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RESEARCH ARTICLE

AN EXPLORATION OF IMPACTS OF SOMALI REFUGEES ON THE HOST COMMUNITY IN BOKOLMANYO, DOLO-ADO, ETHIOPIA

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the multifaceted impacts of refugees on the host communities in south Eastern Ethiopia. Throughout the world, the UNHCR engaged in hosting, feeding, sheltering, clothing and educating the refugees and addressing the impacts on the host communities. In hosting refugees, many communities face various forms of socio-cultural influences and economic challenges. Many hosting governments have restricted refugees to camps because they consider long-term refugee presence to be an economic burden and social challenge. This article examines the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of the Somali refugees on the host Ethiopian Somali communities in a remote arid area of Bokolmanyoo, in the Ethiopian Somali Region, Liban Zone, Dollo Ado Woreda, near the border with Somalia. The inhabitants of Bokolmanyoo belong to the agro-pastoralist Degodia sub clan of the Hawiye clan. Unlike many other communities, where refugees are restricted to the camps, in Bokolmanyoo, Dollo Ado the refugees move freely among the host communities and even to other parts of Ethiopia, and Somalia. There is a good social relation between the host community and the refugees and have been intermarriages between refugees, and the host communities and even Ethiopian soldiers. The hosts and the refugees also attend social events like weddings, funerals, mosque services, festivals and other communal occasions. Despite this, there are visible negative impacts on the host communities including environmental degradation, poor sanitation, scarcity of land, and security issues. On the other hand, the provisions of telecommunication service, schools, solar power, health posts, clinics, pharmacies, restaurants, riverbank irrigation schemes, and potable water, police post, are some of the positive impacts of the refugees in the area. Bokolomanyoo turned from a small agro-pastoral settlement into an urban centre. The host communities benefited better modern infrastructure including access to transportation, market and expansions of small businesses run by both refugees and local communities in comparison to the pre-refugee era.

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INTRODUCTION

...Yes, our presence here may have brought some problems to the locals. There are some officials and local Somalis who create and propagate negative attitude in the minds of the locals about our presence in the area without looking at both sides of the coin. Bokolmanyoo was a small-scattered village when we arrived and now you can see that the place is organized and relatively urbanized with some infrastructural developments and other facilities. Most of the houses you can see were built by us the Somalis or because of us...a Somali refugee in Bokolmanyoo Refugees' Camp, Dollo Ado (I February 2015).

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As the informant indicated, the consequences of refugees on both the host communities and the refugees themselves varied and a mix of negative and positive. In Bokolmanyoo, the expansion of infrastructures and social services are observed due to the refugees'. However, as it has been observed, some officials and locals blame the refugees because of negative their impacts. According to Hakovirta (1988), the refugee issue is as complex as its causes, solutions and impacts, as individuals being the primary victims of the problems. Moreover, it also manifests itself on the societal, governmental and international levels. Clearly, it is a humanitarian, moral and development issue which humanity faces. Indeed, its scope is wide enough to have significant bearing on security, environmental and natural resources concerns. When we look back its history that the refugee movement is not a recent phenomenon as indicated by Barnett (2002:240) states:

The refugee regime evolved with our modern world state system since Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 reflecting changes in international politics, law, economics and ideology. Responding to a history of religious and political persecutions, a comprehensive refugee regime finally emerged under the League of Nations after World War I. This regime underwent dramatic change during WWII to create a permanent framework to cope with the refugee problems through UNHCR and the UN Convention Relating the Status of the Refugees in 1951 and the Protocol in 1967 (2002:240).

Similarly, in 1969, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted a broader definition that encompasses massive refugee flows in Africa that were also resulted from external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order. In the same way, in 1984, Latin American states enacted the Cartagena Declaration, adopting a similar definition to OAU and including massive violations of human rights as pave ways for regional protection (Hathaway 1991:16–21). On the other hand, as Barnett (2002: 241) states, the Cold War had an overwhelming influence on the norms and rules of the regime. In the post-cold war era, the regime struggled to reflect and adapt to the emerging global concerns such as new colonialism, conflicts, and natural disasters. Similarly, the world media in its headlines had zealously shown the pictures of persons moving away from their homes to presumably, places of safety. Central America, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia are illustrations as people labor daily to escape the depressing effects of war and natural disasters. Understandably, no part of the world is immune to a refugee situation. According to Loescher (1992:13-14), the world refugee problem is caused by a variety of reasons; factors and forces. These include massive violations of human rights, especially the practice of colonialism, direct and structural violence, war, internal conflicts, external aggression, ethnic and religious strife, direct political persecution, socio-economic inequalities, political revolutions and natural disasters. In Africa recently Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and South Sudan, Yemen, war and mass displacement of peoples are challenging the sanctity of borders and have contributed to the disintegration of nations.

The magnitude of refugee flows in recent years has generated urgent global concern. In the same way, the majorities of mass refugee movements in the developing countries are caused by civil war, ethnic conflict and socio-economic inequalities (Loescher 1992:28). In addition, a large proportion of the world's displacements occur as a direct result of political and social revolutions. For example, after the Second World War, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran, Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua generated massive refugee outflows as result of the revolutionary changes in their political, economic and social systems (Loescher 1992:29). The majority of countries hosting and sourcing large numbers of refugees are developing and poor countries. These can experience long term, economic, social and environmental consequences (UNHCR 2004:3-4). The presence of refugees sometimes aggravates the already prevailing economic, environmental, social and, political difficulties in the developing countries. These countries are confronted by a combination of all four of these factors. Moreover, in many refugee situations, problems are aggravated when refugees are a substantial proportion of the local, if not national population. For example, in Nepal, in the district of Jhapa, 90,000 refugees

represent over 13 per cent of the local population. In Ngara, in the United Republic of Tanzania, the refugee influxes outnumbered the local population, as there were 700,000 refugees among a local population of 186,000 (UNHCR 2004:7). Many developing host communities face socio-cultural impacts of refugees, which can occur simply through their presence. In that, they can play a role in altering the ethnic balance of the host communities, and if the influx is significant, according to some researchers, pose a threat to the cultural values and norms of the host communities. The impact of refugees on host communities has mainly been assumed negative. On the other hand, some also believe that the influx of the refugees create a new context in which hosts devised strategies to gain access to incoming resources and to maintain access to their own resources. It must also be acknowledged that refugees could have a positive impact on the economy such as contributing to agricultural production, providing cheap labor and increasing local traders' income from the sale of essential foodstuffs. Some local populations benefit from access to schools, clinics and other social facilities built by the international community (Whitaker 1999:27). Ethiopia is struggling with new influxes of refugees in multiple directions, mainly from Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Eritrea.

