerted effort is required by refugee institutions like churches and mosques in integrating refugees with the host community.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Starting from the end of World War II and the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950, the topic of refugees has become an increasing concern around the globe. With the expansion of globalization and the global media, the various situations surrounding refugees have captured the attentions of millions. Their struggle for safety and survival has caused the mobilization of thousands around the world to respond to their needs. Millions of dollars in aid has been given to help their plight and countless hours have been given to assist with their survival and resettlement. Within this frame work of assistance, there has been awareness of the need for understanding, in regards to various refugee situations. To this end, hundreds of studies have been conducted and media sources produced, in an effort to understand and raise awareness about refugees. However, in all of this awareness and information, there is little information about the impact refugees have on their host communities. It appears that most people overlook this topic in their efforts to address the immediate and seemingly more significant problem of meeting the basic needs and safety of refugees (Jacobsen 2002).

It is obvious that the basic needs and safety are essential to the survival and wellbeing of refugees. Nevertheless, the problem that arises from this focus is that there is little time and energy devoted to refugees long term needs and survival. This is particularly true of host countries. While most host countries willingly accept refugees into their country, they typically leave their management in the hands of outside organizations. Many host countries take little interest in the welfare of refugees and look at them as an inconvenience, instead of an attribute. This possible indifference is what potentially leads to the lack of information on the different kinds of impact of refugees on host countries, and this is clearly observable in Africa (Jacobsen- 2002). “Being home to 6.7 million refugees, Africa particularly continues to be the heart of exodus concerning refugees” (UNHCR 2013:5). This is due to environmental degradation, famine and armed conflicts, amongst others. In Africa, refugee flows have for long besieged the horn of Africa more than any other region in the continent, with the Somali crisis being at the center. Devastated by political instability, total collapse of government and clan warfare, Somalia has at present around half a million of its citizens seeking refuge in neighboring countries (UNHCR 2013). In Ethiopia alone, “there are 215,590 Somali refugees, constituting more than three quarters of the refugee population in the country” (UNHCR 2013:15).



Somali refugees in Addis Ababa , Woreda 01/02,Bole Michael area

Eastern Ethiopia, for centuries inhabited by people of Somali descent, is now accommodating the greater majority of these refugees in camps along the Ethio-Somali border. To protect its **scarce** natural resources and infrastructure from the pressure of this overwhelming influx, Ethiopia has confined the refugees in camps, and has limited their rights pertaining to movement, education and work opportunities. Not with standing, the Somali refugees have not been deterred from entering into the capital city, Addis Ababa, and currently they are found to live in Megenagna, Saris and Bole Micael area. And for the purpose of this study, Woreda 01/02 of Bole Michael area has been selected.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Many societies in developing countries are increasingly confronted with the task of being prepared to manage the needs of tens of thousands of refugees. It has become increasingly evident that the host communities within developing countries are considerably affected by the presence of massive influx of refugees. According to Philips (2003), any influx of refugee population, expatriate staff and international relief efforts means a range of inputs that are going to affect the lives of the host communities. In the same vein, chambers (1986) indicated that the refugees' presence results in impacts or sustained changes in the hosts' social lives. On the other hand, refugees' presence has economic impact to the host community. Some indicate the positive side of this, while others assign it a negative implication. Chambers (1986) has **also** explained that refugees become a problem in the situation where the host country is in faltering economic position.

Apart from the lack of academic research about the impact of massive refugee influx on host community, most of the refugee studies have focused on refugees' problem (plight) rather than on their impact to host community. Hence, this study examines the socio-economic costs and benefits associated with the long term presence of massive influx of Somali refugees on the lives of the hosting community in Woreda 01/02 of Bole Michael area.

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1. General Objectives

The overall objective of the study is to investigate the socio-economic impacts of Somali refugees on the dwellers of Woreda 01/02 of Bole Michael area. And in order to achieve the general objective the study has set the following elements as its sub-objectives

1.3.2. Sub-Objectives

- ✓ To assess the social and economic changes brought about by the Somali refugees on the host community
- ✓ To measure the attitudes of the inhabitants towards the Somali refugees
- ✓ To investigate the negative as well as the positive aspects of the impact of the Somali refugees

1.4. Method of the study

In order to achieve the stated targets of the study, both primary and secondary data sources have been used.

1.4.1. Primary Source

As a primary source in-depth interview, with selected key informants in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area, has been conducted.

1.4.2. Secondary Source

Apart from the primary source, Books, journals, reports and other published as well as unpublished documents have been used as secondary sources.

1.4.3. Sampling

Probability sampling method provides an excellent way of selecting samples that will be representative. However, sometimes it may be appropriate for the researcher to select samples on the basis of his or her knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims; in short based on the researcher's judgment and purpose of the study (Babbie 1986). In line with the later view, this study has employed purposive sampling technique because the nature of the population in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area, do not allow for probability sampling technique to be used, as it is difficult to obtain or establish sampling frame. A total of 30 individuals were selected and then divided into four groups. The first group is made of 12 inhabitants of Woreda 01/02, while the second group comprised 6 "small shop" owners. Furthermore, 8 landlords or house owners and 4 sellers of "chat" have comprised the third and the fourth group respectively.

1.5. Significance of the study

This study, inter alia, has two major areas of significance. First, it could assist in understanding the long term implications of the Somali refugees' presence for the ongoing process of Socio-economic development on the inhabitants of Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area. Secondly, the study could serve as an input source by providing data for developing all-encompassing mechanisms that include the needs of refugees and the host community.

1.6. Scope of the study

In this study, it was the researcher's desire to develop sufficient understanding about the distribution of the impact of the Somali refugees' influx in various parts near the study area. Nevertheless, owing to time constraints and problem related to finance, the researcher was forced to limit the study to Bole Michael area, Woreda 01/02.

1.7. Limitations of the study

Throughout the research process, the researcher has come across a number of problems or inconveniences, for example, time constraints, financial problem and informants' indifference to give germane response when they are asked. Notwithstanding, the researcher has tried to make the study as complete as possible.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

This chapter provides a background discussion regarding the impact of refugees on their host communities. Accordingly, the literature aims to address a number of issues. In order to explore the study with a clear understanding the review starts by highlighting what theoretical orientations address refugee issues, and their impact on host communities. By the same token, the literature is also concerned with the costs and benefits associated with a massive influx of refugees in the host communities. Finally, it provides a definition of refugees and host communities and highlights refugee legislation and refugee movement in Ethiopia.

2.1. Theoretical Orientation

Reflection on theory and methods that are influenced by in-depth knowledge of a specific cases or area is one of the components of developing any analytical framework (Jacobsen 1996). Nevertheless, problems which are related with refugees have attracted scant interest from social scientists and a general epistemological approach is lacking (Mekuria 1998). Many of the researches conducted until now in Africa address themselves to practical problems concerning asylum, protection and problems of settlement and adjustment of refugees in host communities. In Ethiopia, particularly, in Addis Ababa, there has been little academic research about the impact of refugees on host community. By the same token, Gebre (2003) indicated that settlers and refugees usually receive aid, research coverage and policy attention while the plight of the host community remains largely unnoticed. Similarly, there are a number of reasons for the lack of adequate literature relevant to impact of refugees on this host community. Hosts' plight is virtually neglected by media and fails to attract public attention, amongst others. It is generally believed that the hosts' environment is adequately supplied in resources to accommodate the additional population and for practical reasons, many researchers gravitate to easily funded projects and widely recognized problems (Gebere 2003). Thus, in an attempt to conceptualize the refugees' impact on the host community this study considers various debates between different scholars and institutions.

