

Access to Livelihood Opportunities and Basic Services among Urban Refugees in Addis Ababa: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract

Ethiopia, with a refugee population of closer to a million, introduced an Out of Camp Policy in 2010 where some refugees are allowed to reside in urban areas mainly in Addis Ababa. The objective of the study was to assess the extent to which basic urban services are available to and affordable for urban refugees and identify the major service providers. Data were generated using intensive desk review, focus group discussion with refugees, and key informant interviews with relevant government offices, UN and humanitarian agencies. The findings revealed that most of the livelihood interventions and service provisions for urban refugees executed by humanitarian agencies are supported by grants that are often insufficient, uncoordinated, and with short-term funding administered with poor technical experience. Refugees complain about the escalating living expenses, limited access to work, insufficient and low quality services, frequently rising house rent, Ethiopian language skills deficiency and cultural differences as major challenges in securing sustainable livelihoods. Hence, sufficient assistance and strong coordination among humanitarian organizations and involvement of the private sector in basic services provision, employment creation, and capacity building efforts are recommended to ensuring the betterment of the lives of urban refugees.

Keywords: Refugees, livelihoods, urban basic services, humanitarian agencies, Addis Ababa

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1. Introduction

Ethiopia has a long history of hosting refugees and maintains an open-door policy to provide humanitarian access and protection to those seeking refuge. In February 2019, it hosted more than 900,000 refugees mainly from neighbouring countries of South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan, making it the second largest refugee-hosting country in Africa after Uganda. Given its geographical position and several environmental and geo-political developments in the region, it is likely to continue to receive new arrivals from nearly all its neighbours (UNHCR 2019)

At the end of September 2018, there were more than 30,000 refugees in Addis Ababa, mainly from Eritrea, Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan and other nationalities from the Great Lakes Region (UNCHR 2018). Of the total refugee population, closer to one thousand are children, who arrived alone or were separated from their parents or relatives during flight. Most of the urban refugees (79%) are Eritrean refugees, majority of who are beneficiaries of the Government's Out-Of-Camp Policy.

The issues of refugee protections are set out in international refugee regimes such as United Nations Refugee Convention of 1951, the 1967 Refugee Protocol, Organization of African Unity Refugee Convention of 1969, international human right laws and national refugee laws where they exist (Mogire 2009). UNHCR has been working in collaboration with state and non-state actors to protect and bring durable solution for refugee problems.

Humanitarian agencies seeking to provide livelihood assistance or protection for refugees in urban areas are faced with different set of circumstances than in camp settings. First, in urban areas the political context is much more of a factor than it is in remote rural or border areas more typical of camp settings. Likewise, host governments are less willing to allow urban livelihood programs aimed at refugees largely because they want to discourage migration to urban areas. One implication of this is that advocacy for refugee livelihoods has become an important aspect of protection and assistance for UNHCR, particularly in countries hosting large urban populations (UNHCR 2019).

Although UNHCR has set out explicit obligations for host countries to allow refugees to live and work in cities, many host governments still possess restrictive policies on refugee work (Brown *et al.* 2018). Furthermore, humanitarian interventions to support refugees in overcoming challenges to sustainable livelihoods in cities remain insufficient. These out-of-camp refugees cannot afford to use basic services in Addis Ababa. In response to this, the Hope and Opportunity for People in Ethiopia (HOPE) program, an initiative being implemented by consortium INGOs (ZOA, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), International Medical Corps and Plan International, is supporting refugees to have improved access to basic services through provision of information about existing affordable services available from other actors; information and support set-up of self-help options; and advocating for improved and expanded government services appropriate to accommodate a larger population of service users.

Refugees and asylum seekers are living and largely expected to live in camps receiving direct assistance from aid organizations while urban refugees are left to fend for themselves. Urban refugees often engage in informal activities as means of livelihoods; but, such activities are at a precarious situation for citizens let alone for refugees (Brown *et al.* 2018; Betts *et al.* 2019). Similarly, language barriers and lack of cultural affinity and loose social networks are presumed to complicate livelihoods of the urban refugees and their assimilation (Suleyman 2014; Brown *et al.* 2018; Fisseha 2019). Above all, most previous studies focused on encamped refugees since the issue of urban refugees in Ethiopia is only about a decade old; and studies conducted on the situation of urban refugees are rare and the existing ones focused on refugee livelihoods. However, this assessment attempts to look at refugee's physical and economic access to urban services and key actors involved in the provision of such services. The general objective of the study was, therefore, to assess the extent to which basic urban services are available to and affordable for urban refugees and identify the major service providers for refugees in three selected sub-cities in Addis Ababa namely Bole, Nifas Silk Lafto and Yeka where there exists the largest concentration of urban refugees.

2. Methods of the study

2.1. Study Area Settings

Ethiopia is a federally structured state composed of nine regional states and two chartered cities namely Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. It is the most populous landlocked country of the world situated in the Horn of Africa covering an area of 1,106,000 km², which makes it the ninth largest country in Africa. With a population of over 100 million and an annual rate of growth of 2.6 percent (CSA 2017), Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa, after Nigeria. The country has a long history, diverse cultures (80 ethnic groups); and an enormous geographic diversity (altitude ranges from 4620 meters above sea level to 120 meters below sea level), and varied agro-ecological zones.

Addis Ababa, located at an average elevation of 2400 meters above sea level in the central Ethiopian highlands, lies between 8°55'N to 9 ° 3'N and 38 ° 40' E to 38 ° 50'E (Figure 1). It is the capital city and the commercial and industrial centre of Ethiopia; and the diplomatic capital of Africa and the seat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa as well as various other continental and international organizations. Temperatures are mild and relatively constant throughout the year; the average being approximately 15°C (CSA 2017).

Addis Ababa, divided into 10 sub-cities, in 2020 one sub-city is added making it 11, hosts about 30 percent of the urban population of Ethiopia (MoUDH 2015). The primate city has attracted a large number of people from different regions of the country who come in search of employment opportunities and services representing as many as 80 ethnic groups. With an estimated population of about five million, and an average annual rate of growth of 4.8 percent (<https://worldpopulationreview.com>), it is one of the fastest growing cities in Africa.

