

**Forced displacement and community resilience: The case of South  
Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia**

by

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## DECLARATION

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Exact wording of the title of the thesis as appearing on the electronic copy submitted for examination:

**Forced displacement and community resilience: The case of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia**

I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

  
SIGNATURE

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DATE

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## **ABSTRACT**

Forced displacement has continued to be a security and development concern, and different interventions are undertaken to address the needs of the displaced people. Yet, there is debate on the impact of these interventions and on factors that could affect the resilience of displaced populations in a refugee context. Thus, this study intended to examine the resilience of South Sudanese refugees and the factors that impact their recovery in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia. The study applied a qualitative research design with data from both primary and secondary sources. The overall research finding is that due to policy restrictions, funding constraints, limited livelihood opportunities, and limited options to use refugee human capital, the resilience capacity of the South Sudanese refugees hosted in the Benishangul Gumuz region is not fully developed. Other factors such as access to social support, peaceful co-existence interventions also found to be influencing the resilience and recovery of the refugees. The results also show that the refugees are using mechanisms such as selling food rations, illegal gold mining and farming which involve child labour, low-paid incentive work with humanitarian organizations, small-scale farming inside the camp, remittances from abroad, farm activities with the host community, and running small shops in the camps to cope with the displacement related challenges. Therefore, it is recommended that UN organizations, donors, regional organizations, NGOs, the host government, and the refugees take practical actions of advocacy, allocation of adequate funding, utilisation of the refugee human capital, and easing policy-related barriers and restrictions. It is also recommended that a context-specific framework – the Refugee Resilience(2R) Framework and Matrix, which this study created, to be applied for studying and building resilience in refugee displacement caused by armed conflict.

### **KEY TERMS:**

Forced displacement; Resilience; Refugees; Conflict; Coping behaviour; Livelihoods; Humanitarian intervention; Basic services; Psychosocial wellbeing; Peaceful co-existence; Policy of country of asylum; Resilience framework



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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ARRA	Administration for Refugees and Returnees Affairs
AU	African Union
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CARRI	Community and Regional Resilience Institute
CPA	Centre for Policy on Ageing
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DDG	Danish Demining Group
DFID	Department for International Development
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GCR	Global Compact for Refugees
GSRDC	Governance and Social Development Resources Centre
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
HLS	Household Livelihood Security
HPG	Humanitarian Policy Group
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRIS	Institut De Relations Internationales Et Strategiques
NALRC	National African Language Resource Centre
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SES	Social–Ecological Systems
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPLM	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement
SUH	State University of Haiti
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

# **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Chapter one presents the overall background of the research, the research problem, the objectives of the research, the purpose of the research, and the research questions. Furthermore, the scope and the geographical coverage of the study, a summary of literature reviews including operational definitions of key concepts, the central argument of the study, a summary of the research methodology, the significance and limitation of the study, and the outline of the whole research document are also discussed in this chapter.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND**

South Sudan is one of the newest nations in Eastern Africa, and it has an estimated population of 12.2 million (Economic Commission for Africa [ECA] 2018:4). The country shares a 934 km long border with Ethiopia alongside the Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz regions. After two decades of civil war, the country declared its secession from Sudan in July 2011 through a referendum. However, after almost three years of its independence, South Sudan has encountered major political and socio-economic upheaval and a power rivalry emerged within the government in power (Birhanu & Ahadu 2020). The incident in which President Salva Kirr suspended Vice-President Riek Machar and other members of the Government in July 2013 has led the country into a civil war, which caused the displacement of millions of people. The president's action, coupled with long-standing ethnic and political bitterness among the different groups and factions, caused armed conflict and targeted ethnic killings to flare up in Juba and other areas (Blanchard 2016). This situation caused a massive displacement of millions of South Sudanese within and to neighbouring countries.

Describing the situation, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) indicated the following (UNHCR 2017:30):

Armed conflict combined with economic stagnation, disease, and food insecurity has plunged the world's newest country into a desperate situation. In 2016, more South Sudanese than ever were forced to leave their homes to

survive. Conflict displaced about 3.3 million, of whom an estimated 1.9 million remained in South Sudan and 1.4 million fled as refugees to neighboring countries.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2020), nearly 4 million people remain displaced due to the conflict in South Sudan. Of these 1.5 million are internally displaced while 2.2 million people are refugees who fled to neighbouring countries. A UNHCR (2020) report further reveals that a total of 340 517 South Sudanese have fled to two regions of Ethiopia: Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz, and that the situation in the country does not show signs of improvement with refugees still arriving in Ethiopia. The continued episodes of forced displacement constitute a big challenge to the national, regional, and international communities, including donors, UN agencies, NGOs, and UN member states in their endeavours to ensure economic development, democracy, and protection of basic human rights in those regions, particularly in the East and Horn of Africa region (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013). Explaining the impact, the EU (2015:4) stated:

The increasing frequency and intensity of disasters and humanitarian crises pose a major threat to long-term development, prospects of sustainable growth, and poverty reduction of the poorest and most vulnerable people in developing countries. Crises and shocks worsen already precarious livelihoods and negate opportunities to escape from poverty.

In this regard, despite the efforts of different actors including the African Union (AU) and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to promote peace and reconciliation – in South Sudan more specifically and other countries in the East and Horn of Africa region in general – the socio-economic and political situation has continued to be complex, posing additional threats to the people in the region (IRIS 2017:10). Precisely in the case of South Sudan, IGAD has made utmost effort since 2014 to end the crisis and bring the country back to peace and stability. Concerning the effort of IGAD, Blanchard (2016) indicated that while regional mediators under the auspices of IGAD exerted maximum effort for negotiation, warring parties continued the fighting ceaselessly for over 20 months. Even though the parties were repeatedly expressing their readiness

for the peace talks and negotiations, there was a persistent violation of the ceasefire from both sides. When the regional as well as international pressure continued, with threats of international sanctions including an arms embargo, the leaders of the two sides finally reached an agreement on forming a transitional government in August 2015. After that, while both sides announced publicly their commitment to implementing the peace agreement, there was no major progress up until April 2016, when the two parties came together with practical actions to set up a new Transitional Government of National Unity (Blanchard 2016). On the other hand, a recent study conducted by Birhanu and Ahadu (2020) reveals that the implementation process has faced major impediments and there is great concern that it may not be realised soon unless more pressure is exerted upon the warring parties.

Nevertheless, with the growing complexities in terms of the social, political, security, and human rights situation of the countries in the region, there is a conception that the effectiveness of such initiatives could strongly be linked to the resilience, recovery, and coping capacity of the affected communities, which could also be influenced by different social-psychological, cultural, and economic factors. Concerning this, Interpeace (2016) stresses 'a society's resilience to violent conflict manifests itself in relationships at different levels and institutions of society, both horizontally (between individuals and groups) and vertically between the population and institutions of the state' (Interpeace 2016:5). Similarly, Maxwell, Mazurana, Wagner and Slater (2017:6) argue that 'macro-level factors such as natural and economic hazards, competition over natural resources, chronic poverty, and poor governance, physical, and identity issues such as ethnicity, gender, and class [affect] resilience'. This notion holds that the relevant studies and resilience targeted interventions should consider all these dynamics at different levels. Particularly in a culture of African society, which is communal (Columbus 2014) in nature, identifying such factors and building up the existing capacities of local communities is essential to ensure resilience and recovery from the effect of adversities (Interpeace 2016:7). Notably, factors such as social cohesion, clan-based, and family-based support mechanisms, and the attitude, perception, and receptive environment of the host communities towards those displaced may impact hugely on better resilience and quick

recovery of the displaced communities from the impact of the tragic experience of conflict and displacement (McAslan 2010:11; Sambu 2015:23).

In this regard, though much research has been conducted on resilience in certain contexts, particularly climate change-induced natural hazards, there is still a grey area in understanding how communities in the same socio-cultural and environmental context adapt differently to the effects of conflict and displacement, and what factors affect resilience. Also, there is very little evidence available on the role of humanitarian interventions in building the resilience of communities affected by conflict. For example, Combaz (2013:1) states 'the literature on the impact of humanitarian interventions on community resilience is scarce and fragmented'. This study is therefore aimed at examining the different factors affecting the resilience capacity of communities in the context of conflict-induced forced displacement and coming up with strategies to build the resilience of such communities. In this connection, in the context of this study, resilience is defined as the capacity of forcefully displaced communities to face and recover from the negative physical, psychosocial, cultural, economic and security effects of their experience of conflict and displacement, and their potential to restore and normalize their day-to-day living. Accordingly, the study has considered different approaches in terms of concepts and frameworks to the study of resilience, livelihoods, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, and the peaceful co-existence of communities relating to the refugees. Thus, the study examines the individual, communal and cultural resources available that might enhance the resilience and coping ability of the displaced communities. The study also investigates people's access to livelihood opportunities, and their capacity to cope with the economic challenges they face in the refugee settlements. Furthermore, in respect of physical security and peaceful co-existence, the study focuses on examining the physical protection services and the relationship between South Sudanese refugees and host communities in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.

In terms of the conceptualization of the forced displacement of people, despite a tendency by different scholars, and development and aid organisations to approach the concept differently, there is somehow a consensus in terms of the categorization of types of forced displacement. Most of the literature consulted indicates that forced displacement is a social phenomenon characterized by a forceful an internal or cross-border movement of

people due to conflict and natural disasters. In this respect, Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross (2011) define forced displacement as ‘the involuntary movement, individually or collectively, of persons from their country or community, notably for reasons of armed conflict, civil unrest, or natural or man-made catastrophes’.

In terms of distinguishing internally displaced persons (IDPs) from refugees, Cohen (2013) defines internally displaced persons as ‘a group of people who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border but are obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, particularly to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights, natural or human-made disasters’. Likewise, the UNHCR (2019a) defines internally displaced persons as ‘those who are forced to flee but either cannot or do not wish to cross an international border’.

On the other hand, literature conceptualizes the issue of refugees, which is the focus of this study, to be different to internal displacement. According to the UNHCR (2010), the United Nations Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967, General Definition, para.1, define a refugee as:

a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership to a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside his or her country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

While concurring with the definition of the United Nations, considering the specific socio-political context of the African continent the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (1969) also defines a refugee as:

a person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality (Definition of the Term para.1).



In summary, it seems the difference between the two definitions relates mostly to the context in which the affected communities are within or outside of their home country while their claim on refugee status could still be similar. Thus, the forcefully displaced communities of South Sudanese people who are the focus of this study meet the criteria for the above definition of a refugee. These are a group of people who are displaced from their habitual residence due to the conflict that is taking place in their country of origin. They have fled to the neighbouring country, Ethiopia, in fear of further violence and persecution, and are seeking better protection. They are the target population for this study.

### **1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Forced displacement is a global development challenge impacting negatively on the economic, social, and political situation of nations. Ongoing conflicts, natural disasters, and economic hardships are the main causes of the forceful movement of people, and this situation has created serious humanitarian needs in most regions of the globe. According to the UNHCR (2019b) report, a total of 70.8 million people have been forcefully displaced worldwide. In this respect, as a result of such armed conflicts the East Africa and Horn of Africa region has become one of the regions that are hit badly by a recurrent and massive outflow of displaced populations. Because of the civil war in South Sudan, by the end of 2020 a total of 340 517 South Sudanese refugees had fled to two regions of Ethiopia: Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz (UNHCR 2020). These figures reveal the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis and the need for humanitarian and development organisations, state authorities included, to design and implement solutions that can enhance resilience, and full recovery of the affected population from the impact of the conflict. However, a big debate on the topic under scrutiny is still raging, with little evidence of whether or not such solution-oriented interventions are in place to build community resilience (Combaz 2013) among the displaced population in the refugee settlements.

There is also argument by scholars that humanitarian interventions only address the immediate needs of the affected population (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013) and play a limited role in community resilience, while others indicate different factors as critically

important for resilience and recovery in such a social situation. In this respect, some studies reveal that community resilience and recovery from adversities could be influenced by various factors and these factors can differ from community to community depending on the type of adversity and the skills required to deal with such adversity (Southwick et al 2014:1). For instance, research conducted by Nassim and Camille (2014:84) on the internally displaced Afghan women reveals that factors such as economic and social isolation, and cultural factors are limiting resilience capacity. Similar findings emanated from the study conducted on IDPs in Kenya by Sambu (2015) showing a strong positive correlation between social support and resilience of individuals ( $r=0.835$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This was also supported by longitudinal research conducted on an internally displaced Muslim population in Sri Lanka, which revealed 'lower resilience independently associated with food insecurity, lower social support availability and social isolation' (Siriwardhana & Stewart 2013).

However, it is not yet known whether these findings apply to the context of refugee situations caused by conflict-induced displacement, which is the focus of this study. Related to this, there are also variations in the contexts in which studies on resilience are conducted, and most research on resilience was conducted in contexts of at-risk groups such as children, and people affected by poverty, alcoholism, and delinquency (Harrop et al 2007:7). Furthermore, it is not clear what makes people more resilient in a crisis caused by armed conflict and in what ways community resilience can be strengthened in times of such situations. Moreover, a lack of empirical evidence on processes and mechanisms underlying protection, resilience, and adaptation is reported by many scholars calling for a systematic review of the primary level evidence on the positive adaptation of people to conditions of adversity (Harrop et al 2007). This research gap was also affirmed by Combaz (2013), who indicates that evidence related to disaster resilience is limited due to a lack of comprehensive studies, little evaluation of the interventions of development and humanitarian organisations, and the limited geographic scope of the available evidence.

Because of this and all the other reasons mentioned above, it is possible to infer that there is a broad knowledge gap and also inconsistencies in the understanding of why communities from the same socio-cultural and environmental contexts cope differently

with the challenges of adversity caused by armed conflict, and what factors affect community resilience in such situations. There is also a gap in establishing the link between resilience and humanitarian intervention in a context particularly of conflict-induced displacement of people with an African socio-cultural orientation. Therefore, this study aims to address the research problem of what factors affect the resilience capacity of South Sudanese refugees hosted in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia and, in a refugee context, in what ways the resilience and coping capacity of displaced communities can be enhanced.

#### **1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The primary purpose of the research is to analyse the different factors affecting community resilience and to create an innovative framework of coping strategies for communities in the context of conflict-induced displacement in the Horn of Africa.

#### **1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS**

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Examine the resilience capacity of South Sudanese refugees who are residing in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.
2. Analyse the different factors affecting the resilience capacity of the South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.
3. Design an innovative framework to enhance the resilience capacity and coping strategies of refugee communities.

Specifically, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. What is the resilience capacity of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia?
2. What are the factors/variables that determine the resilience capacity of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia?
3. What innovative framework can be adopted to build the coping strategies and resilience of refugee communities while residing in the refugee camps?

## **1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW AND DEFINITION OF MAIN CONCEPTS**

In defining the key terminologies, the researcher has explored various literature sources on theories, models, and historical roots related to resilience. As a result, it was noted that the conceptual origin and definition of resilience are immensely diverse and contradictory at times. Concerning this, the Centre for Policy on Ageing (CPA) has indicated a lack of universal understanding and defining of resilience (CPA 2014:3), and the concept has been defined and explained differently by different scholars. As a result, there are differences in measuring the level of resilience and in understanding those factors affecting resilience. According to Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker (2000), the concept of resilience was established to express resistance of people to psychosocial risk experiences, and it is 'a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity'. As regards the historical roots of the concept of resilience, the Community and Regional Resilience Institute (CARRI) has also pointed out that, in the 1970s and 1980s, resilience was adopted primarily by the ecological and psychological communities to explain different events (CARRI 2014). For instance, in the field of psychology the term was used to describe groups that did not change behaviour despite adversity, while in ecology it refers to a system that continues to function somehow the same way despite adversity. The concept is also common in the field of engineering as a capacity to absorb and recover from hazardous events (Ledesma 2014).

In this regard, three major models are used to understand the concept of resilience, namely the compensatory model, the challenge model, and the protective factor of immunity versus vulnerability model (O'Leary 1998). According to the compensatory model, resilience is a factor that neutralizes exposures to risk. In connection with this, a study conducted by Werner and Smith (2001) identified major characteristics for people who were found to be resilient, including a capacity for problem-solving, a tendency to perceive experiences positively even in times of adversity, getting positive attention from others, and a strong reliance on faith to maintain a positive life view. The challenge model explains resilience from the point of view of the existence of a risk factor which, if not too extreme, can enhance a person's capacity to adapt. This means that 'the experience of the risks prepares the individual for the next challenge' (O'Leary 1998). The protective factor model views resilience with an emphasis on the necessity of the interaction

between protective and risk factors, which 'reduces the probability of a negative outcome and moderates the effect of exposure to risk' (O'Leary 1998). According to this model, the protective factors foster positive outcomes and healthy personality characteristics despite unfavourable or aversive life circumstances (Bonanno 2004; Ungar 2004). Similarly, Harrop et al (2007) also state that contemporary perspectives see resilience as a dynamic process with both specific constructs of positive adaptation and risks leading to positive outcomes in the face of adversity. Other perspectives define resilience in broader terms, relating it to how individuals, communities, organisations, and ecosystems cope in a changing world with many uncertainties and challenges. In this conceptualization of resilience, there is an emphasis on the importance of the interaction of the different protective and risk factors since their interaction influences the outcome, and this community-focused resilience is very much linked to the interaction of individuals, families, groups, and the environment at large (McAslan 2010). According to this notion, the capacity to recover and bounce back from challenges and adversities could be affected by different risk and protective factors.

This idea was best explained by Matyas and Pelling (2012) in their conceptualization of the social-ecological systems (SES) theory, which emphasizes functional persistence as an outcome of resilience, while self-organization and social learning are both processes that can lead to resilience. In connection with this, scholars who focus on resilience at the individual level perceive resilience as a characteristic or group of characteristics possessed by an individual that enables them to overcome stressful events. Similarly, for those who pursue a social-ecological approach, it is all about a process facilitated by individuals, families, and communities (Kaczmarek 2017). In her paper at the 8th International Conference on Communities and Technologies held in France, Kaczmarek (2017) discussed the different forms of resilience such as identity resilience, cultural resilience, system resilience, information resilience and community resilience, and she indicated the variations in resilience across different cultures, social values, and structures.

Mitchell (2013) also states that resilience is the ability of households, communities, and nations to absorb and recover from shocks, whilst positively adapting and transforming their structures and means for living in the face of long-term stresses, change, and

uncertainty. Likewise, the UNHCR (2017) defines resilience as ‘the ability of individuals, households, communities, national institutions, and systems to prevent, absorb and recover from shocks, while continuing to function and adapt in a way that supports long-term prospects for sustainable development, peace and security, and the attainment of human rights’. In the context of a humanitarian situation, therefore, the term resilience has been used to assess how affected individuals cope in times of adverse situations, and contemporary research has broadened the concept to encompass the capacity of individuals to handle challenging situations, particularly during their involvement in wars, disasters, and even routine abnormal events including major traffic accidents (McAslan 2010).

The other type of resilience framework is the Resilience Impact and Change Model developed by Tulane University and the State University of Haiti (SUH) in 2012. This model was used following the experience of the devastating 2010 earthquake in Haiti. The framework used a multi-dimensional approach to study resilience and its relationship with humanitarian assistance by considering three basic elements. These elements included the ‘resilience characteristics of an individual, household or community; the scope and nature of the shock; and the presence and type of humanitarian response’ (Tulane & SUH 2012). This framework sought to study the relationship between ‘exposure to shock, humanitarian assistance, and resilience outcomes’ in the country (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013:5).

Having discussed the basic models, the researcher conducting this current study defines resilience as follows:

The capacity of forcefully displaced communities to face, and recover from the negative physical, psychosocial, cultural, economic and security effects of the experience of conflict and displacement, and their potential to restore and normalize their day-to-day living.

Therefore, the conceptual approach to this study is that communities affected by forced displacement could have resilience capacity, and this capacity is hugely influenced by the interaction of different protective and risk factors at the individual, family, and community

levels in the environment where they reside. Accordingly, for this study, the key terms are operationally defined as follows:

**Forced displacement:** forced displacement refers to the situation of persons who are forced to leave or flee their homes due to conflict, violence, and human rights violations (Christensen & Harild 2009).

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

**Social support:** social support is a social resource on which an individual can rely when dealing with life's problems and stressors. Social support can be in different forms: instrumental, informational, or emotional (Gianmoena & Rios 2018).

**Peaceful co-existence:** a concept in the displacement situation which implies a relationship of peaceful cohabitation between displaced and host communities, which eventually enables the safety and protection of displaced communities, and their access to the refugee services offered by the hosting community. It is characterized by indicators of sharing physical and social resources, less/no violence and conflict incidents, practices of joint socio-cultural events, feeling a sense of belongingness, etcetera (researcher's own formulation).

## **1.7 THE CENTRAL ARGUMENT**

In the context of forced displacement, refugees adopt different strategies to cope with the challenges of displacement, and factors such as access to basic livelihood services, the availability of social support, availability of sustainable funding, the policy environment of the host country, and peaceful co-existence interventions enhance community resilience in a situation of conflict-induced forced displacement. In addition, in order to measure and build up the coping strategies and resilience of displaced communities in a refugee context, there is a need for a context-specific resilience framework to be adopted.

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

To address the research objectives and questions, the study has applied a qualitative research design comprising both primary and secondary data. To collect the data, a sample population of 140 individuals and nine humanitarian workers was selected using the purposive sampling technique. To select the sample population for the study, purposive sampling techniques were applied which enabled a selection of 140 participants from a total population of 5 143 South Sudanese refugees from the Sherkole and Tsore refugee camps. In addition to the refugee participants, a total of 9 (nine) humanitarian workers were included for key informant interviews. In terms of the data collection, questions for focus group discussions (FGDs) and interviews were designed and tested before the actual data collection was undertaken. Adjustments were made to the tools accordingly. Furthermore, a review of secondary data was undertaken which enabled triangulation of the primary data to be possible. In undertaking this study, the necessary ethical considerations have been observed throughout the entire process of the study. This includes elaborating the purpose of the study to participants, maintaining confidentiality of the information provided by participants, and providing orientation to the data collectors. By using pseudonyms and codes, the potential of risk to personal security and harm to research participants was minimized. In addition, in respect of the COVID-19 pandemic, in line with the policy of the University of South Africa (Unisa) the researcher applied the principle of 'do-no-harm' during the study to protect and minimize the participants' exposure to the infection. Accordingly, during the field research the researcher used the required COVID-19 prevention and control protocols by providing hand sanitizer and face masks to the participants, data collectors, and interpreters. These protocols were used to good effect to protect and safeguard the research participants.

## **1.9 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The geographical area covered for this study was the Benishangul Gumuz region where South Sudanese refugees are hosted (see Figure 1.1). The region shares a border with Sudan and South Sudan and has been receiving refugees and asylum seekers from these countries over the years. Accordingly, five refugee camps were established at different times. The oldest camp is Sherkole which was established in 1997, while the youngest camp, the Gure-Shombola camp was established in 2017 following the relocation of



South Sudanese refugees from Gambella, one of the administrative regions of Ethiopia, which borders South Sudan.

**Figure 1.1: Map of study area: Zones and districts of Benishangul Gumuz region**



*Source: Ayalew et al (2017:7)*

While South Sudanese refugees are hosted in Gambella region also, this study considered only the Benishangul Gumuz region. The reason why this study was limited to the Benishangul Gumuz region is because of the understanding of the researcher that refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region were getting less attention in terms of research. Therefore, the population of interest for the study included those South Sudanese refugees in the age range of 18 years and above who are residing in the three refugee camps of Sherkole, Tsore, and Tongo in the region. The age category was chosen with the notion that the age group could imply key issues of resilience such as access to livelihoods, access to social support, and relationship with the hosting communities. Thus, in limiting the scope of the study, the researcher considered different factors such as the need for more research in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region compared with other camps in the Gambella region, the security situation, the assessment fatigue of the population in Gambella region, and the limitations of time and resources for research with a wider scope.

## **1.10 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

As stated in the discussion of the research problem in section 1.3, the literature review revealed a noticeably big knowledge gap and inconsistencies in terms of understanding why and how communities become resilient, and what factors are associated with better recovery in times of adversities, particularly in the case of conflict-induced forced displacement. Furthermore, after having worked for over eight years as an Assistant Program Officer with UNHCR in humanitarian aid business in the Benishangul Gumuz region, the researcher noticed in the day-to-day activities that refugees, though they belong to the same socio-cultural and environmental context, differ in their facing and overcoming of the challenges of forced displacement. The researcher had also been questioning whether the humanitarian interventions provided by different actors were truly contributing to building the resilience of the affected population in the refugee camps. This situation was a motivation for the researcher to undertake a systematic and much deeper study, aimed at filling the knowledge gaps that exist concerning the level of resilience of communities displaced by armed conflict, and how their capacity could be enhanced to combat further socio-cultural, psychological, and physical security and economic challenges while living in a refugee setting. Therefore, as the researcher explored the resilience capacity of people in refugee settings, the findings could inform humanitarian and development actors for possible shifts in thinking in terms of programme design and service delivery for enhanced resilience in communities affected by armed conflict. As such, the findings have contributed to clarifying the long-standing debate on the boundaries between the humanitarian and development interventions for resilience and recovery of communities passing through conflict-induced displacement.

Furthermore, the findings of this study have also provided substantive input to countries in the Horn of Africa by suggesting relevant policies and strategic interventions for better national and regional Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and Disaster Risk Management (DRM), and for resolving the issue of violent conflicts as major development challenges in the region. Most importantly, the fact that the study undertook an empirical analysis of the different issues surrounding resilience has contributed to the existing body of scientific knowledge and to better humanitarian and development programming by suggesting a context-specific resilience framework (Refugee Resilience Framework) and the Refugee

Resilience Matrix. As presented and discussed in chapter six, this innovative framework and the associated matrix that this research produced are believed to improve the study, measurement and building up of the resilience and recovery of displaced communities affected by armed conflict. Most importantly, in the advancement of science and the human learning process of a cross-cultural understanding of resilience, co-habitation and equalities among communities, and economic empowerment of displaced communities particularly in the African context, this study came up with a concrete conceptual challenge to future researchers and scholars by identifying grey areas of research. This is elaborated in chapter seven.

### **1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The South Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia were the population of interest for this study. While potentially different kinds of literature (including policy and strategy documents, planning and situation reports of humanitarian and development organisations and the national government) on the subject studied were available, the availability of primary data was affected by the challenges of getting full access to the refugee population. Due to the political situation in the country impacting the security situation, reaching a bigger number of refugee sites was not possible. Therefore, the study was conducted only in the two camps of Tsore and Sherkole. The initial plan of including the Tongo refugee camp in the study was not possible due to the armed conflict that blocked access to the camp during the time when the data was collected. In consultation with authorities, all the possible options to access the camp were explored. However, it remained impossible to gain access. The study thus considered secondary data including assessments available in the humanitarian and development agencies to complement the primary data and fill the gap. Therefore, the limited geographical coverage of the study and emphasis on secondary data was one of the limitations affecting the quality of the study. The study also did not take an in-depth look at the real-life situation of the displaced population before their flight to be able to make a clear comparison between the life conditions of the population before and after their displacement. Furthermore, the study could have been more informative had the views of the hosting community been gathered to enable a better understanding of their relationship with, and perception of the presence of the refugees in the region. The economic situation of the host communities around the

refugee camps and how that impacts on the refugees' resilience was also not really considered in this study. The information gathered on peaceful co-existence was obtained only from humanitarian workers and refugees and may not give a balanced view.

## **1.12 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS**

The research document has a total of seven chapters. Chapter one presents the overall background to the research, the research problem, the objectives of the research, the purpose of the research, and the research questions. Furthermore, the scope and the geographical coverage of the study, a summary of literature reviewed including operational definitions of key concepts, the central argument of the study, a summary of the research methodology, the importance and limitations of the study are covered in chapter one. Chapter two covers the related literature and includes a conceptual framework for the study, while chapter three discusses the context in which the study was conducted, providing background information about the population of the study, the causes and challenges of their displacement, the commitment of the Ethiopian government to refugee protection, the profile of the refuge hosting community, the socio-economic profile of the displaced population and the assistance they receive, and the coping mechanism the community employed to manage the challenges. Chapter four presents the research methodology, which consists of the research design, profile of research participants, sampling techniques, procedures and tools for data collection, methods of data analysis, ethical considerations, and interdisciplinary elements of the study. Presentation and analysis of the primary and secondary data collected, and discussion of the results and major findings of the study appear in chapter five. Chapter six presents and discusses an innovative framework of resilience and its concepts and matrix. Finally, the conclusions and recommendations flowing from the research are presented in chapter seven. Furthermore, the thesis document includes the necessary annexes of data collection tools, consent documents, the Refugee Resilience (2R) Matrix, systematized data, and a list of preferred materials for further reference by readers.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Having discussed the background, problems, objectives, scope, and basic conceptual aspect of the research in chapter one, chapter two now presents the literature review, with an emphasis on the different conceptual frameworks related to resilience and sustainable livelihoods. The chapter also highlights the characteristics of resilient communities. This is followed by the impact of forced displacement and its relationship with resilience. The chapter further discusses the drivers of resilience, which include social support, cultural resilience, access to livelihoods, and co-existence between refugees and host communities. The link between resilience and humanitarian and development programmes forms part of the review in this chapter. Finally, after a review of the different frameworks, a modified resilience framework named the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework is adopted, containing the components of resilience relevant to the refugee context which was the interest of this study.

### **2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

In the last two decades, resilience has been observed as an area of interest bringing humanitarian and development efforts together to address the needs of communities that are vulnerable to recurrent shocks of climate change, political instability, and economic volatility (Bousquet et al 2016:2), and it has been considered as a new adapted aid approach. For instance, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) considers resilience as an important element of sustainable development (Pain & Levine 2012). Yet, there are still issues related to the conceptualization of resilience at the global level as different definitions are used by different actors depending on specific contexts and factors. According to the Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG), resilience is the 'capacity of people or systems to cope with stresses and shocks by anticipating them, preparing for them, responding to them, and recovering from them' (HPG 2011:5).

This vagueness of the concept has been evident in discussions related to humanitarian and development issues, in turn impacting on the content of the different frameworks

formulated to address the assessment, measurement, and programming of resilience-focused interventions (Pain & Levine 2012). According to Pain and Levine (2012), many of the key concepts that underlie resilience frameworks are not context-specific and they do not take into consideration the unique life situations of communities in times of insecurity and crisis. In this respect, one of the frameworks mentioned in the literature is that based on the work of Bahadur, Ibrahim and Tanner (2010). These authors identified ten components of resilience frameworks. However, many of the components of these frameworks, particularly 'effective governance structure, promoting community cooperation, diverse livelihood opportunities' are often seen to be not captured well in a situation of 'protracted and recurrent crises or conflicts' (Pain & Levine 2012), and consequently provide limited insight into coping or survival practices in a time of crisis.

The other known framework that is mentioned in resilience literature is the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), which has components such as 'governance, risk assessment, knowledge and education, risk management and vulnerability reduction, and disaster preparedness and response' (Twigg 2007:6). More specifically, the HFA approach supports community resilience, which is characterized by capacities to absorb stress through resistance and adaptation; managing basic functions and structures in times of adversity; and recovering from the adversity. Nevertheless, it is still full of limitations in that the framework does not consider communities' vulnerability to disaster and their basic emergency needs during a time of disaster (Pain & Levine 2012). Moreover, this framework focuses primarily on natural disasters, and it does not show the true picture of 'most complex emergencies' (Pain & Levine 2012) such as armed conflicts.

Despite these disparities in terms of the concepts and content of the existing frameworks, resilience has continued to be an important policy objective for sustainable and equitable development worldwide (Bousquet et al 2016). Concerning this, there are two major perspectives of resilience linked to development. First, there is the SES approach which focuses on 'governance of specific resource systems and with global issues such as biodiversity conservation, urban growth, economic development, and human security and well-being' (Bousquet et al 2016). This approach considers human beings as an integral part of the ecosystem and argues that achieving social development sustainably is strongly linked to the conservation and functioning of the ecosystem. Secondly, there is

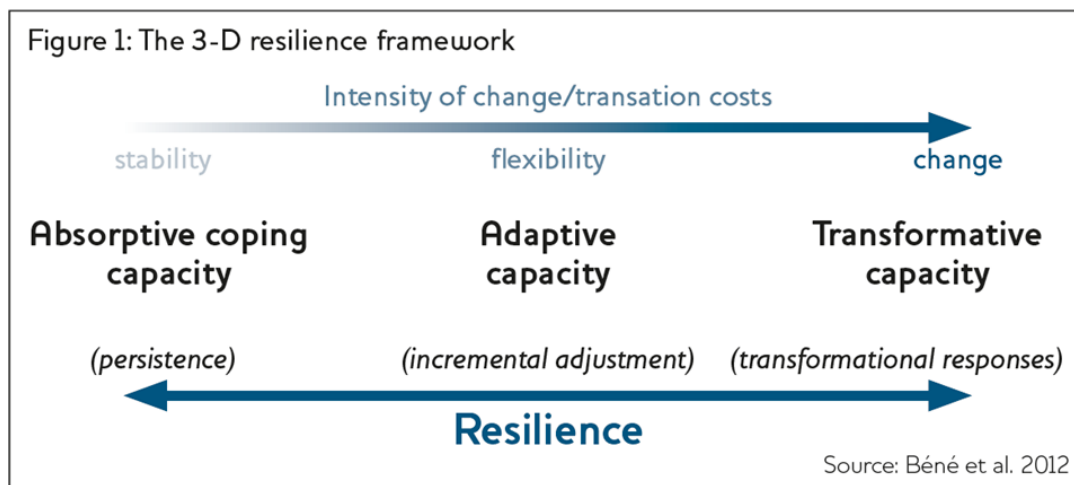
the perspective of development resilience which focuses on the promotion of basic human rights and improvement of the wellbeing of an individual as part of ensuring development, and this emphasis on human rights differentiates the perspective from other systems-oriented resilience concepts. Hence, from this perspective, resilience is seen as the capability of communities to overcome the challenges of poverty in a time of adversity (Bousquet et al 2016). Distinct features of the two approaches are that development-focused resilience is about how quickly communities are triumphing after the adversity has occurred, while the SES approach emphasises the continuity and maintenance of things such as function, structure, identity, and feedback (Bousquet et al 2016). Thus, the two approaches differ in the sense that the SES view of resilience is focused on promoting viable trajectories between social-ecological boundaries, while the development resilience perspective is focused on promoting positive trajectories in the wellbeing of the most vulnerable persons (Bousquet et al 2016).