Currently with 670, 000 refugees living in camps, Ethiopia has overtaken Kenya as the country in Africa with the highest number of refugees; including the 205,000 individual Somali refugees at Dollo Ado refugees' complex. Dollo Ado is a collection of refugees' camps in southeastern Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, refugees live in 24 camps located in five different regions: Tigray, Afar, Somali, Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz. More recently, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Somalia has complicated refugee movements in the Horn. The Somali refugees who currently live in the Bokolmany, Dollo Ado, Southeastern Ethiopia, are arrived mostly in the early 2009 immediately after Al-Shabaab had overtaken large parts of Somalia. Moreover, the arrival of the refugees is also attributed to droughts and lack of harvest in Somalia. The result of these combined factors caused massive displacement to Bokolmany, Dollo Ado. The Ethiopian government and the UNHCR have established five camps to house these refugees in the Dollo Ado *Woreda* of which Bokolmany is the oldest and remotest (Hammond & Lindley 2014 :54-56). This research focuses on one of the Dollo Ado refugees complex, the Bokolmany refugees' camp, which hosts more than 42,000 refugee populations. Thus, the impacts of dealing with 670, 000 registered refugees residing in Ethiopia in general, and about 42,000 refugees at Bokolmany refugees camp in particular, with regard to livelihood, nutrition, water and sanitation, health facilities, shelter, protection and education have caused impacts on the local communities, which this research explored by engaging in day to day life of both the refugees and local communities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

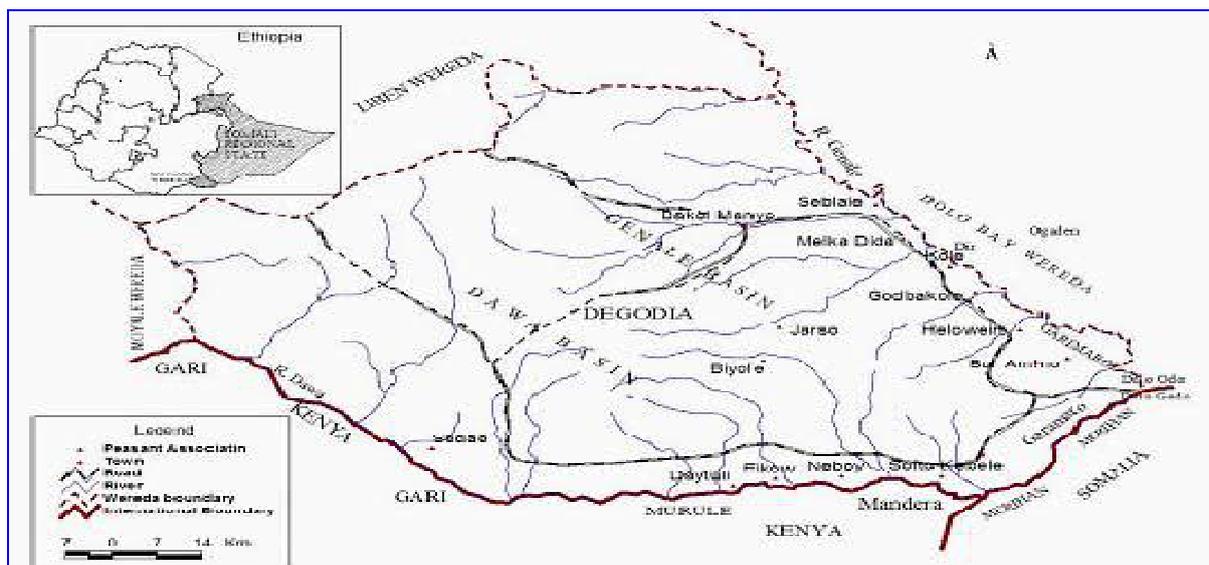
Description of the Study Area: The study area, Bokolmany Refugees Camp at Dollo Ado, Southeastern Ethiopia, is located in Ethiopian Somali Regional State, at 88km from Ethio-Somalia border. The participants are local communities and refugees who are living at the study site. The selection of study site and participants was purposive. As Creswell (2003:185) puts, in case of qualitative research, for the purpose of deep understanding of the subject matter under study or research question, it is up to researcher to make a decision on

the research participants, sites and even the material to use. To this end, Bokolmanyo Refugees Camp, Dollo Ado area, is selected as a study site. Moreover, the rationale behind selecting this site is the presence of refugees in large number and the visible positive and negative socio-cultural and economic impacts on the host communities.

The field site for the study, Bokolmanyo, is located in Southeastern part of Ethiopia, in Ethiopian Somali Regional State of Liban Zone, Dollo Ado *Woreda*. Before the arrival of the refugees, it was a small and insignificant village in the *Woreda*. The camp lies in an arid area and the majority of the region's inhabitants are ethnic Somali pastoralists. The area has been point of dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia since independence of Somalia in 1960, and both countries have a history of strife that caused instability and insecurity.

Observation

Participant observations was a valuable part of this study, as the researchers moved around the study area and gained better understandings of the lives and livelihoods of both hosts and refugees. Observations were done continuously during the fieldwork both in the different villages in the host communities and in the refugees' camps. Moreover, participant observation of the study area enabled the researchers to understand the general setting of the area and the socio-economic and cultural impacts of refugees on host communities. Personal observation was based on visits to the Bokolmanyo refugees' camps and Dollo Ado, to ascertain at firsthand the real situation in the vicinity of the camps and witness the impacts that the refugees' on the host communities and to document the events and behaviors.