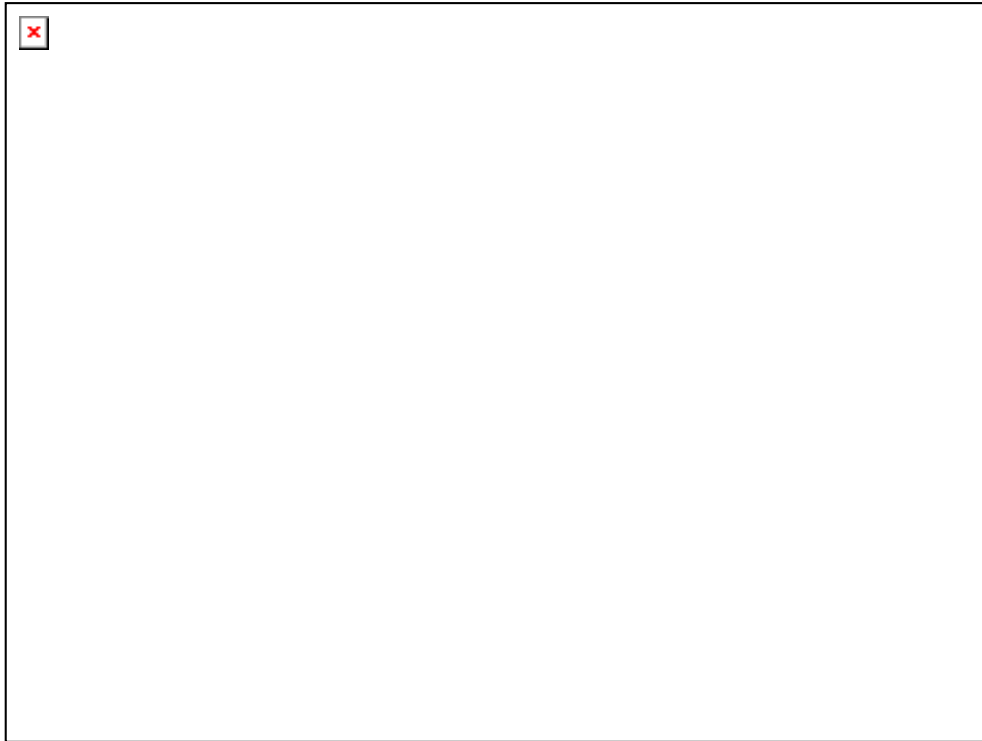


Figure 1. Map of study areas.

2.2. Research Methods

This study basically employed cross-sectional survey design. Intensive desk review, focus group discussion and key informant interviews were the predominantly used approaches of data collection techniques employed for the research. Review of scholarly articles and books, reports, and documents was carried out to capture the livelihoods of urban refugees, basic services that are available to refugees, the extent to which these services are affordable to the refugees and the major service providers as well as the main refugee residential areas in Addis Ababa. Documents from relevant organizations such as Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs of Ethiopia, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian organizations, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), reports of relevant bureaus in Addis Ababa that have to do with basic service delivery to urban refugees, laws and policies governing refugees were used to get valuable data for the intended

purpose. Hence, qualitative methods supported by desk review were primarily employed as it is assumed to result in a deeper understanding of existing and potential issues and concerns; perceptions, practices and participation of refugees and their partners in identifying basic services for refugees.

Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with selected refugees, experts, and stakeholders that include government bodies at different levels, UN agencies, and NGOs. Determined by ‘theoretical saturation’ and relevance to the research, ten KIIs were conducted with respondents from Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) project staff, UNHCR, Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), Plan International, ZOA, Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (EOC/DICAC), and governmental bureaus such as Bureau of Finance and Economic Development of Addis Ababa on basic services and service providers with a focus on refugees in Addis Ababa. These key informants provided important information on the existing and potential services available to urban refugees. KIIs were also carried out mainly with Eritrean and Somali refugees who have been living in Addis Ababa for more than 5 years. KII guides have been developed for participants. The interview guides consisted of open-ended questions allowing respondents to bring up concerns on affordability and accessibility of basic services, and the challenges of access to the services for refugees as well as allowing the interviewer to probe further on information that seems most relevant to the issue considered.

Three focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out with urban refugees from Eritrea and Somalia as well as refugees from other countries nationality. Participants were selected to reflect different members of the refugee community, and selection was based on a mix of nationalities and gender. The aim of conducting FGDs was to gain detailed insights into refugee situations and a shared understanding of the different basic services available for refugees and the basic service providers to the refugees. In addition, attempt was made to understand their journeys to the city; the challenges they face in the urban environment; their relationship with members of the local community; and the activities that refugees

engage in within the host community as well as the way forward for effective urban service delivery for refugees. Thus, the questions were designed to capture exhaustive information about the different basic services that are available for and affordable by refugees who are residing in Addis Ababa.

A total of 26 refugees participated in three focus groups and six different refugee nationalities were included. Groups of between 5-11 members of refugees were brought together. The participants in the first focus Group were Eritreans. The second focus group discussion was conducted with Somali refugees. The third focus group discussion was made with refugees from different nationalities that comprise minority groups of urban refugees in Addis Ababa where we had South Sudanese, Yemeni, refugees from the Great Lakes such as Burundi, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo, and Cote d'Ivoire. Discussions among participants from different countries had made it possible to generate livelier discussions and, as an added benefit, allowed refugees from different countries to learn from each other's experiences about identifying 'basic services and service providers'. Women and men participated in one group; and for issues that require separate attention women participants were held for a few minutes to discuss the specific challenges they faced with regard to their livelihood challenges and access to basic services. Focus groups were organized with the support of NRC where refugee representatives of nationalities of the minority groups were represented.

The data analysis employed descriptive-interpretive qualitative techniques. The descriptive technique involved describing key numerical circumstances uncovered from the data to look into the prevalence and trends of the facts related to the theme of the research. The interpretative analysis focused on providing explanations to the data obtained from key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 The Refugee Situation in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has adopted legal frameworks that offer protection to asylum seekers and refugees in line with international laws. These legal

frameworks and their implementation created a protective and favourable environment for people to seek refuge in the country (NRC *et al.* 2016). Ethiopia provides protection to refugees from 21 countries. The government generally maintains open borders for refugees seeking protection in the country. As a result, the country hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa. About half of the refugees and asylum seekers are women and girls, while the number of unaccompanied minors and separated children is also considerable. Many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers entering Ethiopia are escaping political and civil unrest as well as harsh conditions such as drought in neighbouring countries. Refugees and asylum seekers in Ethiopia mostly come from South Sudan, Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Yemen. There is also a small refugee community from the Great Lakes Region. According to UNHCR (2019), as of February 2019, the refugee and asylum seeker population in Ethiopia is about 900,000 with South Sudanese and Somalis being the majority.

The arrival of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia started with the Ethio-Eritrean war in 1998-2000 (Samuel Hall Consulting 2014). Since then, Eritreans continue to flee Eritrea to Ethiopia, for example at an average pace of 2,500 refugees per month starting from 2015. Fear of military conscription, lack of education for employment, economic strife, desire to join a family member in another country and hope for resettlement are the main reasons for migration out of Eritrea. Eritrean refugees living in Ethiopia are dominated by young, urban men between 18 and 30 years old and often literate. Despite high levels of literacy (89%), most Eritrean refugees arrive in Ethiopia without professional work experience, lacking sufficient skills to help them adjust to new labour markets and secure better livelihoods (NRC *et al.* 2016).

Sources (NRC *et al.* 2016; Brown *et al.* 2018; Fisseha 2019) reveal that people have fled Somalia to Ethiopia since 1989 in significant numbers for different reasons. Firstly, people from the northern parts of Somalia came to Ethiopia, when the Somali National Movement was fighting with central government. Decades of political crisis, clan-based warfare and underdevelopment have affected the regular and irregular migration patterns of Somalia and forced the displacement of over a million across

borders. In addition, drought and harsh climatic conditions, and lack of income opportunities for a rapidly growing young population entering the labour market are main causes of migration of young people out of Somalia in search of safe havens (NRC *et al.* 2016).