One of the criticisms of development-related resilience is the fact that any action taken to enhance resilience for some could affect the capacity of others and may end up increasing their vulnerability. A very good example of the negative impact of resilience-related actions on others is contained in the findings of Harrison and Chiroro (2017). In their study in Malawi they found that the flood risk reduction efforts for some increased the same risk for others. The particular example they mention is the experience that livestock activities were affected by an irrigation intervention in Malawi. According to them, while crop yields and incomes in this case increased, livestock productivity decreased substantially, especially because pastures were reduced as land was put under irrigation (Harrison & Chiroro 2017). In conformity with this notion, Davis (2017) also indicates that resilience can impede development even while it facilitates development. This is an indication that resilience-related interventions should be carefully analysed before being implemented, as they in themselves may cause adverse effects. Furthermore, Stedman (2016) emphasises the need for a thinking shift in the social–ecological systems approach in the sense that resilience interventions should be subjective and context-specific based on experience, perceptions, and interpretations of that context.

Considering all these debates, some scholars such as Béné et al (2012) break the elements of resilience frameworks down into absorptive, adaptive, and transformative

capacity as the three structuring components of an analytical framework. They believe this categorization will give a better understanding of interventions aimed at strengthening resilience (Béné et al 2012:21). According to this approach, resilience-building interventions should focus on strengthening these elements and they should work at different levels: individuals, households, communities, regions, etcetera (Béné et al 2012:23). The model in Figure 2.1) below describes these different stages and their relationship.

**Figure 2.1: The analytical resilience framework**



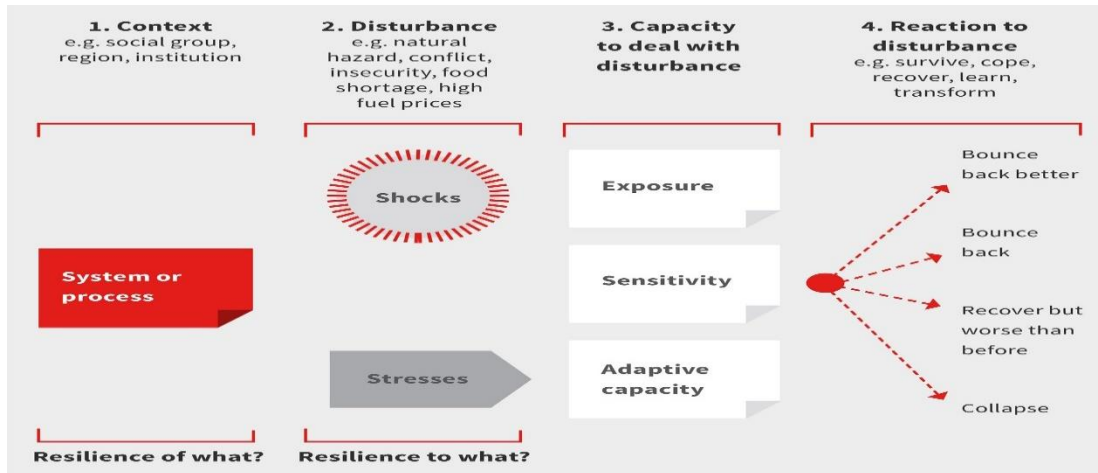
Source: Béné et al (2012)

The other type of resilience framework is the one developed by the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID) for development projects. According to the DFID (2011), resilience has four common elements: context, disturbance, capacity, and reaction. Aggregation of these elements formulates a resilience framework (see Figure 2.2) as a foundation for assessing the type of resilience. The below framework of the DFID is, however, more complex – the response curve could be slow and uneven as it is affected by different factors such as political context, secondary shocks, or lack of information. Also, stresses can be cumulative. They can build up slowly to become a shock, and both shocks and stresses can result in several different reactions (DFID 2011:7). Expanding the tenets of this framework, DFID (2011) indicates that resilience should always be contextualized, and it should be able to answer the very question of 'resilience of what?'. According to DFID (2011), the concept of resilience can be used in



different situations and systems, including social groups, socio-political or economic systems, environmental settings, or institutions, and such situations and systems could influence the level of resilience to different types of adversities. Yet, according to DFID (2011), the important task in the resilience study is to distinguish the level of resilience for various social groups, resources, and institutions in different contexts (DFID 2011:8).

**Figure 2.2: DFID’s resilience framework**

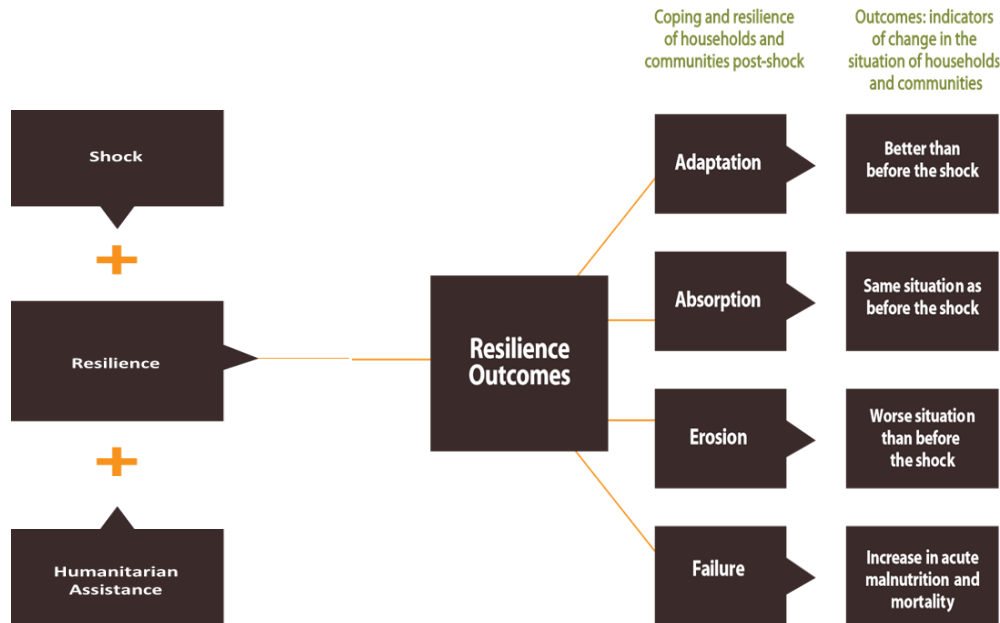


Source: DFID (2011)

The other type of resilience model, perhaps the one the researcher finds most well suited for this study, is the Resilience Impact and Change Model developed by the SUH. This model was used during the experience of the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. The framework uses a multi-dimensional approach to study resilience and its relationship with humanitarian assistance by considering three basic elements. These elements include the resilience characteristics of an individual, household or community; the scope and nature of the shock; and the presence and type of humanitarian response to it (Tulane & SUH 2012). This framework sought to study the relationship between 'exposure to shock, humanitarian assistance, and resilience outcomes' in the country at the time (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013:5). As observed in Figure 2.3, the occurrence of a shock would lead to humanitarian assistance which would further determine the type of resilience outcomes at the household and community level, namely adaptation, absorption, erosion, and failure. Regarding the outcomes of resilience, the model describes the different levels of outcomes with specific indicators ranging from a better

situation to a much-deteriorated situation for the affected population after humanitarian assistance was delivered in reaction to the adversity.

**Figure 2.3: Resilience impact and change model developed by Tulane University**



Source: Tulane and SUH (2012)

The Tulane University model can be modified and used for this study because the formulation of the model was done in a participatory approach and with stakeholder engagement, which enabled the development of key thematic areas of resilience with indicators. The model includes psychosocial wellbeing, protection, and security elements as part of the seven components of resilience, and it attempts to measure resilience beyond the household level as well (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013:21). Considering the different contexts of the adversity to the displaced communities, which are conflict-induced and lead to the displaced persons living in temporary camp settlements, the researcher considered that a modified resilience framework of the SUH could be the best fit to undertake the study. The modified framework was named the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework. For this model, the researcher considered additional aspects such as the cultural aspect of the refugees, their peaceful co-existence with hosting communities, the policy environment in the host country for refugee protection, the availability and sustainability of funding for the refugee programme and the occurrence of socio-political events and pandemics.

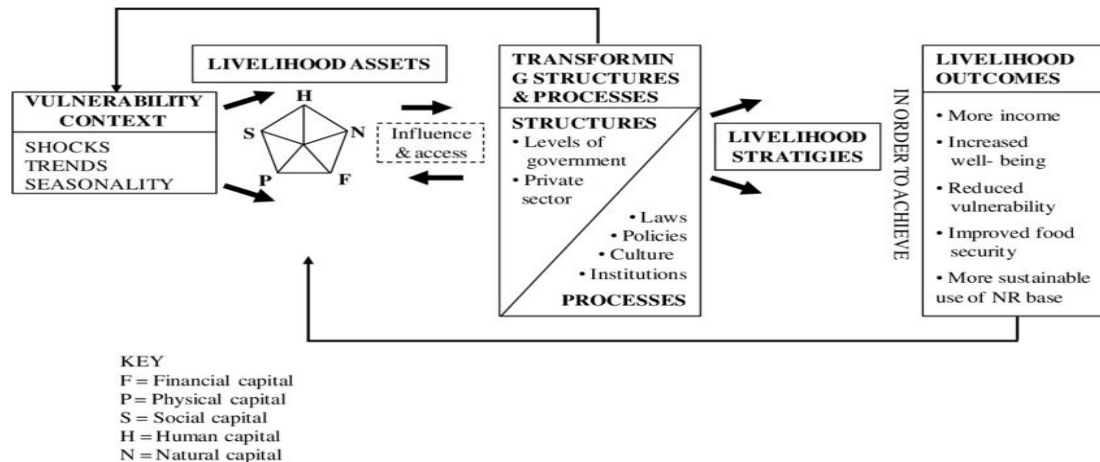
## **2.3 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS**

The sustainable livelihoods concept is one of the major development concepts linked to the resilience of communities in times of adversity. In this section the researcher explores the existing frameworks/approaches of community livelihoods in respect of resilience. Accordingly, the concept of the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach underlines the importance of understanding the capacities such as natural, physical, financial, human, and social resources as the basis for the livelihoods of individuals and households (Serrat 2017; Kollmair & St Gamper 2002:5). In this respect, the four SL frameworks that commonly appear in the study of community livelihoods are the OXFAM SL framework, UNDP SL model, CARE Household Livelihood Security model, the DFID SL framework, and the SL for the 21st century developed by Natarajan et al (2021).

The OXFAM SL framework states the relationship between the causes of vulnerability, the livelihoods resources, and the mechanisms to be used to transform the resources into livelihood outcomes. This approach considers people as active agents of change, and it follows a people-centred and participatory approach to building up community livelihoods (May et al 2009). According to this framework, adversities could be natural, environmental, and man-made disasters such as conflict and war, and it is important to undertake context analysis for the trend and type of these adversities, and how the different processes and organisations which are operating at different levels impact upon households and communities. For OXFAM, the different livelihood capitals (human capital, social capital, physical capital, natural capital and financial capital) must go through different structural processes and strategies before achieving the desired outcome (May et al 2009). The outcomes include better income, improved wellbeing, low vulnerability, improved food security, sustainable environmental resources, etcetera. One of the unique concepts of OXFAM SL is the concept of livelihood viability. This concept states that 'households with access to a diversity of less climate-sensitive livelihood activities are less likely to be negatively impacted by climate-related shocks than households with fewer and more climate-sensitive alternatives' (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013:25). Therefore, according to this concept, it is important to engage households in diverse livelihood activities and to have access to early warning information for better resilience.

The other type of livelihood framework is the DFID's SL framework. This framework is like the OXFAM SL in terms of components and stage of the livelihoods process, except the former presents the different aspects of the framework in a structured and understandable manner.

**Figure 2.4: DFID's SL framework**

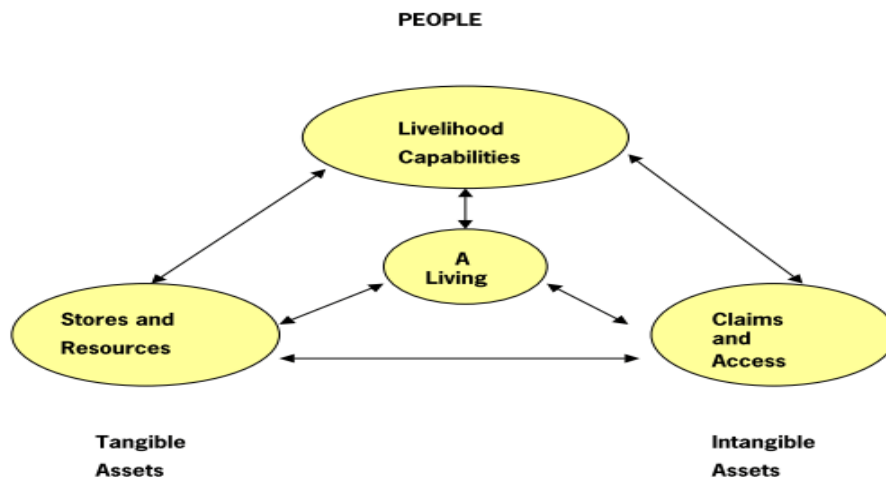


Source: Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011)

According to Farrington et al (1999) as cited in Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011), the DFID model states more or less the same livelihood outcomes as the OXFAM model. According to this model, the livelihood outcomes are heavily influenced by factors such as the people's 'preferences, priorities, and vulnerability for unexpected events (e.g., drought, floods, etc.), trends (e.g., resource scarcity) and seasonal variations' (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011). The model also clarifies the role of different entities and structures in defining livelihoods opportunities. According to Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011), the DFID's model highlights five forms of capital including 'human, natural, financial, physical, and social capital' in which community livelihoods could be built. Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011) further explain that there is so much interdependence among the capitals that when one capital is missing it can be replaced by another. According to DFID's framework, people's empowerment towards decision-making is as important as monetary or tangible resources. Therefore, the very notion underlying this framework is the principle of a people-centred approach, which puts people at the centre of the development plan at different levels (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011:93).

The third model is the UNDP model, which is primarily designed to reduce poverty sustainably. According to this model, sustainable livelihoods for populations should enable them to recover from sudden changes and stresses by applying ‘economically effective, ecologically and socially equitable’ adaptive strategies (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011:92). In other words, the UNDP SL approach aims to create sustainable livelihoods among the most affected groups of people by enhancing their capacity for resilience and coping. Unlike the two previously discussed frameworks, the UNDP model places some emphasis on the application of improved technologies and social and economic investments to contribute to improved and sustainable livelihoods. According to this model, the sustainable use of assets or capital is crucial for poverty reduction. The model further recognizes the resources, abilities, and capacities of individuals, which can be mobilized and used towards poverty reduction and improved livelihood opportunities for communities. The model also indicates that communities are strongly influenced by both tangible and intangible capitals.

**Figure 2.5: UNDP model of sustainable livelihoods**

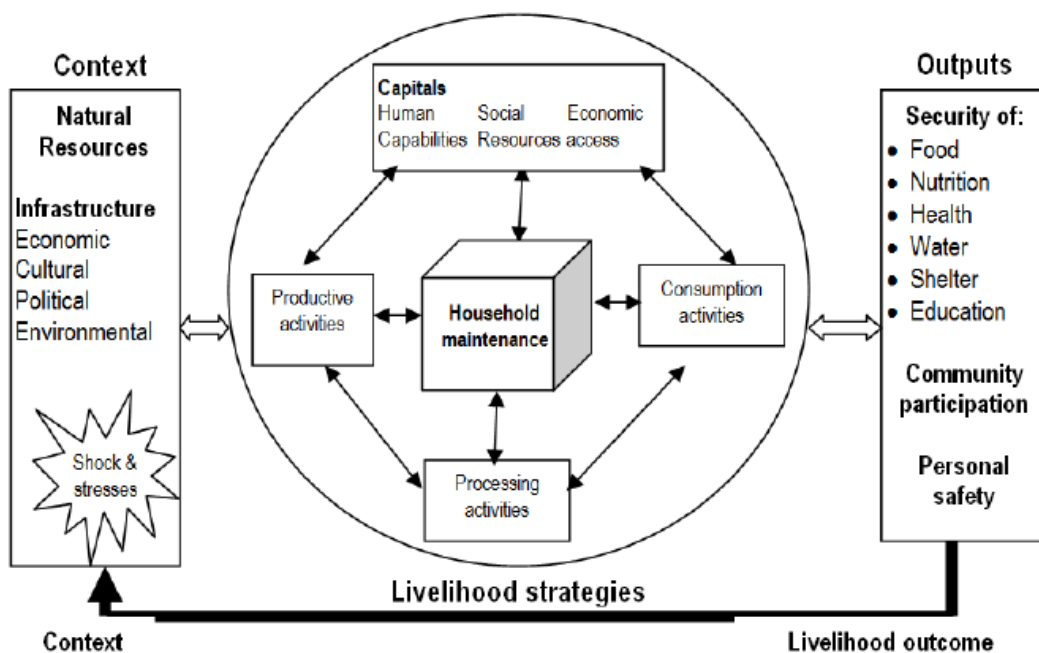


*Source: Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011)*

According to this model, building the livelihoods for communities is highly influenced by policies and governance at different levels (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011). The above pictorial presentation of the model shows the interaction and relationship between the three main components of people’s livelihoods: capabilities, stores and resources, and claims and access.

The other widely used model of livelihoods is the CARE HLS (Household Livelihood Security) model. The very tenets of the model are the availability of skills and abilities, access to education and health services, access to tangible and intangible values, and economic activities (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011) for a community to have sustainable livelihoods. According to this model, the interaction among these three elements determines the type of strategy to be used to achieve household livelihoods. In this respect, the model emphasizes the strengthening of the capacities and empowerment of the affected population to achieve improved livelihoods for that given population.

**Figure 2.6: CARE sustainability livelihoods model**



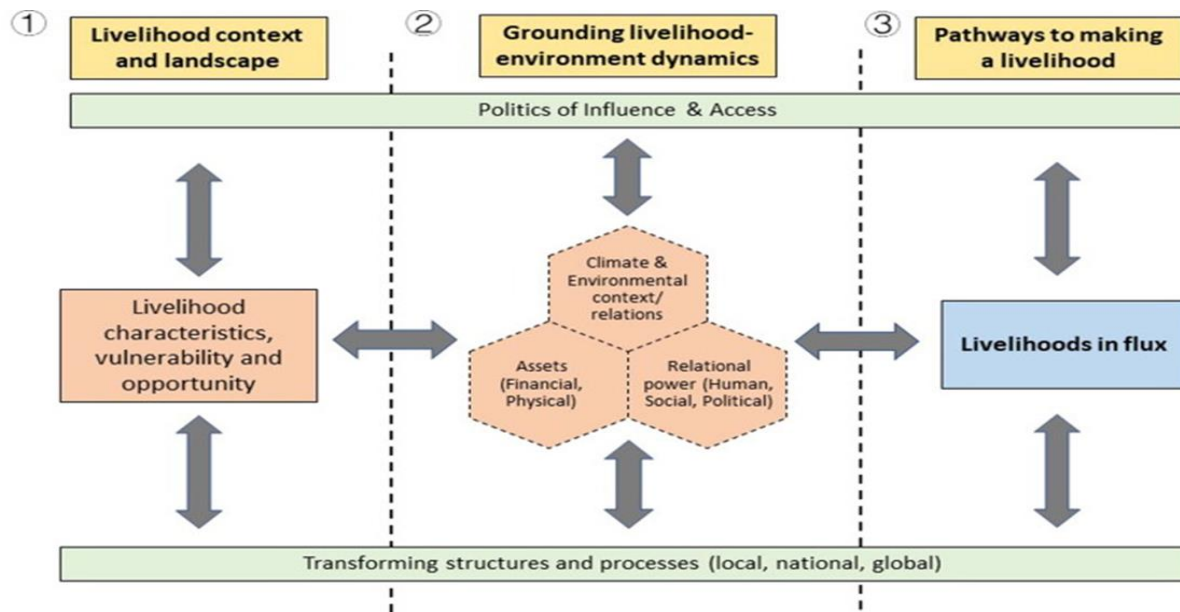
Source: Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011)

The model recognizes the capacity of people to play an active role in determining and building their own livelihoods rather than be passive recipients of external aid. In this regard, this model has also made significant changes over time to its initial understanding and approaches to livelihoods by considering food security issues at household level, and the skills and knowledge of households towards better food production and improved diet (Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez 2011).

As seen in Figure 2.6, the CARE model of livelihoods establishes a relationship between context, livelihood strategies, and livelihood outcomes. According to this model, the

strategies to be used to lead to positive outcomes involve capitals, and these capitals are linked to activities of production, processing, and consumption. Factors such as natural resources and infrastructures influence the livelihood strategies which communities adopt and use. This model also considers the different basic services, and protection and security services as outputs, and according to this model, efforts for sustainable livelihoods should be able to ensure the security of these basic needs for the affected community.

**Figure 2.7: A sustainable livelihoods framework for the 21<sup>st</sup> century**



Source: Natarajan et al 2021

Natarajan et al (2021) also came up with a livelihood framework which is believed to be a more structural, spatially disaggregated, dynamic, and ecologically coherent approach to livelihoods, particularly in a context of rural farming. The framework recognizes the link between climate change and rural livelihoods. According to this framework, livelihoods are continually changing, and the framework considers both short-term and long-term changes pertaining to livelihoods. This framework narrows down assets to financial and physical assets and has additional elements such as the concepts of relational power, climate and environmental context. According to this framework, relational power based on class, gender, ethnicity, caste, and other material power relations are critically and equally important to build, shape and sustain livelihoods (Natarajan et al 2021:11).

Likewise, the framework emphasises the importance of establishing and explaining the factors related to climate and environment in order to better understand the question of sustainable livelihoods (Natarajan et al 2021:11).

Having reviewed the different types of SL models, the researcher finds the CARE HLS model fit to be used for this study as it has those elements of context, services-related outputs, community capacity, participation, and security at the individual level, which are very much relevant to the conditions and the humanitarian assistance in which the refugee population under study is living in the refugee camp settlements. The researcher has also included the element of humanitarian assistance as part of the context influencing their livelihoods to meet their basic needs, including protection and security.

#### **2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF A RESILIENT COMMUNITY**

The characteristics of a resilient community emanate from the models of resilience themselves, as different models discuss the unique characteristics of a resilient community. In a study conducted by Werner and Smith (2001), major characteristics identified for people who were found to be resilient include the capacity for solving problems, a tendency to perceive experiences positively even in times of adversity, getting positive attention from others, and holding a strong belief in maintaining a positive life (Ledesma 2014). To understand the characteristics of resilient communities, O'Leary (1998, as cited in Ledesma 2014:2) discusses 'the compensatory model, the challenge model, and the protective factor model' of resilience. O'Leary argues under the challenge model that the existence of a challenge can increase a person's capacity to withstand the challenge, and this situation gives the individual a better chance to overcome similar adverse situations in the future. O'Leary further indicates that the protective factor model views resilience with an emphasis on the necessity for the 'interaction between protection and risk factors' (Ledesma 2014:2), which reduces the probability of an adverse outcome and regulates the consequence of facing the negative event. 'The protective factors include emotional management skills, intrapersonal reflective skills, academic and job skills, ability to restore self-esteem, planning skills, life skills, and problem-solving skills' (Ledesma 2014:2).



Some of the literature also categorizes the characteristics of resilience into aspects of communities in the context of resilience studies and measurement. For instance, the IFRC (2012) emphasizes different features such as the economic, infrastructure, ecological, and social aspects of communities for resilience to be achieved, and that these aspects are in constant interaction and relationships. Similarly, the Rockefeller Foundation has also identified aspects of resilience which include 'health and well-being, economy and society, leadership and strategy, infrastructure, and environment' (IFRC 2012). In the same literature, these dimensions are further divided into 12 'drivers' of resilience (ARUP n.d.). According to the IFRC (2012), there are five key elements essential to strengthening community resilience, and fulfilling the basic needs is a step towards developing the resilience of communities.

According to the IFRC, populations who cannot fulfil their basic needs face a challenge to develop their capacity for resilience (IFRC 2012:5). Developing capacities in terms of assets is a critical point in coping with adversities, and it is also important that communities are capacitated in the way they cope with changes and draw lessons from experiences so that they can use their resources to overcome future challenges and adversities. While the importance of strengthening the internal capacity of a community is acknowledged, it is also noted that communities must have increased connection with and support from external actors who provide goods and services as required (IFRC 2012:7). It is also obvious that 'a resilient society is a society in which individuals, groups, and communities can cope with threats and disturbances caused by social, economic, and physical changes' (Davis 2017:13). Bahadur et al (2010) also indicate that resilient systems are expected to enhance diversity, flexibility, inclusion, and participation by recognizing community assets, accepting change and enhancing learning (cited in Béné et al 2012:19).

There is also an argument differentiating between a resilient community and a vulnerable community. According to this argument, a resilient community is one that can resist and manage the shocks and stresses of disasters and conflict that affect their lives and livelihoods, whereas vulnerable communities lack that same capacity to withstand shocks. The explanation for this is that vulnerable people are physically, socially, and emotionally reliant on family and community support structures, and these structures are

usually disrupted during displacement (Turnbull et al 2013 as cited in Pinto et al 2014). Consistent with this, a study conducted by the CPA (2014) has found that better health conditions and wellness are correlated with better resilience. According to the CPA (2014), the findings linking mental illness with resilience are contradictory as some show higher levels of mental illness associated with greater resilience (CPA 2014). According to Frankenberger and Nelson (2013), households or communities that can use their adaptive capacity to manage the shocks or stresses they are exposed to and incrementally reduce their vulnerability are less sensitive and are on a resilience pathway. Similarly, Twigg (2007:6) describes a resilient community as a community that has the 'capacity to absorb stress or destructive forces through resistance or adaptation, and manage, or maintain certain basic functions and structures, and recover or bounce back after an event'.

Tulane and SUH (2012) identify seven dimensions of resilience. These include wealth, debt and credit, coping behaviour, human capital, protection and security, community network, and psychosocial status. The wealth aspect of resilience includes availability of and access to income, financial resources, and food security, while access to information and use of debit and credit services to meet basic and domestic needs is another aspect of resilience in the context of the Haiti earthquake. Human capital, on the other hand, 'involves the skills and abilities that enable households/individuals to create means to access food, goods and services. The element of human capital, according to Tulane and SUH (2012:8) includes different capacities such as 'education level and workforce capacity within the household. Protection and security, on the other hand, refers to the perceived and actual experience of personal and property-related security. Community networks reflect the connectedness of households to groups and community decision processes. Psychosocial wellbeing is another important aspect that tends to reveal the different impacts of adversity and the contribution of humanitarian assistance in addressing the psychosocial wellbeing of the households (Tulane & SUH 2012).

In this study, the researcher found most of the dimensions of resilience of the Tulane and SUH Model relevant, such as coping behaviour, human resources, protection and security, social networking, psychosocial wellbeing, and humanitarian assistance. These

elements are relevant and applicable to the displaced population of South Sudanese people living in the refugee camps.

In summary, there are characteristics and dimensions of resilience that differentiate a resilient community from a non-resilient community in a time of adversity. Identifying and knowing these characteristics may be of help to build up the capacities of communities to overcome similar adverse events and situations.

## **2.5 FORCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESILIENCE**

In general, studies show the linkage between forced displacement and resilience in many ways. According to some studies, compared with the non-displaced population, IDPs who are living in camps show a minimum resilience score (Mujeeb & Zubair 2012:20). These researchers further assessed the relationship between resilience, stress, anxiety, and depression with living conditions and other demographic characteristics of IDPs. Their study concluded that resilience was inversely correlated to stress, anxiety, and depression, and that less resilient individuals were experiencing more stress, anxiety, and depression (Mujeeb & Zubair 2012).

According to Pinto et al (2014:857), displacement affects the resilience capacity of communities by increasing their vulnerability to further risks, which in turn aggravates the associated impacts of the adversity. According to Southwick et al (2014), however, there is a very poor correlation between some factors and resilience, except for those factors related to enhancing childhood development which is also essential 'for developing resilience. These include a healthy attachment relationship and good caregiving, emotion regulation skills, self-awareness, and the capacity to visualize the future, and a mastery motivation system that drives the individual to learn, grow and adapt to their environment' (Southwick et al 2014). Similarly, in a study conducted in Malawi, there were no findings of a correlation between access to livelihood opportunities and resilience, as such opportunities bring short-term solutions rather than impact the life of a population in the long term (Chiroro 2013).

On the other hand, a study conducted on displaced pastoralists in northern Kenya by Caterina and Schrepfer (2014:30) found a decrease in resilience capacity with the increase of risks associated with displacement. Accordingly, following the study

conducted they also proposed the following formula to better understand the relationship between the two (Pinto et al 2014):

Displacement = hazards (causes + drivers) + vulnerability

Capacity + innovation

The formula reveals that the intensity of hazards and vulnerability coupled with low capacity and innovation to cope with the hazards can increase the level of displacement. Consistent with this, Pinto et al (2014) have also indicated an inverse relationship between displacement and resilience, as vulnerable communities are dependent on social support structures and such structures get deteriorated by displacement (Turnbull et al 2013:26), and 'in the face of significant external stress, population displacement is often an indicator of the breakdown of social resilience' (Adger 2000 as cited in Pinto et al 2014:853). Concerning the relationship between displacement and resilience, studies show that displacement reduces the resilience of communities while increasing vulnerability. In the end, it aggravates the impact of shocks or adversity, resulting in resounding and far-reaching consequences for the population (Pinto et al 2014).

In summary, though in varying degrees from one context to the next and depending on different things, there are social, economic, emotional, and environmental factors affecting the resilience of individuals and communities.

## **2.6 DRIVERS OF RESILIENCE**

There is also literature attempting to identify drivers of resilience. For example, Connor and Zhang (2006) indicate possible factors affecting resilience such as neuro-biologic, genetic, temperament, and environmental factors. For them, resilience is adjustable on individual and cultural levels and varies across context, time, age, gender, and cultural origin. Similarly, concerning the economic recession experienced in Europe during the 2008-2013 financial crisis, a study conducted by Gianmoena and Rios (2018) revealed different factors such as quality of government, the level of innovation, and the functional specialization by labour market institutions affecting regional disparities in resilience patterns. Southwick et al (2014) emphasize that the success of the determinants could

differ based on personality, specific challenges, resources available, and environmental context.

### **2.6.1 Resilience and social support**

Social support is conceptualized as a social resource on which an individual can rely when dealing with life problems and stressors (Gianmoena & Rios 2018). Social support can be in different forms: instrumental, informational, or emotional. Instrumental social support, according to these scholars, involves the provision of materials or assistance with practical tasks or problems, while informational support is about giving advice, guidance, and information that may help a person to solve a problem. Emotional support, on the other hand involves the expression of sympathy, caring, esteem, value, or encouragement (Gianmoena & Rios 2018). With this conceptualization in mind, there are many research findings pinpointing a strong link between social support and the physical and psychosocial wellbeing of individuals who experience adversity. In a study conducted on the relationship between stress and wellbeing, it was found that social support plays an important role in stressful circumstances, and the study confirmed that social support and psychological wellbeing have a strong correlation (Turner 1981). In a study conducted in China during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, individuals experiencing higher levels of psychological distress reported less social support than those with lower levels of psychological distress (Yu et al 2020). In a study conducted in Iran on disabled war veterans, it was found that social support made a significant contribution to the mental health of veterans (Aflakseir 2010). In this regard, many pieces of literature tend to show a big link between resilience and social support systems. In a study conducted by Salim et al (2019), it was found that increased social support improves the resilience of caregivers of patients with cancer. Similarly, a positive correlation between perceived social support and resilience was found, while social support was found to have a negative correlation with mental health problems (depression, anxiety, somatoform disorders) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (Siswadi et al 2023). Other studies have also shown that 'resilient individuals are more likely to have more social support than non-resilient individuals' (Sambu 2015:24). Similarly, in an investigation conducted on resilience in service members, it was concluded that receiving support from their colleagues increases their 'feeling of belonging and personal control'

(Simons & Yoder 2013, cited in Sambu 2015). Likewise, a study conducted in Sudan found 'that religion, wider social support, and individual qualities such as positive or negative coping response to adverse events and comparison to others had effects on improved recovery after traumatic experiences' (Siriwardhana & Stewart 2013:6).