Methods of Data collection

Both primary and secondary data sources were used for this study purpose. The multiple qualitative data collection methods used in this study included; observation, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and the collection and qualitative analysis of secondary data from different texts and documents. Data from fieldwork came primarily from the local Ethiopian Somalis as well as Somali refugees living in the Bokolmanyo refugees' camp and its surroundings. During the fieldwork, the community are considered not as objects rather as participants engaging in a participatory research. For the fieldwork, among both locals and the refugees, field assistants were recruited. The end, field assistants were selected in accordance with their familiarity with the culture of the community, their knowledge about the geographical setting, and to some extent based on their knowledge about the field of study. Informants were selected purposely based on the reliable information from field assistants (Johnson 1990). The anthropological study of refugees is conducted for in situ fieldwork in and around the camps. Thus, the preliminary fieldwork was conducted in the Dollo Ado, Bokolmanyo refugees' camp over the period of two months between July and August 2014, During this time general setting of the study area was observed and relevant documents were collected from *Kebele* and *Woreda* offices. Intensive ethnographic fieldwork was conducted over a period of three months (January – March 2015).

Through direct field visits, it was possible to observe and collect data on the socio-economic situations of the host communities. Furthermore, the personal observation enabled to witness the visible positive/ negative impacts of the refugees on the socio-economic and cultural domains of the host communities, the efforts of the concerned bodies to alleviate the negative influences of the refugees, and the relationship between hosts and refugees. Field notes were compiled on daily activities of host communities and refugees through visits to both the houses of hosts and the refugees. A visited was made to schools, health posts, market place food distribution centers, police office, water collection points and supplies, environmental scenario, and wastes disposal areas, observation of developments over the positive/negative impacts and the degree impacts on the host communities. This used to cross check the responses gathered from qualitative interviewees and enabled to capture the overall impacts and the host-refugees relationship.

Semi-Structured Interview

To make sure the right people engaged and get reliable data, the interviewees were selected through the non-probability or convenience sampling technique, which is useful to collect firsthand data from the refugees and the locals, who are the major participants in the in depth interview. The data on the socio-economic status of the refugees, measures taken to alleviate the influence of the refugees, positive /negative impacts of the refugees on the host communities, and the

nature of relationship between both the hosts and the refugees was collected. Totally, thirty informants selected and interviewed based on their knowledge and familiarity to the study topic and setting. To go through interview, procedures were followed; firstly, clear presentation on the purpose of the study objectives and their level of engagement. Followed the consent of participates in the study was secured. Finally, the interview on the place preferred by the participants as per the time and dates scheduled. Each interview was recorded from, fourteen informants selected among the host communities (nine males and five females, ranging from seventeen to sixty-two years of age). Two key informants from Degodia sub clan, who were considered knowledgeable about developments in the area, before and after the arrival of refugees. Moreover, in market women and men (three each), a *Kebele* chairman, a head teacher from Bokolmanyo junior secondary school, and youths (males and females, two each), were interviewed. Similarly, twelve informants (males and females, six each) were selected from the refugees, four Refugees Central Committee members (males and females, two each), two youths (male and female, one each). In addition, other four informants, all men, were selected from ARRA and UNHCR field offices at Bokolmanyo refugees' camp. Semi-structured questions were developed for the *informants* emphasizing on their perception of the types of impacts the hosts faced after the arrival of the refugees, visible socio-cultural and economic impacts of refugees on the hosts (both positive and negative), and the issue of hosts-refugees relationship, reasons for the flights, challenges the refugees encountered and strategies employed in coping.

Focus Group Discussion

To corroborate the responses acquired during the observation, and semi-structured interview, focus group discussion was conducted. Focus groups discussion is very well suited to the research topics, which entail contested or controversial issues as in refugee studies. The group discussion was conducted in Bokolmanyo Refugees' camp, with refugees and locals as the individuals are expected to have accumulated knowledge about the impacts of refugees in the study area. Five different focus groups each group comprising of six persons in the discussion were held. Total numbers of individuals involved in the group discussion in the study were thirty among whom nineteen men and eleven women from; women in markets (both locals and refugees, three each), two local Somali clan elders and Refugees' Central Committees (men and women, two each), youths from both sides (four hosts and two refugees). The *Kebele* chairperson, the teacher, ARRA and UNHCR were interviewed as one focus group discussants. Thus, the data which were collected by observation and semi structured interviews were crosschecked and triangulated by FGD. During the FGD significant data were generated on the refugees' socio-economic status, actions taken to ease the influence of the refugees on the locals, positive impacts on the host communities, and situations of relationship between both the local and the refugees. To make the group discussions fruitful, attention was given to the selection of the members for FGD based on non-probability convenience sampling to include important participants like refugees, host communities and partners communicating directly key informants and field assistances as deemed necessary.

Secondary Data: In addition to the primary data which are collected through observation, qualitative interviews, and

focus group discussions, the secondary data relevant to the study on the impacts of refugees on the host communities, refugees populations, the physical background, refugee camp services and facilities in Bokolmanyo obtained from various sources. Different literature (ethnographic accounts), official documents (unpublished reports and UN documents), and statistical records (hosts and refugees' profiles), are reviewed and incorporated into the study. The academic and non-academic, published and unpublished written secondary sources as well as the internet sources relevant to the topic are reviewed. Non-academic data was obtained from the office of ARRA, bulletins, progressive and statistical reports, issued by various UNHCR implementing partners, UN agencies, donors and NGOs were collected. The background information on the subject matter was reviewed from books, journal articles, reports and workshop proceedings. In addition to these, publications of the Central Statistical Agency(CSA) 2007 population and housing census statistical reports on Ethiopian Somali Region have been reviewed.