Refugees and asylum seekers are generally expected by the Ethiopian government to reside in refugee camps (Brown *et al.* 2018). The government has allocated land for 27 camps around Assosa, Dollo Ado, Gambella, Jijiga, Melka Dida, Semera and Shire regions (UNHCR 2017). Ethiopian government's "Out of Camp Policy (OCP, hereafter)" introduced in 2010 enables Eritrean refugees to live in Addis Ababa and other locations provided they have been living in the camps at least six months, have the necessary means to financially support themselves or have sponsors willing to support them/serve as guarantors to live and study in urban areas, and have no criminal record (s) while in refugee camp. OCP card that is valid for three years linked by barcode to UNHCR's ProGres database is granted to them, where refugees give up any claims to assistance services provided by UNHCR (NRC *et al.* 2016). Similarly, some refugees are also allowed to reside in urban areas for special circumstances such as medical, security or humanitarian reasons. In addition, refugees from non-neighbouring countries without designated camps (Yemen, Syria and Afghanistan) are allowed to live in towns (Samuel Hall Consulting 2014; Brown *et al.* 2018)

UNHCR contends that cities offer refugees to live autonomously unlike camps by making money and developing their better future. However, refugees could be vulnerable to exploitation, arrest or detention and could be forced to compete with the poorest local workers for the worst jobs. There is also an understanding that in large and anonymous city, it can be a challenge to ensure that the refugees find and receive the vital support they need (<https://www.unhcr.org/urban-refugees.html>). While refugees in camps receive direct assistance from domestic and international aid organizations, those in cities are left to fend for themselves. They must secure their own food, shelter, and employment, often in areas where services are lacking even for the host population. They habitually go days without a meal and face insecure housing. Researchers in Urban Institute in

Washington, D.C. disclosed that though urban refugees live in dense neighbourhoods, they are socially isolated and excluded. Regardless of refugees' legal status and whether or not they have work permits," host communities tend to perceive that refugees are taking their jobs (DFID 2017; <https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/07/the-social-ties-urban-refugees-need/534753/>).

Studies indicate that over 60 per cent of the world's refugees live in urban environments that provide anonymity and access to urban resources, though host governments often restrict the urban refugee rights to work, forcing them into precarious and often informal economy livelihoods (Brown *et al.* 2018). There are about 31,000 refugees in Addis Ababa comprising of around 20,176 registered refugees as of May 2017, assisted refugees and Eritrean OCP unassisted refugees (15,435 though estimated at over 20,000 by focus group discussants), and perhaps 11,000 unassisted and unregistered refugees (UNHCR 2017b). These refugees represent 21 nationalities that include Eritreans, Somalis, Sudanese, Yemenis, the South Sudanese, Rwandans, Congolese, Burundians, Afghanis, Syrians and Nigerians with different levels of health, education and experience of the urban environment. They have also integrated differently into the local communities in Addis Ababa in accordance to their knowledge of Amharic, social networks, wealth, inter-marriage with Ethiopians, religion and work and business connections. Eritreans integrate relatively easily, especially with those who speak Tigrigna; while Somali refugees are quite closely integrated with the large community from Ethiopia's Somali Region. On the other hand, smaller communities from South Sudan and the Great Lakes find integration more difficult because of language barriers and lack of cultural affinity and loose social networks (Brown *et al.* 2018).

The New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, adopted in 2016, calls upon UNHCR to develop and initiate a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in situations involving large movements of refugees, in coordination with national and local authorities. Ethiopia is a pilot country for the CRRF, and is currently implementing the nine pledges made in 2016 in relation to education, land rights, local integration and employment for refugees (Brown *et al.* 2018).

Ethiopia is also one of the key secondary migration points for refugees in the Horn of Africa and the government struggles to control the trafficking and smuggling of refugees to Gulf States, the Arab Peninsula, Southern Africa and Europe (UNHCR2013; Messay and Teferee 2017). The absence of employment opportunity, which in itself is a mechanism of integration, was underlined as a significant factor for secondary migration decision of refugees (Brown *et al.* 2018).

In January 2019, Ethiopia's parliament adopted a new refugee law that replaced the 2004 Refugee Proclamation which also upheld the key principles of the 1951 Refugee Convention as well as the 1969 OAU Convention. The new law grants the refugee population access to local integration and a wide range of services and improved socio-economic conditions. It outlines that refugees will enjoy employment and property rights as well as access to primary health care and education; it opens up access to national financial services such as banking; it grants refugees obtain drivers' licenses; it gives freedom of movement to refugees ending the encampment policy; and Asylum seekers and refugees have the right to recognition of their certificates of education, training and skills (Fisseha 2019; UNHCR 2019b).

3.2 Major Refugee Residential Areas of Addis Ababa

Although urban refugees could reside in each part of Addis Ababa; there are some parts of the city where urban refugees are concentrated in large numbers. Bole Mikael is an area of Addis Ababa popular with Ethiopian-Somalis and Somali refugees for a number of decades. Other areas of Somali refugee concentrations in Addis Ababa are Bole 66, Addis Sefer (Saris), Behere Tsige and Megenagna 24. On the other hand, Gofa Mebrat Hayil hosts many Eritrean refugees. Other areas in Addis Ababa where Eritrean refugees are found in significant numbers include Megenagna, Kera, and Teklehaimanot. Bela and Goro Sefera are known for Sudanese refugees.

Unlike the Sudanese, Eritreans and Somalis, refugees from the Great Lakes as well as minorities (Ivoirians, Nigerians, Cameroonians, and Syrians) do not live in visible and concentrated ways in certain areas. While they may

gather in some places such as Hayat 1 and 2, their urban residence remains dispersed and as such this group of refugees was harder to access (Charpentier 2012 in Brown *et al.* 2018). As Yemenis are relatively recent arrivals to the city, they are also living in dispersed areas and are more difficult to access. An interview held with the representative of the Yemeni refugees unveiled that there are some indications of concentration of Yemeni refugees at Jemo, Mercato, Betel and Bole Mikael. It appears that social networks play a key role in the residential preferences of refugees. Focus group discussions with Refugees from the Great Lakes and minorities disclosed that the refugees are through time pushed to the peripheries of the city and to towns nearby Addis Ababa where house rent is relatively cheaper such as Arabssa, Hayat, Semit, Abado, Kara Kore, Burayu, Sululta and Sebeta.