Other studies also confirmed a relationship between resilience and access to social support and social interaction within the community. As such, greater social connectedness was found to be related to better resilience (CPA 2014). It was also explained that 'the resilience of communities is dependent on social bonds and collective action based on networks of relationships, reciprocity, trust, and social norms' (McAslan 2010:11). Consistent with this finding, Southwick et al (2014) argue that individuals with low social support are less resilient than those with high social support. In line with this argument and justification, scholars recommend creating and enhancing a conducive and nurturing environment in the family and community to enhance resilience. This enables the natural protection mechanisms of the individual for acquiring and fulfilling their potential (Southwick et al 2014:12).

Harrop et al (2007), after reviewing different studies, have also indicated that a caring family environment in the form of strong parent–child relationships affects the way people adjust to adversities, as cohesive, warm, supportive, and communicative family environments are protective. According to these scholars, the availability of social networks plays a protective role against the effect of adversity, while different factors affect the magnitude of the role social networks play. On a similar note, studies are linking resilience in older age to the availability of social networks, social support and integration, and connectedness within the community, and show that greater social connectedness is associated with improved resilience (CPA 2014).

Adger (2003) and Morrow (2008) have also discussed the link between social capital and resilience in assessing the responses of different communities to things like hurricanes and other natural disasters (McAslan 2010). Consistent with the above notes, Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2018) have reported that people with more social support are likely to be resilient. They indicate that individuals with high social support are 40% to 60% more resilient than those individuals who have low social support (Ballenger-

Browning & Johnson 2018). As a result of this, it has been recommended that for better resilience it is important to enhance healthy family and community environments, where naturally protective systems allow individuals to develop and operate effectively (Southwick et al 2014). However, in a study conducted by Silva Junior et al (2019) on elderly people, social support did not prove to be a predictive variable regarding variations in the resilience capacity of these elderly people.

In a study conducted by Tulane and SUH (2012) in the aftermath of the 2010 Haiti earthquake, it was revealed that community networks are essential elements of resilience in a humanitarian setting. In this study, it was noted that community networks played an important role in the development, implementation, and impact of programmes. Moreover, approximately half of the Focus Groups in the study indicated that the earthquake reinforced solidarity between groups, noting that many people helped one another, for example by sharing resources (Tulane & SUH 2012), and provided emotional support.

According to Southwick et al (2014), some factors are not good predictors of resilience. However, factors such as healthy attachment relationships, emotion regulation skills, self-awareness, and the capacity to visualize the future can facilitate better resilience in children. Regarding gender differences, the research conducted on Afghan women by Nassim and Camille (2014) shows that 'access to traditional coping mechanisms is limited, and this reduces the resilience of internally displaced women. These groups of IDPs are more than often in a situation of social isolation and are cut from their traditional main protection mechanisms, including first and foremost their own families' (Nassim & Camille 2014:84).

In terms of the link between gender roles and resilience, Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2018) found gender to be an inconsistent and unreliable predictor of resilience. According to them, in a study conducted on crime victims, women scored low on the resilience scale. Yet, another study found that women were more resilient than men, with the gender difference stronger among older women than younger women (Ballenger-Browning & Johnson 2018: Demographic para.1). Contrary to this, in a study conducted in Kenya by Sambu (2015), the findings revealed a higher resilience score for male respondents than for female respondents in a situation of the same level of social support

(Sambu 2015:13). As indicated in Nassim and Camille (2014), different economic, political, and socio-cultural factors affect the decision-making power of women in displacement situations, leading to negative consequences for their resilience (Nassim & Camille 2014:78).

In the context of refugee situations, different factors could influence the gender difference with regard to resilience. For instance, in a research review Thompson (2017) noted that negative gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes towards refugees with disabilities prevent women refugees and those with disabilities from finding work or may push them towards negative coping strategies.

### **2.6.2 Cultural resilience of forcefully displaced communities**

Practising one's cultural life is a basic human right for any community. This right is plainly stated in different international as well as regional legal instruments. Thus, practising one's own culture as part of one's basic human rights is enshrined in many international laws. For instance, Article 22 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human rights states (UN 2015b):

As part of social security everyone regardless of the status of any kind has the right to social and cultural rights as indispensable to his/her dignity and personality development.

It is also noted in Article 27 of the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as follows (UN 1976):

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their religion, or to use their language.

Likewise, the African Charter describes people's cultural rights in its different regional instruments. For example, according to Article 17 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 'every individual may freely take part the cultural life of his community, and the protection and promotion of morals', and 'traditional values recognized by the community shall be the duty of the state' (OAU 1981:6). Similarly, Article 4 of the Charter



for African Cultural Renaissance puts an obligation on member states ‘to respect and protect the cultural rights of people’ (OAU 2006:8). These moral and legal provisions are also believed to protect the cultural rights of those communities displaced by armed conflicts, such as refugee communities.

From a different perspective, considering its fundamental impact on human development, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development also captured cultural heritage under different goals, particularly under SDG # 11 of the Sustainable Cities and Communities, protection and safeguarding of the world’s cultural and natural heritage (UN 2015a). This very right of communities to cultural life is, however, impacted negatively in many ways in times of conflict-induced forced displacement. Communities, when displaced, are displaced not only from their habitual places, families, and properties but also from their cultural life. The situation is much worse when the forced displacement involves crossing borders into a second country, where displaced communities usually feel like outsiders and for many reasons are afraid of exercising their own culture and traditions. Because of this, refugees who do stay longer in the country of asylum, as is usually the case in most displacement situations, are at high risk of detachment from their culture which they have maintained over many generations. Even after the restoration of peace and security, thus enabling their repatriation to their home country, returnees may find it a huge challenge to easily reintegrate into the socio-cultural life of their communities. By promoting their cultural expression in refugee settlements, such displaced communities can be prepared for easier reintegration into their country of origin upon their return. Cultural activities can also be used as a tool for social cohesion and better psychosocial adjustment to the challenges they face in camp settlements (Grossi et al 2011).

In addition, the Human Rights Council (HRC) emphasizes the importance of early restoration of their full enjoyment of cultural rights to all individuals affected by conflict and to those who are displaced. State parties are called upon to respect, promote and protect the right of everyone to take part in cultural life, including the ability to access and enjoy their cultural heritage (HRC 2016). When it comes to forcefully displaced situations, though there are no direct provisions in the 1951 refugee convention and its 1967 protocol, those provisions underlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights can still be applicable to promote, exercise and

protect the cultural rights of refugees. However, the response efforts in most humanitarian crises situations focus more on addressing the immediate and lifesaving activities of the affected population, while overlooking the culture-related damages caused by the displacement situation. Even at the policy and strategic level, culture and cultural heritage is not regarded as being integrated into humanitarian, security, and peacebuilding response frameworks (Planche 2020).

### **2.6.3 Resilience and access to livelihoods**

Community livelihood is one of the elements commonly linked with the concept of resilience. As such, literature tends to show a strong link between resilience and livelihoods. For instance, the UNHCR (2017) states that in a situation of forced displacement, livelihood opportunities play a significant role by creating capacities that will enable communities and institutions to better overcome the risks associated with adversities. Such interventions are aimed at helping communities to maintain positive progress in developing their capacity to face any challenge in the face of such adversities, and programmes in support of communities should ensure this. In congruence with this notion, in one study conducted it was revealed that diminished resilience scores were noted among individuals with lower levels of education and income, and individuals with histories of childhood maltreatment (Ballenger-Browning & Johnson 2018). Similarly, in a review of previous studies it was found that human resources such as education, maternal competence, and space and size of family regulate the adjustment of children (Harrop et al 2007). Concerning this, the interaction of protective factors such as assets, resources, or strengths at the individual, social or community, and societal level (CPA 2014) plays a role in achieving resilience. It is also noted from the sustainable livelihood point of view that households with bigger assets are found to be more resilient to a hazard than those with fewer assets. Concerning this, Baas et al (2008) revealed that the availability of financial resources and access to employment could make households in a pastoralist community more resilient. The same report explained that the negative impact of the disaster that befell such a community was very severe due to the lack of assets for a household other than its dead animals (Baas et al 2008:12). On the other hand, in a study conducted in Malawi, access to livelihood assets and institutions did not predict resilience

and enhanced only the short-term coping and adaptive capacity of individuals (Chiroro 2013).

A CPA report also revealed that income and ethnic origin are associated with resilience among elderly people. It was, however, indicated by the same institute that there is still some inconsistency in terms of findings of studies on the relationship between household income and resilience (CPA 2014: Other Factors para.1). In this respect, Frankenberger and Nelson (2013:23) argue that 'resilient individuals, communities, and households are characterized by food security, adequate nutrition, better income security, improved health', while vulnerable households lack these aspects. Yet, according to Sudmeier-Rieux (2014:9), there are still different arguments about the link of resilience with vulnerability, and whether or not vulnerable communities are less resilient. On the other hand, the sustainable livelihood approach is based on a framework of five capitals including human, social, natural, financial, and physical capital that could impact individuals' capacity to withstand shocks and drastic changes (McAslan 2010). In the context of refugee situations, the policy of the host government could also affect the refugees' access to livelihoods, hence negatively impacting on the resilience of these refugees. For instance, according to Thompson (2017), refugees in Uganda were found to have economic capacity and skills to improve their own lives and those of their host communities. The better livelihood situation of the refugees in Uganda was attributed to their having access to work permits and freedom of movement granted by the host government (Betts et al 2019). Similarly, in a study conducted by Nassim and Camille (2014), four factors such as limited opportunities for livelihood improvement, living in remote places, lack of prospects for going back, and absence of opportunities for integration in the host country affect the capacity of women to be resilient.

#### **2.6.4 The co-existence of refugees and host communities**

According to the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung's theory of peace, the causes of conflict between communities are mainly related to basic human needs. According to him, the basic human needs are survival, well-being, freedom, and identity, and any threat of violence against these (Ercoşkun 2021) would lead to conflict. For Galtung, also known as 'the father of peace studies', the appropriate conditions for positive peace are when

fairness, equality, development and cultural coexistence instead of structural violence prevail (Ercoşkun 2021). This conceptualization of peace and violence can be applied in a situation of forced displacement. In this regard, any onset of forced displacement could impact negatively on hosting communities, requiring the two communities to share the available limited resources in the area, which in turn leads to tension and insecurity. Yet, there is still heated debate over the degree to which displacement affects hosting people and countries (Verme & Schuettler 2021).

Specific to displacement situations, mass influx could bring about different effects on the hosting communities and the country hosting the displaced communities in general. During displacement, particularly at the onset of big emergencies, it is evident that displaced communities take shelter in whatever structures and facilities are available, sharing limited resources with the hosting communities. This eventually creates tension and becomes a risk to the peace and security of both the displaced and the host communities. According to Indris (2020), different other factors could also contribute to such tension between the two communities. According to him, if the number of refugees is bigger than the number of people in the hosting community, and there are differences in culture and language, the host community may feel negative about the refugees. On the other hand, factors such as education can also play a prominent role in better community relations and social cohesion by bringing the two communities together.

In a study conducted in 2018 and quoted in Verme and Schuettler (2021: 83), '60% of refugee households in the West Nile and Southwest regions reported that their children have Ugandan friends with whom they share recreational spaces', resulting in better relations. On the other hand, another study in the same area revealed that 50% of the host communities reported no interaction with refugees due to language differences (Verme & Schuettler, 2021: 83). Yet, Okello and Gebremichael (2016:2) also indicate that, though refugees face language barriers and discrimination, there is a good level of peaceful co-existence with the hosting communities in Uganda. Indris (2020) further explained that competing over the limited natural resources such as timber and water caused tension in the northwest part of the country. This is because refugees use firewood and charcoal for cooking, cutting down trees, which leads to conflict and tension between the two communities.

It was also noted by the Danish Demining Group (DDG) that refugee influx results in impacts on the social, political, and economic life of the hosting community in the short, medium, and long term (DDG 2013). Consistent with this argument, in an assessment conducted by REACH Initiative (2017) in South Sudan, it was found that while competing for natural resources and means of livelihood remain a cause of problems among refugees and host communities, the assessed households from both communities reported a good relationship overall. Contrary to this finding, however, after having conducted a study in Gendrassa, Yusuf Batil and the surrounding hosting community villages, the same organisation indicated in its 2016 reports that usage of land and natural resources during the dry season is the main cause of conflict between hosting and refugee communities. On the other hand, by hosting displaced communities, there is also an opportunity for hosting communities to get better services and facilities, as such situations attract the attention of the international community including donors who provide resources in response to the displacement challenges (Pinto et al 2014), with these resources mostly targeted at both communities.

In a study conducted in Rwanda in 2019 on the impact of the long stay of refugees in the hosting communities, the qualitative analysis does not show a significant impact of the presence of refugees in hosting communities except in those communities living closest to the refugee settlements. The analysis did, however, reveal gradual economic interaction between the two populations, which helped to increase trust between the refugees and host communities over time (Fajth, Bilgili, Loschmann & Siegel 2019). The same study notes that the economic and social support given to refugees plays a key role in reducing and preventing conflict between the two groups (Fajth et al 2019). Economic literature reviewed by Verme and Schuettler (2021) revealed a 20% probability of a negative and significant impact on the wellbeing of the hosting community at the household level because of forced displacement. The same study on employment and wages revealed a strong link between employment and improvement in the life of members of the hosting communities (Verme & Schuettler 2021:15) because of the presence of a forcefully displaced population. On the other hand, another study showed that refugee inflows induced a positive impact on the intensive and extensive margins of business enterprise production. The effects were stronger for smaller enterprises and

enterprises operating in the construction and hospitality sectors (Altındağ, Bakış & Rozo 2020).

Regarding the economic impact of the presence of refugees on the host countries, it has also been argued that hosting significant numbers of refugees has both economic and social impacts for a host country (Alix-Garcia & Saah 2010). Hosting refugees implies 'a net cost on economic and social development in the host country while they may also bring economic opportunities and positively contribute to development' (Alix-Garcia & Saah 2010:164). In this respect, a study conducted in Tanzania revealed an increase in the price of commodities as a result of the high number of refugees, and this affected particularly those communities living near the refugee camps (Alix-Garcia & Saah 2010). Similar findings were observed in Darfur where IDPs are hosted (Alix-Garcia, Bartlett, & Saah 2012: 381). As shown above, having a refugee presence can have both a positive and a negative impact on hosting communities, yet the overall impact is dependent on various factors. Factors such as the duration of displacement, and the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of refugees including their educational background determine the level of the impact on host countries (Khoudour & Andersson 2017:12).

Taking note of the possible impact of displacement on peace and security, different humanitarian and development organisations deliberately design and implement peaceful co-existence programmes such as peacebuilding education, training, and awareness-raising activities for different stakeholders. They also implement big infrastructure development projects aimed at helping both displaced and host communities, and such programmes are very much evident in most humanitarian settings. Such interventions have objectives such as promoting peace and security, sharing the burden on hosting communities, and ensuring better protection of the displaced communities. Yet, there is no empirical evidence that would indicate whether these kinds of programmes are directly linked to enhancing the resilience of the forcefully displaced population by creating smooth social interaction and easing tensions between the two communities.

In summary, hosting forcefully displaced populations such as refugees can have both a negative and a positive impact on hosting countries and their people. The feelings of the hosting community about the scarcity of resources and sharing of available services and

facilities could lead to tension and conflict between the two communities, and this could jeopardise the resilience and recovery of the displaced community.

### **2.6.5 Resilience, humanitarian interventions, and development programmes**

There are always controversies regarding the link between resilience, humanitarian interventions, and development programmes. Primarily, critics aver that most humanitarian programmes and interventions do not lead to a building up of the resilience of the population affected by natural and conflict-induced crises. In this regard, some argue that most humanitarian actors have a too short funding cycle, mostly up to one year, and it is very difficult to expect self-reliance and recovery of displaced populations within the space of a one-year intervention. Consistent with this notion, the DDG (2013) indicated that emergency-related international assistance is provided to address immediate survival needs. On the other hand, there is emerging evidence showing that contemporary humanitarian interventions give much emphasis to the importance of building resilience to overcome the challenges of conflict-induced and natural disaster-related displacement. In this regard, Combaz (2013) states that though not captured well in the programming of interventions aimed at addressing the needs of forcefully displaced communities, it is common to see the idea of resilience being used by different humanitarian organisations. With this in mind, some studies tend to establish a relationship between resilience and humanitarian interventions. For instance, according to Pinto et al (2014), humanitarian and development interventions focusing on affected communities can influence the resilience of communities displaced by displacement. These researchers indicate, however, that ‘a resilience-based response to displacement requires longer planning and funding cycles’ (Pinto et al 2014:850) beyond a one-year period, which is a limitation for most humanitarian interventions. Pinto et al (2014) consequently indicate that there is potential for humanitarian assistance and development programmes to affect positively the resilience capacity of communities in the time of their displacement. Connected to this, there is also another view that, in the context of humanitarian assistance, the human rights framework can enable an understanding of the ‘interconnection between displacement and resilience, since rights can guide the design, planning, and implementation of projects’ (DFID 2011:5). Furthermore, the DFID highlighted that adopting resilience to address adversities requires considering different

aspects including 'humanitarian preparedness and response'. Regarding this, Interpeace (2016:1) indicated that 'there is an understanding within the humanitarian sphere that a new approach [is needed] of bridging the gaps between meeting short-term needs and enhancing long-term peace and development to end cycles of conflict'. And such an approach, concentrating on resilience and recovery, requires strengthening the abilities of different actors in boosting the local capacity of the affected population to cope with the adversities. The introduction of disaster risk management (DRM), followed by the development of the Hyogo Framework for Action for 2005–2015, also clearly shows the link between disasters, humanitarian action, and resilience. However, the research findings of the HPG show that 'humanitarian actors underestimate the importance of the non-material aspects of livelihoods' and this impacts on the link between resilience and humanitarian interventions. It is emphasised that the approach to humanitarian interventions needs to consider 'working differently – from reacting to repetitive emerging crises to building up resilience and coping capacities of the most vulnerable populations' (EU 2015:5). It is also indicated that humanitarian aid organisations should respond sooner after the adversity has occurred, and wherever possible a humanitarian response should lay the foundations to build the coping capacity of the affected communities so as to avoid a future re-occurrence.

However, the inclusion of resilience in development interventions is different, as the design of programmes is based on the notion of sustainable development. In this respect, development theories argue that development interventions need to consider the basic human rights of communities such as livelihoods, peace and security, and social and cultural properties to ensure the resilience of communities who are affected by adversities. Concerning this, Sen (1993) indicated that the very concept of development entails freedom, liberty, and the self-esteem of humanity. It is with this in mind that almost all development-focused interventions have different aspects of resilience in their interventions, and they work to develop the resilience of communities as a primary step for reduced humanitarian needs, poverty reduction, and sustainable development (EU 2015). Role players such as the European Union (EU) are cognisant of the challenges different actors are facing regarding implementation modalities for resilience in different



situations, and recognise the need to adapt existing policies and strategies to specific contexts (EU 2015).

As far as refugee situations are concerned, the idea of the linkage between humanitarian and development programmes lies in the very fact that ‘millions of refugees live in protracted situations, often in low- and middle-income countries facing their own economic and development challenges, and the average length of stay has continued to grow’ (UN 2018:1) due to limited conducive protection and lack of a secure environment for a return to their country of origin. Hence, there are initiatives aiming for the inclusion of refugees and hosting communities in development programmes. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and Global Compact for Refugees (GCR) are very good examples of these initiatives. Endorsed by the UN General Assembly on 17 December 2018, the GCR ‘is a framework for more predictable and equitable responsibility-sharing, which recognizes that a sustainable solution to refugee situations cannot be achieved without international cooperation’ (UN 2018:1), whereas the CRRF ‘forms an integral part of the global compact on refugees’ (UN 2018: iii).

Particularly, the CRRF advocates for host governments to demonstrate their commitment to the long-term protection of refugees by pledging to include them in the services they have in place for their own nationals. The CRRF has three main objectives: easing pressures on refugee-hosting countries, enhancing refugee self-reliance, expansion of access to third-country solutions, and supporting conditions in the country of origin for their return ‘in safety and dignity’ (Mathew 2021). Those elements of self-reliance and durable solutions are directly linked to the development aspect of supporting refugees. The framework emphasizes ‘the promotion of economic opportunities, access to decent work, job creation, and entrepreneurship programs for host community members and refugees’, which is Goal # 8 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of the United Nations (Jatana & Currie 2020:12). The GCR was a follow-up commitment by the international community of the CRRF and is an essential tool for international solidarity in ensuring that refugees and the countries and communities that host large numbers are getting the necessary support from the international community (Dowd & McAdam 2017:865)

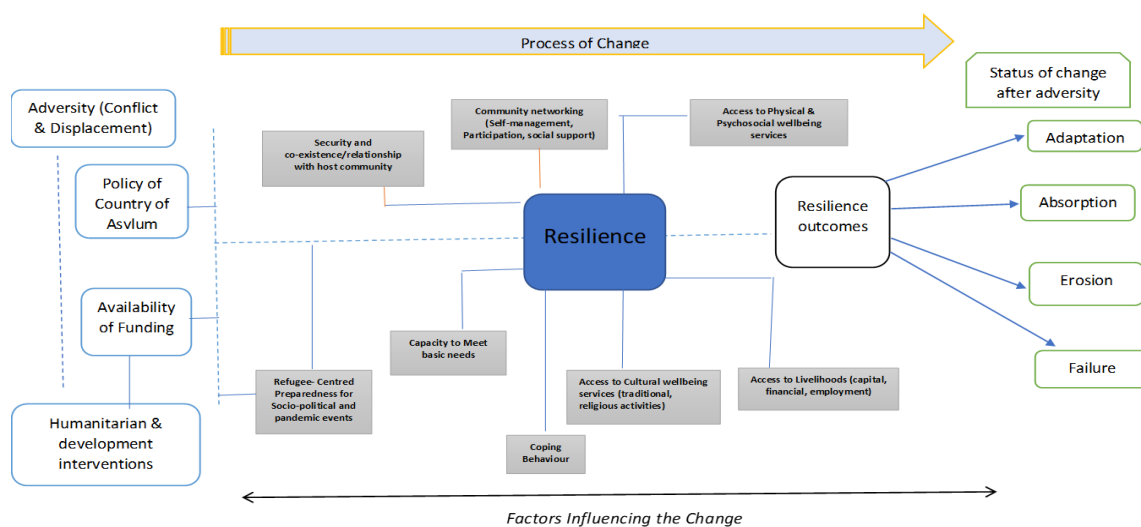
The UNDP also included refugees in the development agenda at the Geneva Forum in 2019. At the forum, the organisation expressed a commitment to three integrated solutions for the inclusion of refugees and agreed to address the problem of forced displacement through the UNDP-UNHCR Rule of Law and Local Governance Partnership Framework (UNDP 2019). The partnership framework includes strengthening the capacities of local governments, supporting Rule of Law institutions, and improving access of refugees and host communities to justice, safety and security, and human rights protection systems (UNDP 2019), and supporting efforts to foster self-reliance among refugees.

In summary, while there are diverse views on the contribution of humanitarian programmes toward the resilience of the affected population, there is nevertheless a trend of capturing the concept of resilience in the humanitarian environment with the intention to support the resilience of displaced communities. Furthermore, there are indicators at the international community level that there should be congruence between the humanitarian and development interventions to better support and protect forcefully displaced people and the communities hosting them.

## **2.7 MODIFIED FRAMEWORK OF RESILIENCE (THE REFUGEE RESILIENCE FRAMEWORK)**

After having reviewed the different concepts and frameworks of resilience, the current researcher applied a modified framework of the Tulane and SUH to conduct this study as indicated below and has named the new framework the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework. Thus, according to the modified framework, resilience is defined as the capacity of forcefully displaced communities to face and recover from the negative physical, psychosocial, cultural, economic and security effects of the experience of conflict and displacement, and their potential to restore and normalize their day-to-day living.

**Figure 2.8: Modified resilience framework – The 2R Framework**



This choice of the researcher is based on the specific context of the adversity the displaced communities are experiencing, which is a conflict-induced refugee situation. The displaced communities are sheltered in camp settlements receiving humanitarian assistance in a country of asylum, and the framework could better explain this social situation. While adopting this framework, the researcher has considered additional elements such as cultural wellbeing, capacity to meet basic needs, community self-management and security, the refugee policy of the host country, the funding situations, peaceful co-existence with host communities, the impact of other socio-political events and pandemics. The framework incorporates how potential factors could affect the change process in building up a positive coping capacity and resilience among the displaced community. Therefore, according to this framework, the situation of conflict causes a social situation of displacement, in which displaced populations cross the border into a second country seeking international protection and assistance services from the government of the country of asylum, from donor communities, and from humanitarian and development actors. The policy of the host country, the level and continuity of funding, the self-management capacity of the displaced community, and the relationship between the refugee and host communities are among the things that could impact the possible resilience outcomes, namely adaptation, absorption, erosion, and failure. In addition, the framework also considers the influence of unprecedented socio-economic events and health pandemics such as COVID-19 in the resilience change process. Most importantly,

the 2R Framework recognises the two-way relationship between the humanitarian and development interventions and the resilience outcomes. Adequate humanitarian and development interventions could lead to better resilience outcomes and the level of the resilience outcomes could also imply revisiting or changing the humanitarian and development interventions. With this framework in place, the researcher developed a systematisation template called the '2R Matrix,' which consists of 8 major dimensions and 31 sub-elements of resilience, and four levels of resilience outcomes. It also captures an explanation of the different levels of resilience and the coping behaviours of the displaced population. Therefore, the researcher believes that the modified resilience framework of the Tulane University and SUH is the best fit for this study. Concerning the livelihood aspect of the research, the researcher considered concepts of sustainable livelihoods from the CARE Household Livelihood Security model which has the elements of context, services-related outputs, community capacity, participation, psychosocial wellbeing, and personal security issues. These elements are again found to be very much relevant to the conditions in which the refugee population is living in the refugee camp settlements and the humanitarian assistance they receive. For the security and peaceful co-existence aspect of the study, concepts from Galtung's theory of peace were applied.

## **2.8 SUMMARY**

In the last two decades, resilience has been observed as being an area of interest that brings humanitarian and development efforts together to address the needs of communities that are affected by natural or man-made adversities. To explain and address the resilience and coping capacity of affected communities, different models and frameworks have been designed and are in use. In the process of applying these, disparities have come to the fore in terms of the concepts and content of existing models and frameworks. Taking into account all the debates, some scholars such as Béné et al (2012) pare the elements of resilience frameworks down to three structuring elements of an analytical framework, namely absorptive, adaptive, and transformative capacity, while the Tulane and SUH (2012) model has four levels of resilience: adaptation, absorption, erosion, and failure. While most resilience-related frameworks concern adversities induced by climate change disasters, there is also a need for a context-specific framework to study the topic of a conflict-induced forced displacement of people. Furthermore, the

concept of sustainable livelihoods is one of the major development concepts and a factor that determines the capacity for resilience in communities in adverse times, and different models are used by different organisations. These include the OXFAM SL framework, UNDP SL model, CARE Household Livelihood Security model, the DFID SL framework, and the SL framework of Natarajan et al. All these frameworks have strengths and limitations. In addition, there are characteristics and drivers of resilience that differentiate a resilient community from a non-resilient one in a situation of adversity. Identifying and understanding those characteristics and factors would help build up the capacity of communities to overcome adverse events and situations.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE CONTEXT AND DYNAMICS OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS**

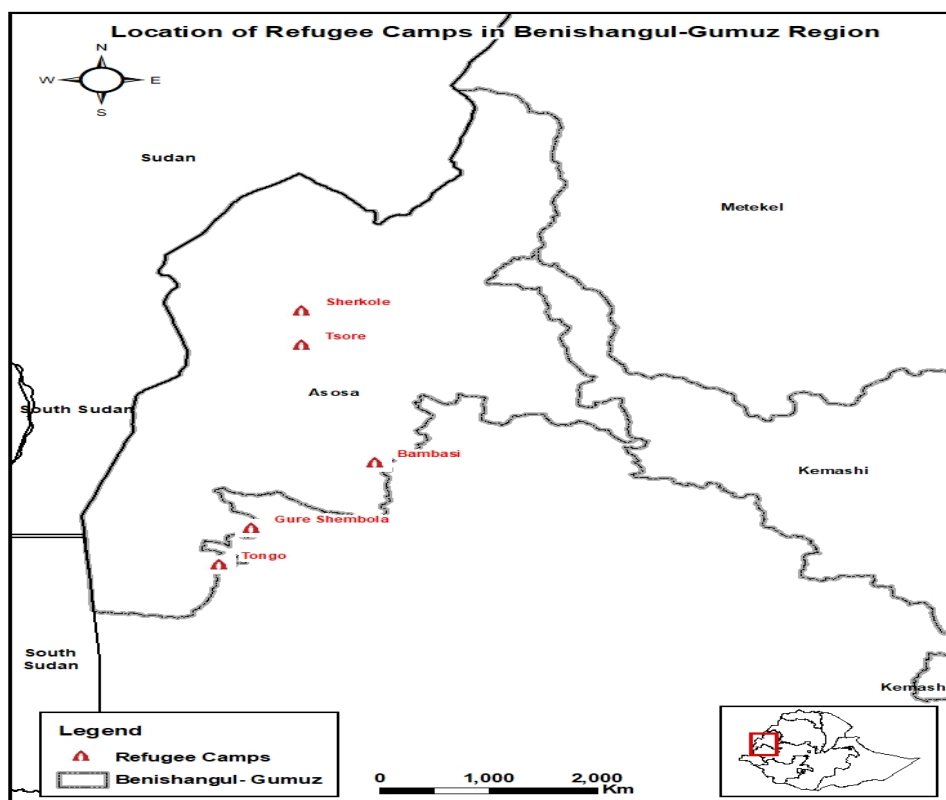
### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Having presented the literature review in chapter two, this chapter will now discuss the specific context of the displacement of South Sudanese refugees hosted in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia. The chapter presents background information on the plight of these refugees, the geographical locations of the refugee settlements, the socio-economic and political dynamics prevailing in the refugee hosting region, the refugee population figures, and the current living situation of the refugees. The section also addresses issues related to the role of the Ethiopian government in refugee protection, the services the refugees are receiving, and their coping behaviours.

### **3.2 GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND POPULATION FIGURES**

As discussed in previous sections, the Benishangul Gumuz region is one of the administrative regions of Ethiopia and is found in the western part of the country. In the region are five camps namely Sherkole, Tsore, Bambasi, Gure-Shombola, and Tongo, hosting mainly Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees and a smaller number of other nationalities from the Great Lakes region. South Sudanese refugees are hosted in all of these camps except in Bambasi. In terms of the history of the camps, Sherkole, Tongo, Bambasi, Tsore, and Gure-Shombola were established in 1997, 2011, 2012, 2015, and 2017 respectively. Due to the persistent insecurity in Sudan and South Sudan, the camps have continued to receive refugees from these two countries. In terms of the specific location of the five camps within the Benishangul Gumuz region, as observed in Figure 3.1 Sherkole and Tsore camps are located relatively in the north-western part of the region, slightly closer to the border with Sudan, whereas Togo and Gure-Shombola are found in the southern part of the region slightly closer to the border with South Sudan. Bambasi camp is found between the other camps and much closer to the border with the Oromia regional state of Ethiopia.

**Figure 3.1: Location of refugee camps**



**Table 3.1: Refugee population in Benishangul Gumuz region by camp**

Camp	Total population	%
<b>Bambasi</b>	18,255	27.69
<b>Tsore</b>	16,200	24.57
<b>Tongo</b>	10,938	16.59
<b>Sherkole</b>	10,924	16.57
<b>Gure-Shombola</b>	9,619	14.59
<b>Total</b>	<b>65,936</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: UNHCR, Assosa Statistical Dashboard as at 31 August 2020

Concerning the population caseload, as observed in Table 3.1 the Bambasi camp has hosted the biggest number of refugees at 27.69%, followed by the Tsore camp which accounts for 24.57% of the total refugee population in the region. In terms of the composition of the refugee population by nationality, as revealed in Table 3.2 Sudanese refugees make up the highest figure at 66%, followed by South Sudanese refugees who account for 33% of the total refugee population in the region. There are also other nationalities, particularly from Great Lakes countries that account for 1% of the total refugee population.

**Table 3.2: Refugee population in Benishangul Gumuz region by nationality**

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Sudanese</b>	43,240	66
<b>South Sudanese</b>	21,934	33
<b>Other</b>	762	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>65,936</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: UNHCR, Assosa Statistical Dashboard as at 31 August 2020*

This study targeted only refugees from South Sudan who are hosted in the three camps of Sherkole, Tsore and Tongo. Gure-Shombola and Bambasi camps were excluded due to issues related to accessibility and relevance.