Methods of Data Analysis

As this study is a qualitative study, the qualitative data is analyzed in a form of transcription and descriptions. The process of analysis took place both in the field and post field seasons. The data analysis and interpretation took place following the development of thematic organization of the data. The process of analysis was based on the conceptual framework and related literature. Finally the data on the impacts of refugees on the host communities, is presented in readable and understandable manner. To explain some data in detail in the analysis some quantitative data population number, number of forcibly displaced persons, refugees and others presented.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Somali Refugees' impacts on the Host Community (Degodia¹)

The Socio-Cultural Impacts

The following anecdote indicates the impacts of Somali refugees on the host communities at Bokolmanyo refugees camp and the perception of local residents,

... The arrival of the refugees into our Kebele, or neighborhood, and the subsequent attention of the international aid community and the Ethiopian Federal Government, brought positive developments, including schools, medical facilities, and potable water. On the other hand, it also did considerable harm, destroying the environment and introducing a culture of consumerism and waste. We know that, they [the refugees] have lost a lot more than we [locals] have, and in times of need, we have to share with our brothers. The once better and relatively wooded environment of the Kebele has been destroyed. We have more than three times our number of people who also need wood to cook food, build houses, fences and beds - all our already diminished and scarce trees are gone completely within the fifteen kilo meters radius of our Kebele. Trees bring rain, and without them, the rains

¹ Ethiopian Somali Community in Dolo Ado

are becoming scarce. Bokolmanyo residents are also affected by the drought and we fear the diminishing rains will make things even worse in the future. The refugees also introduced plastic bags in large quantities to the area and at least 120 cows and 90 goats died from ingesting plastic bags. At least 600 animals, mostly goats, were also stolen during the first two years arrival. We know that the Somali refugees, who are mostly agro-pastoralists, like us, are used to eat meat, which they are not getting now. I do not like to raise these issues, (I know well about the life of refugee hood as an ex-Ethiopian Somali refugee in Somalia, repatriated in 1988 to Ethiopia), but you are asking, so I am telling you, says the Bokolmanyo Kebele chairperson, (Interview March 2015).

As the informant indicated above, the arrivals of the refugees is accompanied by both negative and positive impacts on the host communities. The situation prevailing in and around the camp helps to analyze the impacts that the refugees brought on the host communities. Thus, the situation of the refugees at the Bokolmanyo refugees' camp is built around Werker's (2007) *Refugee Economic Theory* and Jacobsen's (2005) *Economic Life of Refugees*. Based on his findings from the Kyangwali refugee camp, in Uganda, as a case study, Werker (2007) argued that camp economies are mostly influenced by the host governments' policies and humanitarian assistances. His research findings are consistent with the situation at the Bokolmanyo Refugees Camp where, there are no uniformly imposed economic restrictions on the refugees as the Ethiopian government tolerates and allows the refugees to make some income generating activities without restrictions either within the vicinity of the camp, or among the community, or cultivation in the Ghanale Riverbanks. Moreover, when the Somali Refugees' Central Committee members were asked, whether there have been restrictions on their movements into the community, they responded as follows,

No, to our knowledge we have never been restricted to this camp, we go into the villages and the town whenever we want to, sell to the locals and buy from them too...Even the markets in and in front of the camp were established by us (the refugees) which serve both the local communities and the refugees. Moreover, some the refugees' family members live both inside and outside camp among the host communities without any restrictions as durable solutions are not yet found (interview February 2015).

This condition in the refugee camp supports the argument by Jacobsen (2005) who said that refugees embedded in the surrounding communities economy and the refugees' households most of times have their members living both inside and outside camps. It is important to state that the Somali civil war and the extreme drought forced a number of Somalis move into southeastern Ethiopia as refugees. Thus, under the international refugee's law, and Organization of African Unity (OAU), now (AU) perspective of refugees, the Ethiopian government welcomed these Somalis. The government of Ethiopia and the UNHCR jointly coordinated their interests and needs for welfare. Obviously, the interaction of refugees with the host communities has brought about remarkable mixed socio-economic impacts on the hosting communities. In this case, the distribution of burdens and benefits, a theory proposed by Whitaker (2000), is used to

assess the socio-cultural and economic impact of the refugees on the host communities at the Bokolmanyo Refugees' Camp. The theory argues that the presence of refugees at a particular community could be a burden or benefit depending on the existing socio-economic conditions and the nature of the host-refugee relations. According to the findings of the study, this is important because free movement and good relations can be an advantage to both refugees and hosts. UNHCR closely cooperates with the implementing partners and sister agencies to improve the living standards of refugees in the camps and the host communities, who live around its environs. Several impacts have been observed as experienced by the host communities after the refugee influx.

According to data gathered from the UNHCR, Bokolmanyo field office, the organization continued providing material assistance to the refugees since the early 2009 until now. The material assistance as well as initiation to self-reliance strategies to Somali refugees continues until durable solution is reached, when the situations in Somalia become safer for voluntary repatriations. As the data from hosts and refugees' group discussion revealed, different types of Income Generating Programs (IGP) were learnt from trainings and empowerments of the UNHCR. Thus, those who have training and funds for income generations engaged themselves in sewing, carpentry, construction, carpet making, bakery, restaurants, and entertainment services. Still some generate income from their skills, especially construction and carpentry taking part in refugees' camps construction. In addition, tailoring shops, clothing, shoe making shops, hair salons, body décor salons, electronic repair shops are all available at the camp as ways of generating income. Even though agricultural projects are implemented as part of measures to assist refugees and hosts to grow their own food rations and get some income, the perspective of locals interviewed showed that the projects are not viable as there was not enough fertile soil and water to farm. However, it should be noted that the agricultural program has helped some locals to cultivate the land to supplement their diet and sell some excess produce at the Bokolmanyo market. At the same time, the inflow of remittance, mostly among the refugees, is as it used to be, which has facilitated skilled labor work especially constructional work, but a greater number of the refugees are idle. However, during a group discussion with both hosts and refugees' women traders have discussed how they began businesses in the following ways,

The UNHCR made many of us to be self-employed as petty traders through training and providing fund to start the business. Before 2011, life was very difficult for most of us to survive on the food aid received from WFP and UNHCR. However, after 2011, we engaged in petty businesses with some money from UNHCR to start a petty trade to generate income to support our families. Now with hard work we are able to turn the business into relatively big, (a group discussion at Bokolmanyo, March 2015).