3.3. Basic Services Available for and Affordable by Refugees in Addis Ababa

The UNHCR is mandated to lead and coordinate international action to safeguard the rights and ensure the well-being of refugees and their families so that they will have access to basic services such as health services, food, potable water and sanitation in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Ethiopia is signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention, which states that refugees should enjoy access to basic services equivalent to that of the host population. The UNHCR contends that access to basic services needs to be granted to refugees at similar or lower costs to those of nationals regardless of gender, age, race, religion, and disability. To ensure equitable access to the services, special assistance, including cash assistance or waiving of fees, shall be established for vulnerable refugees (UNHCR 2013). Likewise, UNHCR seeks to ensure that basic services for refugees are integrated within national systems, whenever feasible, in order to ensure their sustainability. It also supports relevant government ministries and partners such as UN agencies, international agencies, civil society organizations, NGOs, academic institutions, and the private sector and programs to provide services to refugees. It also emphasizes on developing capacity of the workers that provide up-to-date and quality service.

Access to Education for Refugees in Addis Ababa

Ethiopia, mainly through ARRA, UNHCR, and other NGO partners, is working to improve the provision of education to refugees sheltered in camps (gross enrolment rate in primary education has reached 70.5 percent in 2017) and urban refugees residing in Addis Ababa. Refugee children in Ethiopia are afforded equitable access to formal schooling on a par with nationals in public schools. The government is expanding education opportunities for refugees in line with one of the nine pledges it made at the Leaders' Summit on Refugees in September 2016 in New York. As such, the Ethiopian Government is showing commitment to increase enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education to all qualified refugees without discrimination and within the available resources (<https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/unhcr-ethiopia-education-factsheet-march-2018>).

Children aged 3-6 years, for example, are supported in 150 private and public kindergartens in Addis Ababa. In addition, children between the ages of seven and 14 are enrolled in 166 schools in urban areas. Secondary school age children (aged between 15 and 18 years) are enrolled in 43 government and private-owned secondary schools in urban areas (<https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/unhcr-ethiopia-education-factsheet-march-2018>). The information obtained from ARRA also shows that Ethiopia has also been providing scholarship for refugees mainly Eritreans since 2010; and for refugees from South Sudan and Somalia since 2012 where about 2,386 refugees have so far joined public universities through government scholarship program and support from the Government of Germany. In addition, refugees are also attending technical and vocational education in Addis Ababa and Shire. A total of 6,773 refugees have so far enrolled in Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) schools (<https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/ethiopia-working-improve-refugees-access-education-march-2019>). Although in Ethiopia most education programmes are operated in refugee camp settings managed primarily by UNHCR and ARRA, in urban settings the Ministry of Education (MoE) and district level education authorities are in charge partnering with UNHCR and ARRA. Refugees are enrolled in government schools where the cost of education is subsidized by the MoE (UNHCR 2015).

Access to primary health care to refugees in Addis Ababa

UNHCR supports Ethiopian Federal Ministry of Health, Addis Ababa Health Bureau and DICAC to ensure that urban refugees living out-of-camp situations have access to curative and preventative healthcare services. UNICEF and WHO also work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Health and sector offices to facilitate refugee inclusion in the national systems and assist the government's aims of achieving universal health coverage including refugees and migrants, providing immunization service, and developing integrated host community and refugee water supply and sanitation systems (WHO 2018). It also advocates that fees for accessing health services should not be higher than the fees paid by Ethiopian nationals. Moreover, vulnerable refugees should be identified and a suitable safety net provided for them to ensure access to basic health services. Likewise, essential services, such as childhood vaccinations, antenatal and delivery care, communicable disease control and care for acute life-threatening emergency conditions should be provided free of charge by public services; or they should either be offered or paid for by UNHCR partners (UNHCR 2013; 2014; WHO 2018).

The UNHCR also underscores that refugees should be within 5km of a health facility. If this is not happening, attempt should be made to constructed centralised health posts and/or provide mobile health services to enhance access to health services. For the urban out-of-camp refugees, UNHCR monitors primary health care access in these contexts. UNHCR plays a vital role in promoting community-based health workforces through training and equipping them for interventions. It also works to ensure infant survival through nutrition and reproductive health (RH) programs; as well as reduce transmission of HIV using a protection and rights-based approach and facilitate universal access to antiretroviral therapy (UNHCR 2013).

UNHCR works to ensure food security and nutritional well-being of refugees, which is believed to promote self-reliance among refugees. It is done through the provision of access to food, cash and/or vouchers and special nutritional products for vulnerable groups. It works on programs to prevent undernutrition and micronutrient deficiencies as well as treat acute

malnutrition, with particular focus on improving community activities and linkages with related services for refugees living out-of-camp situations. It also works to ensure that all refugees are guaranteed the basic right to water and sanitation facilities and hygiene promotion and practices in order to reduce morbidity and mortality, as well as enhance their protection, dignity and quality of life (WHO 2018). Inadequate and unsafe water, poor sanitation and unsafe hygiene practices are the main causes of malnutrition, disease, impaired growth and mortality. Such problems are also linked to many other diseases that kill children or stunt their development; to more vulnerability of persons living with HIV and AIDS; and have economic implications as the cost of buying water or disposing of waste can replace other spending priorities, including spending on health care and education. UNHCR envisages strengthening water and sanitation response in urban settings through expanding partnerships with research institutes/universities and private companies for enhanced services (UNHCR 2013; WHO 2018).

3.4 Livelihood Opportunities for Urban Refugees

Worldwide, the right to work is protected in international refugee and human rights instruments, most notably in the UN's 1951 Refugee Convention, where Ethiopia is signatory, and the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). However, in Ethiopia there hasn't been work right for refugees, although allowed in practice in the informal sector. Until January 2019, there has not been a national policy that respects refugees' right to work or national policy that prohibits refugees from working, but there are no punitive legal restrictions from government or local authorities on most informal work (Brown *et al.* 2018; Betts *et al.* 2019). In order to implement the employment-related aspect of the nine pledges, the Government of Ethiopia signed the Ethiopia Jobs Compact with the European Investment Bank, the World Bank, and UK DFID (ILO 2019). Likewise, although the new refugee Proclamation has been ratified and approved by the House of Peoples' Representatives, there are no implementation strategies and guidelines to date and hence it hasn't been put to effect (Betts *et al.* 2019; Fisseha 2019). Urban refugees engage in a wide variety of work in manufacturing, trade or services, although economic activity is hushed where there is no right to work. Male

refugees work as daily labourers in construction or other industries, and women in domestic work such as washing clothes, and backing *enjera*. Urban refugees from similar origins often cluster in the same sorts of work, as friends and family help new arrivals become established (Brown *et al.* 2018).

Researchers argue that refugee livelihoods should be considered as part of a wider system involving consumption, production, exchange, and finance in an urban setting (Betts 2014; Brown *et al.* 2018). The presence of refugee businesses can transform local environments in many ways. Refugees could contribute to local revenue by paying fees, taxes and for work permits (Krause-Vilmar 2011 in Betts 2014). Refugees engage with and expand local markets as they are active consumers in the host city, regularly purchasing daily commodities from local businesses (Grabska 2006). Refugees contribute to employment in growing economies, both as employees and employers. Refugees increase the human capital of the host city as productive sources of labour; and educated and skilled refugee populations can also increase local economic capacity (Grabska 2006). Refugees identify new market opportunities in host communities (Betts 2014). Refugees can increase the internationalization of the local economy through remittances and the import of foreign currency (Lindley 2009 in Brown *et al.* 2018). However, there are negative contributions of urban refugees which include increased competition for services and jobs which can impoverish local communities further and add to pressures on under-resourced governments attempting to manage the process of urbanization (Brown *et al.* 2018).