In relation to the implications of the presence of refugees for a host community, there are two sides in the debate. These are discussions which emphasize only the negative implications, and arguments that favor both positive and negative impacts. The former category is often called refugee Aid and Development Theories while the latter is known as a new approach in refugee research.

2.1.1. Refugee Aid and Development Theories (RAD)

The central tenet of the Refugee Aid and Development Theories is that the presence of large numbers of refugees represents a problem for host communities, rather than better opportunities. According to

these theories refugees generally impose a burden on local infrastructure and population (Gorman 1994). Hence, “starting from the 1980s, Refugee Aid and Development Theories called for different strategies linking refugee relief programs with local development policies to benefit refugees and hosts alike”(Blavo1999:70-71).

These theories are the result of the 1984 second international conference on assistance to refugees in Africa. And the main reason for this conference was the concern that the traditional African hospitality is diminishing in many asylum countries because of the deterioration of their own standards of living. This coerced the United Nations General Assembly, UNHCR, host and donor governments to elaborate projects and programs of action and to create a dialogue among researchers, academics and interested parties to rationalize a strategy for linking refugee aid and development (Gorman 1994).

Emerging from this dialogue and from actual practice was a number of central principles .These principles indicated that the refugees basic needs must be met in ways that do not jeopardize the situation of host countries, assistance should encourage and enable refugees to attain self-reliance, development assistance must anticipate the impact that refugee population have upon the social and economic infra-structure of host nations and refugees and the affected host population should participate in the formation and implementation of projects and policies that are intended to benefit them. These principles, according to Gorman (1994), provided a substantial orientation for a strategy of linking refugee aid and development. Not with standing, a great deal of factors hampered its practicality, for example, lack of appropriate coordination between refugees and development bureaucracy, inadequate resources committed by donor, and problems with integrating rising number of refugees into development plans, among others (Blavo 1999).

Even though the Refugee Aid and Development approach is still the subject of debate and discussion, “it is now central to efforts for providing durable solutions for the world’s refugees” (Blavo 1999:45).

2.1.2. The New Approach

The new approach in refugee studies focuses on those scholars who are of the opinion that refugees bring both costs and benefits to host communities (Sorenson 1994). According to these scholars, refugees generally impose a burden on local economy and population. Furthermore, problems that arise due to refugees are assumed to be different across diverse classes, genders, sectors, and regions with in the host community. Despite this, they may also benefit, by supplying cheap work force and expanding consumer markets for local goods, to the host community. In this manner, the reception of refugees can sometimes be seen as part of a government’s broader plan (Gorman 1994). This new approach accentuates that inappropriate generalizations about the possible negative and positive impact of refugees are not valid. Hence, very detail survey of the patterns of the impact of refugees on the host community is required in order to make valid conclusions and recommendations (Gorman 1994).

On the whole, within this debate, neither side has come up with conclusive arguments, because whether or not the varied impact of refugees on host communities is beneficial or harmful has remained a matter of considerable dispute.

2.2. Refugees’ Socio – economic impact on the host community

Refugees have impact on their host countries in many different ways. By and large, the environmental and political aspects are highlighted in different books and scholarly articles. However, refugees also have significant social and economic impact on their host countries and communities (Sorenson 1994). And this section examines the positive and negative economic, as well as social impact of refugees on their host community.

2.2.1. Positive economic impact

Refugees often become assets to host communities upon entry into their host community. This typically takes the form of material goods they bring from their country of origin and, for example, gold they may be carrying. They also bring financial funds, indirectly, through international organizations that assist refugee populations. These organizations help to stimulate the economy by injecting much needed revenue, for example, via the tax and customs payments made for the aid and supplies brought into the country (Jacobsen 2002).

In addition, the infrastructure created by organizations to allow the aid to reach refugees benefits local populations. In instances where host communities are resistant to the presence of refugees, international organizations will give money to build infrastructure in host communities in an effort to assist with their needs and increase their willingness to accept refugees (Jacobsen 2002).

Some of the infrastructure building may include expansion of hospitals, clinics, road networks, and water supply, as well as reforestation to alleviate the environmental degradation of fuel wood reserves. Additionally, the trading opportunities that are generated between refugees and host communities help to increase the price of food and commodity and stimulate the market economy for certain goods (Ongpin 2009).

Through their labor, skills and expertise refugees can bring positive contributions to their host communities. In addition to this, the presence of aid agencies can also be a source of employment for some host communities. In some cases, organizations will hire locals to assist with the refugee populations. These same organizations also provide transportation and housing for locals, though this is not always apparent because it is usually phased out over the course of several years (Ongpin 2009).

2.2.2. Positive social impact

The presence of large numbers of refugees in host communities can no doubt have serious social implications on a host community and how they receive refugees. For example, in places where refugees are of the same cultural and linguistic group as their host community, there is a greater likelihood of peaceful coexistence. A typical example of this is the Somali refugees in the Dadaab refugee complex in Kenya who share links with local community through similar tribal or clan ties (World Bank 2012). Similarly, religion can also play a key factor in how a host community receives refugees. Jacobson (2002) attributes the Islamic religion, which honors the protection of persons from persecution, to the continuing peace and reception of refugees in Arabic-Islamic countries. Countries

that have had positive historical experiences with one another are more likely to receive refugees peacefully. These same countries are also more likely to maintain good relations with refugees even when security becomes a threat and resources are deteriorated. Similarly communities that have had personal experience as refugees are more likely to peacefully receive and live in harmony with refugees. This is particularly true of communities that were themselves received well by host communities when they fled violence or persecution (Jacobsen 2002).

Host countries governmental policies toward refugees are likely to be beneficial towards refugees if the community in which they reside looks favorable and lives peacefully with them. When stability and peace are achieved in host communities, the host government has little reason to look with dissatisfaction at the refugees. Host governments in these types of situations are therefore more likely to foster social support instead of dissension (Chambers 1986).

Host communities often benefit from the social services provided by outside agencies to refugees when refugees reside in camps, for example, health care is likely to be provided within the confines of the encampment (Chambers 1986). In situations like this it is not uncommon for members of the local host community to become registered as refugees in order to receive health care. This is particularly true in host communities where healthcare is non-existent or has little or no healthcare options (Chambers 1986).

Education can affect host communities in much the same way. “UNHCR has a mandate to provide education to all person of concern to UNHCR.”(World Bank 2012:25) This means that host communities are often left with education substandard to that of their refugee counterpart. Recognizing this as a potential for yet another source of tension between host communities and refugee, UNHCR has collaborated with some host government to provide education in host communities for both locals and refugees. It has also worked to have refugees integrated into host communities so that refugees themselves may receive better education (World Bank 2012).