Cultural Impacts

Both the majority of the hosts and the refugees are ethnically Somali, Degodia sub clan and Digil-Rahwen respectively. They are similar in many ways. There have been intermarriages, and various kinds of social integration between the refugees and members of the host communities. However,

some refugee youngsters wear earrings, plaited hair, and some women refugees follow different wearing style contrary to Somali and Islamic wearing styles. A local Somali elder of the Degodia sub clan at Bokolmany reacted about this in the following statement,

The way the young refugees dress and the way they talk to their elders has had influence on the young people in the Bokolmany area as they contact each other. Look at the way they dressed, women without hijab and headscarf and their bodies being exposed, smoke publically, drink alcohols and some of the men in earrings with plaited hair have made our youth copying them. He concluded with a question, "Is that how we behave as Somalis and Muslims?", (Interview at Bokolmany, February 2015).

Social and cultural Integration: The refugees share similar ethnicity, language and culture though not identical with the host populations still it allowed them interact and participate in the social life of their new destination without fear of discrimination or hostility. Some Somali refugees have informally intermarried with locals, and live outside the camp environment, but none benefit from official legal recognition or naturalization as a result. As the research indicated, there was no a single refugee from Somalia who has granted Ethiopian Citizenship.

In the backing of the UNHCR and other implementation partners as well as the efforts of themselves, refugees have put some measures in place to sustain themselves. The camp is now large with a lot of refugees; one can say it is a little town. Nobody lives in tents at the moment at the camp. There are permanent houses everywhere built mud bricks and solar power available. There are provisions of little shops, displays offering basic necessities and products for the people everywhere in the camp. Restaurants, teashops, *chat* chewing house, DSTV rooms, play stations, and video centers are all over the camp. In fact many refugees at the camp are going through hard times but because of the lifestyle of some of them, it is not easy for one to say they are refugees who are in need, especially those who receive remittances from their relatives who are either in the United States of America, Australia, Europe or even Africa. Inside and around the camp, one sees cars like FSR, ISUZU, and other right wheeled cars bought and smuggled from Kenya and Somalia and parked here and there in refugees' houses.

It is important to note that there is always tension among them. Many of them are quickly angered and individualistic contrary to Somali tradition. In many cases, it is obvious that for some; no day is successfully spent without interpersonal fights, clashes over small issues or differences and theft cases among others. Based on observation and data gathered, some Somali refugees enjoy display affluence, owing to the remittances sent to them from relatives abroad. The type of expensive dressing and the use of smart mobile phones in the camp give evidence to the value placed on public display of wealth. On the contrary, there are so many of them in the camp who need aid and assistance to survive, especially those who are unlucky to have relatives abroad receive remittance and who have many children to feed and care. In fact living as a refugee in the camp has created mixed perceptions among the refugees. It is also important to mention that the way some of the refugees youths within and around the community dress, especially the

ladies, is a big challenge to the locals, contrary to the Islamic wearing style.

Another key observation is that the Somali refugees (especially the women, the old aged and those with disabilities) seem to be highly religious most of them being Sunni Muslims. Most of them rely on God/Allah as a solution to their personal problems and even a longer term solution of the crisis in Somalia. "But the question here is do they actually practice what they profess?", as one informant indicated. There has been a mushrooming of Mosques, *Koranic* and religious schools in the camp with Somali imams.

The Economic Impacts

As informants described during interviews, increased market, business and job opportunities are some of the new opportunity, which are considered positive impacts to the host communities due to the influx of refugees to the area. The informants have admitted that they have experienced more opportunities to generate incomes and make living through trading with refugees in the camp or working for them in exchange for food or money, thus, accessed basic needs such as food and water. This has been the most significant change in terms of their livelihood for many of the hosts even though most of the hosts still struggle to survive and make living. At present, UNHCR provides a wide range of community-based assistance through its implementing partners and the sister agencies in the areas of health, education, sanitation, waste disposal, and income generating activities. According to UNHCR, this has brought a lot of development to the host communities, by setting up several vocational schools and training center. As a result, refugees and some of the local youth were trained basic skills, such as hairdressing, sewing, construction, baking and carpentry, masonry and engaged in different income generating activities. According to some local youths, this has created employment for them and one of the youngster responded as follows,

I am now working in my own shop as a hairdresser after I was lucky to be among those of us from the Bokolmany community who were given skill training along with the refugees. Now I am happy that I am not idle and wondering without job and chewing CHAT as some years ago. Thanks to UNHCR, I have my profession and now even employed two boys and a girl who work in my hairdresser for gents and ladies respectively. Now am able to assist my family and life is somewhat better than before, (Interview, February 2015).

As noted before the Degodia community is traditionally an agro-pastoral and some agro-pastoralists depended on cultivation of subsistence crops such as maize, onion, pepper, papaw and other products. However, it was difficult to find markets for their products, but now the refugees' have become their clients and the economic status of the former has improved. Moreover, the local agro-pastoralists are benefiting from the sale of animals and animal products to the refugees and the residents in the area, as there are large number of people who live in the camp vicinity for different purposes. This stems from the fact that locals could earn extra income from commodities and products that they own when they get access to market. These locals suddenly entered into the building and renting of mud houses around the camp. They

built and rented them to the well off refugees, coupled with the fact that many Somali refugees have access to remittances, higher rents were charged in areas surrounding Bokolmanyo camp. As demand for housing is high and supply was limited, the owners of the houses determine the amount because demand for housing is high and supply was limited.