There are attempts to accommodate both Ethiopian citizens and refugees residing in Ethiopia in terms of better economic and basic service opportunities (ILO 2019). An in-depth labour market study conducted by Maastricht School of Management (MSM) in Addis Ababa revealed that for refugees it is very difficult to seek employment, unless they are permitted to do so; though there are enormous opportunities for the local youth in obtaining training and to be employed. The study disclosed that commercial activities are widely practiced in Addis Ketema and with proper training jobs could be available to the youth. In Yeka, poultry could

be easily organized in small groups, with some small financial injection through micro finance institutions for beneficiary groups. Likewise, there are many construction works (houses and roads) in Yeka sub-city which present a huge opportunity for training in specific skills and jobs related to construction. Akaki is an area where there are many companies working in the areas of leather or textiles that could create jobs in tanneries and leather factories. Bole sub-city is becoming an area of high rise buildings and frequented by international business community; where training on food preparation, catering services, front desk services, as well as back office services and cleaning, electricity, plumbing and other technical professions could be of use to the youth (NRC *et al.* 2016). However, the existing high and growing levels of unemployment because of the ever increasing Ethiopian national youth population owing to natural increase and migration to Addis Ababa; and the tendency of an increase in the refugee population choosing to live in the city than the camps call for an urgent need of significant investment to create greater opportunities to work for both refugees and the host community (Betts *et al* 2019).

Although refugees in Addis Ababa were not granted right to work, informal work used to be generally tolerated. A study by Brown *et al* (2018) identified four main income sources for urban refugees in Addis Ababa. First, there is widespread informal employment with Eritrean, Somali and Yemeni refugees employed in Ethiopian owned and refugee-owned informal enterprises as well as formal organizations such as private clinics or translators. Eritreans were employed in Ethiopian-owned and refugee-owned leisure and hospitality businesses such as pool houses, hotels, restaurants, bars and internet cafés and in service provision as beauticians, hairdressers, electricians, welders, plumbers and mechanics. Somalis tended to be employed in refugee-owned or Ethiopian-owned retail shops selling mobile phone accessories and Muslim dress or in restaurants. Yemenis were employed in Yemeni- or Syrian-owned construction-based businesses. Some professionally skilled refugees were employed informally in private schools as teachers, in private clinics as nurses, and in formal organizations as interpreters and translators. Some of the Congolese play music from their own culture and play their own instruments in nightclubs to earn money. Some refugees engage in

negative coping strategies such as prostitution. Second, refugees ran informal enterprises in service provision, retail trade, leisure and hospitality, and construction under the license of an Ethiopian with business partnerships or operated mainly through an agreement with a license holder that they would share profits. Informal refugee businesses include hairdressing, laundry, translation services, rental brokers, plumbing and mechanics, trade in items including food, clothes or grocery products; leisure and hospitality in the form of bars, restaurants, pool houses and hotels; and the construction industry. Third, non-OCP registered urban refugees receive monthly humanitarian financial assistance from UNHCR; and different NGOs also support urban refugees through business grants and loans, and skills and business training programmes. Fourth, urban refugees also receive remittances as a vital income source. Somali refugees mainly rely on food assistance and remittances from diaspora (NRC *et al.* 2016; Brown *et al.* 2018).

HOPE Consortium partners (International Medical Corps (IMC), NRC, Plan International, ZOA) are working towards increasing access to finance and livelihood opportunities for urban refugees and the local community (NRC *et al.* 2016). To reduce possible side effects of the intervention as well as to promote peaceful co-existence between the refugee and host community, projects will target both host and refugee communities. Host community members are assumed to make up 25 percent of the beneficiaries. The programme targets vulnerable young people mainly children, women and girls (50%) from the refugee and host community in Addis Ababa. The Refugee Central Committee (RCC) actively participates in selecting vulnerable refugee beneficiaries; while Women and Children Affairs and Youth and Sport Affairs at district level plays active role in the selection of project beneficiaries in the host community in Addis Ababa (NRC *et al.* 2016). In addition, Ethiopia signed the Ethiopia Jobs Compact with the European Investment Bank, the World Bank, and UK DFID to create 100,000 jobs in new industrial parks, of which 30,000 would be for refugees (ILO 2019).

Challenges of refugee livelihoods

Studies of urban refugees in Addis Ababa identified considerable livelihood challenges for refugees in the informal work sector. They disclosed that limited access to employment is the most significant barrier to securing refugee livelihoods. Similarly, with no labour protections, refugees have been facing workplace discrimination that includes low wages much less than the World Bank's "extreme poverty line" of US\$ 1.90 per day (ILO 2019), insecure jobs or immediate dismissal. Refugees reported receiving lower wages than Ethiopians for similar roles, or receiving 'incentive money' instead of wages. Due to the restrictions refugees had no legal right to negotiate their salary. Because refugees lacked access to business licences, refugee-run businesses operated under the licence of an Ethiopian business, thereby limiting reinvestment and growth potential (Brown *et al.* 2018; Betts *et al.* 2019). Ethiopian languages skills deficiency and cultural differences were also indicated as barriers to employment and wider assimilation by refugees. Women refugees are confronted with additional livelihood challenges such as managing childcare and income earning; and some vulnerable refugees may be forced into undesirable work such as prostitution (Samuel Hall Consulting 2014; Suleyman 2014; Brown *et al.* 2018).

Focus group discussion held with Eritrean refugees indicated that the urban goods and services are less affordable for them and that particularly women whose assistants turned their back ended up in prostitution. The discussion with Somali refugees also brings to light that living expenses are escalating with high inflation rate that makes cost of consumer goods very high. They further indicated that they are not able to get services from *Shemachoch* (subsidized basic consumer goods provider for urban residents) that offers commodities for discount as they can't get coupons. Women discussants indicated that life is frustrating for them as they took the responsibility to feed their children. The activities they are engaged in such as washing clothes for small pay didn't enable them to cover household survival needs and that their children ran away from home when needs are not met and they don't know their whereabouts. Focus group discussants from the Great Lakes region and minority group refugees also complain about the limited livelihood options available to refugees in

Addis Ababa. Further they indicated that trainings are given in Amharic and English where refugees who don't speak the languages find it difficult to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills.

Brown *et al.* (2018) surfaced out that refugee livelihoods in host cities are greatly influenced by government policy, local institutions, civil society attitudes and socio-economic conditions. They further pinpointed that denial of the right to work has tremendous impact on refugee self-reliance which forces them to work in the informal economy of host cities where social protection is limited (Böhme and Thiele 2012 in Brown *et al.* 2018; Betts *et al* 2019). When refugees are permitted to engage in safe and lawful work, they can fulfil their basic needs for survival and recover aspects of their lives that have been disrupted by displacement; feel useful, valued and productive; and make a positive social, political and economic contribution (Jacobsen 2014 in Brown *et al.* 2018). As such, the recently endorsed refugee law that grants work permit to refugees, if properly put to effect, could positively contribute to the enhancement of the standard of living of urban refugees.