2.2.3. Negative economic impact

As a report by the World Bank (2012:40) clearly indicates, “eight percent of refugees in the world reside in countries that are underdeveloped and 49 least developed countries (LDC) provided asylum to 2 million of the world’s refugees”. The presence of refugees in developing countries only serves to further exacerbate the scarcity of resources. Somali refugees, for example, stretch the economic resources of their host country. This is because host countries in Africa are more likely to be less developed than those on other continents. Consequently, Somali refugees have a higher chance of receiving less aid and endure more suffering (Ongpin 2009).This is especially true of protracted refugees’ situations, which makes up over 8 percent of the world’s refugee population (World Bank 2012).

The presence of refugees is also likely to affect the use of land. In instances where land is scarce and refugees are allowed to use local land, competition is created between locals and the refugees. Like labor, if refugees take the land, locals are left without a source of livelihood or a way to feed themselves and their family (Jacobsen 2002). When land is poor and food is unable to be produced as a result, aid agencies will supplement refugees with food. While host communities also get food distribution, there have been claims that preference aid agencies give to refugees leaves host communities worse off than their refugee counterparts (Jacobsen 2002).

Currently, the Horn of Africa is experiencing one of the worst droughts in its history. The result is a severe famine that the UNHCR has dubbed a “crisis” (World Bank 2012). The presence of refugees compounds the problem of hunger by stretching virtually nonexistent food in the horn of Africa beyond its capability thereby increasing the likelihood of starvation and death among citizens and refugees alike. Many aid organizations, including UNHCR, are providing food for people in this region. However, the scope of the problem has caused countries in the horn of Africa to be stretched beyond their economic abilities, leading to tension, instability and in some cases, increased violence (World Bank 2012).

2.2.4. Negative social impact

Host countries are affected most when refugees move into communities where they are of a different ethnic, tribal or religious background (Jacobsen 1996). In these instances, resentment towards refugees is exasperated because of pre-existing prejudices and conflict between differing groups. When this occurs, local conflicts may arise in the form of violence or increased competition for resources. Among certain refugees, systems of stratifications exist. In Sudan among the Eritrean refugees for instance, this stratification serves to aggravate not only the livelihood of the refugees, but tensions between refugees and Sudanese locals (Bascom 1993).

Even in instances where refugees are of the same ethnic, tribal or religious background, locals may look upon refugees with suspicion and distrust. This is due partly to the resources and opportunities that are afforded refugees through outside aid agencies that locals do not benefit from (World Bank 2012). However, it is also due to an increase in xenophobia within host countries. As violence and security becomes unstable and is not addressed by host governments, locals look on refugees as a threat to their way of life. Xenophobia is particularly evident in South Africa, where refugees are increasingly blamed for the rising crime rate, rising unemployment and spread of diseases among the local community (Belvedere 2007). As a result, refugees are often the victims of abuse by local civilians, police and governmental departments dealing with refugees. This serves to create a “culture of suspicion” towards refugees that adds to the already existing oppression and hostility in South Africa (Belvedere 2007).

When natural resources such as firewood and water decrease in availability, tensions emerge between refugees and their host communities. This is especially true in protracted refugee situations where refugees may initially be welcomed, but eventually become a source of conflict as they deplete natural resources, making the survival of host communities increasingly difficult (Jacobson 1996). As a result, locals come to resent refugees and their patience and tolerance is often diminished to the point of public outcry. This outcry has the potential to force host governments to withdraw their support of refugees, creating clashes and violence among refugees and their local host communities (Jacobsen 1996).

An increasing concern among governments and aid organizations is the effect refugees' health has on host communities. Refugees have an impact on the health of host communities through persons or the environment. As persons, refugees may introduce new forms of nutrition that facilitate diseases. How host governments, communities and aid agencies respond to the needs of refugees will affect this factor. For instance, if refugees are clumped together in a camp and frequently travel into host communities, refugees are more likely to catch a disease from camp communities and then spread it to the outside community. Within the environment, the availability of resources and how they utilize these resources can facilitate the spread of disease among the host community. If, for example, refugees use resources that are already in short supply, they may inadvertently cause health concerns such as malnutrition among their host community (chambers 1986).

The status of host communities before refugees arrive will also impact the health of host communities. For instance, LDC or countries with low incomes are less likely to have adequate health services intact for local populations, let alone those that will be able to address the health needs of refugees (Jacobsen 2002). Even in countries that have adequate healthcare services, lack of policies that directly affect the local host community will adversely affect how they are able to handle healthcare for refugees and by extension, the local host community. This includes whether or not healthcare for refugees is included in the national healthcare system (if there is one) and if standardization and control are ensured so as to not create problems among refugees and host communities (Jacobsen 2002).

2.3. Studies on refugees' impact in Ethiopia

All studies that have been conducted so far have mainly focused on the refugees' plight, and placed a secondary status to the impact of refugees on the host community. Solomon Tesegaye (2003) and Abrham Sewenet (1995) are examples. Both of these studies gave attention to the general living conditions, problems and causes of the movements of the refugees in their study area.

Solomon Tesegaye (2003) in his senior Essay, "The study on the Immigration status of Somali Refugees in Hartsheik Refugee camp", attempted to depict limited impact of the Hartsheik refugees on the local community. According to his findings, the refugees' presence has brought certain impacts such as vegetation clearance for energy use, the development of Hartsheik town, smuggling trade activities and the subsequent high population concentration in the area. His finding also revealed the presence of security problems due to the free movement of the refugee population.

A study conducted by Abrham (1995) on Camboker refugee camp indicated that the local people had to share their meager resources with the refugees who were their immediate relatives. This had adverse impact on the living conditions of the locals. He has also mentioned the emergence of some social problems, which were contradictory to the locals' customs as a result of the refugees' presence like delinquency, theft and alcoholism. Other consequences include the poor hygienic conditions and the congested environments where the refugees used to live were responsible for transmitting communicable and other disease to the local people, according to Abrham (1995). His study also implied the heavy environmental degradation due to the clearance of vegetation for energy utilization and construction purpose by the refugees. In as much as, Abrham's (1995) study has devoted only two pages on the impact brought on the local hosts due to the presence of the refugees.

Both Abrham's (1995) and Solomon's(2003) studies, by and large, have indicated the presence of cultural, social, economic, political and environmental impact due to the refugees presence in their study area. However, since these studies were conducted from the perspectives of the refugees' plight, they did not pay much attention to the hosts plight or situation. And each of them stated a paragraph or a couple of paragraphs about each of the impacts they mentioned in their respective studies.

To summarize, most of the studies with regard to refugees paid more attention to the plight of the refugees and very few studies have focused on the environmental impacts of refugees. Studies on the socio-economic impacts of refugees on the host communities are almost absent. Therefore, the principal aim of this study is to fill this gap by studying the socio-economic impact of Somali refugees on the host community in Woreda 01/02: Bole Michael area.