### **3.3 ROOT CAUSES OF THE DISPLACEMENT FROM SOUTH SUDAN**

The past years have witnessed multiple conflicts in South Sudan, resulting in a very high level of forced displacement of the people within the country and into neighbouring countries in the region. Due to its proximity to South Sudan, Ethiopia has been one of the destination points for refugees fleeing from South Sudan. The root cause of the displacement from South Sudan goes back to the struggle of the South Sudanese people for independence from Sudan in a war waged for over two decades. After decades of this civil war, a comprehensive peace agreement was signed between the government of



Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in 2005, which facilitated the return of tens of thousands of South Sudanese from Ethiopia between 2006 and 2008. During that time, there was high optimism that the peace agreement would be a step forward to stop the decades-long bloodshed and suffering of people in South Sudan as the quest for independence was realised. However, tension erupted again in the new country with reports that President Salva Kiir had dismissed Vice-President Riek Machar and the entire cabinet of the Government in July 2013, which led to another cycle of conflict. Once more this caused the displacement of millions of people to Ethiopia and other countries in the region. While the sacking of the vice-president was an immediate cause of the war, there were also reports of deep-rooted ethnic and political grievances among the different groups after independence, which contributed to armed clashes and targeted ethnic killings in Juba and other areas (Blanchard 2016). The main cause of the displacement of South Sudanese people into Ethiopia is therefore the renewed civil war that broke out in the country in 2013.

### **3.4 IMPACT OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT**

As a major social event that involves the human element, forced displacement affects the psychological and social life, livelihoods, and security of individuals and families. Some literature indicates that forced displacement could lead to serious political and economic challenges to communities and countries. Displacement can also destroy assets, community networks and social fabric. According to Christensen and Harild (2009), compared to the stable population in the home country or the country of asylum, displacement results in vulnerability and challenges such as being unable to get a safe space, having to adjust to camp life, and having limited access to basic humanitarian services. In most crises, while the hosting communities face challenges to access livelihoods and basic services, the challenges are tougher for IDPs and refugees in exile (Christensen & Harild 2009:4).

Kaczmarek (2017:2) elaborates on other challenges that displaced populations face, such as maintaining social connections, retaining their languages, and practising their community and cultural knowledge. Various studies furthermore show that traumatic experiences are likely to happen during conflict and forced displacement. In this

connection, one of the studies confirms 'the likelihood of developing mental disorders such as depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and psychosis' is greater among the displaced population than among the stable population' (Siriwardhana & Stewart 2013:5). Other studies also confirm that variables such as status loss after displacement (Connor & Zhang 2006), experiencing more than three traumatic events, sudden evacuation (Thapa & Hauff 2005), and feeling miserable on arrival at a new place (Kang, Dalager, Mahan & Ishii 2005) are significantly associated with anxiety symptoms among displaced communities. Similarly, Williams (2019) has indicated that displacement in the African context results in serious negative impacts. According to Williams (2019:3), 'displaced populations are subject to higher levels of morbidity, mortality, and malnutrition than stable populations with mortality rates among displaced populations during the acute phase of displacement up to 60 times the average levels of mortality'. He further emphasizes that displaced communities also face the risk of violence by those actors responsible for the camps or by hosting communities.

These impacts of forced displacement are evident in most African countries, which are overridden by social, political, natural, and economic hardships. In his article about the Tana Forum, Okello (2016) points to reports of many young African people putting their lives at risk in attempting to immigrate to Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. This is due to challenges such as 'land and border conflicts, climatic change, scarcity of water and agricultural output, and inequalities in societies' (Okello 2016:2), which are major challenges to the peace and security of the continent. A study conducted by Tulane and SUH (2012) after the Haiti earthquake in 2010 found that camp residents reported very bad conditions with regard to their psychological and physical wellbeing, more so than the non-camp population. According to this study, at least 35% of adult camp residents reported acute psychological stress.

Similarly, a qualitative study conducted by Olanrewaju, Omotoso and Alabi (2018) on IDPs displaced by the Boko Haram terror in Nigeria, identified challenges such as lack of adequate care, lack of freedom, financial problems, family disintegration, and poor education (Olanrewaju et al 2018). The same study further indicated that factors such as unfulfilled expectations that their basic needs would be met by government, church authorities, and others made people report a lack of adequate care in the places where

they live. Also, economically, forced displacement impacts negatively on IDPs and refugees in many ways. According to Schuettler and Caron (2020), consequences of displacement such as loss of assets and separation from family members, lack of marketable skills, negative physical and mental health situations, and legal restrictions in the country of asylum, are major factors affecting access to the labour market in the host countries.

In respect of the impact of their forced displacement on the South Sudanese refugees, preliminary observed indicators are of negative consequences of the civil war and their displacement. As the conflict erupted fast and was accompanied by brutal killings, the population had to flee to escape the violence and save their lives. It is obvious that fleeing means the displaced population runs away leaving behind all the necessities of life, assets, and even family members. Some of them have also witnessed violent incidents which affect them psychologically, while some others have been victims of the violence itself directly. Furthermore, in the refugee camps where they are settled, they have to adapt to the new environment, which requires psychological adjustment. In general, leaving behind familiar places, houses and family members is unbearable for human beings, who will take time to adapt to a new situation.

The NRC 2018 Assessment conducted in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region also found loss of livelihood assets, psychosocial problems, and shortages of food and non-food items. The assessment's finding indicates that the disaster has deeply affected all aspects of the refugees' lives, which evidences the depth and severity of the challenges of the refugee situation and the need to address these challenges with an integrated intervention. Therefore, with the above-mentioned preliminary indicators of the impact of displacement on the South Sudan refugees having been identified, this current study has further explored the different impacts comprehensively and will discuss them in more depth in chapter five.

### **3.5 PROFILE OF THE REFUGEES IN THE CAMPS**

In terms of population profile, the South Sudanese refugees hosted in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia are mainly from the Mabaan, Dinka, and Nuer ethnic groups. The conflict that broke out in 2013 was fought between the latter two

ethnic groups, and both were badly affected (South Sudan Ethnic Groups 2016). The three ethnic groups have both similar and distinct features and characteristics in terms of their socio-cultural and economic lives in their country of origin.

The Dinka community is the largest ethnic group in South Sudan. This ethnic group is well known for its dominant economic and political power in the country as compared to other ethnic groups. In terms of economic life, the Dinka are mainly pastoralists who live by raising cattle. Though the Dinka have retained the traditional pastoral life of Nilotic groups, they have added crop cultivation in some areas, growing peanuts, beans, and maize. In terms of gender roles, women do much of the farming while men clear and prepare the site for farming (NALRC 2021). In this ethnic group, a man's wealth and social status are measured by the number of cattle he has. Regarding shelter, the Dinka construct traditional houses with mud walls and grass-thatched roofs (NALRC 2021). In terms of marriage, the Dinka practise polygyny, and a man may take more than one wife. Literature also indicates that the Dinka were the first Sudanese group to convert to Christianity. With their exposure to European-style education through missionaries, they enjoy a better economic and political status in the country. Like other ethnic groups in South Sudan, the Dinka have witnessed the dark aspect of the decades of Civil War and the recent conflict that happened after independence, which caused the loss of their lives and livelihoods. Now, in the newly independent nation, the Dinka political and cultural influence continues to predominate (South Sudan Ethnic Groups 2016). In terms of community organisation and leadership, the Dinka consider spear masters as ritual community leaders and they believe in equal rights for all. Everyone, whether wealthy or poor, is expected to contribute to the common good in the community. While the community expresses its art in songs and poetry, men and women contribute artistically in different ways: women by making pots and weaving baskets while men are blacksmiths producing tools for the community (NALRC 2021).

Living in the north-eastern part of the country, the Nuer are also traditional cattle herders and frequently come into conflict with the Dinka over grazing land. Some of the literature reports this hostility between the two as having existed since the 1800s. Like the Dinka, the Nuer are a semi-nomadic people whose language belongs to the Nilotic language family. In terms of religious predisposition, unlike the majority of Dinka, most of the Nuer

are animistic and believe that animals, plants, objects, and natural elements are possessed by spirits. While the Nuer believe this, they also believe in one God and creator, called Kowth.

The Mabaan is a sub-Saharan Nilotic people related in language to the Dinka and Nuer. The Mabaan reside in the Upper Nile and Blue Nile areas. In terms of their lifestyle, Mabaan society is more loosely structured, with a scattered pattern of family settlement. The community is administered by village chiefs who are selected by members based on status measured in livestock or the number of children (DDG 2013). This group follows a dowry system in marriage, with dowry in the form of pigs, goats, and tools. According to the DDG (2013), Mabaan men, like the Dinka, can marry multiple wives and women have the liberty to divorce if the bride's wealth is returned. The Mabaan are characterized by internal blood feuds, and they are sensitive about land and territory. Agriculture with limited livestock in the form of pigs, chickens, and goats is the means of livelihood for this community. Like other South Sudanese, the Mabaan were victims of the renewed civil war (DDG 2013).

In summary, these unique features of the lifestyle and social structures of the South Sudanese refugees are believed to have been maintained in the refugee camps. The various ethnic groups live in their own villages and zones in the camps and are led by their own leadership structures.

### **3.6 PROFILE OF THE REFUGEE-HOSTING COMMUNITIES**

The Benishangul Gumuz regional state, where the refugee camps are located, is one of the administrative regions of Ethiopia. The region is bordered by the Amhara region to the north and northeast, the Oromia region to the south and southeast, Sudan to the west, and South Sudan to the southwest. The regional state is comprised of three administrative zones, which consist of 20 districts and one city administration. The regional capital, Assosa, is located 679 km west of Addis Ababa, the capital city. The total population of the region, as per the 2017 projection, is about one million people. The population consists of diverse ethnic groups such as Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha, Mao and Komo, Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, and others. Politically, the administrative region is ruled by the Benishangul Gumuz Regional State Prosperity Party, a ruling party under the auspices

of the Prosperity Party of the Ethiopian government. In terms of elevation, most of the region is situated at 580 m to 2 730 m above sea level. The region is well endowed with natural resources, with huge forest cover, agricultural land, water resources, and very good weather conditions. The region is also known for its rich gold and marble resources, and there are a lot of mining activities taking place in different areas. In addition, its bamboo forests are believed to account for about 67% of Africa's bamboo forests. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project is also situated in the region, which has significantly increased the visibility of the region. Despite all these rich resources, the Benishangul Gumuz region is one of the underdeveloped and fragile regions of Ethiopia where several social, political, and economic challenges are observed. The hosting community depends highly on farming and small trade activities, with limited infrastructure and social services in most of the region. This situation impacts in one way or another on the lives of refugees, as the hosting community shares with the refugee camps such available services as health, water, sanitation, and education. Politically, in addition to receiving displaced populations from the neighbouring countries, the Benishangul Gumuz region has also experienced internal displacement in the two zones of Metekel and Kamashi, caused by ethnic conflict between 2018 and 2021. According to government sources, the ethnic conflict resulted in the displacement of over 100 000 people in 2019, posing an additional challenge to the federal and regional governments, and humanitarian agencies. This situation gave impetus to the movement of humanitarian actors and hence the delivery of humanitarian services to the refugee population hosted in the region. While the region faces such multi-dimensional socio-political and economic challenges, it also has huge potential for development and prosperity that can benefit both refugees and host communities in the long term should peace and stability prevail.

### **3.7 THE SERVICE PROVIDED TO REFUGEES**

The refugee camps where the refugees are settled were established with basic services and facilities in place. Basic services such as primary health care, food assistance, education, water and sanitation, shelter, physical protection, and domestic energy are being provided to the refugee population by different humanitarian and development organisations coordinated by the Administration for Refugees and Returnees Affairs (ARRA) and the UNHCR. According to the 'Who does What and Where' (3Ws) signed by

ARRA and UNHCR for 2020, there are about eight implementing partners and five operational partners involved in the protection and assistance services to the refugee population in the Benishangul Gumuz region. The quality and standard of the services provided vary from sector to sector because of the challenges of funding, as the needs of the population do not tally with the available resources. This funding situation is believed to have an impact on the living situation of the refugee population and hence on their resilience and recovery.

### **3.8 COPING BEHAVIOURS OF FORCEFULLY DISPLACED COMMUNITIES**

As discussed in previous sections, forced displacement negatively impacts on the lives of a displaced population. The South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region face a similar situation. Forcefully displaced communities face different challenges, amongst them psychosocial, economic, and security-related challenges. To cope with these challenges, amid the humanitarian support they receive from aid actors and hosting governments, they apply different strategies and techniques to cope with such adversities. These strategies could be both negative and positive. For instance, in a study conducted by Tulane and SUH (2012) following the Haiti earthquake, it was found that camp-based residents employed more coping mechanisms than non-camp residents, and negative coping mechanisms were used more often. These behaviours included dietary modification, increased debt, engaging in the alternative low-income livelihoods, and selling assets. The study reported that camp households more frequently used coping behaviours involving debt and credit than non-camp households did. The same study revealed that households in camps were also more likely to rely on poorly paid temporary work as a coping behaviour. The same report indicated that wealthier households tended to rely more on remittances, cash savings, and modifications of expenditures as coping mechanisms (Tulane & SUH 2012).

In a study conducted by Olanrewaju et al (2018) in IDP camps in Nigeria, most of the respondents emphasised the importance of access to economic opportunities. These opportunities comprised vocational services, skills acquisition, training in trades, and provision of financial assistance or support for income-generating activities. In this study, 15.8% of single girls, 7.9% of married women, and 7.9% of the widowed participants of

the FGD pointed to skills acquisition and vocational training as important coping mechanisms for survival in the camps. Prayer and religious fortitude were also reported by 2.6% of the women as an important coping mechanism to handle displacement-related stress. Additionally, strengthening family ties was motioned by respondents as another coping mechanism (Olanrewaju et al 2018). Furthermore, in the same study, 75% of FGD participants identified practising their faith as a coping strategy. Thus, the South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region supposedly also apply the various coping mechanisms to be able to cope with the different challenges while residing in the camp, and this will be elaborated on in chapters five and six.

### **3.9 COMMITMENT OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO REFUGEE PROTECTION**

Ethiopia has a long history of hosting refugees, perhaps dating back to 615 AD. According to some literature, the first group of people who entered Ethiopia seeking international protection were the companions of Prophet Muhammed who came to Aksum fleeing religious persecution by the ruling elites of Mecca (Feyissa & Lawrence 2014). Since a long time ago, the government of Ethiopia has been following an open-door policy toward asylum seekers and refugees who experienced forced displacement. Among these have been Europeans and Asians during the First World War, and Africans during the struggle against colonialism (FDRE 2019:8).

With this long history of hosting people fleeing persecution and being party to several global and regional legal instruments on refugees, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention on refugees, the country has been at the forefront of addressing the international protection needs of displaced people. As a result of its open-door policy with regard to refugees and asylum seekers crossing into its territory, the country has become one of the top refugee-hosting countries in the world with a current figure of 814 535 registered refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR 2021).

Since 2016, as one of the United Nations member states the Ethiopian government has expressed its international commitment by taking more practical measures to protect refugees under its jurisdiction. As such, the country has introduced the concept of the out-of-camp policy for Eritrean refugees, aimed at assisting and protecting refugees in a much



more progressive and rights-based approach (Woldetsadik, Mulatu & Edosa 2019). Furthermore, as part of its commitment, in the meeting held in New York on Refugees and Migrants on 20 September 2016, the Ethiopian government made nine interweaved pledges to the international community to better assist and protect refugees in the country. This was considered a breakthrough in the matter of refugee protection and was believed would transform the lives of refugees substantially and potentially in the country by providing better protection of rights, socio-economic services, and livelihood opportunities. Rights related to legal residency, movement, documentation, and access to gainful employment opportunities were part of the pledges (Woldetsadik et al 2019:3). To actualise the implementation of the pledges, the government adopted a Refugee Proclamation in January 2019 (Woldetsadik et al 2019:5), while a ten-year strategic document with detailed implementation instruments was also developed by ARRA, the government counterpart to UNHCR. Furthermore, official launching events were organized in each of the five regions where refugees are hosted, and a National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (Nigusie & Carver 2019:7) was formulated, aimed at setting up a coordinated institutional leadership and response in the implementation of the pledges (Woldetsadik et al 2019).

The pledges included creating access to 10 000 ha of irrigable land for 20 000 households from both refugees and host communities, expansion of the out-of-camp scheme for up to 10% of the refugee population, and enhancing the movement of refugees, creating self-reliance and livelihood opportunities among other things (ARRA 2017). The country subsequently linked these new pledges with its policy of industrialization, calling for collaboration with international development partners. Accordingly, the World Bank, EU, and UK pledged more than half a billion dollars to support the job creation initiatives in Ethiopia, and 30% of 100 000 new jobs in industrial parks were reported to be allocated to the refugees in the country (Nigusie & Carver 2019:7). To sum up, Ethiopia as a member state of the UN has been providing international protection for refugees and has put in place legislation that is believed to improve the living situation, and thus the resilience, of refugees under its jurisdiction.

### **3.10 SUMMARY**

The South Sudanese refugees were uprooted by the civil war in South Sudan, and they are hosted in refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia. There are different dynamics involved, and different factors such as the socio-economic and political situation of the Benishangul Gumuz region, the availability of assistance services in the refugee camps, the refugees' country-of-origin profiles, and the policy and support of the host government do influence directly or indirectly the living conditions of the refugees and their coping behaviours in the camps.

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the research methodology employed to conduct the study. Accordingly, to meet the research objectives, the researcher followed a qualitative research design, collecting data from both primary and secondary sources through interviews, FGDs, and a review of documents. This chapter discusses the study population and sampling, data collection tools, data collection procedures, and data analysis mechanisms. The chapter also presents the ways employed to ensure validity and reliability and describes the ethical aspects of the research approach. As part of the ethical considerations, the purpose of the study was clearly explained to participants, the confidentiality of their data was protected, their consent was obtained before their participation in the study, and orientation on ethical issues was provided to data collectors and interpreters. This chapter also discusses the interdisciplinary character of the study.

### **4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN**

The study followed a qualitative research design through a collection of qualitative data from primary and secondary sources. The study was conducted in real-life settings of the population of interest to the study, and it has the element of participant observation as well. Since the study examined the attitudes, characteristics, opinions, and behaviour of the displaced communities affected by armed conflict – in this case refugees – by using the techniques of focus group discussions and structured interviews, it is a fully qualitative type of research (Hammarberg & Lacey 2016; Marczyk, DeMatteo & Festinger 2005:122). This approach enabled the researcher to examine the research problem better (Creswell 2014) by drawing on the in-depth local knowledge and experiences of the displaced population in the settings where they live, which are refugee camp settlements. In this respect, literature indicates that through qualitative research methods researchers can better understand people in their socio-cultural contexts, and this method enables them to answer comprehensively the 'why', 'how', and 'in what way' questions of a given research problem (Palmer & Bolderston 2006:16). Accordingly, the researcher undertook an in-depth analysis of the life situation of South Sudanese refugees by collecting detailed information concerning their resilience and coping ability, challenges, and services they

are receiving in the refugee camps. Furthermore, secondary data was reviewed from programmatic documents and situation reports, while assessments by humanitarian and development agencies were also reviewed and used. This has given an additional dimension to the research, creating opportunities for triangulation of the data from different perspectives and sources and ensuring data saturation and objectivity.

The research design is also explanatory and reflective as it is intended to show the link between resilience, humanitarian interventions, and other factors that affect resilience. The different factors impacting the resilience of the forcefully displaced population were identified and explained. This research also investigated why displaced people in the same environmental context have different resilience capacities in withstanding adversities. It explored the mechanisms refugees are using to cope with their challenges in attempting to improve their living conditions.

#### **4.3 RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING**

The population of interest for the study are those South Sudanese refugees in the age range of 18 and above who are residing in three refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia. This age category was chosen with the notion that it could have implications for factors influencing resilience and coping, such as access to livelihoods, access to social support, access to basic services, and interaction with the hosting and other refugee communities. As a result, a total of about 5 143 refugees from South Sudan who are hosted in three refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia formed the population of interest for the study. From this population, a sample population of 140 individuals was selected for the study by using the purposive sampling technique. However, during the data collection, 16 individuals were not present. The sampling approach enabled the researcher to include participants from different groups of refugees in terms of age, sex, and persons with specific needs. The demographic characteristics of the sample participants are provided in the tables below.

**Table 4.1: Sample participants by gender, age, marital status and religion**

<b>CHARACTERISTICS</b>	<b>Subcategory</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
SEX	Male	80	57.1
	Female	60	42.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
AGE	25 Years and below	20	14.3
	26-35 Years	42	30
	36-45 Years	61	43.6
	>45 Years	17	12.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
MARITAL STATUS	Single	30	21.4
	Married	76	54.3
	Divorced/Separated	13	9.3
	Widow	21	15
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
RELIGION	Christian	108	77.1
	Muslim	32	22.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>

Of the sample population, 57.1% are male and 42.9% are female. In terms of age, 43.6% are in the age range of 36 to 45 years, while the participants in the age range of 26 to 35 years account for 30%. The participants in the age group of 45 years and above and 25 years and below comprise 12.1% and 14.3% respectively. In terms of marital status, 54.3% are married and 21.5% are single. There are also 15% of them who are widows. In terms of religion, Christians account for 77.1% of the participants while 22.9% are Muslim.

**Table 4.2: Sample participants by education and occupation**

CHARACTERSTICS	Subcategory	N	%
EDUCATION	Illiterate	21	15
	Primary Level	37	26.4
	Secondary Level	52	37.1
	Diploma & above	30	21.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
OCCUPATION	Employee/incentive worker	28	20
	Skilled worker	18	12.9
	Farmer	28	20
	Running petty business	16	11.4
	No Occupation/Depend fully on aid	38	27.1
	Other	12	8.6
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>

In terms of educational background, at 37.1% the majority possess a secondary level education level while 26.4% possess a primary level education. Those in the category of being illiterate, on the one hand, and having a diploma and above on the other hand, account for 15% and 21.4% respectively. In terms of the occupational status of the participants, most of them at 27.1% have no occupation as they are fully dependent on humanitarian aid. Of the others, 20% are incentive workers, 20% are farmers, 12.9 % are skilled workers and 11.4% run small businesses.

Regarding the sample selection process, before undertaking the sampling the refugee camps were accessed with the permission of ARRA, the camp management authority of the Government of Ethiopia. Having secured permission to access and visit the camps, the sampling of research participants was carried out with criteria for the inclusion of 1) all South Sudanese refugees proved to be residing in the three camps; 2) all refugees in the age range of 18 years and above; 3) both male and female refugees; 4) refugees with specific needs (such as disabilities, medical health conditions, or being violence survivors) and all able to communicate during the data collection process. The sampling approach also clearly demarcated the exclusion criteria as 1) refugees below the age of 18 years; 2) refugees who could not directly communicate with the data collectors or participate in the FGDs due to severe medical and psychological problems. The sampling process also took into consideration the representation of different community structures

such as a refugee central committee, women's association, youth association, and other community members.

In terms of the size breakdown of the sample by camp location, considering the time, resources, and manpower for data collection, the study considered only 40 individuals (20 per camp) for interviews and 100 (50 per camp) for FGDs. This made up a total of 140 individuals from the three refugee camps of Tsore, Sherkole, and Tongo. In addition to the research participants from the refugee population, to complement the primary data a total of nine humanitarian workers from various organisations were also selected, again through the purposive sampling technique.

#### **4.4 DATA-GATHERING PROCEDURES**

Before undertaking the data collection, the necessary preparations were made. The tools for data collection were designed in such a way that they would be sure to capture all the essential elements and aspects of the issues this study intended to examine. To access the location for data collection, the necessary authorization was obtained from the relevant government authority, ARRA, which is responsible for the management of the refugee camps. The consent of research participants was also obtained as part of the preparations. Moreover, before administering the instruments, the validity and reliability of the tools were checked through community consultation by taking a sample of eight individuals from the Sherkole camp. Then the sample population (n=140) was selected for interviews and FGDs through the purposive sampling technique as discussed in section 4.2. Accordingly, five FGDs per camp (a total of 10 FGDs) were arranged, with the participation of 8-10 individuals per FGD. Each FGD took an average of one hour and participants formed mixed groups in terms of their demographic characteristics. Therefore, for the collection of primary data, a total of 100 individuals participated in the FGDs while a total of 40 (20 individuals per camp) were reached through structured interviews.

For the interviews and FGD sessions, the researcher used refugee interpreters in the same way other humanitarian organisations are doing. Accordingly, four interpreters (two per camp) were used throughout the process of collecting the data. The data collectors and interpreters were provided with an orientation regarding the research approaches,

protocols, and their specific roles before the data collection process started. For the selection of the interpreters, a competitive selection process was used after calling for applications from potential interpreters in the refugee camps and clearly advertising the criteria for selection. After having reviewed the profile of the applicants, four interpreters were selected out of 12 applicants. One data collector was hired from Assosa University in the same manner, and he signed a contract of commitment and also the confidentiality protocol.

#### **4.5 DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS**

For data collection, different tools were developed. In developing the tools an effort was made to ensure the relevance and applicability of the instruments to the specific socio-cultural context of the refugees. Attention was paid to how sensitive the questions would be to research participants who have specific needs, such as persons with disabilities, violence survivors, persons with health challenges, and so on. Of the eight community representatives consulted, two were refugees with specific needs and their comment on the questions was elicited. Accordingly, all inappropriate and emotionally sensitive sentences and words in the questions were removed after receiving feedback from them. This approach enabled the researcher to address the views and concerns of these groups in the process of collecting the data.

Thus, the tools developed consisted of questions related to resilience, personal wellbeing, social support, livelihoods, coping capacities, and peaceful co-existence. To collect data related to livelihoods, the interview and FGD questions considered the five aspects of livelihoods such as human, social, natural, financial, and physical capital. The tools also captured elements related to the socio-cultural aspects of refugees, their wellbeing, and the aspect of their peaceful co-existence with hosting communities, including the nature of their interaction, the potential for conflicts, and the means to resolve these. To complement the primary data, secondary data was also collected through a review of programme and situation reports and assessments of investigations already conducted by different humanitarian and development organisations before this current study. The secondary sources enabled the researcher to examine whether humanitarian organizations have elements of resilience in their programming and interventions for



refugee communities. Therefore, as a tool for data collection, different questions were designed and applied to collect qualitative data through FGDs, and individual interviews aimed at exploring the attitudes, experiences, and thoughts of the refugee communities with regard to their displacement and their living conditions in the camp settlements. After having obtained the consent of the participants, digital recordings of the FGDs and interviews were made.

#### **4.6 TESTING OF DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS**

As mentioned above, the sets of questions to be used as data collection tool went through different reviews and adjustments. After having designed the tool, a brief pilot testing was conducted by administering the questions to eight individuals in the Sherkole camp. The questions were updated based on their comments. In this way, the socio-cultural appropriateness and applicability of the instruments were ensured. The testing of the tools was conducted in February 2021.

#### **4.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

Concerning the analysis and interpretation of the information collected, the research follows a qualitative approach and therefore explanatory and reflective types of techniques were applied. Barbie (2013) describes qualitative data analysis as being about discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships among different topics/issues. Similarly, Walliman (2011) indicates that the narrative analysis of data is aimed at 'extracting themes, structures, interactions, and performances from stories or accounts that people use to explain their past, their present situation or their interpretations of events' (Walliman 2011:142). Thus, a narrative presentation and analysis of the information were found to be the best fit for this qualitative study. Accordingly, the data was systematized and interpreted using different techniques, such as narratives and discussion. The data analysis was done after having coded and grouped the raw information collected into thematic areas in accordance with the level of pertinence and identified theme. This technique was chosen with the notion that the data analysis for qualitative research is determined by the 'analytic and integrative skills and personal knowledge of the social context where the data is collected' (Bhattacharjee 2012:113).

Therefore, the analysis was made by finding patterns and meanings in the responses of the participants to events, incidents, ideas, and perceptions, and in the interactions among the different topics observed during the interviews and the FGDs. By using the systematization form (2R Matrix) that was developed, similar concepts and ideas were categorized into thematic areas and levels of pertinence. In other words, careful analysis of the data by identifying patterns and thematic groupings, systematization of the data, narrative presentation, and discussion formed the main approach to analyse the information.

#### **4.8 ENSURING VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

As the study has a qualitative research design, the researcher believed that there would be a better chance of deep and detailed exploration of and reflection on the problem under study. Apart from the direct in-depth interviews and FGDs, the review of secondary sources helped to ascertain the consistency of the information collected from all sides. The secondary information collected from different humanitarian organizations and the government, and from the interviews with the humanitarian workers created an opportunity to triangulate the credibility and contradiction of the data collected. Furthermore, before administering the questions, the relevance of this tool was checked by obtaining feedback from eight representatives of the population of the study. Accordingly, the interview and FGD questions were modified and contextualized to enhance their appropriateness and relevance to the socio-cultural context of the community. Those elements which were found not to be in line with the socio-cultural aspect of the population were revised and removed. The diverse data sources and consultation with the community on the appropriateness of the tools ensured the validity and reliability of the study.

#### **4.9 THE INTER-DISCIPLINARY CHARACTER OF THE STUDY**

This study intended to investigate the links between resilience and social support systems, conflict-induced displacement, livelihoods, and interaction between displaced and host communities (particularly the role of peaceful co-existence interventions for community resilience). These issues are too complex to be looked at from a monodisciplinary perspective; doing so would risk drawing a wrong and incomplete

conclusion from the findings. In addition, with a lot of controversies and debates surrounding the concept of resilience – some see it from environmental points of view and others from human pathology and developmental perspectives – this study needed to consider different concepts, methods, and techniques from different disciplines. This required the researcher to involve diverse thoughts and perspectives in the investigation to be able to better examine and explain the research topic. Concerning this, Songca (2006) also indicated that complex problems such as those facing Africans cannot be resolved with the ‘subject knowledge of a single discipline’. According to her, the nature of complex systems or problems justifies the application of interdisciplinary study. An interdisciplinary study requires having the input of several theoretical frameworks and perspectives to find a holistic solution to a complex set of circumstances (Klein 2004:2; Max-Neef 2005:15). Since forced displacement and resilience are complex development issues they need to be studied using this approach.

Similarly, Zaman and Goschin (2007:7) state that ‘a subject of research can better reveal its various features when examined by different perspectives, using the methods and insights offered by several established disciplines’. Such an approach will also create flexibility in terms of bringing in the socio-cultural views and thoughts of the research population regarding the causes, magnitude, and management of forced displacement according to their unique perceptions and beliefs. Hence, this study has brought together different social psychological concepts of resilience, the developmental and economic concepts of livelihoods, the cultural aspect, and the peace and security concepts of community protection.

The psychosocial aspect of the study focused on the individual, communal and cultural resources available for enhancing the resilience of the displaced communities, while the livelihoods aspect of the study assessed access and availability of means of livelihood, and capacities to cope with the economic challenges while residing in the refugee settlements. Furthermore, the peace and security element of the study investigated the relationship between hosting and refugee communities, and those factors that could reduce conflict and promote peace among the different communities. Accordingly, this study intended to link the different elements theoretically and conceptually to understand the resilience capacity of affected communities and related factors deeply and holistically

in the context of conflict-induced forced displacement. As such it has drawn on different theoretical concepts, information, and tools from different disciplines to address the research questions.

#### **4.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

As indicated by Walliman (2011:42), research 'is only of any value if it is conducted honestly and with integrity'. Accordingly, as social research involves human participants, there are ethical issues that arise in this kind of research, and there are risks the participants face for being involved in research. According to Walliman (2011), ethical consideration in research is about treating research participants with respect and dignity before, during, and after the research. McBride (2010), as cited in Mabusela (2014), states that ethical requirements are to be demonstrated by the researcher throughout the entire process of the research in respect of the rights of the participants. In this respect, Mabusela (2014:38) mentions five core characteristics that should be demonstrated by a researcher during the research process. These are 'respect for persons, informed consent, beneficence, confidentiality, and justice implemented during the research process'. Accordingly, this research project adhered to all the necessary ethical considerations throughout the entire process starting from the design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation to the publication of the findings. In this regard, before the data collection process started, respondents were fully informed about the purpose of the study, and they were asked if they were willing to participate in the research process. For the sake of sensitive issues that emerged, such as talking to a vulnerable member of the displaced communities who had experienced negative social and psychological consequences of the conflict and the mass displacement, a consent form was designed and used to secure their willingness to engage in the discussion. This procedure was particularly important as the study population is a group of people who were forcefully displaced and who might have gone through various traumatic experiences.

As part of maintaining a high level of ethical standards in the process of conducting this research, ensuring confidentiality regarding the population involved and the information collected was given due consideration. An orientation session was thus organised for data collectors and interpreters on ethical issues, their roles, and the principles to be

followed in the process of data collection. In addition, research participants were informed that the information they provided would be protected and would only be accessed by the researcher, supervisors, the University, and humanitarian or development actors who wish to improve service delivery and programme implementation in the refugee camps.