Provisions of transportation become lucrative business and the locals and refugees use mini buses and *bajajs* (*tri-wheeled*) to transport goods and people to and from Bokolmanyo and surrounding villages, *Woredas* and zones. This created a lot of employment opportunities for the youths in the area. Before the arrival of the refugees, the Bokolmanyo locals found it difficult to transport their products to far way markets, which is Dollo town. However, after the refugees' arrival, transportation has improved tremendously making easier transactions between Bokolmanyo and the satellite towns and markets. Such developments and now the refugees presence has helped them move closer to the community and created jobs for the local women around the Bokolmanyo camp. Even though most of the people at the markets in the camp are refugees, the few local are taking the opportunities for making a living within the camp market and elsewhere around the camp. This means that Whitaker's fear that women from the host communities may not take advantage of the opportunity created by refugee situation because of their responsibilities at home is not applicable to the women at Bokolmanyo because they are active in the creation and generating of household incomes.

Similarly, the youths engaged in different commercial activities where they mostly act as middlemen between the camp population, where food ration is available, and neighboring merchants, who buy food ration and sell it to the needy. It is further contended that since the refugees may one day leave the area or repatriate to Somalia, the substitution of agro-pastoralism for trade and informal businesses by the host communities might result in the loss of markets. The locals may also find it difficult to settle themselves with their original subsistence, agro-pastoralism, and the ideal subsistence activities in such harsh climate. These positive effects pointed out above, are also agreed upon and acknowledged by the camp manager, local administrators and the host communities. They see Dollo Ado *Woreda* as one of the most marginalized and poorest in Ethiopian Somali region for that matter the refugee presence has improved Bokolmanyo local economic conditions drastically compared to surrounding villages where refugees are not settled in the *Kebeles*. Similar observation was made during a group discussion with separate groups from the refugees' side and the locals. It is true that the economy is becoming better and has created a lot of employment for both locals and the refugees.

On the other hand, some informants disagree that the new economy did not create job opportunities for those people who come from villages around the camp and believe that these people were better off even before the arrival of the refugees. As observation indicate during the fieldwork, some refugees (but not all), receive remittances almost every month, and made the cost of living in the area expensive. For instance, basic commodities like coca-cola, phone cards, sugar and others are more expensive as compared to the villages around and the camp. The observation and interviews with the local people showed the fear of hosts and difficulties that they face because of the high cost of living.

In the interview the camp manager, believed that the economic impact has been more negative than positive because of the high cost of living, and he stated that,

It is normal to expect that because the population increase has made demand exceeding supply and since people are ready to pay for what they need, then things will definitely be expensive...anyway, the locals get money from what they sell, and produce as the money from the rooms they rent. Therefore, they can also buy what the refugees buy. Now many local market women get a lot of money to support their families, as they could easily move to and from business any time, unlike before. Those who are still leading agro-pastoralism have a market for what they produce, good transportation system for their goods and services (Interview at Bokolmanyo, March 2015).

According to the interview data and observations, there are signs that indicate all the economic activities are going on, sales are increasing and shops are running as they were because of the existences of the refugees, and the voluntary repatriation process yet not commenced as the condition in Somali is improving.

Infrastructural impact

Another impact of the refugees' presence on the host communities is urbanization, through which previously small pastoral village is transforming into town with basic infrastructure. As the camp location was initially used as a grazing, and browsing as well as local settlements, there were no construction in the camp until 2009. The refugees lived in the UNHCR pitched tents, but as of 2011, the camp became more of a settlement; and today there are no tents but semi-permanent refugees houses. Therefore, the emergence of basic infrastructures like Bank, internet café, restaurants, and shops in the area saves residents' time from travelling to Dollo Ado, the *Woreda* capital, or Filtu, the zonal capital for such services. The bank has helped some people in the host communities to save and the refugees collect their remittances. This is regarded as a benefit to both the refugees and members of the host communities. According to the interview with ARRA staff member, who is representative at Dollo Ado field office, the presence of the bank helped in facilitating business activities, and sustaining livelihoods for both refugees and local communities. In addition, the local Bokolmanyo town and the refugees' camps served with solar power sponsored by the IKEA Foundation, a partner to UNHCR since 2012. Almost every house in the town and the camp including the streets, have access to solar power. As regards to Ethio-Telcom, there was no network coverage in the Dollo area (until 2013), but Somalia Telecom SIM cards named *Hormuud*, are available in the area and could be bought in the town and work well. The Ethio -Telecom commenced service well in the area in 2013 but poor network coverage compared to the Somali Telecom to date.

In spite of the fact that urbanization has impacted positively on the lives of the people, it has as well brought some negative impacts on the lives of the people. Apart from the high cost of living on the side of the locals, land acquisition has become a major problem within the community. Informants asserted that there are instances when a person has the money but acquiring land is difficult, due to land scarcity. Due to the scarcity of the

land and the demand of several people to buy land within the host communities, people built houses on the land that was reserved for public places such as market places and other places of public gatherings have been sold out. Accordingly, this has resulted in struggles, not only on the part of the refugees, but even the local people themselves. According to the locals, there was a large tract of land available before the refugees came. One could easily get a land for grazing or place to set up huts before, but now land is difficult to get and use. The locals who are not able to get a place to sell goods are doing trading just near toilets and under scorching sun. This is seen as a dangerous undertaking, though that is the only alternative available to them. The local communities always rent their houses to the well-off refugees for higher rental fees than the poor, though some of the well-off refugees have built their own houses by leasing lands from locals. In line with this, a locally interviewed person stated,

My people [the local communities] are ready to rent rooms to the refugees instead of us because we cannot raise such a huge amount of money they claim to rent a room, some of us are could not afford now nearby the camp, but had to stay in the other village and come to work every day because it is far cheaper than here.

All the aforementioned benefits have contributed to the infrastructural development of the Bokolmany area. During the discussions with the people in the community, the extent of development was visible and most people including the refugees believe that Bokolmany is undergoing the fastest infrastructural and economic development in the Dolo Ado *Woreda* in comparison to pre-refugees era. In contrast the current economic transformations in the study area seems would deteriorate when refugees leave or resettled finally in their home country.

The provision of water has been one of the biggest challenges for the refugees and the locals initially. At the initial establishment of the Bokolmany refugees' camp, treated less quality water is used to truck from a small treatment plant in the river at Melkadida. However, in 2012, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) has set up pipe systems in Bokolmany, which is the "largest water system for refugee camps in the world provided for refugees' camps". As has been observed, the water supply is better because IRC has laid pipelines all over with reservoir in the camp for refugees and in the vicinity for the hosts. The system is well organized and efficient and the beneficiaries (both refugees and locals) have learned how to conserve and use the water properly since it is essential to survive in such a harsh area.