2.4. Definitions of refugee

In search for conceptualization of the term "refugee", this chapter reviewed a number of definitions. Some of them include; UN 1951, Article 1(2); UN 1967 protocol; OAU convention 1969, Article 1(2); Latin-American Cartagena Declaration of 1984; All African conference of churches (AACC) 1975; the Inter-governmental Committee for European migration (ICEM) as well as various sociological definitions. In this regard, it is noted that someone recognized as a refugee in Africa, would not necessarily be accepted as a refugee in Europe or internationally. Furthermore, some conceptualizations provide a broader definition for the term refugee while others restrict it to some selected categories of people. This chapter, however, attempts to highlight the term 'refugee' from two perspectives: the popular and the legal conceptions.

The popular definition of the term 'refugee' concerns individuals and groups beyond the category of refugees defined from the perspective of international law. This definition is explained by various organizations and employs a much broader approach to the definition of 'refugee'. The definitions of refugee by All African Conference of Churches (AACC) and the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) are illustrations.

The AACC definition of 'refugee' embraces any displaced person in urgent need, arising from any kind of tragedy; or any victim of society, irrespective of state consideration on the other hand, the ICEM contends that a 'refugee' is any person who has been the victim of war or a disaster which has seriously disadvantage his condition of living (ICEM, Geneva, cited in Blavo 1999).



A refugee from Somalia living in Ethiopia

In addition, the term refugee has been defined in legal terms. Accordingly, the 1951 UN convention relating to the status of refugee defines a refugee as:

Someone who has left his or her country of origin owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UN-1951. Article 1(2)).

In order to claim refugee status, according to this definition, a person had to demonstrate fear of persecution and had to be immigrants from Europe as a result of events prior to 1951. This convention was amended by the 1967 protocol, which removed the temporal and geographical limitations and made universal the applicability of the convention (UN protocol relating to the status of Refugees 1967). However, both the 1951 and the 1967 protocol neglected refugees that flee from their homelands to seek protection elsewhere in the developing countries due to the reasons other than persecution. Hence, the Categena Declaration of 1984 extended the provision of the UN convention to those who were forced to flee owing to external aggression, occupation foreign domination or events seriously disturbing the public order (Blavo 1999).

There are also some academics and concerned disciplines that have provided a border definition for the term 'refugee'. Scholars like Michael Cernea (1996) categorized refugees in two broad types as internal and international. The former refers to those people who have been displaced due to development programs, radical persecution and civil war. In contrast, the latter concerns persons who crossed an international border due to natural disaster and persecution. So long as disciplinary definition of the term 'refugee' is concerned, sociological definition is worth a mention. According to the sociological definition refugee is a person who moves from his country to another against his will. He lacks positive motivation to move and settle elsewhere. Therefore, a refugee is characterized by some agent, and his inability to rely on his government for even nominal protection, (Hansen cited in Mekuria 1998:79). This definition also include victims of natural disasters, but the compulsion to

move is not the result of being deliberately force under life threatening conditions, nor are they formally and in principle denied protection of their government (Zolberg and Suhrke cited in Mekuria1998: 80).

2.5. Who are the host nations?

“Protection of refugee covers a wide range of issues such as physical, emotional and psychological stress and torture”(Blavo 1999:50). In this regard, refugee protection means treating refugees according to international standards. And the host nations refer to contracting state or state parties that receive asylum seekers and host them in their territory based on the relevant international legal instruments. Among the legal instruments which form the bases for protecting refugees in Africa, the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and the OAU convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa (1969) are the most known. The UN refugee convention establishes three standards of treatment to be accorded by a contracting state; the most favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country; treatment as favorable as possible as and in any event not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances (UN 1951 Article 3 and 4). According to this convention, the contracting state shall facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. The OAU refugee convention also requires member states to apply the provisions of the convention to all refugees without discrimination (OAU convention 1969: Article 4). Nonetheless, in spite of the presence of legal instruments for the protection of refugees, there are significant differences among host nations. This is due to the fact that host societies differ in their integrative capacities of refugees into their socio-economic structures, the scale of their homogeneity or heterogeneity and their previous experiences with immigration and migrants. Homogenous societies are less capable of smooth absorption of non-natives. Such societies are likely to demand some uniformity of values, behavior and culture (Mekuria 1998). Host societies also differ in their response to asylum and assistance provision as well as in offering national citizenship for refugees (Mekuria 1998). whereas in developed countries asylums have been granted less generally based on the fear of negative impacts from refugees presence, the southern countries, especially African countries, have given generous asylum to millions of uprooted people and continue to do so (Blavo1999). Consequently, the majority of refugees are found in the poorest countries of the world with very low average incomes, minimal education and healthcare, and short life expectancy. To recapitulate, it is clear that all host governments realize that the large number of refugees pose serious challenges to them.

2.6. Refugee legislation in Ethiopia

As a signatory to the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees and to the 1969 OAU convention governing the specific aspects of African refugees problem in Africa, Ethiopia has followed a generous and open asylum policy for those in need of international protection (Blavo-1999). The basic refugee protection is articulated in article 9(4) as: “all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land” (HPRFDRE, 1995). This is because Ethiopia has no national refugee proclamation. Yet, in 2003 a draft national refugee proclamation has been presented to the Ethiopian parliament for debate. Accordingly, the draft proclamation defines

“refugee” according to article 1(3) of the 1951 UN refugee convention. (Draft refugee proclamation of the Federal Democratic republic of Ethiopia, Article 4 and 9-2003). Yet, this definition did not take into consideration environmental and economic refugees. In addition to the criteria of a refugee, the draft proclamation deals with exclusion, withdrawal and cessation of refugee status. Issues of expulsion, temporary detention, application procedures for the refugee status and rights and obligations as asylum seekers and recognized refugees are incorporated in the draft proclamation. What is also treated in the proclamation is that the roles of government bodies on appeal hearing council, special protection to vulnerable groups and cases of penalty. By and large, the draft refugee proclamation is an important development for Ethiopia, as it has been hosting refugees since 1960s.

2.7. Refugee movement in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian people, as a host, experience influx dating back to 1960s when large groups of Sudanese fled to Ethiopia due to the civil war that destroyed the economic and social infrastructure of southern Sudan for a long period of time. The number of Sudanese refugees was around 21,000 during the 1960s and the majority of refugees were Nilotic Sudanese (ARRA 1998).

On the other hand, the Somali refugees fled to Ethiopia between 1988 and 1995 as a result of the collapse of effective central government and subsequent war. Regarding to their origin nearly 80 percent of all Somali refugees in Ethiopia originated from northern part commonly known as Somali land (ARRA 1998). A large number of Somali refugees into Ethiopia have occurred in 1988 amounting nearly to 340,000 (ARRA 1998).



Refugees from Somalia in market place of Addis Ababa

In addition to the Somalis, Ethiopia hosted 8,000 Kenyan refugees in the Southern part in 1993 and these refugees were from Adjuranand Degodian ethnic group (ARRA 1998). Ethiopia also hosts about 5,000 Eritrean refugees in the northern part. These refugees fled to Ethiopia at the height of the Ethio-Eritrean war in May 2000 due to the resentment of forced conscription of their sons into the armed force and of being forcefully evicted from their farmlands (ARRA-1998). Over the past years, however, Ethiopia has also been hosting urban refugees of various nationalities since 1980s. Yet the exact size of the largely hidden refugee population in Addis Ababa city is not known.