The researcher conducting this study has made sure that the necessary measures are in place to manage the information gathered from the research participants. The information collected in the form of papers, tapes, pictures, and recordings is kept in a protected place in the care of the author and is only accessible for examination and assessment purposes. The details of the research participants have not been displayed in interview forms and checklists. To differentiate the participants, the interview participants were each given a code for data encoding purposes. Following the completion of the data collection and the analysis of the information, those data and documents were erased with due precaution. The relationship between the researcher and research participants was concluded after the data collection was completed as was disclosed to participants at the beginning and end of the data collection process.

In respect of the COVID-19 pandemic, and in line with the Unisa guidelines for planning, preparing for and conducting fieldwork in the context of COVID-19, the researcher diligently applied the principle of 'do no harm' to protect and minimize the participants' exposure to the infection. Accordingly, during the field research, the researcher used the COVID-19 prevention and control protocols and the safety toolkit for field work by providing hand sanitizer, tissue paper, and face masks to the participants, data collectors, and interpreters. These protocols were carefully followed to protect and safeguard the research participants.

## **4.11 TRUSTWORTHINESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE STUDY**

### **4.11.1 Credibility**

Credibility is one of the ethical requirements in qualitative research and it is about a truthful description of the research. In other words, research findings are expected to be credible from the participant's point of view (Guba & Lincoln 1985; Guba 1981). Accordingly, the researcher used different mechanisms, mainly triangulation techniques,

to ensure the credibility of the study. According to Moon et al (2016), there are three ways of triangulation: data triangulation when multiple sources of data are used, researcher triangulation when different researchers are involved in the study, and method triangulation when different methods of data collection are applied. For this study, the type of triangulation used was both data and method triangulation. As a result, the study considered various sources of information, which allowed the researcher to examine the credibility of the information from different angles. As indicated in the sections on research methodology, different groups such as refugees and humanitarian workers were engaged in the process of collecting data. Furthermore, data collectors were given training so that they acquired the basic skills of data collection and communication with research participants, which contributed to the objective handling of the responses provided by participants. The data collectors were asked to share with the researcher the notes/data they collected every day for analysis and storage. Regular debriefing sessions were conducted with the data collectors to evaluate the outcome of the daily activities.

In addition to the triangulation, this research allowed the researcher to directly engage with and observe the participants behaviours, characteristics, feelings, and thoughts in a natural setting, in other words where they live, being the refugee camps.

#### **4.11.2 Dependability**

Dependability is another ethical element to be considered in qualitative research and is about ensuring the stability or consistency of findings over time. This element of research ethics answers the question of: To what extent would this study, if conducted again yield similar results? (Guba & Lincoln 1985; Moser & Korstjens 2018). In this regard, scholars in the field indicate that recording and storing the key elements of the research process can ensure dependability (Moon et al 2016; Guba 1981; Guba & Lincoln 1985). It is with this understanding that the researcher conducting this study applied a standardized and documented approach, starting from the procedures of data collection to the presentation and analysis of the data, to ensure that the findings of the study would be dependable. The methods and tools used, and the techniques of data analysis are indicated and documented in detail so that future researchers can easily understand the study findings and the process that was followed. The authorizations received from authorities and

refugee representatives, and the confidentiality protocol signed with the data collectors and interpreters, are among the major indicators of the efforts taken to ensure dependability. Furthermore, before conducting this study a detailed proposal was developed and has gone through a series of reviews by the researcher's study supervisor and the Unisa scientific committee, upon which improvements were made. This has also been well documented and recorded. The necessary research ethical application was also reviewed and approved by the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa. Before conducting the fieldwork, a detailed work plan was furthermore developed and shared with the study supervisor. The supervisor has also been regularly informed about the progress of the research, including of the fieldwork. Therefore, the researcher believes that all these processes and documenting thereof ensure the dependability of the study.

#### **4.11.3 Conformability**

Confirmability, another consideration in research, is ensuring the requirement of neutrality in conducting the study. Confirmability is about avoiding personal biases, interests, and motivations (Guba & Lincoln 1985; Guba 1981; Moon et al 2016) during the whole process of the research. In conducting this study, the researcher took the necessary precautions to be as free from bias as possible. Accordingly, the researcher ensured that the findings would be supported by the information collected from the research participants. In this regard, every step of the process of the study was properly documented and checked to confirm an objective approach was taken. This entailed, among other things, having periodic evaluation meetings with data collectors to follow up on the process of objective data collection. Furthermore, different methods such as triangulating the data were applied to ensure consistency of the information.

#### **4.11.4 Transferability**

Transferability as an ethical element in research addresses questions related to the applicability of research findings in other contexts. According to Moser and Korstjens (2018), transferability also deals with the potential for the findings of research to be applied to policy development and practice. For Guba (1981), to enhance transferability a researcher should describe the context in which the study is conducted and how the

participants are selected. Malterud (2001) also states that indicating the limitations of the research is another mechanism to ensure transferability. In this study, as indicated in previous chapters and sections, the researcher has consequently elaborated on the applicability of the findings to the policy development and strategy design efforts of humanitarian and development organizations, including government entities, for the sake of better protection and assistance services to populations facing similar displacement situations. As this research is a unique study, targeting conflict-induced forced displacement in a refugee setting, and the tools were contextualized, the researcher believes that the findings can be applied in other similar situations of forced displacement.

#### **4.11.5 Authenticity**

Palmer and Bolderston (2006:18) mention different techniques to ensure trustworthiness in research. These include: 1) Audit Trail, which is about detailed documentation of actions taken during data collection and analysis; 2) Peer Review, which is about the undertaking of an independent review of the themes by members of a research team; 3) Member Checking, which is about interpretations of the data and sharing these with participants; 4) Triangulation, which is about cross-checking data with multiple sources; 5) Negative Case Analysis, which is about intentionally looking for experiences which are contrasting and may disprove emerging ideas; 6) Data saturation. This researcher has applied points 1, 4, and 6 as the major mechanisms to ensure authenticity.

Specifically, the researcher accommodated views as diverse as possible, both of the research participants and secondary sources in order to maintain the genuine nature of the study. From the very beginning, the research was designed to use diverse methods (interviews, FGDs, and reviewing secondary sources) to collect data from a variety of sources such as refugees, humanitarian workers, and available documentation. All the steps of the process were well documented.

#### **4.12 SUMMARY**

In summary, it was a strong belief of the researcher that the issue of resilience can be best studied using a qualitative research design. Accordingly, the use of secondary data, interviews and focus group discussions were the methods of data collection for the study. In the study, by using a purposive sampling technique, a total of 140 individuals were



selected from a total of 5 143 South Sudanese refugees. In addition, nine humanitarian workers were included for key informant interviews. The data was collected by undertaking FGDs, interviews and a review of secondary data. Before the data collection process started in all earnest, the instruments were adjusted after testing them in one of the refugee camps. In this process the purpose of the study was explained to participants, the consent of the research participants was obtained, and the confidentiality and protection of the information provided by the participants was maintained. The risk of compromising the personal security of participants was minimized by using pseudonyms and codes for recording the data for each individual case presented. Furthermore, the necessary briefing and orientation was provided to data collectors and interpreters. As this study, particularly the data collection process, was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic, the relevant policy guidelines of Unisa were referred to and applied, which made it possible to ensure the principle of 'do no harm' to protect the participants' exposure to the infection. Therefore, during the field research, the researcher applied the COVID-19 policies, mainly the Unisa guidelines for planning, preparing for and conducting fieldwork in the context of COVID-19.

## **CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

Chapter five focuses on the presentation, analysis and discussion of the results obtained based on the qualitative data collected from both primary and secondary sources. As clearly stated in chapter four, the primary data sources included key informant interviews (with refugees and humanitarian workers) and focus group discussions. The secondary data sources were the different documents collected from humanitarian organizations operating in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region. In terms of the structure of the detailed presentation of the results, in the primary sources section the results are categorized into topics and thematic areas. Accordingly, the topics of access to basic humanitarian services, access to livelihoods, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, access to social support, security and peaceful co-existence, and coping mechanisms are presented. In addition, a case presentation is made on the stories of selected informants. Similarly, the presentation of the data from the humanitarian workers includes the topics of access to basic humanitarian services, access to livelihoods, interventions building resilience for refugees, security and peaceful co-existence, and coping mechanisms. The secondary data analysis also involves the key topics of access to basic humanitarian services, access to livelihood opportunities, access to social support, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, security and peaceful co-existence, and coping mechanisms. In the different sections, the data is presented and discussed qualitatively in the form of narrative presentations, explanations, reflections, and case stories. At the end of the presentation of the results, the results and their implications are discussed in line with the literature reviewed.

### **5.2 ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF PRIMARY DATA**

In this section, the researcher presents the results of the data collected from refugee participants through interviews and FGDs.

#### **5.2.1 Profile of interviewees and focus group participants**

A total of 35 individuals were interviewed while an additional 89 individuals participated in 10 FGDs organized in Sherkole and Tsore refugee camps. The proposed plan was to

reach 40 refugees for interviews and 100 individuals for FGDs in the two camps, but of these a total of five interview participants and 11 FGDs participants were absent during the data collection. This was due to the cash and food distribution that was taking place during the same week that the data collection was undertaken. Furthermore, due to the security challenges that impacted on access, and based on the advice of the authorities, it was not possible to conduct the planned primary data collection in the Tongo refugee camp. The road to the camp was blocked by the ongoing fighting between the rebels and the government forces. However, efforts were made to capture secondary data for this camp as can be seen in the section on data from secondary sources. Therefore, the primary data collected from refugee participants in only the two camps is presented and analysed below.

As indicated in Table 5:1, male participants in the interviews account for 60% while female participants account for 40%. In terms of the educational status of the interview participants, over 74% of them have an education of secondary level and above. Concerning age, the majority of the participants (49%) are between the age range of 36 to 45 years old, while in terms of marital status 74.3% of the participants are married. Regarding religion, 80% of the participants are Christian while 20% are Muslim.

**Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of interview participants**

<b>CHARACTERISTICS</b>	<b>SUBCATEGORY</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>SEX</b>	Male	21	60
	Female	14	40
<b>EDUCATION</b>	Illiterate	4	11.4
	Primary Level	5	14.3
	Secondary Level	16	45.7
	Diploma & above	10	28.6
<b>AGE</b>	25 Years and below	3	9
	26-35 Years	10	29
	36-45 Years	17	49
	>45 Years	5	14
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>	Single	7	20
	Married	26	74.3
	Divorced/Separated	0	0
	Widow	2	5.6
<b>RELIGION</b>	Christian	28	80
	Muslim	7	20
<b>OCCUPATION</b>	Employee/incentive worker	10	28.6
	Skilled worker	2	5.7
	Farmer	3	8.6
	Running petty business	3	8.6
	No Occupation/Depend fully on aid	13	37.1
	Other	4	20
<b>TOTAL</b>		35	100

### **5.2.2 Access to basic humanitarian services**

This section focuses on the level and type of humanitarian services available in the camps and how the service provision impacts on the living conditions of the refugees. It also investigates the refugees' perception of their living situation in the camp compared to their situation in the country of origin. In the context of the humanitarian situation, it is commonly observed that refugees settled in the camps do have access to services, though it is difficult to determine the level and type of services without undertaking a systematic assessment. The services could also directly or indirectly impact on the living

conditions of the populations. The perceptions of the displaced populations regarding the benefits of the services could also vary depending on personal experience and socio-economic and other factors. This section now presents the results of the investigation.

### **5.2.2.1 Interview results**

In response to the question 'Do you get services in the camp?' all the participants interviewed confirmed that they get basic services from UNHCR, ARRA, and NGOs. These services include food and non-food items, basic health services, shelter, water and sanitation, education, and recreational activities and livelihoods in the form of small business activities, raising goats and chickens, and vocational skills training. In this connection, 24 out of 35 participants believe that the services they are receiving provide some sort of help to cope with the challenges they face. However, Considering the negative impact of the war and the displacement they have gone through; they don't believe the services are adequate. As such their basic needs are not met according to them. Living in the refugee camp has many challenges to them which includes delay and interruption of basic services, restriction of movement when attempt to go out of the camp, sometimes risk of maltreatment and violence against women when attempting to collect firewood in the nearby forest, and there is no job in the camp. In response to the question 'How do you evaluate your living condition in the camp versus in the country of origin?', the responses given by the participants reflected diverse views. The majority of the interview participants mentioned that physical protection within the camp, education, and partly also health services are better in the camp and that they are not afraid of anything while living in the camp as compared to the conflict situation in their country of origin, which they experienced as very tough. This group of participants also emphasized that some basic services do not adequately meet their needs. They mentioned needs such as cloth for clothing, fuel for domestic energy, medical referral services, food, and non-food items as being among the needs which are difficult to meet in the camps, since these are not adequately provided by humanitarian organizations. Some participants responded that the situation in the camp is not completely good, and they mentioned challenges concerning basic services. For them, some of the problems are a shortage of food, inadequate health services, inadequate shelter facilities, inadequate water supply, and limited access to household energy in the camps. Some others indicated that they do not

have freedom of movement outside of the camp and there is limited access to employment and work.

In response to the question 'How do you rate your safety and physical security in the camp?', all except two respondents indicated that they feel safe and protected inside the camp. The explanation is that the host government has a security structure in and around the camp which makes refugees feel safe. They also mentioned that the refugee leadership structure works together with the camp authorities to address the issue of security and they do not have concerns or feel insecure in the camp. However, two participants did mention that they feel insecure living in the camp, because they faced attacks by unknown people.

Quote from interview participant (male, 46 years old): *"I am here in the camp in Ethiopia because of the war that broke out in my country. The war caused so many problems. Some of my relatives were killed and my properties and house were destroyed. Here in the camp, I have at least safety and security for my family. My children are also going to school without any problem. The situation is much better here than in my country."*

#### **5.2.2.2 The results of focus group discussions**

These challenges of living in the camp were also mentioned during the FGDs. Similar to the interview participants, participants in the FGDs also expressed the view that basic needs such as cloth, domestic energy, medical referral services, food, and non-food items are among the needs that they find difficult to meet in the camps. According to them, the efforts made by humanitarian organizations to address these needs are limited. The discussion participants further indicated that there are unaccompanied, orphaned, and separated children affected by the war and without enough support in the camps. It was also noted from the discussions that parents with big families are facing the hardest challenge to meet basic needs. Participants also highlighted that their attempts to get enough income to support their living are ineffective, as the incentive paid for skilled and manual labour work in the camp is not enough and does not match the level of the work carried out. In addition, participants indicated that some refugee children reportedly do not have clothes and shoes, and the food rations they receive are depleted before the next month is reached, with constant delays in the distribution of rations. Apart from the

delay in food ration distribution, more often than not the food basket is inadequate. Some children without families reportedly need more support.

To meet their additional needs, FGD participants indicated that they had some opportunities to go out by themselves to work in a gold mining area, but due to the security problem in the country, access to the area has now been restricted and things have become much riskier for them. Yet, most participants emphasized that their conditions are relatively better compared to the war situation in their country of origin, because at least within the camp they are receiving basic services and they feel safe and protected. Also, participants said they at least have education for their children, something which is lacking in South Sudan because of the war.

Lack of freedom of movement outside of the camp, lack of job opportunities, and the risk of violence against women when collecting firewood in the nearby forest were mentioned repeatedly by participants, while access to education up to university level and physical protection in the camp are the most appreciated service aspects of the camps.

In terms of security, the participants claimed that there is no provision of domestic fuel, which sometimes forces the women to go out to the forest to collect firewood. The women stated, however, that the nearby forest is not safe and poses the risk of violence against them. They said that while living in the camp is safe, it is not safe in the forest. It was also mentioned in the discussion that the involvement of the refugee community and the structure of the camp authorities help to ensure better security inside the camp.

### **5.2.3 Refugees' access to livelihoods**

This section discusses the level of livelihood opportunities for the refugee population in the camps in terms of type, access, and sustainability. It also explores to what extent the livelihood opportunities help the refugees to address their needs and to cope with the challenges of displacement. It also presents the capacities that are available to the refugees in the camps. Accordingly, below are the results obtained from the interviews and FGDs.

### **5.2.3.1 Interview results**

In response to the question ‘How do you evaluate your livelihood experience in your country and the refugee camps?’, most of the participants indicated that they have some experience of earning a livelihood, particularly in the country of origin before the conflict broke out. Their experience included running a business, farming (cultivation and animal farming), house making, selling charcoal, handcrafting, being a civil servant in government offices, teaching, working in construction, running a grinding mill, and managing food item stores. However, the majority of them mentioned that they have had limited experience of earning a livelihood since coming to the camp. A few mentioned that through the support of NGOs (in the form of training, seeds, cash grants, and in-kind assistance) and due to their own initiative, they have had some experience of earning a livelihood such as running a petty business, doing incentive work, backyard gardening, mining, goat and chicken rearing, receiving cash support, mud-brick production, selling grains, and gold mining. For those few participants who said they gained that type of experience in the camp, the livelihood situation is much better in the camp than in the country of origin. Participants mentioned different gaps and challenges related to livelihoods in the camps, such as limited access to farming land, lack of employment, lack of markets, animal disease, lack of agricultural tools and supplies, lack of training, and restriction of movement outside of the camps.

Quote from interview participant (female, 38 years old): *“I have got some experience of livelihoods after I came to the camp. I was selected by NRC as a single-headed household, and I was given training and supplies. With the support, I am cultivating vegetables in the camp allocated to us. From that, I meet my additional needs of food, and also by selling in the market I buy non-food items and cloth. Because the services provided by organizations in the camp are not enough. I know a few women who also got the same support in the camp.”*

Quote from interview participant (male, 41 years old): *“Before the war in my country, I had different options to generate income which was enough to meet the needs of the entire family. I used to cultivate maize and raise domestic animals such as cattle and goats in our village. I used to also sell the surplus in the market where I made money. The situation*



*in the camp is not comparable, I don't have any income here in the camp. I am just living under the support of the UN, and the support is not enough. My family lacks many things."*

In response to the question, 'What was your estimated income before and after the displacement?', the participants indicated that while they were in their country of origin, they had income of up to USD 400 per month. Some others could not quantify the monthly income in terms of USD but stated that with their agricultural activities (crop and animal farming) they had been able to meet all their basic needs before the war. However, they reported that the maximum income which some of them receive in the camp is only a maximum of USD 30 per month. According to them, this is because the available job opportunity for refugees in the camp entails less well-paid incentive work. They do not have the same employment opportunities as the nationals. Regarding the question, 'Where have you got those means of livelihood in the camp?', participants mentioned: mainly skills they brought from their home country, and support from humanitarian organizations after they arrived in Ethiopia. Concerning the question: 'What assets/capitals (physical, natural, human, and social assets) do you access while residing in the camps?', all the participants indicated that they do not have physical assets or properties except their human capital (capacity to work in or do social work, teaching, skilled labour/construction, mudbrick production, farming crops and vegetables, and running shops). Participants mentioned that when the war broke out, they fled to save their lives, leaving behind their property and assets. So, they do not have assets in the camp. They also indicated that opportunities are limited for them to own property in the camp. However, they explained that if they were allowed access to employment, land, and financial assistance, they would be able to use their human capital to support themselves.

In terms of access to financial services in the camp and their country of origin, the participants have different views. According to a few of them, those refugees who have an identification card in the camp can open a bank account without difficulty. Some interview participants also mentioned that certain NGOs started credit services for a few refugees in one of the camps, but for some reason it did not continue. As regards the experience in their country of origin, most of them mentioned the availability of such services before the war, though some of them mentioned that the inaccessibility of

infrastructure and because of security problems they were not able to use savings and credit services. They rather used their money to buy property such as cattle or goats. Some said they used to access automated teller machine (ATM) services in South Sudan. In response to the question, 'How do you evaluate the use of your qualifications or skills in the camp?', most of the participants indicated that they feel they are not using their skills and qualifications in the refugee camps, while they used to do so in their country of origin. The only paid work available in the camp is incentive work as a social worker, interpreter or teacher earning USD 18 to USD 30 per month. This opportunity is limited to only a few people and the majority, though they have some skills, feel that the camp environment is not conducive for potential employers to use them. This is because, according to them, there are restrictions on utilizing their qualifications in the country of asylum, and the payment for the work they do is not up to standard compared to what the local people are receiving for the same type of work. Some also feel that they do not have the qualifications and skills to evaluate whether or not they are using them.

### **5.2.3.2      *The results of focus group discussions***

In almost all the FGDs it was mentioned that there are some NGOs providing livelihood support, but the support targets only a few households. According to the participants, some households receive livelihood support in the form of poultry, goats, agricultural tools, seeds, cash assistance, marketable skills training, and business development training. In three of the FGDs participants reported that they do cultivate vegetables and maize on the available small plot of land in the camp or the backyards of their shelters.

According to the FGD participants, the NGOs used a certain procedure to provide livelihood support to them. First, based on some criteria, the organization contacted individual refugees through the refugee leadership to ask if they were interested in forming a group for training in agricultural activities. Then, those who were interested were provided with training. After the training the organization supported those refugees with the construction of a small irrigation canal in the river that passes through the camp. This enabled them to cultivate vegetables and maize.

In two of the FGDs, it was noted that the refugees would make informal arrangements with the host communities to have a small plot of land around the camps, and in that way

get access to farming opportunities. According to them, this is an initiative they are taking to reach out to the host community to address their challenges of living in the refugee camp. Very few mentioned they get any remittance from relatives living abroad. It was also mentioned in the discussions that the refugees often do not have access to employment and the opportunity to own property. This is due to policy restrictions in the host country. According to the participants, only those refugees who have identification cards can get a driving license. Yet, without the possibility of getting a driving related job or owning their own assets, they do not see the use of having a driving licence in the camp.

Participants in all the FGDs said that they do not have assets or capital, as these were lost or destroyed because of the war in South Sudan. In response to the question about their experience before their displacement, the participants in eight of the FGDs indicated that they had experience in animal husbandry, farming, running a business, and construction work such as carpentry, machinery, and masonry. They said that in the refugee camps; however, they do not have access to land, markets, and employment opportunities, and do not enjoy freedom of movement to go outside the camp. In all the FGDs participants emphasized their belief that if the policy and legality issues for refugees in Ethiopia were improved in a way that would grant them freedom of movement, access to land, and employment, it would transform their living conditions by creating better livelihood options. In four of the FGDs it was also observed that for the casual and skilled work the refugees carry out, they are paid less than members of the host communities who do the same work. The FGD participants suggested improving the rate of the incentive payments for the work they do in the camp. According to them, they feel they are not treated equally with the locals when it comes to payment for the same type of work.

#### **5.2.4 Physical and psychosocial wellbeing**

This section presents the physical and psychosocial situation of the refugees in the camps. It also presents the level of psychosocial problems, the cause of the problems, and the possible support available to people with physical and psychosocial health needs.

#### **5.2.4.1 Interview results**

As regards the assessment of the physical and psychosocial wellbeing of the refugees, the views of the interview participants are as follows. In response to the question, 'Do you feel you are achieving something important in your life in the camp? If not, why?', 21 out of 35 participants responded they feel they are achieving something in the camp in terms of survival and physical security, access to tertiary education, and access to primary and secondary education for children, or learning skills as a result of working as an interpreter, teacher, and social worker. Some others (14 participants) mentioned that they do not have any sense of achievement because opportunities are limited, and life is challenging in the camp. In terms of their social life, all the participants said they have a good relationship with other community members, and they feel they are part of the community in the camps. In response to the question 'Are there people in your community with psychosocial problems in the camp? If yes, what are the major problems and the causes?', participants replied that some refugees experience psychosocial problems such as mental illness, depression, worrying too much, fighting with people, and alcohol/drug abuse. They mentioned that the causes of the problems include limited support for basic needs, displacement, war, losing property and family members, and disease.

Quote from interview participant (female, 27 years old): *"I saw a few people who have got a mental illness. I think it's because of thinking too much about their family back home, and lack of family support. Some of them don't have close relatives and they live alone here in the camp. The community tries to support them."*

In response to the question, 'How do you evaluate your health condition in the camp?', a total of 23 participants mentioned that their health status is good, while 12 of them indicated that their health condition is not good and that they have limited services in the health centre, lack specialized services and have limited referral services outside of the camp. Some others mentioned they are psychologically affected, for they feel that they sit idle in the camp. According to interview participants, the health clinics in the camp lack many services including medicines and it is only few cases which get referrals to better facilities outside of the camp.

#### **5.2.4.2      *The results of focus group discussions***

Regarding the psychosocial wellbeing of the population, in eight of the FGDs it was mentioned that there are a few people with psychological problems, but the majority are in a good situation. It was also said that there are no such social problems as conflict, looting, and other destructive behaviours in the camps. When such social problems happen, according to FGD participants they are solved by using the existing community resolution mechanisms and involving the Refugee Central Committee (RCC), the elders, religious leaders, and the refugee police. These community structures work hand in hand with the camp authorities to prevent and solve such problems. According to the FGD participants, the community members unreservedly support those with psychosocial issues by providing advice and counselling. In terms of their cultural and spiritual life, the participants in the FGDs said that they could practise their traditions and culture freely in the refugee camps, except where these clash with the laws of the host country such as where marriage-related practices are concerned. According to them, in the South Sudanese culture marriage is highly controlled and decided by parents, but in Ethiopia there is a law whereby the girls can choose who to marry.

As a result of this, the participants felt some parts of their culture are not practised because of different laws of the host country. Yet, all participants reported that on the whole they are free to practise their culture, religion, and traditions in the camps without limitation of any kind, especially as far as cultural dance and music, and religious activities are concerned. Their culture is observed colourfully on various occasions such as on World Refugee Day, International Women's Day, in schools, and so on.

#### **5.2.5    *Access to social support***

This section is about the availability of social support in the refugee camps. It presents the results of the interviews and FGDs regarding the level of social support and how it influences the capacity of the refugees to cope with the challenges they are facing while residing in the camp.

##### **5.2.5.1      *Interview results***

In response to the question, 'How do you explain your cooperation with people in your community in the camp?', all the participants indicated that they have very good

cooperation with people in the camp. Some mentioned that they work in community leadership structures or in the church, and they have the responsibility of promoting cooperation within the community. Some say they help with organizing events for the youth, and some others say promoting community cooperation is part of their work as a social worker. In response to the question, 'Do you think that your families stand by you during difficult times? If yes, how?' 29 (out of 35) of the participants responded that their family stands by them during difficult situations. Also, 21 (out of 35) participants indicated they get support from their close family members, except that their family members lack many things to give to others. This was also mentioned as a reason by those few who said they do not get support from their family. Some of the support they mentioned include material support, financial support, advice, moral support, helping with household chores, and encouragement. They also said family members take them to the health centre when they get sick, provide emotional support, and take care of them when they get sick. Some mentioned that the family support is much stronger since they came to the camp.

Quote from interview participant (male, 36 years old): *"There is very good support from members of the community. The people give what they have. The community members protect each other. But we lack many things, and the type of support depends on the capacity of the people. Some share food, and some others encouragement."*

However, three of the participants said that they do not have close relatives.

In response to the question, 'How do you describe the benefit of your cultural and family traditions?', 32 participants indicated their tradition has psychological benefits as it is a source of pride and enjoyment, and it helps children to learn about their tribes. According to the participants, their cultural tradition helps them to remember their country and brings wisdom from elders to solve problems. They also mentioned that culture and tradition are a means of protecting people, and they stand together to protect and ensure the continuity of their culture. In response to the question 'How do you rate your spiritual beliefs and their benefit to you?', most of the participants indicated that they believe their spiritual life is good and is very much benefiting them. They said it gives them encouragement, emotional stability, and peace of mind when they face a challenge in the camp. Some

said it gives them hope. Very few indicated that they do not think they are spiritual and do not attend church as such.

In response to the question: 'How is your participation in religious and cultural activities? If no participation, why?', 30 of the participants indicated that their participation in cultural and religious activities is good. However, one participant said that he is interested more in religious activities and another said he is not that good in his participation; he would rather prefer to engage in other activities. Three others said they are not interested, but for no good reason.

Regarding the question: 'Do you freely practice your cultural and religious activities in the camps? If not, why?', all the participants responded that they could practise their cultural and religious activities in the camp, and they have spaces for prayer and rituals.

Quote from interview participant (male, 45 years old): *"We do not have a problem practising our culture and religious activities in the camp. Whenever there are occasions, the community organizes itself into groups and demonstrates cultural dance and music. The host community also comes to show their music and we exchange our culture. This is good for our children as well."*

#### **5.2.5.2 The results of focus group discussions**

In all the FGDs, participants said that the community has a strong social support mechanism, except the majority live in almost the same situation regarding challenges in the camp and that affects the level of support they extend to others. According to them, despite the challenging environment the community members share what they have, and it helps them to cope better with their challenges. According to some participants, this is a tradition that has been preserved for generations among the South Sudanese. The community supports those that have psychosocial issues with advice, spiritual guidance, and counselling.

Participants indicated in the discussion that the culture of the community is such that there is a strong social bond that goes beyond close relatives. There is a culture of supporting, sharing and doing things together. The war did not change that and it became much more strengthened rather. According to the participants, their culture coupled with their

challenging living situation promotes their interdependence and helping each other. It is only when they themselves lack the required items that the community members do not provide support, otherwise they give and receive support as much as possible.

## **5.2.6 Security and peaceful co-existence with host community**

This section presents the results obtained from interviews and FGDs, and it addresses the relationship and co-existence between refugees and the host community around the camps. It also indicates whether or not the relationship impacts on the refugees' attempt to cope with their challenges and build their resilience.

### **5.2.6.1 Interview results**

In response to the question: 'How do you rate your safety and physical security in the camp?' all the respondents except two indicated that they feel safe and protected in the camp. Those two participants indicated feeling insecure while living in the camp as they faced attacks by unknown people. The interview participants responded that the best services they get are physical protection and safety in the camp.

In response to the question, 'Do you think that you are warmly welcomed by the hosting communities to where you have settled? If no, why?' the participants gave a mixed response. Some of the participants responded that they do not feel they are warmly welcomed by the host community. They reported that there are sometimes tension and fighting between the two communities. According to some participants, when attempting to collect firewood and grass for shelter, they get beaten up by the locals, and there has been violence against women refugees. According to these participants, the locals think that the refugees are over-utilizing their forest and livestock resources.

Quote from interview participant (female, 27 years old): *"We sometimes face a challenge from the host community. They are not happy when we go out to the forest to collect firewood and grass. The shelter we are living in is not in a good condition and we need materials such as bamboo and grass to repair it. These materials are not provided to us by organizations in the camp. When we try to collect in the nearby forest, they stop us and there is sometimes conflict."*



The participants however, indicated that they feel welcomed and that there are no major issues with the host communities, because the refugees are respectful, and they also do not affect the farms and animals of the host community.

Quote from interview participant (male, 39 years old): *“The host community has a positive attitude towards our presence here, we don’t face any problems. We respect each other. We control our children and animals so that they don’t go out and affect the farms. So far we are living in harmony. I do have even some friends from the nearby host community village.”*

Concerning the question, ‘Do you participate in activities with the host communities? What are those activities?’, 22 participants responded that their participation in activities organized in the host communities is limited. They mentioned cultural and religious differences as reasons hampering their participation, as the host communities are Muslim while the refugees are Christian. According to them, some of the activities of participation of the two communities include training organized by humanitarian organizations and the government, livelihood activities, peace committee activities, celebration of World Refugee Day events, cultural activities, funeral events, etcetera. They also indicated the participation of the locals in the refugees’ activities is minimal. The majority indicated that humanitarian actors target both refugees and host communities in their interventions in the form of environmental protection activities, livelihood interventions, and basic services such as health services, education, and community awareness activities, which are among the programmes in which both are participating. This contributes to positive interaction between the two. In response to the question, ‘Does the refugee community make any social and economic relationship with the host community? What kind of economic relationship?’, 32 participants indicated that they feel there is strong economic interaction with the hosting communities around the camp. According to them, they exchange business and commodities in the markets in and around the refugee camps. They sell each other vegetables, charcoal, potatoes, chickens, etcetera. However, the refugees indicated that whatever they sell to the host community they sell at a low price, because their commodities are not valued at an equal price in the host community.

Quote from interview participant (male, 39 years old): *“We buy from the host community items which we lack in the camp on credit. We pay them back in cash or in kind at another time. They give us time for that. On their side, they prefer the non-food items provided by the UN in the camp, and they buy them from us. In addition, some people work for the host community during cultivation time. There are also some investment farms nearby where some refugees sell labour.”*

Despite some clashes and tension sometimes, in general the participants indicated that economic and social relationships with the host community are cordial. The reason mentioned is that the refugees are disciplined and respectful to the locals. They also share activities and services and they have developed good relations after having been in the camps for long, so they have created a strong bond with the locals.

Concerning the question, ‘Do you think those positive relationships with the host community help you to recover from the impact of the displacement and the challenges of the camp life? If yes in what way?’, 24 participants said they believe that despite occasional clashes and tensions the positive relationship they have with the locals helps them to overcome the challenges they have in the camp. They feel that the positive response from the locals is facilitating recovery and resilience, and according to them their situation could have been much worse had it been a bad relationship. The economic and market relationship is another positive aspect according to the participants. Speaking the same language (Arabic) also makes movement and economic engagement easy. Some of the participants in addition indicated that there is not much of a difference in their respective situations. They reasoned that the challenge of recovery and resilience they face is an issue related more to the government than to the host community.