The Bokolmany water system is the largest and most complex water delivery system for any refugee camp in the world. It pumps water from Ghanale River, eighteen kilometers from the camp, has a permanent treatment plant to clean the water, two pump-boosting stations, and finally another nineteen kilometers of distribution piping within the camp. In all, the system employs thirty-seven kilometers of pipeline. Completion of the Bokolmany permanent water system meant to serve all the refugees through 63 water points and approximately five thousand host communities' members living in the surrounding villages, where the IRC has installed six water points. Now camp residents and local hosts are able to collect potable water for household use on daily

basis reducing risk of water-borne diseases like diarrhea and contributing to ongoing hygiene and sanitation efforts in and around the camp, from a group discussion with ARRA, UNHCR and Kebele chair (Bokolmany, March 2015).

Environmental Impacts

The ARRA representative at Bokolmany explained the issues of environmental impacts of the refugees in relation to the host community in the following way,

Bokolmany, or Dolo Ado was chosen as a host community because of its extremely dry environment. Therefore, camp constructions and population influx would have had minimal environmental impacts, as environmental damage is already evident in the camps. Though camp construction caused some hosts lose land previously used for animal grazing, and settlements, the government compensated them fairly. There are also impacts that are not directly related to the refugees presence (drought, famine, clashes with non-refugee bordering clan.) (Interview at Bokolmany, February 2015).

Over the years, the increasing negative impact on the local environment around the camp has been associated with the housing and food procurement and firewood activities of the refugees as wood is a primary fuel source for cooking in the camp and local community houses. Tension and conflict exists between the refugees' and the surrounding communities, notably with the local Degodia sub clan, over the use of the area's natural resources in which wood, pastureland and water are the most prominent component in the competition for natural resources. Women are responsible for wood gathering in the Bokolmany camp, which can take them up to 6-8 hours every day. In addition, fuel wood gathering has put women in health problems as the use of fuel wood for cooking is a major health concern, especially amongst women and children. Heavy indoor air pollution caused by cooking with wood in closed homes leads to respiratory illnesses and diseases that mostly afflict women, as they are the cooks, and children, as they are often on the backs of their mothers or in the homes while their mothers are cooking. UNHCR recognizes the potential of the Clean Cook stove fueled by ethanol as a viable solution to alleviating some of the tension and health burdens being experienced by the people living in the Bokolmany camp. By testing the use of the Clean Cook stove in the camp, Project Gaia and UNHCR have introduced a cooking alternative for refugees and locals but not implemented fully. Such measures were proposed to improve relations between refugees and local communities, less indoor air pollution, better health, decreased safety risks for women and girls, and reduced negative impact on the environment. According to data gathered from some locals, since most of the refugees relied on firewood for cooking, the cutting of trees caused deforestation. I have also learnt that the cutting of trees and deforestation had existed long before the arrival of the refugees to the host communities. This indicates that, they should not be all in all be blamed for the deforestation in the community. But pressure has been imposed on the environment due to the population increase, which had resulted from their influx, and has led to the rainfall pattern variability as noted in chapter three. Some of my informants even attributed it to one of the reasons why some agro-pastoralists are shifting to trading,

build and rent business. Therefore, though difficult to know in this research exactly the significance of overall negative environmental impacts of the refugees on Bokolmanyo, it is possible to know/identify the environmental impacts that the presence of the refugees has had on the livelihood strategies of both host community and refugees. Obviously, bad sanitation in a society affects the people who live within that society and they are likely to suffer from disease like cholera, malaria, diarrhea or any related diseases. Still toilets are particularly problematic as observed during the fieldwork. The toilets built when refugees first arrived have not been maintained properly, primarily due to misuse. Instead, many camp residents use the bush and a Somali refugee in the camp said;

Prior to our arrival (Somali refugees), the hosts used the bush as well but the large population increase has made this an unsustainable practice and though most of the Somalian (refugees) living here are from rural Somalia, who are not accustomed to use latrines. Moreover, they never lived in such camps before, but the concerned bodies have oriented us so many times how to use the latrines and how to keep personal and environmental sanitation.

Both liquid and solid waste disposed arbitrarily all over the area as it is in the camp and the Bokolmanyo town. There are no well-constructed drainage to serve as outlets for liquid waste and dumping of waste at a particular place. In addition, garbage is scattered on almost every street, and in some places huge mountains of rubbish are piled up around homes and public places. Thus, bad sanitation posed a serious health threat to the residents. Based on the data gathered, the improper disposal of garbage caused mosquitoes and flies reproduce, hence, malaria, diarrhea, cholera became among others common sickness in the community. In most cases, UNHCR and ARRA are managing waste in the local community as well as the refugees. For instance, during visit to the local community and the camp, I observed that there is a sanitation problem facing both similarly. Furthermore, during groups' discussion with some locals what happened was that Somalis keep their homes clean but do not care what happen in public areas. Thus, regarding sanitation and environmental issues, the impact of the refugees has been negative at the study area as the local communities are facing environmental vulnerability and improper waste management system.