A woman does her family laundry outside the wood and tin dwelling where she lives in the "Little Mogadishu" neighborhood of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 20, 2011. The area is home to tens of thousands of refugees from Somalia. (Christian Fuchs — Jesuit Refugee Service/USA)

Chapter Three

Data analysis and interpretation

This section of the study deals with the analysis and interpretation of data which were obtained from the total of 30 target respondents in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area. Therefore, it starts by providing background information of 12 inhabitants [H₁-H₁₂] of Woreda 01/02, 8 Land- lords[L₁-L₈] of the same Woreda who rent houses to the Somali refugees, 6 individuals who own “small shops”[SO₁-SO₆] and 4 “chat “sellers[CS₁-CS₄] in the target area.

3.1. Background information on target groups in Woreda 01/02

Table 1: Background information of respondents

Number of respondents	Inhabitants	Land lords	Small shop owners	Chat sellers	Total
Age	12	8	6	4	30
21-30	2	3	-	4	9
31-40	10	-	6	-	16
41-50	-	5			5
Sex	12	8	6	4	30

Male	11	8	3	2	24
Female	1	-	3	2	6
Religion	12	8	6	4	30
Orthodox Christianity	8	6	-	-	14
Protestantism	-	-	-	-	-
Islam	4	2	6	4	16
Occupation	12	8	6	4	30
Student	1	-	-	-	1
Government job	5	-	-	-	5
Other private job	6	-	-	-	6
Duration of stay	12	8	6	4	30
<10 year	1	2	2	1	6
>=10 year	11	6	4	3	24

In order to better understand the socioeconomic impact of the Somali refugees on their host community of the study area, the above table succinctly provides the demographic features of the respondents. Accordingly, almost all participants of the study are engaged in the business activities of the target area except the inhabitants group. As the data shows, out of 12 inhabitants 1 is a student, 5 are government employees, and the remaining six are private employees.

3.2. The economic impact of Somali refugees on Woreda 01/02

According to the ‘Chat’ sellers, hereafter referred to as CS₁, CS₂, CS₃ and CS₄, the Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael, constitute an important clientele for the different consumer goods and services. Apart from this, landlords, here after referred to as L₁, L₂, L₃, L₄, L₅, L₆, L₇, and L₈, stated that the Somalis are the most important customers of rented houses as compared to local Ethiopians. In this regard, L₃ has explained his experience as follows:

The Somali refugees are always willing to pay good amount of money without much haggling than the Ethiopians and because of this I would like to have Somali customers instead of Ethiopians and almost all of my customers are Somali refugees. I rent only narrow rooms to Ethiopians. I do this not because the Ethiopians pay good money but in order not to make the rooms, which are not big enough to be rented by the Somalis, empty as the Somalis most of the time require to rent big or spacious house owing to their habit of living as a group.

As inhabitants of the Woreda, here after referred to as H₁, H₂, H₃, H₄, H₅, H₆ and H₇, H₈, H₉, H₁₀, H₁₁, and H₁₂, have explained, the Somalis are also known to be the main customers of “Chat”, and their presence has significantly increased the number of “Chat” sellers in the Woreda. In addition, H₈ and H₁₀ have identified that there are also many businesses that are expanded after the Somali refugees’ arrival and one of these is the opening of “Chat” chewing houses. These houses, according to H₉, H₁₁ and H₁₂, came into existence because the Somalis like to be together when they chew “Chat” and they

can hardly do that in the houses they have rented since the house owners do not allow them. Hence, there are rooms which are ready for rent on daily basis and anyone who needs to be there should pay certain amount of money and accordingly he can obtain the necessary materials. On the other hand, H₂ has indicated that there are small shops like internet centers which the Somali refugees regularly visit in order to communicate with their relatives abroad. Furthermore, H₇, H₉ and H₁₂ have expressed that the Somali refugees are employing Ethiopians house maids creating supplementary job opportunities for some of the uneducated local females.

Small shop owners, here after referred to as SO₁, SO₂, SO₃, SO₄, SO₅, and SO₆, have further clarified that the Somali refugees are also customers of the small shops that provide food and comestible ingredients and different other kinds of products.

3.2.1. Economic impacts of Somali refugees on inhabitants of Woreda 01/02

With the intention of clearly understanding the economic impact of the Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02, twelve inhabitants were interviewed whether they have experienced negative or positive economic impact starting from the presence of large numbers of Somali refugees. Thus, out of the twelve interviewees, H₄ and H₆ expressed that there are pronounced price increase in various commodities and services. However, according to them, the increments were not the result of Somali refugees. These respondents said that due to the influx of Somali refugees, they have encountered only the problem of rising price in relation to rental houses. The other ten respondents said that they have observed rise both in the price of commodities and in house rent. They have also complained that priority is given to Somalis and the rent they pay for house is still rising due to the Somali refugees' potential to pay better than them. By and large, the interviewees [H₁, H₂, H₃, H₅, H₇, H₈, H₉, H₁₀, H₁₁, and H₁₂] believed that they have faced economic pressure because of the increments of price in house rent, price of commodities or both. Hence, the result of the interview reveals that most of the inhabitants have encountered negative economic impacts in relation to the influx of Somali refugees. On the other hand, the twelve [H₁-H₁₂] respondents were asked if they purchase any commodities and services from Somali owned "Small shops". And they were also asked about their reasons for obtaining or not obtaining the commodities and the services.



A Somali refugee woman selling consumer goods in Woreda 01/02

Accordingly, different answers were given. Only one [H₃] had ever used the service provided by them because he demanded the internet service they provide. The remaining 11 had never used any services from the Somali shops.

Reasons given by the respondents	Number of respondents
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Reason given by respondents	Number of respondents
Because they heard that the Somali refugees are not interested to sell items for Ethiopians.	8
Because they believe that the small shops do not provide quality goods and services	3
Total	11

Table 2: Inhabitants’ reasons for not buying commodities and services from Somali “small shops”

3.2.2. Economic impacts of Somali refugees on the landlords in Woreda 01/02

All of the respondents designated as landlords, who rent house in Woreda 01/02, answered that the prices of commodities and services have increased in relation with the coming of Somali refugees. In addition, three of the respondents [L₁, L₂, and L₇] expressed that the mini taxies in the area have increased their fares because as compared to the Ethiopians the Somalis can pay better taxi fares. L₁, L₂ and L₇ have also indicated the rise in the price of shop items like cloths and shoes as a result of the Somalis. In response to the question whether they purchase services from the Somali owned “Small shops”, all of the interviewees [L₁-L₈] replied that they have never purchased and provided various reasons:

Table 3: Reasons provided by landlords for not purchasing services from the Somali owned shops

Because of the belief that Somalis do not provide services that the Ethiopians use	5
Because they can obtain the necessary items from the shops owned by Ethiopians	1
Because of lack of understanding about the quality of services provided by the Somali shop owners	2
Total	8

Furthermore, the majority of the interviewees have given positive responses when they are asked if the Somali refugees have affected their income. Six [L₁, L₃, L₄, L₅, L₇,L₈] of the respondents said the income they get from renting houses to Somali refugees has improved their total monthly income. The remaining two [L₂, L₆] said their income did not show a pronounced increase. Out of these,[L₂] explained that since the Somalis do not take good care of the rooms he rents them and do not use electric power and water sparingly, he pays large amount of money for reconstruction and for bills. The other respondent [L₆] said there is little change in his economic condition since he does not rent many rooms like others. As opposed to the responses given by most of the inhabitants of Woreda 01/02, majority of those who rent houses to the Somali refugees have expressed their view that the Somali settlement has brought positive economic changes in their lives.