Assisted refugees in the focus group discussions severely complain about the frequent house rent increases and lack of housing security. They are much concerned about covering a house rent. They indicated that they need to move from one residential place to another all the time because landlords keep increasing the house rent. An increase in the price of housing didn't give them the possibility to live in the same place and be part of a neighbourhood. It left them to lead a wandering life. They pointed out that they are often relegated to the outskirts of the city where house rent is relatively cheaper. Likewise, focus group discussants indicated that they are forced to live in a very congested situation at a small house for a family of five and more.

3.5 Collaborators and Basic Service Providers to Urban Refugees in Addis Ababa

UN Agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations

There are about 40 humanitarian assistance organizations working with refugees in Ethiopia. Most have been involved in refugee camps but only

six of them work in urban areas: UNHCR, NRC, EOC-DICAC, JRS, and Opportunities Industrialization Centres Ethiopia (OICE) and ZOA. UNHCR and ARRA are involved in monitoring over all activities associated with refugee assistance. NRC's urban programme works mainly with vulnerable Eritrean refugees. The Eritrean refugees in the focus group discussion surfaced out that NRC gives some start-up business, material support to students, psychological and legal assistance, English and Amharic language training and skill trainings such as hairdressing. Focus group discussants of Somali refugees also indicated that NRC provides education, house rent, and food supplement assistance to refugees and money to the most vulnerable.

UNHCR has been working with local NGOs to provide business facilitation services, including guidance on market opportunities for urban refugees interested in self-employment, and vocational training and technical skills programmes (UNHCR 2017b). The UNHCR Refugee Outreach Volunteer Programme is being established in urban areas to use the capabilities among refugees toward protection of their own community. The urban livelihoods strategy for UNHCR Addis Ababa is implemented with interventions such as micro-loans and cash grants to help in ensuring refugee self-reliance and access to sustainable livelihoods activities (UNHCR 2017b). UNHCR provides financial assistance each month to registered refugees under the Urban Refugee Assistance Programme. Somali refugees in the focus group discussion pointed out that they are given 2,100.00 ETB (Ethiopian Birr is the local currency equivalent to about 0.04 United States Dollars) for a refugee with a medical case and 300 ETB for each dependent; though they complain about the meagre sum against escalating living costs. Provision of the monetary assistance and the difficulty of sustaining living with it was also confirmed from the focus group discussion held with refugees from the Great Lakes Region and other minorities. The International Organization for Migration/IOM/also works on migration management, including refugees and internally displaced people.

EOC/DICAC began operation in Ethiopia since 50 years ago. A key informant of the project manager of Refugees and Returnees Affairs

Department /RRAD/ of EOC/DICAC divulged that it has got a UNHCR and EU funded project that works on education of refugees. It provides educational materials such as uniforms, exercise books and pens for selected students at public schools; and connects refugees with the schools. Other supports include training for girls' club members, reading corner support on schools, awareness creation for principals and school administrators on quality education, human rights of refugees and conflict resolution between refugees and host communities. A three year EU funded education support project (€350,000.00) from 2017 to 2020 that is supposed to benefit about 1,200 refugee students selected by the refugee representatives and verified by ARRA, and students from the host communities is underway. Students took placement exam as most refugees don't often carry documents with them and placed at second cycle schools in three sub cities namely Yeka (Tesfa Birhan School, Kekebe Tsebah school, Dejach Wondyirad School and Millennium School), Bole (Bulbula School, Ayer Meda School, Dr. Addis Alemayehu School, Andode School, Beshale School, Bole Community School and Lem School), and Nefas Silk Lafo (Sedil School, Fana 02 School, Lebu School, Ginbot 20 School, and Ewket Lehibireteseb School). The result of focus group discussion with Eritrean refugees indicates that EOC/DICAC provides health support and some financial assistance for those in need. On the other hand, focus group discussants of the Somalis revealed that students are placed in government schools where there are no school fees and EOC/DICAC grants 1,300.00 ETB per student at the beginning of the academic year. It also gives 200.00 ETB per month for students in kindergarten classes. Focus group discussants from the Great Lakes Region and minority refugees also indicated that EOC/DICAC provides sanitation materials for registered women and supplementary milk for children of six months.

The Jesuit Refugee Service, located at Sidist Kilo area of northcentral Addis Ababa, started to provide services to internally displaced persons from 1980s; and to urban refugees from 1996 onwards. The interview we had with emergency coordinators and livelihood and social workers at JRS indicated that the institution provides usually one-time emergency financial support for vulnerable urban refugees and new arrivals. Refugees could be directed to receive JRS services through ARRA, UNHCR, Catholic

Church, police and pioneering refugees. JRS also provides food assistance including rice and cooking oil as well as blankets to vulnerable refugees based on their family size. This was confirmed from the focus group discussions held with Somali refugees. It also provides medical assistance to refugees in collaboration with Raphael Health Center (where medical bills are settled every month by JRS), though refer to hospitals from the centre is managed by ARRA and UNHCR. JRS also provides group counselling to refugees, library service and entertainment. It also paves the way for refugees to get certificate of competence (COC).

A key informant from JRS further disclosed that refugees most often want to use Ethiopia as a transit for secondary migration. In the meantime, they need education and training to develop their capacity. This corroborates Betts *et al* (2019) findings indicating that an overwhelming majority of urban refugees in Addis Ababa (90%) see no future in Ethiopia, and aspire to move onwards to Europe, North America, or Australia. JRS is assisting refugees get training in food preparation, welding, textile, mobile maintenance, automotive and others from institutions like Marry Help College, Nefas Silk College and VenVenido that provide some discount on tuition fees. This is also confirmed during the focus group discussion held with Eritrean refugees. JRS works in collaboration with UNHCR, ARRA, EOC/DICAC, Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and private and public TVET colleges to provide the aforementioned services to refugees.

ZOA Relief Hope Recovery is a Dutch based Organization. The interview with ZOA program manager confirms that ZOA started to provide services to Eritrean urban refugees of Addis Ababa since 2018. The types of services that it offers include employability and life skills training that could help the refugees get prepared for work. The training also includes CV preparation for the certified ones and business plan preparation. For young women (14-20 years), it provides trainings that could help them develop self-esteem and get out of trauma as well as strengthen peer-to-peer relations. It also provides material support for urban refugees, and links them with companies to mentor them, who could also employ them. Urban refugees that are not supported by other organizations are referred

by JRS, EOC/DICAC, ARRA, NRC and Plan to ZOA to get services. The key informant from ZOA recommended that the new refugee regulation that is recently endorsed has to be put to effect to bring substantial change to the lives of refugees; and there has to be strong coordination between and among organizations that work on the provision of basic services to urban refugees. It is further recommended that duplication of service provisions could be avoided and that UNHCR and ARRA could intensify their efforts in coordinating services for urban refugees.