#### **5.2.6.2      *The results of focus group discussions***

The FGD participants indicated that they share many things with the host community. They participate together in social events such as funerals and weddings and there is no issue with co-existence. They also share the basic services in the camps including social activities, health services, and education and livelihoods.

It was mentioned in the discussions that there is social interaction with the host community. Members of the host community visit the health centre to get services, and

they also attend gatherings. The refugees in turn go to their village as some of the host community members invite their refugee friends to weddings and other social events.

According to the participants, there is also a peace committee involving both refugees and hosting communities, and the relationship with the host community is good. Apart from other things, the participants believe that speaking the same language (Arabic) helps towards better communication and interaction, and thus promotes peaceful co-existence. Participants in four of the FGDs mentioned they have trust in the host community around the camps. In two of the FGDs it was however mentioned that some refugees are having issues with locals when they try to collect firewood and grass in the forest. In almost all the FGDs, it was noted that there is a strong economic relationship between the parties. They interact with each other in the market, but the refugees feel that their commodities are valued at a lower price than those of the locals. Thus, they feel they are losing some benefits in the market because of their refugee status. They do participate together in celebrations such as World Refugee Day. Some are friends and they invite each other to their social activities. They also share things such as health centres, water, education, sports activities, and environmental protection activities.

Some refugees run small businesses such as selling alcohol in the camp, where the locals come to buy. During farming activity times, the locals use labour from the refugee camps and then the refugees receive in-kind payment. In eight of the FGDs the participants stated their belief that the good relationship they have with the host community helps them to address some of their challenges and to cope with camp life.

The host community is reported to be helping the refugees a lot. The participants indicated that the refugees go out to the host community to borrow grains when their food is finished. The refugees make deals with the host community to provide labour for the preparation of farm lands, and in return the host community gives payment in kind. The participants also reported an exchange of items in the markets in and around the camps.

### **5.2.7 Coping mechanisms of the refugees**

This section presents the results obtained from the data collected through interviews and FGDs on the coping mechanisms that the refugees use to manage the challenges they encounter in the camps, and the efforts they make to build up their capacity for resilience.

### **5.2.7.1 Interview results**

In response to the question, 'What mechanism are you using to address your livelihood needs?', the participants indicated that as life is very tough in the camp, they use different coping mechanisms. These include working in the farmlands of the host community, engaging in illegal gold mining in the host community, running small businesses in and around the camps, receiving support from NGOs with basic services, working for the locals by cleaning their farms, raising domestic animals, farming (vegetable and maize) in their backyard in the camp, and selling their labour to organizations in the camp (casual labour), borrowing food from others, selling rations, selling firewood, selling handcrafts, collecting wild food in the nearby forest (leaves and roots), doing casual labour for NGOs in the camp, and so on.

Quote from interview participant (female, 29 years old): *“Living in the camp is very hard, and the services I am receiving are not enough. I have three children and I could not afford to meet their needs. I do cleaning work in the community centre and earn small money.”*

Quote from interview participant (male, 22 years old): *“We are not allowed to work; we don't have land and tools; the opportunities are very limited. Many of the refugees are sitting idle. We could have addressed our additional needs if we had those opportunities.”*

Interview participants also mentioned that in their attempt to access coping mechanisms such as farming, collecting firewood and going out to do illegal mining, their children miss school, while some of the mechanisms such as going out for illegal mining become risky and limited due to security concerns in the region.

### **5.2.7.2 The results of focus group discussions**

During the FGDs, participants indicated that they use different mechanisms to cope with the challenges, such as borrowing and sharing food among themselves, running small businesses in the form of selling and buying grain to and from the locals, growing vegetables in their backyard, and growing maize on small plots of land within the camp. Some also mentioned that they use traditional medicine with advice and guidance from elderly people to cope with the limited health services. Others indicated that they say prayers, which helps them a lot to address physical and psychological problems resulting

from stress and anxiety. They said they do establish good relationships and cooperate with the host community, which enables them to work on their farms to get in-kind payment in exchange for their labour. Some also indicated they go to gold mining places far from the camps, sometimes at risk of violence, accidents, and health problems. The gold mining activities are illegal and at times may not be successful and getting transportation to these places is difficult. Because of their going to the mining area for work, the children are frequently absent from school and are dropping out. Furthermore, participants indicated that they sometimes go to investors' farms for daily labour work. Some also mentioned that they get incentive payments when working as social workers, interpreters, teachers or community health agents, but the remuneration is very low.

The refugee children go to the gold mining place, and they face many challenges including transportation and security problems. The security situation in the Benishangul Gumuz region in recent months is not conducive for the children to go out to the mining places. By going to the mining place children miss valuable school time, but they do this because of the lack of other options in the camp.

One aspect noted in the FGDs is that the refugees have huge capacity to be used to improve their living conditions in the camp. Most of them reported that they have farming and animal raising skills and can work if they get access to land, agricultural tools, fertilizers, etcetera. Some also mentioned their experience in construction and cloth-making activities, for example carpentry, welding, mechanics, embroidery, weaving, and handcraft. They all feel that they have not utilized their capacities and qualifications in the refugee camps due to different factors such as limited access to training and supplies, market problems and restriction of movement, and lack of start-up capital. They said that they possess skills to manage and run business activities if they are supported. Participants also elaborated that they could not do farming due to limited access to land, while there are limited employment opportunities for trained, qualified, and skilled refugees in the camps.

## **5.2.8 Individual cases presentation**

### **The case of Paul**

Mr Paul Tout (pseudonym) is a 53-year-old South Sudanese refugee who lives in Tsore camp. Paul arrived in the camp in 2016 following the fighting in South Sudan which caused the loss of his two brothers, and the destruction of his properties. As the fighting intensified Paul fled to Ethiopia with his wife and two children, seeking better physical protection and saving his life. Before the conflict started in his country, with his Master's level education Paul was a civil servant working in one of the government offices. He used to earn up to USD 400 per month, with which he was able to fulfil the basic needs of his family. Currently, Paul is working with one of the NGOs in the camp and earning a monthly incentive of USD 30. Paul described the challenges of camp life and the lack of employment opportunities that would match his qualifications and experience. He is managing the camp life with the incentive work he does and the services he is getting from different NGOs.

### **The case of Taout**

Taout (pseudonym) is a refugee in the Tsore refugee camp who arrived in 2015. Because of the conflict in South Sudan, he fled to Ethiopia with his family. Taout described the challenges he has faced since he arrived in the camp. For him, the services they are receiving are not enough to support his family of six. Taout used to do farming and raise animals in his home country. He was looking to do some farming activities in the camp. Accordingly, he has been enrolled in the livelihood support programme of one of the NGOs in the camp. He received support in the form of tools and seeds. With such support, he managed to set up a small-scale farming area inside the camp. On the small plot of land, he was given he grows vegetables and maize, which enables him to meet the food needs of his family. Taout indicated that should such support be extended to other refugees, many people can be self-sufficient in meeting their basic needs.

### **The case of Achol**

Achol (pseudonym) is a 34-year-old South Sudanese woman who arrived in Ethiopia in 2013. Achol arrived in Sherkole camp with her husband. She has two children. Achol and her family are fully dependent on the support of the humanitarian organizations in the

camp. Two years ago, her husband started to feel sick, and he was taken to the health centre for treatment. However, the treatment did not help him, and he died a year ago. She has been left alone with her two small children. She said she has so many challenges in the camp and is not getting support from the community as she does not have close relatives. Achol was in tears when she was sharing her story. Camp life is so tough for Achol and she wishes to go back to her country.

### **5.3 INTERVIEW DATA FROM HUMANITARIAN WORKERS**

In addition to the primary data obtained from the refugee participants, efforts were made to also get the views and experiences of the humanitarian workers working in the refugee camps. Accordingly, a total of nine humanitarian workers from ARRA, UNHCR, RaDO, NRC, and NRDEP were interviewed, and the data is presented and analysed below. In terms of their profile, the humanitarian workers have five to 11 years' experience of working in the refugee operation in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.

#### **5.3.1 Access to basic humanitarian services**

This section presents the views, perceptions, and experiences of the humanitarian workers about the availability and accessibility of the protection and assistance services being provided to the refugees by different organizations in the camps. It also summarizes how these services are impacting on the living situation of the refugees. Accordingly, their views are presented below.

The humanitarian workers mentioned different views regarding the living situation of the refugee population in the camps. According to them, though different services are being provided by different humanitarian actors, the UNHCR and the government of Ethiopia, there are still challenges the refugee population is facing. These include food shortages because rations were reduced, limited livelihood opportunities, lack of clothes and shoes, limited access to alternative means of income, lack of formal wage or self-employment opportunities in nearby communities, inadequate financial services, limited access to agricultural land, lack of local integration for talented refugees, weak market opportunities with poor support functions, and inadequate provision of basic services due to limited funding. Some of the humanitarian workers indicated a lack of adequate funding as a major limitation that led to poor and inadequate services being provided to the population

in the camps. Some others mentioned the perception of the refugee community that all their needs have to be addressed by the humanitarian actors, which is a contributing factor to them sitting idle without trying to find a better coping mechanism. While acknowledging the challenges, the humanitarian workers also mentioned several services that are being provided to the population, including food, non-food items, primary health care services, primary to tertiary education services, shelter, physical protection and security, resettlement to a third country, livelihood recovery services (skills training, business start-up support), civil registration and documentation, psychosocial and counselling services, community-based protection activities including community self-management, SGBV and child protection services, targeted services for persons with special needs, legal services, sanitation, and water. Some also mentioned the initiatives being undertaken towards ensuring food security through environmental protection activities by supplying agricultural tools and multi-purpose tree and fruit species with proper training.

Quote from interview participant (male, 36 years old): *“Most of the challenges that the refugees face in their camps are due to lack of resources. The challenges include insufficient and non-diversified food, lack of source of energy for cooking, lack of employment, insufficient infrastructures for education and other services, and lack of livelihood opportunities.”*

### **5.3.2 Interventions to build the resilience of refugees**

This section presents the results of the interviews with humanitarian workers on their perception of the resilience of the refugee population based on their experience and observations. It also shares the type of intervention that they think is available to help the resilience of the population.

According to the respondents, there are observable interventions which the humanitarian actors are undertaking to build the resilience of the population. Mental health and psychosocial programmes, some livelihood interventions, the provision of basic services such as education, health, and water and sanitation, community-based activities such as cultural and social activities, and rights-based activities are among the interventions contributing to the resilience of the refugees.



Quote from interview participant (male, 32 years old): *“The resilience of the displaced communities in the refugee camps is promising and most of the refugees have recovered from the negative effects, but still there is a need to exert more effort.”*

Quote from interview participant (male, 42 years old): *“Yes, community wood lot was established across each camp to solve the household energy consumption and house construction needs of the refugees. As well, the refugee communities benefited from fruit species which was distributed from the organisation”.*

According to humanitarian workers, the empowerment of women to run community grinding mills, and the provision of agricultural support in the form of seeds, tools, and pieces of training enabled the refugees to enhance their food security and generate income. The targeted skills training in carpentry and masonry is also creating income for the refugees as they are able to work in shelter construction and maintenance activities with such skills.

Quote from interview participant (female, 28 years old) *“Yes, I do! Children who had been through challenges are now in school attending their class, playing, and having fun. The youth in the refugee camps have started to have hope think of having a skill and are attending Youth Education and training programmes and playing different games in the youth centres. The community is participating in different social and religious activities celebrating colourful holidays, cultural activities, and occasions...”*

According to some humanitarian workers, the economic inclusion activities targeting both refugees and hosting communities in some camps through agricultural livelihood interventions are aimed at enhancing the refugees’ resilience. The financial and loan service to refugee cooperatives and the TVET employments pathway programme in Tsore camp are other initiatives for resilience mentioned by the respondents. Empowerment programmes such as life skills training targeting adolescent girls are another activity mentioned. A different perspective mentioned by humanitarian actors is that as the refugees stayed in the camps longer, they become better adapted and integrated with the hosting community. According to the humanitarian workers, informal market linkages have been established, and in some areas the markets are booming. In some locations, a community woodlot was established in the camp to address household

energy needs. Nevertheless, the respondents indicated that in light of the sheer numbers of refugees, the challenges they face, and the funding constraints, the livelihood interventions are inadequate.

### **5.3.3 Security and peaceful co-existence with host communities**

This section presents the results of the interviews with humanitarian workers as regards the security and peaceful co-existence of refugees and host community, based on their experience and observations while working in the refugee camps.

According to the humanitarian workers, there is very good co-existence between the refugees and the hosting communities. They observed refugees participating with the host communities in traditional gold mining, sports activities, and crops cultivation. According to these respondents, refugee labour is much in demand in the host community, and some are already linked through marriage and friendship. The humanitarian workers confirmed that they have not seen any major incident of conflict involving the two communities, except for a few rare cases of individual conflict.

Quote from interview participant (male, 39 years old): *“The relationship between the host community and the refugees is generally good. The assertion is more exemplified in marriage, trading, religious rituals, and friendship. So far there is no major incident of conflict between the two communities except a few individual problems which is expected to happen even among the same community’s members let alone between different communities.”*

Quote from interview participant (male, 26 years old): *“There is a good relationship between the hosting community and the displaced. I had observed a harmonized friendship among our host and refugee beneficiaries under the youth education and training programme. They do play games together, exchange ideas, and do good things that classmates do. When we saw it externally the refugee and host community share social and economic events, they do have a common market to exchange goods, they invite one another during social events.”*

However, the workers did not hide their concern that things such as the refugees' attempts to use the forest for firewood, or that they compete in the extraction of gold, and do not

control their animals to prevent them from damaging crops, could negatively affect their relationship with the host community. According to the humanitarian workers, positive initiatives such as the construction of the secondary school in Tsore camp, the peace committee established, the joint management of grinding mills, and targeting both communities in the livelihood and environmental programmes would sustain the good relationship between the two communities. They also mentioned that different pieces of training are delivered targeting law enforcement agencies, elders, and traditional and religious leaders drawn from the two communities. Thus, training is provided on concepts of peaceful co-existence, refugee protection, and basic laws. With all these observable interventions and joint actions, there is a feeling among the humanitarian actors that the relationship between the two communities is very positive and good.

#### **5.3.4 Coping mechanisms and the resilience of the refugees**

This section presents the coping mechanisms that the refugees are using and the level of their resilience from the perspective of the humanitarian workers. Considering the different challenges that exist and the services being provided to the refugees, most humanitarian workers have the view that the refugees have mostly become resilient. The reasons they mentioned for the refugee community's resilience include the availability of a strong community support mechanism, the experience of passing through many challenging situations including frequent war and displacement, a good relationship with the hosting community, freedom to practise cultural and religious activities, the refugees' capability to establish networks with other members of the community for support, informal labour, and small business activities to support their livelihoods, ability to adapt to the cultural contexts of the host community, engaging in agricultural activities including backyard gardening, and crop- and land-sharing practices in and around the refugee camps.

Quote from interview participant (male, 41 years old): *“Yes, despite the challenges, the refugees are making many interactions with the host community. Integration with the host communities through marriage arrangement, engagement in active trading, religious activities, accessing of host community services e.g. schools, borrowing of commodities from/to host communities, alternative solutions for shelter and energy such as the*

*construction of shelter with their initiative and inputs, collecting of firewood from the host surrounding bushes, are some indicators of coping.”*

According to the respondents, despite the limited services in the camps the refugees can build their livelihoods by using their human capital and their capacity to easily integrate with the host community. The humanitarian workers are of the opinion that women, youth, and children in the community have better resilience than other groups. This is because women play a huge role in leading their household, which has given them the skills for coping, and children and youth are the ones who are engaged in different interventions. However, they also mentioned that refugees with big family sizes and elderly women face challenges regarding resilience. However, different organizations are providing pieces of training that help capacitate them for better resilience. According to some humanitarian workers, the environmental protection-related pieces of training and interventions enabled the refugees to use their natural environment responsibly and sustainably, thus adding to their resilience. Some of the additional indicators of resilience the respondents mentioned are joint economic activities with the hosting community, diversifying means of livelihoods in the form of incentive and casual labour work, running a mini-business, and backyard gardening. Most importantly the respondents also mentioned that there is an integration of refugees with the host communities through marriage, trade, sharing social and religious services (mosques, schools), borrowing/lending commodities from/to host communities, and joint irrigation development activities in some camps.

#### **5.4 ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM SECONDARY SOURCES**

This section presents the results of the review of secondary sources. As part of the review of these sources, the researcher approached six organizations that are working in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region. Accordingly, a total of 14 documents of refugee programme planning, meeting minutes, and periodic reports have been reviewed. In addition to this, the review also included four reports based on assessments conducted in the refugee camps in Benishangul Gumuz between 2016 and 2021. The relevant data from these sources is presented and discussed below.

**Table 5.2: Summary of secondary sources reviewed**

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Programme documents</b>	<b>Meeting minutes</b>	<b>Survey/ assessment</b>	<b>Reporting document</b>	<b>Total</b>
ARRA	2	1	1	2	6
NRC	3	-	2	1	6
NRDEP	2		1	1	4
RaDO	1	-	-	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>

#### **5.4.1 Access to livelihoods in the camps**

This section presents information on the access to and availability of livelihood opportunities in the refugee camps as revealed by the secondary sources. The assessment conducted in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region in 2021 revealed that the limited livelihood activities are contributing to the poor living conditions of the refugees in the camps. During this assessment, refugees reported limited sources of household income and inadequate livelihood access, exposing them to a major protection risk. Furthermore, the limited economic activity and limited access to the host community kept the refugees with different skills idle and dependent only on the small monthly rations provided by humanitarian actors. Similarly, the NRC 2020 funding proposal stated:

NRC conducted need assessment in August 2019. The findings reveal that 56% of youth who participated in Focused Group Discussion (FGD) lack Vocational Skills and 76% of those with the skills are unemployed. They cited inadequate opportunities for jobs within the camps and barriers to movement outside the camps as the main reasons for unemployment.

The assessment revealed the availability of small agricultural livelihood activities, but these were not sufficient to generate income. It was also indicated that despite the restriction of movement, refugees do go out to the host community to work as daily

labourers on their farms. It was further reported that refugees get unfair payment for the work they do, which is attributed to limited legal capacity to negotiate and enter into a formal contract agreement with farm owners for whom they work. The same assessment also indicated that though their poultry business activity was supported by humanitarian organisations, it was not successful due to disease outbreaks and the unavailability of medication. The cash-based assistance in the form of start-up capital provided by humanitarian actors for livelihood activities could not bring the desired result as the refugees are using the cash for other needs. In addition to these challenges, it was also identified that lack of follow-up by the humanitarian organizations, lack of access to agricultural farmland for refugees outside their settlements, weak market functionality in the refugee camps, and limited access to financial services such as savings and credit associations are major issues hampering livelihoods in the refugee camps.

Like the above, the 2020 projects proposal of NRC also highlighted different factors challenging self-reliance efforts in the refugee settlements. This document pointed to a lack of food diversification due to the unavailability of land for backyard farming, with limited livelihood options as alternative means of income. While the lack of access to livelihood opportunities is mentioned in the different documents above, there are indicators that show the humanitarian organizations were in support of the population with livelihood opportunities. For instance, the 2018 project document of NRC revealed the organization's interest to support the displaced population in the refugee camps to ensure durable solutions and resilience. As such, it stated in its 2018 funding proposal to ECHO an objective of the project as:

Result 1: South Sudanese Refugees in Benishangul Gumuz region have improved access to food consumption and diversity, and short-term livelihood support.

Similarly, the 2021 annual report submitted to ARRA by NRC also indicated that a total of 424 households were assisted through a cash-based intervention, while a total of 296 individuals were provided with food production skills training as part of their livelihoods and self-reliance programme. In 2017, it was reported by the same organization that gaps in basic services and limited livelihood opportunities are factors contributing to the dropout

of children from school. According to this report, children and especially girls have to take care of younger children because the families, mainly women, have to go out to look for income-generating opportunities. The minutes of the coordination meeting conducted under the leadership of ARRA in Tsore camp also show that in 2017 refugees in the camp were receiving different services which contributed to their ability to address their livelihood needs. This included earning income from income generation activities, harvesting vegetables from their backyards for household consumption, and receiving training in different skills such as pottery.

Concerning the skills of the refugees, an assessment conducted by NRC in 2018 in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region found that before their displacement the refugees used to have sources of income from activities which included trading, gold mining, butchery, fishery, agriculture (maize and sorghum production), wage labour, handcraft, animal breeding, poultry farming, restaurant service, firewood and charcoal selling, and backyard gardening. The findings further revealed that the refugees used to pursue mixed farming systems such as both agricultural and off-farm livelihood activities in the country of origin before their displacement.

In terms of access to livelihoods in the camps, it can be summarized that while the capacity, experience, and skills of the refugee population are noted, and the will of the organizations to provide support with some practical interventions is recognized, different factors such as restriction of movement, the COVID-19 pandemic, the legal limitation for work, and limited availability of land were identified to be the major factors affecting livelihood opportunities. As a result, there are only limited interventions available for the refugees in the camps.

#### **5.4.2 Access to basic humanitarian services**

This section presents the results obtained from reviewing secondary sources on the availability, accessibility, and conditions of basic services for the refugees in the camps. ARRA is a government counterpart to UNHCR which jointly coordinates and monitors the overall assistance programmes in the refugee camps. In addition to its coordinating and monitoring role, ARRA implements activities involving camp management, health and nutrition, primary education, and distribution of food and non-food items to the South

Sudanese refugees that this study targeted. Accordingly, in its 2020 project description of the partnership agreement signed with UNHCR, ARRA stated that following the open-border policy of the Ethiopian government, the South Sudanese refugees have been accepted on a prima facie basis. According to the document, the refugees undergo screening at a reception centre, with the screening conducted jointly by UNHCR and ARRA to verify their nationality and claims for international protection. The project agreement also stated its primary objective of providing international protection and multi-sector assistance to more than 62 502 refugees (South Sudanese and other nationalities) hosted in the Benishangul Gumuz region.

The same document, while underlining the challenges of providing different services to the refugees, emphasized the importance of involving the refugees themselves to address their challenges in the camps as below:

A combination of various strategies ranging from the provision of assistance to community mobilization and participation will be employed to redress the major challenges the operation is facing to provide full-scale service in the areas of protection, registration, reception, primary health care, reproductive health, nutrition, education and provision of domestic items.

This statement could be an indicator of the effort that the Ethiopian government is making and the will it has to involve the displaced communities in addressing their own needs by acknowledging the capacity the displaced communities have while they live in the camps.

The assessment conducted in the refugee camps in 2021 also assessed the protection and assistance services being provided to the refugees in the camps. The assessment revealed the different challenges and shortcomings in services in the camps. The delay in the provision of monthly food rations, mobility of refugees out of the camps for gold mining and in search of work in the host community to generate income, risk of child labour and exploitation due to this mobility, and limitations to the accessibility of services for persons with disabilities were some of the challenges identified. Similarly, RaDO in its project document of 2020 indicated that older persons in the camps are mostly without families and they are facing psychosocial problems due to a lack of proper care and support.



The same assessment revealed reports of gender-based violence in the form of domestic violence incidents during the COVID-19 outbreak and while going out to the forest for firewood collection. It also reported that the COVID-19 pandemic affected the education services in the camps. The findings highlighted that children, women-headed households, and persons with disabilities are facing heightened protection risks in the camps.

#### **5.4.3 Community participation, self-management, and decision making**

This section presents findings on the participation of the refugee community in decision making and also in self-management while living in the camps, as revealed by the secondary sources. Concerning self-management and decision making, the ARRA (2020) project document stated that the legal and judicial responsibilities of refugees are very much linked to their traditional systems of justice as established by the refugees themselves or originating from their country of origin. The document revealed that there is a community structure involving refugee elders, ‘*Shurta*’ (refugee police), traditional judges, and refugee leaders in the camps managing and administering traditional justice systems. However, there are also concerns about the limitations of this kind of traditional system as noted in the same document. It stated that the Ethiopian government limits the power of traditional legal systems to personal status and civil cases only. Moreover, the assessment revealed that women's participation in leadership and decision-making is still low compared to men. The report further elaborated that there is an attitude that women and girls are not capable of taking up leadership roles. As a result, the equality and empowerment need of vulnerable groups of people such as women, persons with disabilities, and elderly people are left unaddressed, thus calling for more interventions to promote gender equality and diversity. It is reported by the sources that traditional systems in the camps often deal with many other cases such as sexual and gender-based violence (including rape), theft, and fighting that result in serious injury, custody, and divorce. In this case, women are often at the greatest disadvantage to attain justice as the elders managing the system are usually men. In that traditional social system, women generally do not speak or are afraid to do so for fear of reprisal, and there are few checks on the powers of the leaders, elders, and *Shurta*, who normally exceed their area of responsibility. The document indicated the shortcomings of the traditional justice system in the refugee camp. On the other hand, an assessment conducted by NRC in 2018

indicated equal decision-making power between men and women in the refugee camps and considered this as one resource for recovery and resilience while living in the camp environment.

The joint assessment conducted by ARRA and UNHCR in 2021 also confirmed the existence of other community-based structures such as the refugee central committee, women's association, youth association, the association of persons with disabilities, and an older persons' association in the refugee camps. These structures are believed to be contributing to increasing the awareness among the refugee community of key protection issues such as gender-based violence, child rights, harmful traditional practices, and other social and human rights issues. In addition, the report revealed that through the parent-teacher-student associations the refugees are participating regularly in the management of the day-to-day educational activities in the schools. The report confirmed the existence of community-based conflict resolution mechanisms by the religious leader, Umda (respected body of the refugee community), and Refugee Central Committee (the highest self-management body of the refugees) being used to solve community issues in the camp. Particularly, the community police (Shurta) are identified as helping to maintain the safety and security of the refugees in the community, and the assessment highlighted that refugees have a good social support system in the community.

#### **5.4.4 Physical and psychosocial wellbeing of refugees**

This section presents the situation in respect of the physical and psychosocial wellbeing of the refugees in the camps as revealed by the secondary sources. It is observed from different secondary sources that psychosocial and cultural activities are one of the needs of the refugee population, and there are different interventions to address this in the camps. The 2019 annual report of RaDO indicated that it has addressed the physical and psychosocial needs of 3 665 refugees with special needs in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region.

In its 2020 project description RaDO stated:

Mental health and psychosocial support to refugees with psychosocial concern is an important part of the project. The psychotic treatment provided by the health center needs to be supported by community-based mental health and

psychosocial support awareness and treatment to make it effective. Older persons have also a difficult psychosocial situation in which care and support and psychosocial support are highly needed.

Similarly, in its 2018 annual report to UNHCR and ARRA, the same organization stated:

RaDO also worked to support the general population to attain its psychosocial wellbeing through strengthening community networks, recreational and educational services, peer to peer support and counselling as well.

RaDO in its 2018 report indicated that it had constructed psychosocial and recreational centres and that the centres provided services to the refugees to nurture their social and psychological wellbeing; however, all the centres require maintenance/renovation. The same report indicated it provided psychosocial support to 206 refugees in Tongo, Sherkole and Tsore camps.

Furthermore, it is clear from the secondary sources that refugees have been supported to maintain their traditional justice systems and leadership structures to address their social needs, though there is controversy over the inclusion and participation of women and other vulnerable groups of the community in these systems, as stipulated in ARRA's 2020 project document. In this regard in its 2020 project document, ARRA stated:

As part of ensuring their physical protection, ARRA has been providing legal assistance in many forms including sensitization on their rights and obligations, training to refugee leadership structure, and attending protection cases. Despite all these efforts, it is observed that PoC still needs further legal assistance and services. Therefore, under this project, ARRA will strengthen the legal assistance in coordination with the government authorities and the refugee leadership structure.

#### **5.4.5 Security and peaceful co-existence with host communities**

The review of the assessment conducted by ARRA and UNHCR in 2021 revealed that the refugees feel the hosting communities are committing violent acts, including arrest and confiscation of their property in Sherkole camp when they attempt to collect firewood and grass for their shelters. In the same assessment, it was revealed that the host

communities experienced theft of farms, fruits, and animals committed by the refugees and that the refugee goats could not access the camps for grazing. It was also found that the host community showed their dissatisfaction with access to the refugee services while the presence of the refugees puts pressure on the natural resources. Similarly, the NRC (2020) project submission also stated that the continued influx created competition for resources between the two communities. According to this document, services such as housing, schools, health centres, markets, wood fuel, water, employment, and pursuit of income-generating opportunities were among the contested needs leading to the host communities being against the refugees.

Concerning this the 2019 annual report of NRDEP stated:

The presence of refugees has caused a negative impact on the natural environment. Refugees use the existing forest for firewood, the construction of shelter, and grazing their animals. 1,300 hectares & more of natural woodlands have become more open as trees have been selectively removed leaving a more open wood-grassland. As a result, there have been 205 hectares of land with serious deterioration of soil, forest resources, and loss of wildlife. Ape, monkey, pig, lion, fish and other aquatic animals occurred in and around Sherkole, Tsore, Tongo, Gure-Shombola, and Bambasi. This situation creates tension between refugees and host community and becomes a source of conflict in the area.

The same organization reported in its 2020 biannual report that it conducted mass awareness training for about 2 600 refugees and host community members on the protection, rehabilitation and utilization of natural resources.

According to the NRDEP 2017 assessment report, the refugee camps were established in areas where the major means of livelihood for the host communities are traditional agriculture, wild foods, and subsistence farming, while the refugees have a different mode of living and culture, coping mechanisms, and feeding habits. Besides, according to this assessment, the refugees were not receiving basic services of an adequate quality and quantity. This situation, according to the assessment, has led to a multi-faceted and expanded destruction of natural resources, jeopardizing the future life of the host

communities. The NRDEP report also singled out Sherkole camp as a place where there is a significantly negative social, economic, and environmental effect on host communities. On the other hand, the joint ARRA-UNHCR assessment conducted in 2021 shows that the refugees are taking part in environmental protection activities such as planting trees, and in awareness sessions with the host community on the importance of afforestation, sustainable use of natural resources, and the negative impact of deforestation.

#### **5.4.6 Coping mechanisms**

This section presents the results of the review of secondary sources about the coping mechanisms which refugees are applying in the camps. Accordingly, the ARRA (2020) project submission stated that the food ration reduction introduced in 2016 impacted on the daily calorie needs of the refugees by providing less than 2 100 cal/day per person. This situation has led to a harmful coping mechanism for refugees with very big family sizes. Similarly, the joint assessment conducted by ARRA and UNHCR identified different resources and capacities within the refugee community being used as a mechanism to address the challenges. The findings showed that, as part of their coping mechanism, the refugee community engaged in constructing facilities such as latrines, in cleaning, fetching water from rivers in the host community, and sharing water during a shortage. According to the assessment, particularly single mothers with a big number of dependants were forced to engage in unsafe livelihood activities such as informal gold mining and firewood collection. In an attempt to get some income, according to the report, refugee families were sending their children to work instead of to school, while some others adopted other negative coping mechanisms such as selling a portion of their food rations to get cash for other needs.

The report further highlighted the availability of skills in agricultural activities, construction, and business management within the refugee community which some refugees are using to support their living in the camp. However, these refugees are bound to sit idle due to a lack of access to employment and livelihood opportunities in the camps. According to the report, the indigenous knowledge of shelter construction, if used, can enable the construction of better, cost-effective and durable shelters in the camps. It was also stated

in the assessment report that many refugees have the traditional skill of making stoves, which can minimize the cost of stove procurement and ensure the durability of the stoves in the refugee camps. The assessment report further indicated that refugees used different coping mechanisms such as sharing food and accommodation.

Similarly, a market assessment conducted by NRC in the refugee camps in 2018 indicated that the refugees were using different coping mechanisms including conducting small business activities, making crop sharing arrangements, engaging in wage labour, sharing and borrowing food from neighbours, collecting and selling firewood, selling personal property, gold mining in the host community, sending children to work, and selling a portion of their rations to meet their need for other food and non-food items. In the same assessment it was also indicated that the refugees adopt negative coping mechanisms such as reducing their food intake, skipping meals, and eating less per day. This is due to the cuts in their food rations. This puts them at risk of a deteriorated nutritional situation. The joint assessment conducted by ARRA and UNHCR also highlighted that those refugees with construction skills face a challenge to use their skills due to inadequate shelter construction materials.

#### **5.4.7 Other factors affecting the resilience and recovery of refugees**

In reviewing the secondary sources, certain factors were identified as challenging the assistance and protection of refugees in the refugee camps. The joint assessment conducted by ARRA and UNHCR revealed that the unprecedented COVID-19 pandemic affected the life of the refugees in 2020 and 2021. According to the report, the education programme was severely disrupted as most children were kept out of school, and the attendance rate among those re-enrolled upon reopening was below 50%. In addition, the restriction of movement that was in place has also contributed to economic fatigue among most refugee families. Child- and youth-focused activities such as recreational and sports activities were also restrained in the refugee camps. On some occasions, the report revealed an increase in violent incidents. There is also a finding from this assessment that COVID-19 negatively impacted the refugee-host community relationship as some host community members believed refugees had COVID-19. Another factor was the insecurity caused by rebel movements and ethnic-based violence that happened from

2018 to 2021 in the Benishangul Gumuz region, affecting the delivery of services by humanitarian actors hence negatively impacting on the resilience of the affected population. The funding constraint was mentioned in most of the secondary sources. with the existing needs of the refugees being dire and much bigger than could be provided for by the limited available resources.