Table 4: Landlords’ choice to have Somali or Ethiopian clients

Choices	Number of respondents	Reasons
To have Ethiopian client	2	Somalis do not take care of houses that they rent
To have Somali client	4	Somalis pay good amount of money for rent
Neutral	2	If they pay, it does not matter whether they are Ethiopians or Somalis

3.2.3. Economic impact of Somali refugees on “Small shop” owners in Woreda 01/02

In an attempt to understand the extent of economic impact resulting from the influx of Somali refugees six small shop owners [SO₁-SO₆] have been interviewed in order to express their experience with the Somali refugees. Accordingly, four “small shop” owners [SO₂, SO₃, SO₄ andSO₅] expressed that the Somali refugees often purchase commodities and services from them. On the other hand, the rest two [SO₁and SO₆] answered that the Somalis rarely come to their “small shops”. The reason that they have provided for this is the gradual establishment of Somali owned “small shops”. SO₁ has particularly expressed his experience as follows:

Before some of the Somali refugees have started to open their own small shops, I had a significant number of Somali customers but soon after the Somalis have started to establish small shops which provide consumer goods like soap, sugar, table salts...the number of Somali customers who are used to come to my small shop has started to decline significantly.

Furthermore, respondents were asked whether their clients are mostly Somali refugees or Ethiopians and whether they prefer to have Ethiopians or Somalis. One [SO₃] of the respondents said he has larger number of Somali clients and he does not care whether his clientele are Ethiopians or Somalis while the other five said the majority of their customers are Ethiopians and they prefer to have Ethiopians. In this regard, SO₅ has stated:

I prefer to have Ethiopian clientele to that of Somali refugees because the Somalis have difficulty of reimbursing the credit they took but the Ethiopians are better in meeting credits on time. Due to this reason, I often give goods on credit for the Ethiopians but rarely for the Somali refugees. As a result, most of the Somalis are not likely to come to my shop.

On the other hand, the results of the interview reveal that owners of “small shops” do not believe the rise of price in commodities is due to the influx of Somali refugees. In connection with this SO₄ has said: *I am not the opinion that the rise in the prices of consumer goods or commodities is the result of Somali refugees’ presence instead I believe that the upward spiral of the prices is the result of increment in costs of inputs for the suppliers.*

By the same token, most of them [SO₁, SO₂, SO₅ and SO₆] expressed that the rise in prices is largely evident in house rent. SO₆ has described this laconically as follows:

The local landlords of Woreda 01/02 have developed a strong desire of making colossal amount of profit owing to the massive presence of Somali refugees and the mostly expressed Somali refugees’ willingness to pay the amount of money that they have been asked for house rent. And they have intensive need to take advantage of the Somalis’ influx and hence almost all landlords have increased the prices of renting houses.

3.2.4. The Economic impact of Somali refugees on Sellers of “Chat”

According to four interviewees [H₂, H₃, H₄ and H₆] in Woreda 01/02, the presence of Somali refugees created different opportunities for the local hosts depending on their sex and wealth and in this regard H₆ has particularly expressed what he has observed as follows:

Customarily women largely perform domestic tasks. Nevertheless, some women were able to take advantage of the refugees’ presence and started some petty trade activities. These are, among other things, charcoal selling, milk retailing, “Chat” selling and tea making. Before the presence of Somali refugees most of the above mentioned businesses were not familiar to the hosts. “Chat” business was practiced by few men. However, these days, women and girls take the upper hand in this business.

Furthermore, when the “Chat” sellers [CS₁-CS₄], are asked whether they have other sources of income, two [CS₂ and CS₄] out of the four replied that they have opened tea rooms which serve as a “chat” chewing place. [CS₂] especially stated:

Previously, I do have only a “Chat”shop and my income was only from this but now I have opened tea rooms because most of my Somali customers were often advising me to open tea rooms along with the “Chat” selling. Of course I have also had the intention of opening a tea room in order to expand my income source and provide my wife with a job, and fortunately I found it as a lucrative business.

In addition, all of the respondents [CS₁-CS₄] admitted that the number of “Chat” shops has grown largely following the influx of Somali refugees. CS₂ and CS₃ have said that their clientele are mainly Somalis. In as much as, the other two [CS₁ and CS₄] respondents suggested that they have a little larger proportion of Ethiopian customers. The Ethiopian customers, according to “Chat” shop owners [CS₁-CS₄], are principally minors. All of the interviews expressed that they earn good amount of money from the “Chat” business. They have added that, they could not have earned considerable amount of money if they had not settled in the **area**.



A Chat shop in Addis Ababa

Due to the improvement of their economic status, all “chat” shop owners [CS₁-CS₄] have developed positive attitude towards Somali refugees. Furthermore, all of the respondents [CS₁-CS₄] imply that the number of Ethiopian “Chat” chewers has increased from time to time, creating opportunities for the success of their business. Principally, CS₂ expressed:

I have had many of my customers from the Somali refugees than from the local Ethiopians. Recently, however, I have started to serve many Ethiopian customers and a great proportion of them are taxi drivers. Therefore, my income has increased double fold when I compare it to what I was earning previously from my Somali customers.

3.3. The social and cultural impact of Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02

This section has attempted to explore the socio-cultural dimensions of the influx of Somali refugees on the local people in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area. Accordingly the analysis is presented as follows:

3.3.1. Refugees-Inhabitants Relation

In order to understand the relationship between Somali refugees and inhabitants of Woreda 01/02, twelve inhabitants [H₁-H₁₂] were asked about the extent of interaction between their children and that

of Somali children. And out of these respondents seven respondents [H₁, H₃, H₄, H₆, H₈, and H₉andH₁₂] answered that they do not have children. On the other hand, the remaining five [H₂, H₅, H₇, H₁₀ andH₁₁] said that they have children. From these, four [H₂,H₇, H₁₀ and H₁₁] replied that their children have no communication with the Somali refugee children. And H₂ and H₁₁said their children’s lack of communication with the Somalis comes from the location of the village that they are living in. In addition, H₂expressed: *Since I live in an apartment where there are few Somali refugees, my children have little chance for communication with the Somali children.* Alternatively, H₁₁replied:

My children do not communicate with the Somali refugee children because I do not allow them in that the Somali refugee children are most of the time mischievous and if I allowed my children to play with them they would develop bad behavior like insulting people and lack of respect for elderly people.