An interview held with program coordinator of Plan International Regional Development Program and Protection /RDPP/ affirmed that Plan began to provide services to Eritrean and Somali refugees since 2016. In its program, Plan also works to assist Ethiopian youth and refugees to have a settled life than opting for emigration and reduce secondary migrations. Education related services of Plan include capacity building for principals and teachers in selected schools of Addis Ababa on issues such as education as a basic human right, the Out of Camp Policy and human rights, and active learning and quality education. It also provides scholastic materials such as uniforms, bags and exercise books at the beginning of the academic year for school children. Other supports from Plan include strengthening school clubs such as mini media that foster social integration and language skills; provision of sanitary materials for girls; preparation of playing and reading corners. The RDPP targets about 6000 beneficiaries from refugees and the host community in three sub cities namely Yeka, Bole and Nefas Silk in 29 schools. Beneficiary refugees are selected by refugee representatives in collaboration with ARRA and placement and examination is conducted with the assistance of Bureau of Education. Plan International also provides legal services such as awareness creation on property and child protection, household abuse and violence on refugees in collaboration with Addis Ababa University. Plan also provides services to refugee livelihoods enhancement and economic opportunities. It undertook market assessment and is granting training opportunities for refugees in diverse areas that include tannery, hairdressing, food preparation, wood and metal work and child care giving in collaboration with private TVETs. It also gives life skill training and business plan preparation and provides seed money for the refugee youth with Ethiopian nationals in groups. The

key informant further recommended for significant involvement of the private sector in ensuring the betterment of the livelihoods of urban refugees.

Community Based Organizations (CBOs), religious and traditional leaders are also important actors in influencing behaviours and migration and refugee circumstances. In addition, NRC, Plan and ZOA are collaborating with IOM and the European Union in the areas of basic service provision to refugees, livelihoods enhancement, capacity building and access to justice.

The Role of Administration for Refugees and Returnee Affairs and Government Bureaus

Administration for Refugees and Returnee Affairs is the official government body given the mandate to manage the refugee and returnee cases in Ethiopia. ARRA works together with UNHCR in registering all refugees who enter Ethiopia. It is responsible for authorizing organizations to work with refugees. ARRA is responsible for writing and implementing policies pertaining to refugee affairs and also provides basic services including health and protection to refugees with the support from UNHCR (NRC *et al.* 2016). As for policies, for example, Ethiopia introduced the ‘out-of-camp’ policy for Eritrean refugees. At the Leaders’ Summit on Refugees, Ethiopia has pledged to expand the OCP to 10 percent of the refugee population; a manifestation of the political will to create a legal framework for refugees to build lives in Ethiopia (NRC *et al.* 2016). ARRA also facilitates for refugees of any nationality to take up residence in an urban area if they can demonstrate that they have pressing medical, protection or humanitarian needs. Eritrean refugees in the focus group discussion pointed out that they get services such as travel documents and living permit and certification of vital events like birth certificate from ARRA. Focus group discussants from the Great Lakes Region also indicated that ARRA provides them pass permit and travel support.

Regional state governments are important in the implementation of activities that have to do with refugees. No implementation can be put to effect without having agreements with Regional State Governments (NRC

et al. 2016). There are different government ministries that play an important role in the provision of basic services to Ethiopian citizens as well as urban refugees. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs oversees matters related to the regulation of the labour market. The Micro and Small Enterprise and Job Creation Department is actively engaged in creating job opportunities. The Ministry of Education oversees the quality of TVET; and provides basic education services and acts as a controlling body and in certifying graduates. It helps in developing refugee skill and linking with private companies. The Ministry of Trade is important in providing direct access to major employers. It also facilitates the registration of new businesses. The Ministry Women, Youth and Children Affairs has the responsibility to defend and promote the rights of women, youth and children. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice are also collaborators in one way or the other (NRC *et al.* 2016).

The Bureau of Finance and Economy Development (BoFED) of Addis Ababa is involved with operations that have to do with service delivery projects to urban refugees. It engages itself in the appraisal of project proposals, signs the project agreements, forwards government policies and regulations, coordinates charity and stakeholders' activities, conducts monitoring midterm and terminal evaluation of projects with the concerned sub cities and line bureau, and provides relevant socio-economic information. BoFED is involved in the administration of project budget secured from donor agencies. BoFED also grants land free of lease for best performing organizations that work on vulnerable groups. Addis Ababa City Government Women and Children Affairs Bureau; Addis Ababa City Government Youths and Sport Affairs Bureau; Addis Ababa City Government Labor and Social affairs bureaus are also involved in the appraisal of project proposals, signing of project agreements, providing periodic supervision, monitoring and evaluation of the project performance, and create enabling working atmosphere. The sub-city offices of the aforementioned bureaus are also engaged in overseeing the implementation of the projects.

Law School of Addis Ababa University provides free legal aid services for vulnerable groups that include refugees with the view that inability to pay

for legal services should not inhibit access to justice and equality before the law. This goes in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone is equal before the law and has the right to effective remedy against violations of fundamental rights. In its US assisted project, it is providing free legal aid services for the poor in and around Addis Ababa; and capacity building trainings for judges, public defenders and police. The legal aid services for the poor are provided at six centres: Addis Ababa University Main Campus, Federal First Instance Court at Lideta Federal First Instance Court at Kera, Sidis Kilo Oromia Regional State Supreme Court, Saris Mamo Area Finfine Zuria Oromia Special Zone Higher Court, and at Oromia Regional State Legetafo-Legedadi Court.

The private sector could play a significant role in the provision of basic services to Ethiopian citizens as well as urban refugees. Since employment opportunities in the public sectors are limited, it is the private sector that potentially can absorb a large part of the growing work force. There are a wide variety of service giving institutions and production companies that could contribute to the capacity building and livelihoods of urban refugees (NRC *et al.* 2016).

3.6 Challenges of Service Provision to Urban Refugees

Escalating displacement to urban areas and the needs of urban refugees has challenged the global refugee system which used to provide protection to refugees in camps where assistance can be easily coordinated (Earle, 2017). Displaced people in urban areas are generally less visible as they tend to live alongside the low-income populations and avoid registration, enumeration, or profiling which limits access for researchers and practitioners (Crisp *et al.* 2012 in Brown *et al.* 2018).

According to Ethiopian labour law, refugees were not allowed to work anywhere outside the camps, though a new law which considered this was adopted in January 2019. In all of the focus group discussions that were held with urban refugees, lack of work permit was indicated as a big challenge in securing sustainable livelihoods. The refugees proclaimed that there are little favourable conditions as it appears presently to the

integration of refugees into the Ethiopian economy and wider society. The ‘out of camp’ refugees have only been tolerated to work in the informal sector. Urban refugees are granted access to public school and health facilities, although many express dissatisfaction with the quality and cost of such services, as well as the logistical difficulties. Out of camp refugees increase pressures on already scarce services such as schools, health care, livelihoods (NRC *et al.* 2016).