## **5.5 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS**

The data collected from both primary and secondary sources was analysed and diverse views have emerged from this information. Thus, below are the discussion and interpretation of the results.

### **5.5.1 Status of the resilience of the population**

The interviews conducted with the humanitarian workers revealed indicators of interventions contributing to the resilience of the refugee population. The mental health and psychosocial programmes, the available livelihood interventions, the provision of basic services such as education, health, water and sanitation, and the cultural and social activities were among the interventions mentioned by the humanitarian workers as supporting the resilience of the population. However, the services were reported by refugee participants as inadequate to fully enable their resilience. The explanation from the refugees was that due to inadequate basic service provision, including food supplies by humanitarian organizations and limited livelihood options in the camps, they are not able to meet many of their basic needs. These findings on the perspectives of the refugees are consistent with the study conducted in Sri Lanka, which revealed a low level of resilience associated with food insecurity (Siriwardhana & Stewart 2013). Despite this situation from the refugees' perspective, most humanitarian workers seemed to believe that the refugees in the camps have become resilient. Yet, the humanitarian actors evaluated few aspects of community resilience in their explanation. There were several reasons mentioned why they believed there is resilience among the refugees. One of the reasons is that the refugee community, after having arrived at the refugee camps, has managed to maintain a strong community support mechanism and a good relationship with the hosting community. Another postulated reason was that the experience of passing through the challenges of recurrent war and displacement made the refugees

develop the capacity to overcome the impact of the adversity. This finding partly confirmed the argument made by O'Leary (1998) under the challenge model of resilience, which stated the existence of a challenge increases a person's capacity to withstand the challenge. Furthermore, the freedom to practise cultural and religious activities and engage in informal agricultural livelihoods and small business activities in and around the refugee camps, was another reason mentioned by the humanitarian actors as contributing to the resilience and recovery of the population. Yet, resilience has many aspects and for the refugees living in more or less a similar socio-economic status as stated by the refugee respondents, the reasons mentioned by the humanitarian workers could not imply full resilience of the refugees. Furthermore, while there are efforts undertaken by NGOs, the secondary sources also revealed gaps and inadequacy of services for the refugees in the camps.

### **5.5.2 Access to livelihoods and resilience**

It is generally accepted by many scholars that access to sustainable livelihood opportunities is an important element required for the resilience of populations affected by adversities. This study revealed that the majority of the participants had some experience of earning a livelihood in their country of origin before the conflict broke out. However, the majority of the interview participants responded that they have had limited livelihood opportunities since they came to the refugee camps, though a few of them mentioned they get some level of support from NGOs, which has enabled them to acquire skills and build capacities for earning livelihoods. The limited livelihood opportunities in terms of coverage and diversification were also confirmed by the FGD participants. The major reasons mentioned by respondents include limited access to farming land, limited employment opportunities, limited market access, animal disease, and limited access to agricultural tools and supplies. The limited livelihood opportunities could also imply that the refugees have limited options to meet their basic needs while staying in the refugee camps. This study further revealed a lack of physical assets and property among the refugee population, except for human and social capital. This is attributed to the displacement situation, since the refugees ran away from their home country to save their lives, leaving behind all their property and belongings. This could also be partly because of the limited livelihood opportunities in the camp that prevented them from owning



property and assets. This finding is consistent with Baas et al's (2008) study in a pastoralist community, which revealed that the availability of financial resources and access to employment could make households more resilient, but due to the lack of assets for the household, the negative impact of the disaster is huge. Davis (2017) also stated that developing capacities with assets is a critical point in coping with adversities. Similarly, in another study conducted in Uganda, it was found that the better livelihood situation of the refugees was attributed to access to work permits and freedom of movement granted by the government (Betts et al 2019). In this study, most respondents indicated that they do not feel they utilize their qualifications and skills in the camps. This implies that the availability of skills and qualifications without using them brings no change in the resilience and recovery of people affected by adversities, as is the case in the South Sudanese camps in Ethiopia according to this finding. This finding is unlike the findings from the assessment conducted in Uganda, which revealed economic capacity and skills to be contributing to improving the lives of both the refugees and the host communities (Thompson 2017). The postulated reason for this is that the encampment policy of the host country puts restrictions on the refugees as far as employment and work opportunities outside of the camp are concerned. It might also be because of differences in the policies of host countries, with some countries such as Uganda opening opportunities for refugees to gain employment and pursue agricultural activities. The interviews with the humanitarian workers confirmed that the funding constraints, restriction of movement of refugees, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the legal limitations regarding work opportunities are possible reasons for the limited livelihood opportunities in the camps. Concerning this, the inadequate external support impacting on the resilience of the population, as this study found to be the case, is consistent with what IFCR (2012) argued in stating that a resilient community must have increased connection with and support from external actors. From this study's findings, it can be inferred that the overall policy environment of the country of asylum is contributing significantly to the limited access to employment, financial services, and land for agricultural activities. This finding is consistent with what was highlighted by Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011), stating that building livelihoods for communities is greatly influenced by policies and governance at different levels. Other factors which this study found to be contributing

to the deteriorated livelihood situation of the refugees in camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region were limited market access, limited access to agricultural supplies, and the economic hardships of the host community. Furthermore, this study revealed that the refugees do not generate enough income in the refugee camps. The reason mentioned for this is that income-generating jobs are very limited due to a lack of employment opportunities and the fact that those occasionally available jobs are low-paid jobs. As a result, the population cannot provide in its basic needs. This study revealed a drop in average monthly income from USD 400 to USD 30 between income in the country of origin versus in the refugee camps. This is similar to the findings of Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2018), which pointed to a drop in resilience scores among individuals with lower levels of education and income. This finding also confirmed what Frankenberger and Nelson (2013:23) argued, namely that resilient individuals, communities, and households are characterized by food security, adequate nutrition, better income security, and improved health conditions. In terms of access to financial services as an aspect of livelihood, according to a few participants those refugees who have an ID card in the camps could open a bank account without difficulty. Some interview participants mentioned that some NGOs started credit services for a few refugees in one of the camps, but for unknown reasons it did not continue. They had better options for such services in their country of origin. This situation could imply that financial services are limited for refugees and strengthening their documentation such as the issuance of an ID card could enable refugees to get better options to access these services. On the other hand, lack of financial services could be due to a lack of access to business activities, markets, and employment opportunities, all of which leave refugees without money except for a few remittances from abroad.

Despite their lack of wealth, property, and assets, this study found huge human and social capital within the refugee population in the camps that can potentially be used to enhance the livelihoods of the population and thus their resilience, should other barriers be addressed. This notion corresponds with what May et al (2009) and Valdés-Rodríguez and Pérez-Vázquez (2011) argued, namely that a people-centred and participatory approach could enable the building of community livelihoods. On the other hand, this finding differs from the study conducted in Malawi, which showed that access to livelihood

assets and institutions did not predict resilience except by enhancing only the short-term coping and adaptive capacity of individuals (Chiroro 2013).

### **5.5.3 Status of physical and psychosocial wellbeing**

Most interview participants responded that they feel they are achieving something in the camp in terms of survival and physical security, access to tertiary education, and access to primary and secondary education for children, learning skills as a result of working as interpreters, teachers, and social workers. Some others, however, mentioned that they do not feel any sense of achievement because opportunities are limited, and life is challenging in the camp. The major reason identified for this is the limited opportunities to exercise their capacity and skills. Though a few cases of psychosocial problems do exist, the study found very good physical and psychosocial wellbeing in the majority of the refugees. The strong social support network and good relationship among community members could be factors contributing to their stable and good physical and psychosocial wellbeing. The possible reasons mentioned for this include the freedom the refugees have to practise their spiritual and cultural life, the use of traditional medicines, the spiritual counselling they receive from church leaders and elders, and the availability of recreational services. The findings related to their practising their spiritual life confirmed the findings of the study conducted by Olanrewaju et al (2018), which revealed that doing prayers and possessing religious fortitude is an important coping mechanism for handling displacement-related stress among 2.6% of the women participants and in the 75% of FGD participants. The interviews with humanitarian workers and the review of the secondary sources also confirmed that mental health and psychosocial programmes are available in the camps, which are believed to boost the resilience and recovery of those refugees who have psychosocial problems. For those few psychosocial cases reported by interview and FGD participants, the postulated causes include lack of adequate support to meet basic needs, the effect of displacement and the war, losing property and family members, and disease. In terms of physical health, most of the interview participants mentioned that their health status is good while some others indicated that their health condition is not good and that they have limited services in the health centre, lack specialized services, and enjoy limited referrals to facilities outside of the camp. This might be attributed to the limited funding to upgrade the type and level of health services

in the camps. This also emerged from the group discussions. The secondary sources confirmed the existence of good social support systems that contributed to the physical and psychosocial protection of the refugee community in the camp. Other reasons mentioned for better psychosocial wellbeing include the community-based conflict resolution mechanisms, the existence of the traditional justice system, refugee police (Shurta), and refugee leadership structures, and the collaboration of the refugee structures and the camp authorities to ensure camp security. This finding is inconsistent with a study conducted by CPA (2014), which found that better health conditions and wellness predicted better resilience. However, this finding is consistent with the findings of different studies confirming better psychological wellbeing as a result of the availability of social support (Yu et al 2020; Aflakseir 2010; Turner 1981). Yet, other aspects concerning the resilience of the population such as basic needs and food security that are not met might potentially have an impact on the psychosocial wellbeing of the population in the future. The findings of this study could also pinpoint how social support in the form of emotional and informational resources might impact on the psychosocial wellbeing of people in times of adversity (Gianmoena & Rios 2018), because in this study it was observed that the type of social support available in the refugee camps is more emotional than material. This is due to the limited capacity of members of the refugee community to provide in-kind assistance to other members of the community.

Additionally, strengthening family ties was also mentioned by respondents as a coping mechanism (Olanrewaju et al 2018). Again, the finding is consistent with that of Sambu (2015) and Siriwardhana and Stewart (2013), who revealed that the availability of support from the community is vital to enhance the resilience of psychologically affected people.

#### **5.5.4 Access to social support**

Social support is conceptualized as a social resource on which an individual can rely when dealing with life problems and stressors (Gianmoena & Rios 2018). Social support can be in different forms: instrumental, informational, or emotional. Instrumental social support involves the provision of materials or assistance with practical tasks or problems, while informational support is about giving advice, guidance, and information that may help a person to solve a problem. Emotional support involves the expression of sympathy,

caring, esteem, value, or encouragement (Gianmoena & Rios 2018). There are different views regarding the impact of the availability of social support on building the resilience of people affected by adversities. For instance, CPA (2014), Southwick et al (2014), Sambu (2015) and Ballenger-Browning and Johnson (2018) established a strong positive correlation between social support and the resilience of individuals who experience adverse events. It was revealed from this current study that most of the participants responded that their family stands by them during difficult situations. Also, many of the participants indicated they get support from their close family members, except these family members do not have many things to give to others. While acknowledging it is part of their culture, some participants have mentioned that the family support they get has become much stronger since they came to the camp. The possible reason for this could be that the refugees have learned from their flight experience that it is only when they support each other that they will be able to manage future challenges and adversities. This finding is consistent with what O'Leary (1990) argued, namely that the existence of a challenge increases the likelihood of overcoming similar adverse situations in the future. The study found that most of the participants believed that their spiritual life is good and is benefiting them very much, while the majority of the interview participants mentioned that their participation in cultural and religious activities in their community is good. They said it gives them encouragement, emotional stability, peace of mind, and hope when they face a challenge in the camp. This might also be a reason for the better psychosocial wellbeing of the majority of the population as discussed in the previous section. In this case, the finding is consistent with the findings of the study conducted in Sri Lanka, which revealed lower social support availability and social isolation leading to low resilience for displaced people (Siriwardhana & Stewart 2013). The finding is also consistent with that of Salim et al (2019) and Siswadi et al 2023, which showed a correlation between perceived social support and resilience. Similarly, this access to strong social support was confirmed by the FGD participants. According to the FGD participants, despite the challenging living environment of the camp, the community members share among themselves what they have, and it helps them cope better with the challenges. There are several possible reasons for this interdependence in the community. As explained above, one of the reasons could be that the war and displacement experience might have taught

the community to stand in solidarity with one another, as also argued by O'Leary (1990). The second reason could be the fact that African society is so communal that sharing things and supporting each other is part of the day-to-day life of the people and this is maintained in times of displacement. The fact that the refugees have maintained their traditional justice systems and self-management structures as stipulated in the secondary source could also be another factor for increased social support for all members of the community. In this regard, the finding differs from the findings of Turnbull et al (2013) as cited in Pinto et al (2014), pinpointing that particularly vulnerable groups of the displaced population face greater challenges during displacement, as family and community support structures are usually disrupted. This study found that the displaced population has maintained rather strong family and social structures in the refugee camps.

This finding is consistent with a study conducted by Tulane and SUH (2012) in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake and which revealed an increase in solidarity between groups due to the earthquake, with many people helping one another and sharing resources. This study witnessed strong community self-management through the refugee representatives in the camps, and this could be perhaps one of the most viable capacities of the displaced community for overcoming the challenges of their displacement. However, unlike the study by Nassim and Camille (2014), this study could not see the impact of social support across gender differences, while other studies showed women being less resilient due to limited access to traditional coping mechanisms in the community. This implies future studies on the topic need to investigate how the resilience of women displaced by armed conflict can be affected by the socio-cultural and economic factors in a refugee setting.

#### **5.5.5 Security and peaceful co-existence with the hosting communities**

It is argued that human beings compete for resources and failure to have their basic needs met could lead to conflict. In this study, all except two interview participants responded that they feel safe and protected and that they do not feel any threat of danger while residing in the refugee camps. These respondents mentioned physical protection is the best service they get in the camps. The postulated reasons for good physical protection could be a good relationship with the host community and also the community-based

protection mechanisms which enabled self-management through refugee leadership structures, refugee police (Shurta), and a traditional justice system. It might also be because of the better security infrastructure and systems of the government of Ethiopia for refugees' physical protection within the camps. Furthermore, this study found that most of the interview participants described a warm welcome from the host community. Several reasons are mentioned for this, including their being respectful to the host community, not causing harm to their crops and animals, and sharing the refugee services with the host community. This finding is consistent with the study conducted in Uganda in 2018, which revealed that in 60% of refugee households there were better relations between children of refugees and hosting communities because of sharing recreational activities (Verme & Schuettler 2021). However, 16 (out of 35) participants responded that they do not feel they are warmly welcomed by the host community, and they sometimes come into conflict with host community members. In this connection, 22 interview participants responded that their participation in activities organized in the host communities is limited. They mentioned cultural and religious differences as reasons hampering their participation, as the host communities are Muslim and the majority of refugees are Christian. While this religious and cultural difference was mentioned as a factor, the study also found that better interaction between the two communities is attributed to speaking the same language. This finding is consistent with a study conducted by Verme and Schuettler (2021) which revealed a response of no interaction with refugees by 50% of the host communities, mainly due to language differences. This study also revealed a strong economic interaction with the hosting communities around the camp as reported by 32 (out of 35) interview participants. Furthermore, 24 (out of 35) participants responded that despite occasional clashes and tensions, their positive relationship with the host community helped them to overcome their challenges and increased their recovery and resilience. This finding is consistent with an assessment conducted in Sudan by REACH Initiative (2017), which reported a good relationship between the two communities despite competing for natural resources and means of livelihood. Other major reasons for the good relationship include the participation of both communities in the peace committee, sharing of social services, and the peace-building interventions of NGOs. This finding is consistent with the findings in the studies by Indris

(2020) and Verme and Schuettler (2021), which revealed that taking part in educational and recreational activities together can play a prominent role in better community relations and social cohesion. This good relationship was also mentioned in four of the 10 FGDs, while in two FGDs participants mentioned issues with the host community when trying to collect firewood and grass in the forest. It was particularly mentioned by female participants that they face insecurity and risk of violence from the host community when they attempt to collect firewood and shelter materials in the nearby forest, and cannot be overlooked. However, in almost all the FGDs, participants noted that there is a strong economic relationship between the two communities. This study further revealed that the host community uses labour from the refugees for farming in exchange for in-kind payment, and there is an exchange of commodities in the small market around the camps. In eight of the FGDs, the participants expressed their belief that a good relationship with the host community helped them to better cope with the challenges they faced. This finding is somewhat similar to the study conducted in Rwanda in 2019 and which revealed an increase in trust and a reduced level of conflict between the two communities due to increased economic and social activities (Fajth et al 2019).

However, the secondary sources reviewed indicated tension between the two communities over the use of the existing natural resources around the camp for shelter, food, and firewood. This finding is consistent with the argument by Maxwell et al (2017:6), stating factors such as competition over natural resources, chronic poverty, and poor governance could affect resilience. This situation is feared to have the potential to cause physical protection risks and threats of violence for the refugees if the basic needs of the population are not met through other means than the use of the natural resources. This is also consistent with the findings of Indris (2020), who explained that competing over the limited natural resources leads to tension.

#### **5.5.6 Access to humanitarian and development interventions**

The IFRC argued that populations who cannot fulfil their needs face a challenge to develop their capacity for resilience (IFRC 2012:5). Thus, working on meeting the basic needs of the displaced population is an essential element in efforts to enhance resilience and recovery. This study revealed that all the participants interviewed confirmed that they



get basic services from UNHCR, ARRA, and NGOs, and the services include food and non-food items, basic health services, shelter, water and sanitation, education, and recreational activities and livelihoods in the form of small business activities, raising goats and hens, and vocational skills training. The majority of the interview participants mentioned that physical protection, education, and partly health services are better in the camp and that they are not afraid of anything while living in the camp as compared to the conflict situation in their country of origin, which was very tough. This group of participants also emphasized the situation that some basic services are not adequately provided. They mentioned that some of the basic things they need such as cloth, domestic energy, medical referral services, food, and non-food items are among the needs which for them are difficult to meet in the camps. Some others indicated that they do not have freedom of movement outside of the camp and there is a limitation on access to employment and work. Some participants responded that the situation in the camp is not completely good, and they mentioned challenges related to getting basic services. However, most of the participants still believed that the services they are receiving provide some sort of help in coping with the challenges they face. The interviews with the humanitarian workers also confirmed the inadequacy of services and funding constraints. Some of the humanitarian workers pointed to a lack of adequate funding as a major shortcoming that led to poor and inadequate services being provided to the population in the camps. The humanitarian workers also responded that the perception of the refugee community that all their needs have to be addressed by the humanitarian actors is contributing to their not having better coping mechanisms. According to the humanitarian workers, the mental health and psychosocial programmes, the limited livelihood interventions, the provision of basic services, cultural and social activities, and the protection against violence are among the interventions contributing to the resilience of the refugees.

The lack of sustainable NGO support that this study found is consistent with the study that Chiroro (2013) conducted indicating that humanitarian support focused on addressing the basic immediate needs of the population is limited, and it is difficult to see its long-term impact on the life of the population. This finding is consistent with the notion of DDG (2013) and Pinto et al (2014), arguing that to have an impact on the resilience of the affected population, the humanitarian services need longer planning and funding

cycles. This finding is also in line with the IFRC (2012) report, which revealed that meeting basic needs is an important element in strengthening community resilience. This study found that the basic needs of the community in the camp are not adequately met. Furthermore, the study found that the refugee communities are developing dependency, which could potentially affect their utilizing of their capacity to enhance their recovery and resilience in a situation of inadequate external support.

### **5.5.7 Coping mechanisms and their contribution to resilience**

This study found an inadequacy of services in the camps. It was also noted from the study that the refugees are facing several challenges in the camps. The interviewees and the FGD participants indicated the use of different coping mechanisms, both positive and negative, to overcome the challenges. Most of the participants indicated coping strategies of working in the farmland of the host community, engaging in illegal gold mining in the host community, running small businesses in and around the camps, receiving support from NGOs with basic services, working for the locals by cleaning their farms, raising domestic animals, farming (vegetable and maize) in their backyards, and selling their labour to organizations in the camp (casual labour), selling firewood, selling handcrafts, collecting wild food in the nearby forest (leaves and roots), doing casual labour for NGOs in the camp. Some others also mentioned the practice of borrowing and sharing food among themselves, selling rations to the locals, and growing maize on small plots of land within the camp. To address additional health needs, the participants indicated some refugees use traditional medicine with advice and guidance from the elderly people. It was also confirmed by the secondary sources that the lack of food security and livelihood opportunities forced the refugees to apply negative coping mechanisms. Among the negative coping strategies which secondary sources mentioned, child labour, illegal gold mining, selling of food rations (affecting the nutrition status of the population), and illegal work on the farms of the host communities were the common ones. Some of the positive coping mechanisms included working with humanitarian actors as interpreters and social workers, farming within the camp, backyard gardening, receiving remittances from families abroad, doing petty business in the camp, and raising animals in the camp. In this respect, it is also noted that some of the mechanisms are putting the refugees at further protection risk. This finding is consistent with a study conducted by Tulane and

SUH (2012) in Haiti, which found that camp-based residents employed negative coping mechanisms, often with behaviours of dietary modification, increased debt, engagement in low-income livelihoods, selling assets, and relying on poorly paid temporary jobs. However, this finding differs from the report by Tulane and SUH (2012) on the use of debit and credit, and that wealthier households tended to rely more on remittances, cash savings, and modifications of expenditures as coping mechanisms since these coping mechanisms were not found in the refugee camps. This situation might support the argument that the study of resilience in a refugee context in Africa requires a different model and approach. Similarly, in a study conducted by Olanrewaju et al (2018) in IDP camps in Nigeria, the majority of the respondents emphasized better coping possibilities with access to economic opportunities in the form of vocational services, skills acquisition, training in trades, and provision of financial assistance. However, in this study, the use of these economic opportunities is minimal. Thus, the engagement of the refugees in more negative coping behaviours in the refugee camps in the Benishangul Gumuz region can be attributed to the fact that such economic opportunities are limited. Also, as discussed in chapter two, resilient individuals, communities, and households are characterized by food security and adequate nutrition (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013:23). However, this study on the refugee camps found that inadequate and delayed food rations and selling of the food basket to meet other needs are putting the nutrition status of the population at risk. As such, this situation could lead to chronic food insecurity and deteriorated nutrition status for the population. Ensuring full resilience and recovery of the population would then become impossible.

## **5.6 FINDINGS**

The major findings revealed by the study are as follows:

The resilience capacity of the South Sudanese refugees hosted in the Benishangul Gumuz region showed positive changes only in aspects of resilience such as physical and psychosocial wellbeing, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, access to social support, physical security within the camps, access to education, and access to basic health services. However, the findings showed a synthesis of results in terms of the peaceful co-existence between refugees and hosting communities. Through the work of NGOs

targeting both communities, and due to the economic and social interaction manifested in working in the farmlands of the host community, engaging in mining activities, exchanging commodities in the markets and joint social events that exist in and around the refugee camps, a cordial relationship is maintained between the two communities. On the other hand, there is tension and concern over the use of natural resources such as firewood and shelter materials around the camp, including the risk of violence particularly against women. This is mainly due to a lack of adequate domestic energy supply and shelter construction materials, which causes the refugees to rely more on the natural resources in the nearby forests, something that the host communities do not appreciate. In addition, there is poor resilience capacity among the refugees in aspects of access to sustainable livelihoods, meeting basic needs including food security, access to domestic energy, managing the impact of socio-political problems of the host country and of pandemics, and access to sustainable external support such as funding.

The study also shows that access to sustainable livelihoods is the most unrealized dimension of the resilience of the refugees in the camps, and different factors contributed to this. Limited employment opportunities, limited access to basic services, restriction of movement of the refugees by the host government, policy restrictions on employment, limited market access, animal disease, limited access to financial services, and limited access to land and agricultural supplies were found to be among the factors contributing to the deteriorated livelihoods of the refugees.

The study also revealed that livelihood opportunities are limited in terms of not only coverage but also types of opportunities. The few available opportunities include backyard gardening, small-scale agricultural activities, selling vocational skills and casual labour, poultry farming, petty business and trading activities, and low-paid incentive jobs in the camps. In this respect, it was also found that due to this limited access to livelihood opportunities, the refugees are not able to meet their basic needs with regard to food security, clothing, and domestic energy among other things. It was also revealed that while there is a lack of wealth and financial capital, there is huge human and social capital within the refugee population in the camps that can be potentially used to enhance the livelihoods of the population and thus their resilience.

From the aspects of resilience, according to the study findings, their psychosocial wellbeing, physical security, and access to education are the most fulfilled needs of the refugees in the camps. The good status of the physical and psychosocial wellbeing of the refugees is attributed to free access to cultural and spiritual practices, the strong social support mechanism in the form of emotional and informational support, the use of traditional medicines, and the availability of recreational services. The study also found that there is a strong social support mechanism among the South Sudanese refugees residing in the refugee camps and this support mechanism has increased in strength after the adversity. The findings revealed strong indicators of community empowerment of the refugees in the camps.

The study also found the contribution of access to social support and peaceful co-existence to the resilience and recovery of the refugees is negatively influenced by the poor economic situation of the host and refugee communities. Yet, the availability of social support within the refugee community, and the socio-economic interaction with the host-community (despite the existence of occasional tension and conflict as revealed by the study) helped the refugees to cope with the challenges of their displacement.

Factors contributing to the good relationship that exists between the two communities (notwithstanding the tension over the use of natural resources) are factors such as the peace education and peace building activities conducted by NGOs, the host community's access to the services in the camp, socio-economic interaction, and the speaking of a common language.

The existence of humanitarian and development services influenced the resilience and recovery of the population by limiting their capacity to meet their basic needs and to access sustainable livelihood opportunities due to the inadequacy of funding and discontinuation of programmes.

It was also revealed that there is poor resilience capacity among the refugees in terms of managing the impact of socio-political problems and pandemics that happened in the host country.

The findings also show that as a result of not being able to meet basic needs and due to a lack of reliable and sustainable livelihood opportunities, the refugees used both negative

and positive coping strategies to overcome the challenges of displacement and camp life. These strategies include selling food rations, going out for illegal work such as farming and gold mining in the host community, engaging in child labour work in the host community, getting hired by humanitarian actors as interpreters and social workers, carrying out small-scale farming activities inside the camp, getting remittances from abroad, working on the farms of the host community, and running small shops in the camp.

In terms of co-existence, the study revealed that while there is good co-existence as a consequence of active social and economic interaction and the work of NGOs with programmes targeting both communities, there is also a serious concern of potential tension and conflict between the refugees and the hosting communities over the use of existing natural resources. This was evident particularly in relation to the collection of firewood and shelter materials by refugees. In this regard, refugee women are found to be at risk of insecurity and violence when they attempt to collect firewood in the nearby forests.

Factors such as access to livelihoods, access to social support and peaceful co-existence, inadequacy of funding for the programmes, and policy restrictions in the host country emerged as key factors impacting on the resilience and recovery of the refugees.

## **5.7 SUMMARY**

The data collected through interviews, FGDs, and a review of documents was analysed and interpreted. Accordingly, it was revealed that for South Sudanese refugees in Benishangul Gumuz region, there are both positive and negative indicators of resilience. Some of the elements promoting resilience such as access to sustainable livelihoods, being able to meet basic needs, access to sustainable funding for the refugee programmes are not in place. This situation has led the refugees to adopt negative coping behaviours. In terms of co-existence, despite the existence of strong social and economic relationships between the refugees and the hosting communities, there is a serious concern about the prospects for living in continued harmony, as the two communities are sharing limited natural resources.

## **CHAPTER 6: AN INNOVATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR COPING AND RESILIENCE BUILDING IN A REFUGEE CONTEXT**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This research was undertaken in line with the research problem, which stated that there is little knowledge on what makes people more resilient in a time of adversity caused by armed conflict, and in what ways the resilience of a displaced community can be strengthened in a refugee context in Africa. In the process of the study, different resilience frameworks were reviewed and discussed as indicated in chapter two. Based on the review of the frameworks, the researcher adopted a modified framework named the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework from the resilience framework developed and used by the Tulane University and SUH following the 2010 earthquake in Haiti.

The use of a modified framework for this study was necessitated for many reasons. The first justification was that the Tulane and SUH Framework was applied for the study of resilience in an internal displacement situation of people affected by natural disaster, and it has many limitations if applied in a conflict-induced refugee situation. Moreover, the framework did not consider some important aspects of resilience such as the impact of the relationship with the host community, the policy environment of the host government, the impact of funding and development programmes, the impact of unprecedented socio-political and health problems in the process of attaining resilience outcomes. These elements were found to be critically important in the refugee context, as this study also shows.

A review of other frameworks showed similar limitations. For instance, the resilience framework developed by Bahadur et al (2010) lacks applicability in recurrent conflict situations, and it provides limited insight into coping or survival practices in times of such crises. Similarly, the Hyogo Framework for Action was not found to be suitable for this study since it was developed in the context of natural disaster and climate change situations. It also does not place emphasis on the emergency and immediate needs of the affected community, which is a key element in a refugee context. All these limitations

were discussed in chapter two with credible sources. Therefore, after having reviewed the different frameworks, and considering the unique nature of the resilience of communities in a refugee context where communities affected by armed conflict are residing in camp settlements in a country of asylum, the researcher adopted an innovative and context-specific framework named the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework from the Tulane and SUH Framework.

After applying this approach, it was noted that the 2R Framework can best suit and revolutionize any future study of the resilience of communities displaced due to armed conflict, and who are settled in camp settlements in a second country/country of asylum. This innovative framework is very useful for a refugee context as a refugee-type displacement is a different human experience from displacement caused by internal conflict, since the latter involves the settlement of the displaced population within the boundaries of their country of origin and under the primary protection of their own government. This displacement experience is also different from a natural hazard-induced community displacement. In this kind of displacement situation, unlike in the findings of this study, those major factors such as policy limitations, relationship with hosting communities, access to basic services, the adequacy and continuity of humanitarian funding, the security and physical protection of the community, the cultural wellbeing of the community may not be relevant to influence the resilience of the population. In other words, a refugee situation mostly has the characteristics of a long-term stay in camps, which is also highly influenced by the policy of the host country, the sustainability of funding (it is a universal truth that there is a tendency for funding to drop off the longer the refugee settlements remain due to donors' fatigue), and the relationship between the refugee and hosting communities as this study has found. The modified framework and the matrix are presented below.

## **6.2 THE REFUGEE RESILIENCE (2R) FRAMEWORK**

To realize one of the purposes of this study, which was to contribute to the study of resilience with a context-specific framework and fill the existing knowledge gaps, the Tulane and SUH Framework was modified with some additions and exclusions and by focusing on only those elements of community resilience relevant to the refugee context.



The revised framework was named the Refugee Resilience (2R) Framework. This framework incorporates the potential influence of factors in the process of building the coping and resilience capacity of refugees who are settled in camp settlements. According to the modified framework, resilience is defined as the capacity of forcefully displaced communities to face and recover from the negative physical, psychosocial, cultural, economic and security effects of the experience of conflict and displacement, and their potential to restore and normalize their day-to-day living.

As read from Figure 6.1 below, the major section of the framework includes the occurrence of conflict-induced displacement, the implementation of humanitarian and development interventions, dimensions of resilience, factors affecting resilience, and the final outcomes of resilience. According to this framework, the element of resilience includes sustainable livelihoods, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, community participation and self-management, social support, physical security, peaceful co-existence, positive coping behaviours, self-reliance to meet basic needs, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, and preparedness for unprecedented emergencies such as political events and pandemics in the host country. The interpretation of the diagram is that different factors could affect the processes of change towards building the resilience of the displaced communities, in this case the refugees. According to this 2R Framework, the occurrence of armed conflict causes a social situation of displacement, in which displaced populations cross over the border into a second country (country of asylum) seeking international protection and assistance services from the host government, donor community, humanitarian actors, and host communities. The policy of the host country, the adequacy and continuity of funding from the donor community, the self-management capacity of the displaced community, the attitude and perception of the host communities, and humanitarian access to basic services impact on the resilience outcomes, which are adaptation, absorption, erosion, and failure.

As stated in the introduction in section 6.1 above, the 2R Framework has major differences from the framework that was used by the Tulane University and SUH in that it considered those elements which are relevant to the refugee context. Most importantly, the Tulane and SUH Framework was developed in the context of an internally displaced

population, and did not consider factors such as policy environment, the influence of a hosting community in resilience building, physical security and protection, or the continuity of humanitarian funding, all of which were found to be influential with regard to resilience and coping in a refugee context.