As opposed to the other respondents, H₅ stated her experience as follows:

My children have a nice relationship with the Somali children. They spend most of their times playing and going together to school with the Somali children and as a result they could speak their language. In the time of holidays my children will go to the Somali children’s home and they spend most of their times there. Likewise, when it becomes our holiday the Somali children often come to my house and attend with my children all the ceremonies that I prepare.

Table 5: Relationship between Somali refugees and inhabitants of Woreda 01/02

Nature of relationship	Number of respondents		Reasons
Good relationship	8	3	Because of the proximity of their house to the Somali refugees
		5	Because of the nature of their work
No relationship at all	4	3	Because their homes are distant from where the Somalis live
		1	Because they do not need to have relationship
Total	12		

The responses given by the respondents [H₁-H₁₂] reveal that the intensity of the relationship between the Somali refugees and the local Ethiopians vary by location and nature of work. H₃, H₅, H₉, H₁₀, and H₁₂ have stated that inhabitants who have job in an area where the Somalis are found concentrated have better relationship with them while those who live at a distance have lesser communication and interaction.

Furthermore, the respondents [H₁-H₁₂] were asked whether they have experienced any sort of disagreement with the Somali refugees. In this regard, out of twelve respondentsten [H₂,H₃,H₄, H₅, H₆, H₇, H₈, H₁₀, H₁₁and H₁₂] replied that they have not encountered any disagreement while H₁ and H₉ said

they had encountered disagreements with their Somali neighbors when the Somalis thrown trash around their house.

3.3.1.1. Inhabitants’ attitudes towards marriage between Somali refugees and Ethiopians

Intermarriage is one of the important signs of interaction, social proximity and of acceptance between hosts and refugees (Mekuria 1998:181). However, information obtained from the respondents [H₁-H₁₂] indicated that the practice of intermarriage is not common between the Somali refugees and the Ethiopians in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area. Accordingly, different reasons were put by the respondents and the results are summarized as follows:

Table 6: Inhabitants’ reasons for not supporting marriages between Somali refugees and Ethiopians

Number of respondents	Reasons
4	Because they do not want marriage outside of their cultural group
3	Because of religious differences
1	Because they believe that the marriages are often based on economic benefit rather than true love.
8	Total

Out of twelve respondents [H₁-H₁₂] eight [H₂, H₄, H₅, H₇, H₈, H₉, H₁₀ and H₁₂] said that they do not encourage or support marriage between the Somali refugees and the Ethiopians. On the other hand, the remaining four respondents [H₁, H₃, H₆, and H₁₁] expressed their view that it is not a problem if an Ethiopian marries a refugee from Somalia. H₆ has expressed: *Since they will get to adapt each other’s culture, the marriage is not problematical.* The other three respondents [H₁, H₃, and H₆] added that as long as the couples are interested and have good relationship, they see no problem in the marriages.

In connection with the above question, interviewees [H₁-H₁₂] were asked whether they know any intermarried Somalis and Ethiopians. H₁, H₂, H₄, H₅, H₆, H₇ and H₁₂ said they do not know and H₃, H₈, H₉, H₁₀ and H₁₁ said they have knowledge of such marriages but they do not support the marriages that they know because they believe that religious difference is not advisable for marriages.

3.3.2. The social impact of Somali refugees on landlords in Woreda 01/02

Eight respondents [L₁-L₈] were interviewed about the extent of their interaction with the Somali refugees and six [L₁, L₂, L₄, L₅, L₇, L₈] responded that they have good relationship. They also said that this is the result of the proximity of their living area. In contrast to this, two respondents [L₃, L₆] answered that they do not have close relationships with the Somali refugees even though they live in the same building. L₆ expressed the reason for his lack of intimate relationships as follows:

My poor communication is the result of my job. I am a civil servant and my work place is at a distance from this Woreda and for this reason I have to usually go to work early and back home at dusk. Hence, I cannot develop any sort of relationships with the Somali

refugees in my Woreda. More surprising is that I meet my Somali customers who have rented rooms in my building only at the end of each month so as to collect my bills.

The result of the interview indicates that when the Somali refugees and the Ethiopians live in proximate areas, the Ethiopians are largely tended to develop a positive attitude towards the Somalis. In this regard, L₁, L₄, L₅, L₇ as well as L₈ explained that the positive attitude can be attributed to the economic benefits that they gain from their clientele or Somali refugees.

On the other hand, when the interviewees [L₁-L₈] asked whether they have encountered disagreement with the Somali refugees, seven [L₂, L₃, L₄, L₅, L₆, L₇, L₈] said they never encountered. The remaining one [L₁] said he has encountered disagreements when the Somalis failed to pay rent on time and when the Somali children fought with his children.

3.3.2.1. Landlords and their attitudes towards intermarriage

Out of eight respondents four [L₅, L₆, L₇, L₈] said that they do not support marriage between Somali refugees and Ethiopians and the rest four [L₁, L₂, L₃, L₄] expressed no opposition for intermarriage.

Table 7: Landlords’ reasons for not supporting intermarriage

Reasons	Number of respondents
Because of the belief that Somali refugees leave their Ethiopian spouses and go abroad	3
Religious and cultural differences are not acceptable in marriage	1
Total	4

3.3.3. Relationship and social impact on Shop owners and “Chat” sellers

A Somali girl shopping from the local shop in Addis Ababa



According to six respondents who own “small shops” [SO₁-SO₆] and four [CS₁-CS₄] interviewees who sell “Chat” in the study area, the interaction of Somali refugees with “small shop” owners and “Chat” sellers is found to be solid than the relationship of Somalis with other target populations in Woreda 01/02. In this regard, a strong social

interaction between the Somalis and the Ethiopians is seen in areas where the hosts are small shop

owners and “Chat” sellers. Hence, it can be observed that the base for the social intimacy in the study area is the economic benefit which accrues to the host community albeit, this, in any case, does not mean that all the relationships between the refugees and the host are driven by economic motives.[Table 8]

Table 8: Social relationship of Somali refugees with Small Shop owners and “Chat” sellers

As it is clearly indicated in the above table, majority of the respondents [6] have been found to have harmonious interaction with the Somali refugees. This is partly due to the fact that the Somalis are living in areas where predominantly shops owned by Ethiopians are prevalent. What is more, some of the respondents [4] replied that on account of their job they have started to communicate with the refugees and thereby they began to understand and speak Somali languages ,in turn, helping them to facilitate their business. And no interviewee has responded in relation to unfavorable relationship; once again, this is by no means to say that there is always smooth interaction between the local shop owners and the Somali refugees since at times disagreement might arise over debt payment .This is usually because there is a tradition of giving shop items by the sellers to the Somalis without receiving money on the basis of the expectation that the Somalis will reimburse the money at a later date. However, as some of the respondents say sometimes the Somalis fail to pay at due time and this is most of the time mentioned as a source of conflict. In this regard, Small shop” owners [SO₁-SO₆] and “Chat” sellers [CS₁-CS₄] were asked if they have experienced disagreement with the Somali refugees and their responses are summarized as follow:

Table 9: “Small shop” owners and “Chat” sellers experience with the Somali refugees

Experience	Number of interviewee	Reasons	
Have encountered conflict with the Somali refugees	3[SO ₃ ,SO ₅ ,SO ₆]	failure to meet debt on time by the Somali refugees	
Have never encountered conflict with the Somali refugees	7	Number of respondents	Reasons
Positive relationship	SO ₁ ,SO ₂ ,SO ₄ ,SO ₆ [CS ₁ -CS ₄]	-	Because of the proximity of home to the Somalis who are living in rented houses
Total	10	CS ₃ ,CS ₄ ,SO ₁ ,SO ₅]	
		4 [SO ₂ ,SO ₃ ,SO ₄ ,SO ₆]	Because the nature of their work requires communication.
Negative relationship	-	-	-
Total	10		

The result of the interview reveal that out of six [SO₁-SO₆] target respondents five [SO₂,SO₃, SO₄,SO₅ and SO₆] have experienced disagreement with the Somali refugees. The reasons given by the respondents indicate that the disagreements were the result of job interaction.