Refugee - Host communities Relations

The establishment of large refugees camp in 2009 and influx of new arrivals has brought both challenges and opportunities for the hosts at Bokolmanyo, creating some new set of relationships. In line with what Sanjugta (2003) has noted in her study in Tanzania, the relationship between the host and the refugees at Bokolmanyo is somewhat friendly as both admitted during discussions, with only some grievances mentioned above. There have been intermarriages between them and they attend some social events like weddings, funerals, Mosques and other ceremonies among others. This has been possible because large numbers of the refugees are living outside the camp and have been unofficially integrated in the community. Touring around the camp and the community during the study and especially visiting the market and the schools, explained how they co-exist peacefully. Regarding this the Somali Refugees' Central Committee chairperson made the following statement,

Our relation is up and down issue generally our relationship with the community is very calm and cordial. We live among the people and there is a high degree of understanding. As I said, you cannot rule out 'xenophobia' or people who definitely do not like to see another person even if they were of the same nationality. So also, people who do not want to see refugees are here too but they are very small minority and as a result dominated by the economic impact we are making... We do not have statistics of how many Ethiopian Somalis married to the Somali refugees but the number may be huge which has created some kind of union, which is inseparable. For instance, my niece has married to an Ethiopian soldier who was in Somalia before and the camp guard right now, more strangely who is not a Somali and even not a Muslim. This has led to cross cultural kind of relationship and may forge good neighborhoods between Ethiopia and Somalia in the future (Interview at Bokolmanyo, February 2015).

The relationship between the hosts and refugees was relatively good in the first years of the camp existence, but this good relationship has declined over time. The youths are also living together in harmony, they jointly compete in sports especially soccer and other engagements. However, there has been problems as in any other community and clashes between the two over petty issues like stealing, payment of house rent, land, excessive noise, and sanitation issues occur. The rising tension was mostly between Degodia (hosts) and the Digil-Rahywen (refugees), who are amongst the majority of the residents in the area. Moreover, incidents were reported by hosts such as refugees entering their villages, stealing, cutting of the scanty trees, completion on pasture and water for grazing and browsing, and provoking fighting. On the contrary, refugees claimed that Degodia's conducted criminal activities such as stealing goats and camels and other violent activities. For both sides, these conflicts had created negative impact on their relationship and coexistence between them. Moreover, the locals have perceived that they are disrespected, made *minority* and inferior on their soils due to the influx of the refugees.

In anticipation of these possible frictions, the government of Ethiopia has established a police post and different peace initiative committees at the camp, which is serving both the locals and the refugees in maintaining law and order. In addition to this intervention by the locals and the government of Ethiopia, the UNHCR and partners NGOs are responsible for conflict resolutions and are assisting the Ethiopian government logistically and financially in this direction. The ARRA and the refugees self management committees, give a lot of educational programs on tolerance and peaceful coexistence between the two. During one of my discussions with the refugees, they referred to the fact that they have many similarities with the hosts as Somali society and the refugees should respect their hosts to live peacefully in the future as well as, for the relations dated back to the good reception they had from the host when they arrived in the early 2009.

Somali refugees' as Security threat

A police station has been opened in Bokolmanyo, which is now extensively used by the whole communities. With the help of UNHCR, ARRA established a watch committee to enhance the desired capacity of the police patrol not only in the camp

but also in the community in safeguarding the security of the residents and their property. In spite of the presence of this security related facilities, the refugees sometimes pose security risks to the community in Bokolmany. The Somali Refugees' Central Committee held this view during group discussion and when interviewed about the perceived threat to the host communities, explained in the following way,

With security, we do not think we pose any threat here to the locals and Ethiopia in general. Ethiopia has very sensitive security network and there is no way the Government of Ethiopia will ever allow this place to become a security barrier. The mandate that host governments sign allows them to send us back if we become threat to security...we leaders here are on and off advising and making the people aware, that security for Ethiopia is security for us all, and all the refugees that are in the camp are fed up with insecurities while they were in Somalia. There are some minor problems, which we agree with, but such situations happen anywhere in Ethiopia where you find people violating the laws and creating insecurity, which does happen in human settings. But in general, we do not think we have created such possibility.

On the other hand, there have been rumors that Al-Shabaab was recruiting the young Somali refugees in the camps, but it is difficult to confirm. There has not been severe security incidents reported so far in Bokolmany, Dollo Ado area. The Ethiopian military has a strong presence in the area and even entered deep into Somalia creating a buffer zone of about 70km.

Conclusion

The thesis explored the diverse impacts of the refugees on the host communities at Bokolmany. Of equal importance, the research has investigated the relationship between host communities and refugees at Bokolmany. By interviewing informants from the host communities, the refugees and external actors, the research addressed the objectives and the research questions of the study. The findings are further analyzed in light of a theoretical framework. The host communities, the Degodia, at Bokolmany are hosting refugee populations significantly larger than their own population, have encountered many changes, challenges and opportunities. Thus, the complexity of the impacts of refugees on the host communities has resulted in both positive and negative experiences. City-sized refugee camp has emerged in a very poor area, where inhabitants themselves were struggling to make a living. Despite their traumatic experiences and their poor health conditions when they arrived, refugees came in with productive capacities, with some assets (human capital, livestock, etc), kept networks to get access to these assets. Therefore, the refugees have endorsed some important economic functions and have significant impacts on their hosts' livelihoods. Based on the findings of the study the presence of refugee has mixed consequences for the host population through an increase in price, wage competition and competition for natural resources. Socio-economic impacts have been positive such as new livelihood opportunities in and around the camp, in addition to improvements in social services such as health, water, communication and education. More importantly, the provision of educational, health, and potable water facilities are considered the most positive

impacts of refugees'. Yet most of informants in general found that the overall impact was more positive than negative. The better-off and more visible hosts have gained from the refugees and refugee programs, while by contrast, vulnerable hosts (the hidden losers) loose from competition for food, work, wages, services and common property resources. On the other hand, some of the informants and observations revealed the negative impacts of refugees' on the hosts mostly were in term of sanitation, environmental, and cultural issues. In fact, what can be said to be positive for one person may be negative for another. Accordingly, subjectivism in values assessment may be a mitigating factor here, not to suggest a complete ignore of the evaluations of socio-economic impact on the refugee presence in the camp. The research also revealed that high remittance rate is there as the refugees get money from relatives abroad. Finally, the findings of this study have proved that the positive impact of the refugees 'on the host communities outweighed the negative consequences. Although the negative impacts have created some problems, member states of the United Nations are obligated to receive and protect refugees. Therefore, Ethiopia has to accept the refugees regardless of the negative consequences associated with them. However, there should be policy measures/options by the government and the UNHCR to ensure the challenges faced by the host communities are addressed by different partners.

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