Most of the livelihood interventions implemented by humanitarian agencies consist of vocational training and income-generating projects, supported by grants and loans. Nevertheless, these interventions are often unavailable, insufficient, uncoordinated, small scale and with short-term funding administered by agencies with poor technical experience or knowledge of the area. There is often mismatch between the policies of aid agencies and their potential beneficiaries, and lack of consultation with refugees can undermine attempts to introduce external livelihood interventions and increase the risk of establishing unsuitable programmes (Samuel Hall 2016; Bailey *et al.* 2009 and Crawford *et al.* 2015 in Brown *et al.* 2018). Studies outlined that inappropriate interventions could also reinforce distinctions between refugees and host communities and can increase resentment and xenophobia if poor urban neighbours see refugees receiving material assistance that they do not (Landau, 2014). They also generate dependency if refugees are not viewed as people with assets, skills and capabilities that engage with, expand and diversify economic markets (Earle 2017).

In terms of service provision to urban refugees, studies indicate the presence of lack of knowledge and coordination between the actors (Samuel Hall 2016; Brown *et al.* 2018, Betts *et al.* 2019, Fisseha 2019). Refugee actors in Addis Ababa appear to be unaware of each other’s activities, and multiple stakeholders noted the lack of information and assessment of needs in other urban areas in Ethiopia. Thus, concerted effort has to be in place in the coordination and assessments throughout urban environments in Ethiopia, in the wake of the increasing urban refugee population (Samuel Hall 2016).

Focus group discussion held with Somali refugees showed that they are receiving little legal assistance. When they face physical abuse, the government bodies are not cooperative. The police seem to lack clear understanding of the rights of refugees and tend to be reluctant to give appropriate protection. Focus group discussants from the Great Lakes Region also indicated that though the police are not harsh on them, they lack information about urban refugees and how they should be treated. They reiterated... “when they catch us and see our refugee cards, they seek documents from our embassy which we cannot get. We are refugees, after all”. They also complain about their inability to get their documents authenticated from their embassy and the authorities responsible for this in Ethiopia. In all of the focus group discussions, the inability to get the required services in time from institutions such as ARRA and UNHCR is indicated as a prominent problem. Focus group discussion with refugees from the Great Lakes and minorities indicated the tendency of prioritizing service delivery to majority refugees such as Eritreans and Somalis while minority refugees are not usually heard. They further indicated that IOM and UNHCR are not doing well in assisting the voluntary repatriation of distant refugees.

3.7 Positive Contributions of Refugees in Addis Ababa

Refugees provide value-chain links with the host community, as consumers and as providers of new skills and business practices. According to a study by Brown *et al.* (2018), the economic contributions of refugees included enabling business agglomerations, enhancing existing enterprises, engaging in reciprocal employment, creating new markets, and increasing internationalization.

In some areas of Addis Ababa such as Bole Mikael, the clustering of refugees and their businesses provided a critical mass that largely enhanced local business in the area. The critical mass created by refugee communities clustering together in specific neighbourhoods promotes existing enterprises through increased consumption and provision of new skills and business practices. In the city, the urban refugee community consumes local products and services, spending their earnings, remittances and assistance money locally. Refugees also enhanced existing enterprises

by providing skills or by introducing new business practices. Refugees often possess business knowledge and experience from their country of origin or from refugee camps, which they bring to the local business environment. As a result, refugees contribute to the local economy as a source of labour, and their businesses provide a labour-absorbing mechanism. The presence of refugees and refugee businesses can also create competition within the local economy. Refugees can also introduce new products to the local market.

In Addis Ababa, Somali refugees import commodities through Somalia via extensive social networks. These networks function at national and international levels and include cross-border value chains. Likewise, refugees have smart phones that they communicate through Viber, Facebook, Messenger, and texts, and receive money from Europe and America. The dollars and other currency brought in by refugees, who then spend the remittances in the local economy; strengthen international links (Brown *et al.* 2018).

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

Ethiopia has an open-door policy to provide protection to refugees. As such, it is one of the largest refugee hosting countries in Africa accommodating more than 900,000 refugees mainly from neighbouring countries of Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan. Although most refugees reside in camps, the country introduced an Out of Camp Policy in 2010 for Eritrean refugees; and refugees of other countries with medical, security or humanitarian reasons as well as refugees from non-neighbouring countries without designated camps to reside in urban areas mainly in Addis Ababa.

There are different types of services provided to urban refugees to ensure their well-being, and enhance their protection, dignity and quality of life; although refugees complain about the quality and escalating service prices. Health related services include food and nutritional support, access to safe water and sanitation, childhood vaccinations, antenatal and delivery care and RH services, communicable disease control and care for acute life-threatening emergency conditions. As far as educational services are

concerned, refugee children in Addis Ababa are afforded equitable access to formal schooling on a par with nationals in public schools. Refugees are also provided scholarship opportunities in public universities, and allowed to attend technical and vocational education.

As regards livelihoods, although Ethiopia recently endorses a national policy that respects refugees' right to work, urban refugees mostly engage in informal activities that tend to be low paid and insecure. Refugees used to run informal enterprises in service provision, retail trade, leisure and hospitality, and construction under the license of an Ethiopian. Such involvement has been important in enhancing the livelihoods of refugees.

Federal government organizations of Ethiopia and Addis Ababa regional bureaus, UN agencies, NGOs, academic institutions, and the private sector all take part to provide basic services and sustenance need such as food, shelter, safe water and sanitation, health, education, livelihoods and legal services to refugees. The humanitarian assistance organizations working with refugees in Addis Ababa are UNHCR, NRC, EOC-DICAC, JRS, Plan International, OICE and ZOA. The provision of start-up business, employability and life skills training, business plan preparation, education and skills training support, psychological and legal assistance to refugees could be considered as an enduring solution to their predicaments. ARRA and UNHCR are the primary protagonists that lead and coordinate activities to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees. However, most of the livelihood interventions for urban refugees executed by humanitarian agencies are supported by grants and loans that are often unavailable, insufficient, uncoordinated, small scale and with short-term funding administered by agencies with poor technical experience or knowledge of the area. In terms of service provision to urban refugees, there is lack of coordination between the actors.

Refugees tend to complain about their living conditions in Addis Ababa. Living expenses are escalating; housing insecurity is pervasive; there is no easy access to formal work; and wages are low to secure sustainable livelihoods for urban refugees. Ethiopian language skills deficiency and

cultural differences are also indicated as a barrier to employment and assimilation by refugees.

Since lack of access to work is indicated as a big challenge in securing sustainable livelihoods for urban refugees, the government and nongovernmental bodies should try to address this critical problem. Language related problems that are reported as militating communication, employability and integration as well as in acquiring education and skills need to be addressed.

There should be strong coordination between and among organizations that work on the provision of basic services to urban refugees and to avoid duplication of service provisions. Likewise, there should be significant involvement of the private sector in ensuring the betterment of the livelihoods of urban refugees.

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