Then again, Chat sellers and those who run small shops were interviewed about their attitudes toward marriage with the Somali refugees and their responses are provided in Table 9.



An Ethiopian shop owner in Addis Ababa, Woreda 01/02, Bolemichael area

Table 10: Attitudes of “Small Shop” owners and “Chat” sellers towards marriage between Somali refugees and Ethiopians

Attitude	Reasons	Number of respondents
In favor of intermarriage	It is not a problem if the individuals are in agreement and have enough money to sustain their lives.	4 [CS ₁ -CS ₄]
In opposition to intermarriage	Somali refugees do not lead a settled life and their culture is different from the Ethiopians	6 [SO ₁ -SO ₆]
Total		10

3.4. Overall attitudes of interviewees towards Somali refugees

This part of the study attempts to provide the general attitude of respondents in the study area. Hence, the results are summarized as follows:

Table 11: Negative attitudes of respondents towards the Somali refugees

Category	Number of respondents	Reasons	
Inhabitants	6	2	The price of rent increased for Ethiopians
		1	They spread the habit of chewing “chat”
		1	They have brought sanitation problem
		2	They made people money oriented to the disadvantages of people with low income
Landlords	1	They do not pay house rent at the appropriate time	
Shop owners	1	They do not pay back the credit that they have taken.	

Total	8
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Although the attitudes differ depending up on the reasons presented by the respondents, out of the three categories of interviewee majority of them [H₂, H₅, H₇, H₉, H₁₀, and H₁₂] have revealed negative attitudes towards the Somali refugees. Hence, the result reveals that most of the negative attitudes come from the inhabitants. This is partly due to the absence of economic benefits, to the inhabitants, from the Somali refugees.

Table 12: Respondents positive attitudes towards the Somali refugees

Category	Number of respondents		Reasons
Inhabitants	6		The Somali refugees are sociable and peaceful
Landlords	7		Incomes have shown rise as a result of the Somali refugees
“small shop” owners	5	3	The market has shown improvement
		2	The community’s income has shown improvement due to job opportunities created by the Somali refugees.
“chat” sellers	4		The Somalis are important clientele
Total	22		

From the total of four categories of respondents most of them [L₂, L₃, L₄, L₅, L₆, L₇, and L₈] have positive attitude about the Somali refugees. Accordingly, the largest number from these categories is that of landlords. The economic benefit gained by these people from the Somali refugees has partly influenced their attitude towards them. In this case, economic benefit and positive attitude reveal positive relationship.

Refugees may benefit, by supplying cheap work force and expanding consumer markets for local goods, to the host community. In this manner, the reception of refugees can sometimes be seen as part of a government’s broader plan (Gorman 1994). In light with this, this study by and large indicates that Somali refugees are seen positively by their host community in Addis Ababa, especially, in Woreda 01/02, Bole micalael area.

Chapter Four

Conclusion and Recommendations

4.1. Conclusion

This study has looked at the positive and negative impact of Somali refugees on their host communities in Woreda 01/02. It has also examined how this impact can affect the economic and social aspects of the host community. In particular, from economic stand point, it has looked at how the Somali refugees help to expand the local markets. How Somali refugees can significantly stretch financial and material resources at a local level through the establishment of “small shops” was also

examined. Hence, the Somali refugees' impact on the inhabitants of Woreda 01/02 principally emanates from this. The establishment of "small shops" by the Somali refugees has an advantage for the Somalis. However, some of the Ethiopians who were the beneficiaries are losing their clientele despite there are still many Ethiopians who have Somali customers.

The positive economic impact of Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02 appears to happen on the economically better off members of the host community. These are mainly those who rent houses and those who own "small shops". On the other hand, the negative economic impact seems to happen on the poorest section of the host community since, for example, as house rent raises for the Somali refugees, it also raises for Ethiopia.

As the attitudes of the target groups measured, the economically beneficiaries, especially those who rent houses and those who own "small shops", have been found to have developed positive attitudes towards the Somali refugees. In contrast, however, the majority of the inhabitants of Woreda 01/02 who do not own renting house or "small shops" appeared to have developed negative attitudes.

Since the coming of Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02, a significant number of Ethiopians have started chewing "chat" and the number of "chat" shops has also risen. Consequently, sanitation problems become common in the area since chat users throw trash around the street. By the same token, the finding reveals that the negative social impact of the Somali refugees on the host community of Woreda 01/02 is significant. This can be illustrated by the spread of "Chat" chewing habit among the host community in the wake of the presence of Somali refugees.

The social relationship between the Somali refugees and the host community, in the study area, appears to have been strong among the children and teen agers. This is because, as the finding shows, adult people from both the Somali refugees and the host community are not likely to spend time together owing to the nature of their job and area of residence. As a result, the social nexus between adult Somali refugees and local Ethiopians has been found to be weak. In addition, a significant proportion of the host community have shown negative attitude towards intermarriage between the Somali refugees and the host community. And the major reason for this sort of attitude was found to be cultural and religious difference.

Generally, the finding of the study shows that the massive influx of Somali refugees has brought both negative and positive socio-economic impact on the host community in Woreda 01/02. Therefore, the finding is concomitant with the premise of the new approach in the study of refugees' impact on the host community.

4.2. Recommendations

This thesis has identified various socio-economic impacts that are associated with the long-term presence of the Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02, Bole Michael area. The following recommendations are thus forwarded based on the findings of this thesis.

- In order to solve the problems that arise due to the Somali refugees in Woreda 01/02, a stable government should be formed in Somalia and the Somali refugees should be returned back to their country of origin.

- At the Woreda level, the administration of Bole Michael area must provide a solution for the housing problem and sanitation problem in the area.
- Local NGOs in the Woreda 01/02 , must work on solving the problem of those sections of the host community who are suffering because of lack of renting houses due to the Somali refugees presence.
- Refugees institution like churches and mosques must work in integrating the refugees to the host community

Glossary

Chat a plant with stimulating effect for a short period of time.

Small shop a small building where consumer goods and services available for sell

Xenophobia a strong feeling of dislike or fear of people from other countries

Woreda an administrative area which comprises a zone

Refugee: a person who has been forced to leave their country or home, because there is a war or for political, religious or social reasons

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