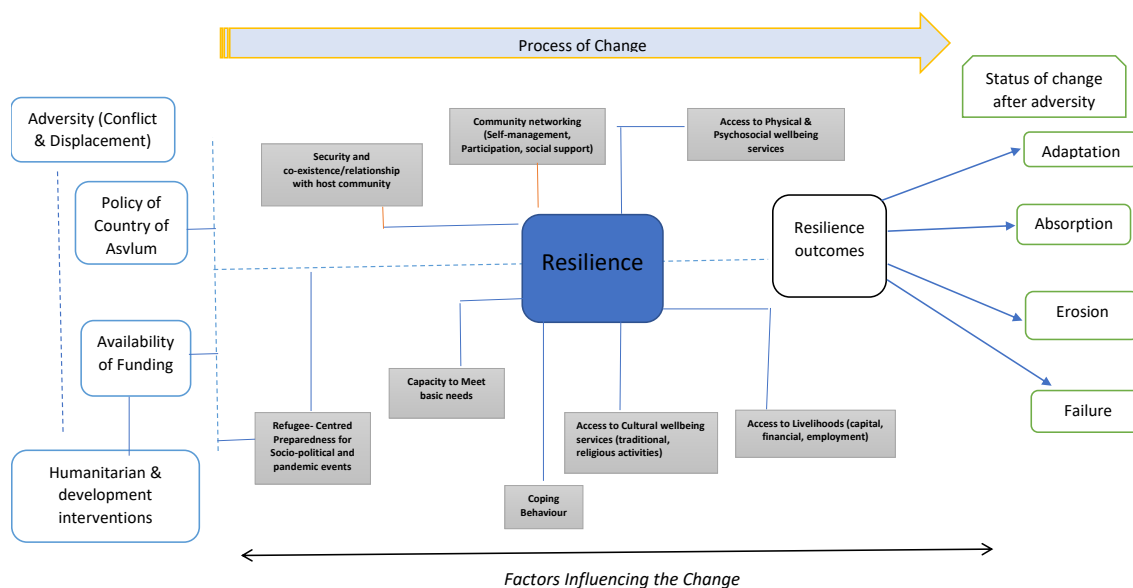
This framework also integrates both humanitarian and development concept and forms a cornerstone for studying and seeking long-term solutions to the problem of refugees by drawing the attention and resources of both humanitarian and development actors, including the donor communities, regional and international organizations. The Tulane and SUH resilience framework was focusing more on the humanitarian interventions in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake and had a short-term outlook. Therefore, the 2R Framework has all these elements and is found to be relevant for further studies on the topic in a similar situation. An interesting element of this framework is also the relationship between the humanitarian and development interventions and the resilience outcomes. According to this framework, there is a two-way relationship between the two as found in the study. The deteriorated situation of the resilience outcomes requires more and continuous humanitarian and development interventions. At the same time, the positive coping capacity of the refugee population and the better resilience outcomes lead to less dependency on external funding for the refugee programmes.

Furthermore, as one of the unique features of the 2R Framework, the policy environment of the country of asylum is found to be impacting hugely on the resilience and coping of the refugee population. Particularly, limited opportunities for employment, financial services, agricultural land, and the restriction of free movement outside of the camps appeared recurrently in the study as major bottlenecks for the refugee population. This implies that without creating an enabling policy environment in the country of asylum, it is very difficult to achieve those resilience outcomes of adaptation and absorption. The continuity of this kind of refugee policy environment would rather exacerbate the problems of refugees by limiting their potential for resilience and positive coping behaviours. Not only its impact on the resilience outcomes, but also the policy environment of the country of asylum affects the level of the humanitarian and development interventions as the actors get discouraged and would end up focusing on immediate lifesaving services.

As seen in the 2R Framework, the co-existence of and relationship between refugees and hosting communities appeared to be a major component. This is also one unique feature of resilience studies. Refugees are settled near or within the hosting communities and there are visible social and economic interaction between the two, as also found in this study. In other words, the level of interaction with and the support from the host community, the economic life of the host community, and the perception and attitude of the host community affect the capacity of the refugee population for coping and resilience. Thus, this framework implies inclusive humanitarian and development programming involving both refugees and hosting communities equally in the national policies and strategies, whereby both communities can have equal access to social services. Furthermore, in this study it was noted that refugees managed to maintain their community structures in the refugee camps, which helped them with better coping and resilience, which again implies the necessity for future programmes that ensure the restoration and functioning of those community and social structures.

Another aspect of the framework that is not mentioned in the other frameworks is the cultural wellbeing of the displaced population. This is crucial to consider in resilience-focused studies and interventions in a refugee context. The refugees are settled in a second country and at times the environment in the camps may not be conducive for them to exercise and pass to their children their culture and traditions, though this study found in this respect they are better off in the camps. This aspect predicts the psychological wellbeing and potential for better reintegration of the community in their country of origin upon return. This framework emphasizes this as well.

**Figure 6.1: The Refugee Resilience Framework**



*Source: The author modified the Tulane and SUH Framework*

Conceptually, this framework could add to the two major resilience concepts of a SES approach and the development resilience perspective by bringing together the restoration and functioning of socio-economic, cultural and environmental systems, community empowerment and the attainment of basic human rights in a context of conflict-induced human displacement.

The co-existence aspect of the framework is another point which development and humanitarian actors should look into, in that the effort to build resilience has to be inclusive of both refugees and hosting community. Otherwise, it would be impossible to build the capacity of the refugees in such fragmented and discriminatory policy provisions.

### **6.3 THE REFUGEE RESILIENCE MATRIX**

In addition to the framework, the researcher has come up with a matrix that can establish a relationship among the different elements of resilience and help systematize the information for the study of resilience in a refugee context. Particularly, with this matrix, by looking at the different factors, challenges of the displaced population and the underlying coping mechanisms, the humanitarian and development actors, state authorities, and regional and international organizations would be able to understand better where to focus in attempting to build up the resilience of the displaced population

affected by similar situations in the future. The Refugee Resilience (2R) Matrix consists of eight major dimensions and 31 subcomponents of resilience (see Table 6.1 below).

**Table 6.1: The Refugee Resilience Matrix template developed by author**

Dimensions of Resilience	Subcomponent of Resilience	Current Status	Reasons for Change or no change	Existing Mechanism for Coping	Level of Resilience (Adapt, Absorb, Erode, Fail)*	Recommendations	Responsible Actors
1. Access to Sustainable Livelihoods	1.1 Access to employment opportunities						
	1.2 Access to agricultural activities						
	1.3 Access to business activities including cash, market and training						
	1.4 Availability and utilization of assets (animal, material, human and physical capital)						
	1.5 Availability and utilization of skills and qualifications						
	1.6 Access to financial services						
	1.7 Self-reliance in meeting basic needs						
2. Access to Social Support	2.1 Availability of support from family members and friends						
	2.2 Support from other community members						
	2.3 Community self-management, and decision making						
3. Cultural and spiritual wellbeing	3.1 Access to spaces to exercise cultural activities						
	3.2 Able to carry out religious activities						
	3.3 Opportunity to maintain culture and tradition						
4. Physical and Psychosocial wellbeing	4.1 Prevalence of psychosocial issues						
	4.2 Access to specialized mental health services						
	4.3 Report of physical health problems						
5. Security and peaceful Co-existence	5.1 Relationship with hosting community						
	5.2 Violence incidents (physical attack, looting and loss of property)						
	5.3 Physical security						
6 Availability of external aid/ support	6.1 Presence of humanitarian actors						
	6.2 Presence of development actors						
	6.3 Availability and continuity of funding						
7. Access to basic humanitarian services	7.1 Food and nutrition						
	7.2 Protection and management of natural resources						
	7.3 Health care						
	7.4 Water and sanitation						
	7.5 Education						
	7.6 Shelter						
	7.7 Domestic Energy						
8. Preparedness and contingency capacity	8.1 Capacity for coping with unprecedented socio-political events in the host country						
	8.2 Capacity for coping with health pandemics in the host country						

The components of resilience for the refugee context include access to sustainable livelihoods, access to social support, access to cultural and spiritual wellbeing, access to physical and psychosocial wellbeing, security and peaceful co-existence with hosting communities, availability of external support and funding, access to basic services, and socio-political events and pandemics. These dimensions are key elements of resilience in a refugee context, and they came out strongly during the field research (see Appendix A for the matrix developed with full data of this study).

The sustainable livelihood dimension has subcomponents which include access to employment opportunities, access to agricultural activities, access to business activities including training, grants and markets, access to assets, opportunities to use training and qualifications, access to financial services, and self-reliance to meet basic needs. The second dimension, which is access to social support, covers the sub-elements of availability of support from family members, support from other community members, access to community self-management and decision making. The matrix further considers cultural and spiritual wellbeing which focuses on freedom to practise religious and cultural activities, and access to opportunities for continuity of cultural traditions. This physical and psychosocial component, on the other hand, consists of sub-elements of prevalence of psychosocial problems, access to specialized mental health services, and reporting of physical health problems.

The security and peaceful co-existence aspect of resilience covers the relationship between the refugees and the host community, reports of violent incidents involving both communities, and actual and perceived physical security of the refugees. Availability of external support and funding concerns aspects of the presence of humanitarian and development actors, and continuity and adequacy of funding for the refugee programmes. It also looks at access to the basic and lifesaving services which the refugees seek to have when they cannot cope with the needs by themselves. These are access to health care services, water and sanitation services, education, shelter and energy, protection, and management of natural resources. Last but not least the matrix considers other socio-political events and pandemics that may affect the process of building resilience. The ethnic conflict and COVID-19 pandemic Ethiopian faced in 2020 and 2022 are good

examples and were found to be affecting the coping and resilience capacity of the refugee population in the refugee camps in Assosa, as revealed in this study.

The Refugee Resilience Matrix enables one to map out and discuss the data collected in terms of current situation, reason for change or no change, and existing coping mechanisms of the refugee population across the components and subcomponents. It also links the current situation into the four resilience outcomes of adaptation, absorption, erosion and failure. By using this matrix, after mapping the current situation of the refugee population across the subcomponents and also levelling them by resilience outcomes, recommendations can be made to the different actors that have a stake in the refugee support programming. This matrix is so comprehensive and detailed that the outcome of the systematized information can be used by different relevant actors for better programme design, policy development and strategy design to enhance the resilience capacity of a refugee population in a similar context. As this study takes the refugees living in Ethiopia as an area of interest, there is a strong belief that the matrix can be used in other refugee situations in the African continent. In this matrix, the coping strategy which the refugees are applying would also enable the main actors to identify and build up the positive coping behaviours to address the long-term challenges of the refugees in the camps. The dimensions that are levelled as erosion and failure outcomes of the resilience are the soft points where more intervention and focus is required by the different humanitarian and development actors. It is also an indicator that as observed in many displacement situations, the life span of the refugee settlements is not known and there is a high likelihood that the refugees could stay longer, relying on the humanitarian assistance provided, something which calls for working towards building resilience of the refugee community.

#### **6.4 SUMMARY**

In the past decades, development and humanitarian programmes have been giving more weight to building the resilience of populations displaced by adversities. As such there are different frameworks in place to be used to study and design resilience-focused programmes. However, there is no one best-fit framework that can be applied to all types of adversity situations. As such they have many limitations, and different situations call



for different frameworks. A refugee situation is a unique displacement situation for many reasons and studying and building resilience in the population affected by armed conflicts require a context-specific framework. It is on this basis that this study came up with a context-specific resilience framework and related matrix to study and build the resilience and coping capacity of refugees residing in camp-like settlements in a country of asylum. The framework covers elements of resilience such as sustainable livelihoods, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, community participation and self-management, social support, physical security, peaceful co-existence, positive coping behaviours, self-reliance to meet basic needs, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, and preparedness for unprecedented emergencies such as political events and pandemics. The framework has a related matrix which is designed to systematize the resilience-related information by identifying the current situation of the refugees, their copying behaviours, their level of resilience, the recommendations to be made and the responsible actors to implement the recommendations. As per this matrix, there is a clear picture of focus on resilience-focused interventions which would alleviate the multi-faceted challenges of refugees until they can find durable solutions and stand on their own feet. Based on this innovative framework used and the findings identified, the conclusion and detailed recommendations of this study are presented and discussed in the next chapter (chapter seven).

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter seven presents the conclusion, and recommendations of the study. As discussed in the statement of the problem section in chapter one, natural and man-made disasters are causing the displacement of millions of people globally. Particularly, the number of people fleeing violence and armed conflict is increasing from time to time. Humanitarian and development-focused interventions are being undertaken to address the assistance and protection needs of these people. There is, however, big debate around whether these interventions are making a change in the resilience and recovery of the displaced populations. As such, some scholars suggest these interventions should be solution oriented (Pinto et al 2014:49; Combaz 2014) to be able to make changes in the lives of the displaced population, as most humanitarian interventions bring only short-term and immediate solutions (Frankenberger & Nelson 2013). Furthermore, there are studies pinpointing the fact that different factors could impact on the resilience of displaced communities (Southwick et al 2014:1). Yet, it was not known whether these findings apply to the context of refugee situations caused by conflict-induced displacement. This situation also leads to a fundamental question of how best the recovery and resilience of people affected by armed conflict can be realized. These knowledge gaps and inconsistency of information in this field was what motivated the researcher to conduct this study. Accordingly, the study was conducted with the following research objectives:

1. To examine the resilience capacity of South Sudanese refugees who are residing in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.
2. To analyse the different factors affecting the resilience capacity of the South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia.
3. To design an innovative framework to enhance resilience and coping strategies for refugee communities.

Further to the objectives above, the central argument of the study asserted that in the context of forced displacement, refugees adopt different strategies to cope with the challenges of displacement, and factors such as access to basic livelihood services, availability of social support, availability of sustainable funding, the policy environment of

the host country, and peaceful co-existence interventions play an important role in community resilience in a situation of forced displacement caused by armed conflict. Therefore, in this study, the situation of resilience after adversity was examined in the context of South Sudan refugees who were forcefully displaced by the violence and armed conflict that broke out in South Sudan in 2013, and who are currently residing in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia. In investigating the resilience capacity of the population, the different dimensions of resilience such as access to livelihoods, access to basic services, access to social support systems, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, physical security and peaceful co-existence, the cultural and spiritual wellbeing of the refugees, and the availability of external support were thoroughly evaluated.

To undertake this study, the resilience framework of Tulane University and SUH was considered as the main conceptual framework over other frameworks. This framework looked at the key elements of the characteristics of a resilient community, the scope and nature of the shock, and the presence and type of humanitarian response (Tulane & SUH 2012). The model further described the occurrence of a shock that would lead to humanitarian assistance which would further determine the type of resilience outcomes at the household and community level. These outcomes are adaptation, absorption, erosion, and failure. In the study of resilience, the model assessed seven components: Wealth, Debit and Credit, Coping Behaviours, Human Capital, Protection and Security, Community Networks, and Psychosocial Wellbeing of the affected population. However, in the interest of this study and after having reviewed its limitations, this framework was modified with addition and exclusion of some elements relevant to the displacement situation that this research focused on. The modified framework called the 2R Framework incorporated the potential influence of other factors in the process of building the resilience capacity of the displaced communities. The elements of the 2R Framework include livelihoods, physical and psychosocial wellbeing, community participation and self-management, social support, security, peaceful co-existence, positive coping behaviours, capacity to meet basic needs, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, and availability and continuity of funding. While the resilience framework was given much focus to guide this study, other livelihood and peace theories and concepts were also reviewed and included in chapter two of this thesis. For instance, the CARE Sustainable Livelihoods

framework states that the use of livelihood strategies and resources should be able to ensure livelihood outcomes that are fulfilling basic needs and personal security. Galtung's theory of peace was also discussed. It states that the causes of conflict between communities are mainly related to meeting basic human needs, which are survival, well-being, freedom, and identity, and the threat of violence against these (Ercoşkun 2021). For Galtung, fairness, equality, development, and cultural coexistence instead of structural violence lead to appropriate conditions for positive peace (Ercoşkun 2021). The concept of access to social support as one aspect of resilience was also elaborated to further guide the analysis and interpretation of the results related to social support and psychosocial wellbeing. The study applied a qualitative research design comprising both primary and secondary data, which was collected through interviews and FGDs, and a review of documents. The conclusions and recommendations of the study are discussed below.

## **7.2 CONCLUSIONS**

This study concludes that despite the implementation of humanitarian and development interventions in the refugee camps, the resilience and recovery of the displaced population is not fully developed. The interventions lack sustainability and continuity, and they focus on addressing only limited basic needs of the refugee population. While the camp settlements ensured better psychosocial wellbeing, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, physical protection within the camp, and the huge social and human capital, other needs of the population remain unmet. It is also concluded from the study that the efforts to ensure the resilience capacity of displaced communities uprooted by armed conflict, require an interplay of different systems and factors. Factors such as sustainable financial resources, social and cultural resources, access to livelihood opportunities, policy of the host country, socio-political situation of host countries, and the mindset and initiatives of the displaced populations play an important role in building the resilience of such communities. This is an important finding as it pinpoints the area of focus for humanitarian and development authorities in their attempt to build the resilience of the displaced communities. However, more research is needed to understand how to utilize the huge human and social capital resources of the displaced population even if the sustainability of programmes is challenged by an inadequacy of resources. It also requires further

systematic study to suggest how the refugee human capital can be encompassed in the policy frameworks of the host country for positive coping and recovery of the displaced populations. From this study, it was also clear that access to livelihoods is a key indicator that influences the resilience and recovery of the displaced population. Its absence caused food insecurity, made it difficult to meet basic needs, and compromised utilization of skills and capacities of the displaced population in the refugee camps.

Furthermore, the findings of this study also imply that, in a situation of limited opportunities in refugee settlements, though limited in scale the available opportunities and individual initiatives of the displaced community can contribute to resilience and recovery. For instance, access to incentive work opportunities in the camps, small business activities, and back yard agricultural activities, as well as the social and economic interaction with the host community were observed to be helping the displaced communities. Such minor but impactful socio-economic activities in and around the camps made a difference in the living conditions of the displaced communities though members of the communities are from the same socio-cultural and environmental context. The findings are very important for inclusive policy decisions and for future programme design and strategy development by the host government and humanitarian and development actors.

This study also concludes that the availability of social support is an important element in enhancing the psychosocial wellbeing of the displaced communities by promoting a sense of belonging, interdependence, and hope. However, it was found from the study that the access to social support can itself be affected by the lack of adequate financial and material resources among the displaced communities, as it limits the potential of people to support others in such displacement situations.

Similarly, it can be concluded that the positive relationship and peaceful co-existence between the refugees and the host communities facilitate better coping and resilience in the displaced population by creating better access to livelihoods and economic opportunities and enhancing interdependence between the two communities. However, this positive relationship could not fully ensure safety and in particular the safety of women. It was found from the study that women claimed they faced insecurity from the host community when they collect firewood in the forest. Thus, this finding underscores

the importance of taking complementary measures to tackle the sources of potential tension and risk of violence against women for the economic and social relations to make a huge impact in the life of the displaced communities. As such further study is needed to identify the perception and capacity of the host community, the sources of the conflict and the possible measures that can be taken to strengthen sustainable peaceful co-existence between the two communities. In this respect, this study has limited geographical coverage and did not explore the perceptions of the host community about the presence of the refugees, or the level of resilience by gender, and these are left for future research.

The results of this study also suggest that the existing resilience framework lacks comprehensiveness and is hardly applied for studying and building the resilience of communities residing in camp settlements because of their displacement by armed conflicts. In this regard, as found from the study, the refugees are adopting both positive and negative coping strategies to meet their resilience and recovery needs. These coping behaviours and other aspects of resilience were not covered fully within the existing frameworks. This is mainly due to the unique nature and dynamics of displacement in a refugee context. Thus, the study suggests applying an adapted refugee resilience framework (3R) and the associated matrix for future interventions and research aimed at building resilience in forcefully displaced communities. The 2R Framework and the corresponding 2R Matrix with which this study came up and which incorporates the different elements of the resilience capacity of the refugees and their positive coping behaviours, can be used as a very good approach for future studies, not only to conduct further research but also to design policies, strategies, and practical developmental solutions to the problem of displaced communities, particularly refugees.

## **7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.4.1 Recommendation 1**

The government of Ethiopia should reinforce the implementation of the pledges it has made to the international community for better protection and assistance to the refugees. The actual implementation of the pledges would address those policy-related barriers and restrictions and ensure access for refugees to many livelihood options such as access to

employment, markets, financial services, agricultural land, and freedom of movement. In this respect, the government can capitalize on the huge refugee human capital to ensure the country's economic growth and development. Engaging the refugee manpower in the country's development endeavours would have a dual benefit. It would contribute to poverty reduction and economic growth in the country and at the same time bring durable solutions to the displaced population. The government of Ethiopia has to also welcome those refugee inclusion programmes which are initiated at a global level, such as the Global Compact for Refugees, the principle of 'leave no one behind' of the 2030 agenda of development of the United Nations, and the African Union Agenda of 2063. The Ethiopian Government should have the political will and commitment to implement these initiatives. Doing so, can open an opportunity for technical and financial support from external actors, which would benefit not only refugees even those Ethiopian citizens which do not have job. For poor countries such as Ethiopia, such approach would bring huge benefit to the economy. As part of improving the livelihoods of the refugees, free access to gold mining and investment farms in the appropriate areas can also be an option for many refugees if supported by legal frameworks that ensure their physical protection and free movement to maximize such opportunities for earning livelihoods. In this process, regional organizations such as IGAD and the African Union should extend technical as well as financial support for the design, revision and implementation of refugee legislation in the country.

#### **7.4.2 Recommendation 2**

In view of the study's findings, there is a need for the United Nations (UN) organizations, the donor community, and international NGOs to allocate adequate and sustainable financial resources for those projects of livelihoods, food security, and self-reliance interventions in the refugee camps, at least to the level where the refugees can meet their basic needs and have reasonably recovered from the immediate impact of the adversity. In this connection, if those international commitments of the global compact on refugees, and the inclusion of refugees in national development plans are fully implemented in Ethiopia with the support of the international community, it would benefit the refugee population, and ensure their resilience. In this regard, the UN and the donor community should provide the necessary technical as well as financial support to the government of

Ethiopia for the implementation of this refugee inclusion and self-reliance global initiatives. Doing so would enable the country to better achieve sustainable development goals while addressing the problems of refugees. Furthermore, it is fundamentally important for the donor community to continue supporting the refugee programme in a way that gives the host community unhindered access to the refugee services of education, health care, water, and shelter support to strengthen the peaceful co-existence of the two communities. In this respect, there is also a need to advocate for and support initiatives aimed at strengthening good relationships between the refugees and the host communities through engagement in small-scale agricultural activities, peace-building projects, and joint social activities. Most importantly, for any project initiated, the humanitarian and development actors in the camps should put the huge human capital of the refugees at the centre of programme design and implementation. In this respect, it is very important for NGOs and the government to undertake socio-economic profiling of the refugees to know and document the type and depth of the available human capital for future interventions.

#### **7.4.3 Recommendation 3**

The refugee communities, in collaboration with all willing and able organizations, need to continue applying positive coping mechanisms such as linking up with the hosting community for work and support, using small-scale agricultural activities such as the backyard gardening in the camps, opting for and applying traditional wisdom including traditional medicines, and spiritual counselling. This will particularly help to boost their livelihoods, food security, and physical and psychosocial wellbeing in the camps, which are key components in building the resilience of the refugees and their recovery from the impact of their adversity. The refugee community should also be aware of the funding constraints to the refugee programme and have to work to break the mentality of *'every need has to be addressed by external actors'*. The community has to strive to contribute to the solutions to its challenges.

#### **7.4.4 Recommendation 4**

Academic communities, particularly those in the field of development studies can benefit from the study in terms of enhancing scientific knowledge in the area of resilience. It is



very important to note that in the context of conflict-induced forced displacement where the displaced population is living in camps, the study of resilience requires a much more context-specific and interdisciplinary approach. In this regard the broader protection environment, the economic situation of the host community, and the refugee policy and strategies of the host country should be considered in the study of the resilience of the people displaced by armed conflict. In addition to this, the socio-economic and cultural history of the refugee population before their flight, and during their flight, and the impact of gender differences in resilience have to be given due consideration in future research. Furthermore, there should also be a clear cut-off date to consider for the study of resilience, as different populations arrive at different times and this could impact the level of recovery and resilience. The modified resilience framework (the Refugee Resilience Framework) and its associated Matrix which this study developed, could be applicable in the study of resilience of refugees in the future.

#### **7.4.5 Recommendation 5**

As noted from this study, unprecedented socio-political events and health pandemics, in this case the ethnic conflict and the COVID-19 pandemic that occurred from 2020-2021 in Ethiopia, affected the coping and resilience capacity of the refugee population. Accordingly, as part of preparedness for a similar future eventuality and for better coping and resilience of the refugee community, the humanitarian and development actors and the countries hosting refugees should put in place a people-centred contingency and preparedness plan whereby the capacities and views of the refugees can be better integrated.

#### **7.4.6 Recommendation 6**

As discussed in the limitation of the study section, due to security-related access problems, the study was conducted only in two camp locations in Benishangul Gumuz Region of Ethiopia. In addition, the study did not consider how pre-displacement situations could impact on the resilience of the displaced populations. Therefore, though the researcher of this study strongly believes that the refugee resilience framework and the corresponding matrix could be applicable for the study of resilience in a similar refugee context, similar future studies should consider those aspects of wider geographical and

population coverage and pre-displacement lives of the population. Considering the importance of the views of the host community on hosting refugees, and the role of gender in understanding and building resilience and recovery which this study did not cover, it is crucial to conduct further studies on the topic. Furthermore, this framework is best suited for a qualitative study of refugee resilience and the matrix may not be applicable to quantitative types of studies. Future researchers should design indicators of refugee resilience that can be measured quantitatively.

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## APPENDIX A

### The Refugee Resilience (2R) Matrix

**Adapt:** Better than before the shock; **Absorb:** Same situation as before the shock; **Erode:** Worse situation than before the shock; **Fail:** Increase in acute malnutrition and mortality<sup>1</sup>

Dimensions of Resilience	Subcomponent of Resilience	Current Status	Reasons for Change or no change	Existing Mechanism for Coping	Level of Resilience	Recommendations	Responsible Actors
1. Access to Sustainable Livelihoods	1.1 Access to employment opportunities	Limited access to job and employment. Only less paid incentive and casual labour work available. The payment of incentives much lower than what the local people are receiving/unfair payment due to low negotiating power	Refugees are restricted to move out for work; the policy of the country <sup>2</sup> is mentioned as a cause; encampment policy; the refugees have low negotiating power in the host community;	Refugees engage in risky activities such as illegal movement outside of the camp and working in mining areas. Receiving remittance from relatives; take up any available work such as casual labour in the camp, mudbrick production, selling grains, gold mining	Erode	Improve the policy environment by easing restrictions of movement and create job opportunities for refugees.	The Government of the Country of Asylum, African Union, IGAD
	1.2 Access to agricultural activities	Small activities within the camp such as back yard gardening, corn cultivation, vegetable gardening, fruit tree planting. Few refugees receive tools and seeds, chicken, and goats from NGOs. But farmland is inaccessible	NGOs target smaller number of refugees in their intervention; only more vulnerable ones are benefiting; the support is not sustainable; inadequate agricultural supplies; no access to land; negative perceptions and expectation of refugees.	Some Refugees occasionally partner with locals outside to work in their farm (informal arrangement), they contributed labour and they get in-kind payment; use of back yard in the shelters, use of small spaces in the camp for gardening and corn cultivation	Erode	Make available arable land for agriculture in the periphery of the camp; Provide agricultural tools and supplies; Support informal arrangement between refugees and host community for agricultural activities; interventions targeting changing the mind set of refugees. Encourage multi-story gardening.	The Government of the Country of Asylum
	1.3 Access to business activities including cash, market and training	NGOs provide training on business development and start-up capital for limited number of refugees; Markets are limited, and refugees sell items at lowest prices; Few refugees do petty business such as selling food items and commodities in and around the camp, business start-up cash not successfully.	Lack of access to markets; coverage of assistance from NGOs is for limited number of people. Refugees use business start-up cash to meet other needs. lack of training, it is difficult to go out from camp we are not allowed.	At times, there are reports of child labour and drop out of school for children in the attempt to get complementary income.	Erode	Business management skills training, start up cash provision, market assessment	The United nation Organizations including UNDP and UNHCR, International NGOs
	1.4 Availability and utilization of asset (animal, material, human and physical capital)	The refugees do not have assets/capitals except human capital in a form of marketable skills; there are also physical capital such as schools, health facilities, youth recreational centres; few animals such as poultry but not successful due to disease and lack of medicines; They indicated they have skills such as house making, selling charcoal, handcraft, running grinding mill and managing food item sores.	The refugees fled without assets to save their life, the efforts from NGOs for the refugees to own assets is limited; land is in accessible; market and job opportunities are limited; negative perceptions and expectation of refugees.	Some uses their human capital by working in local farmlands around the camps. Some works as interpreters, social workers, community health agents.	Erode even if there is huge human capital	Implement projects aiming to utilize the huge human capital in the camps; improve the payment rate for refugees; Ease policy limitation for refugees to own properties; provide space for livestock around the camps	The United nation Organizations including UNDP and UNHCR, International NGOs, the refugee community
	1.5 Availability and utilization of skills and qualifications	There is huge human capital within the refugee community including business skills, farming and animal husbandry experience, civil servant experience, pottery, butchery, fishery, carpentry and	Opportunities are limited in the camp; many mentioned the policy restriction to access work; restriction of movement out of the camp <sup>3</sup> . Talented refugees do	Refugees take up whatever work is available; most feels sitting idle. Attending education; selling of small handcrafts within the camp	Erode	Increase skills and vocational trainings and create employment opportunities within the camp and outside for qualified refugees; conduct profiling of the	The United nation Organizations including UNDP and UNHCR, International NGOs

<sup>1</sup> These levels of resilience capacity are derived from the model developed by Tulane and State University of Haiti (2012) in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake.

<sup>2</sup> Valdés-Rodríguez, OA & Pérez-Vázquez, A. 2011. Sustainable livelihoods: an analysis of the methodology. *Tropical and Subtropical Agroecosystems* 14(1):91-99.

<sup>3</sup> The impact of the policies is also in line with what the UNDP model indicated in Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez (2011).

		construction related skills. But the skills and qualification are under utilized	not have opportunities to use skills in the country.			skills and qualifications of refugees.	
	1.6 Access to financial services	There are different views on this. Some reported that only people who have ID card can access financial services such as banking; some others indicate there is no access to such services in the camp; Some also mentioned that NGOs started saving and credit related services but discontinued. availability of such service before the war though some of them mentioned that due to inaccessibility of infrastructure, fear of insecurity they did not use saving and credit services rather they used to buy properties such as cattle, goats etc. Some said they had eTM services in South Sudan. Some said they don't have money to get use of the services in the camp	The refugees do not have money to save as access to employment, business and market are limited.	No Major Coping mechanisms identified except some access services for remittance	Erode	Create opportunities for refugees to won income; strengthen the credit and saving services started in some of the camps; sensitization on saving and financial management; address the policy limitations.	The United nation Organizations including UNDP and UNHCR, International NGOs, the government of the country of asylum.
	1.7 Self-reliance in meeting basic needs <sup>4</sup>	The livelihoods of the refugees is not enabling to ensure security of livelihood outcomes such as food, water, sanitation, energy, shelter, clothing. the Refugees are fully dependent on external aid to meet these needs. The support is not enough, limited household income. There is big report of economic hardship. Some indicated their situation in the camp is not good while majority of them indicated they feel their condition is good. Those who feel not good, mentioned reasons of inadequate of food and water, shelter, food and cooking energy, and they can not afford for this.	The political, policy and humanitarian environment is a factor affecting the livelihoods of the refugees; interventions are limited in terms of type, coverage, and continuity, negative perceptions and expectation of refugees.	Humanitarian support continued; negative and positive coping mechanism being used (as mentioned above); refugees use business start-up cash to meet other needs; they sell their food ration, child labour and drop out of school. Selling firewood and charcoal. Seeking support from other people.	Erode	Focus on solutions for refugees through self-reliance and livelihood projects. Access to livelihoods and income generating activities can address the gaps in basic needs; The population can ensure food security and meeting its basic needs by itself sustainably <sup>5</sup> . It can also minimize the level of risk of negative coping behaviours of the population.	The United Nations Organizations including UNDP, UNHCR, the donor community, International NGOs
2: Access to Social Support	2.1 Availability of support from family members and friends	There is very high support from family and friends. They assist with household chores, during food distribution and also in time of market However, almost all lives in a similar situation and the support could not meet the basic needs. Few mentioned lacks of adult support.	All refugees are living under mainly humanitarian aids through UNHCR, government and NGOs, there is not enough to share with others.	In that situation even they try to share what is available. Supports in a form of advice, encouragement is reported to be available	Adapt	No major recommendation	NA
	2.2 Support from other community members	Most confirmed good cooperation among themselves and there is a culture of supporting each other depending on capacity. Some indicated that the displacement situation made the community to be much more supportive than ever before. Material, financial, and psychological support mentioned <sup>6</sup> . They borrow money and food when ration finishes before time. Not good, because the life is very challenging everyone runs to address issues by himself. We share things as much as possible, we cooperate each other in time of happiness and difficulties.	It is a culture maintained for long, and the challenge of the displacement makes the community very intact and cohesive in terms of support. The gap is that the community members live in a similar socio-economic situation.	The community-maintained support each other in different forms: martial support, advice and encouragement though living situation is very challenging	Adapt	Continue building up the existing positive practices with training, technical and material support	The refugee community, international and local NGOs
	2.3 Community self-management, and decision making	There is different leadership structure functional in the camps. The community is governing itself through its representatives. There are RCC, Women's association,	The support from UNHCR, Government and NGOs is very visible for refugee's self-management; environment is	Restoration of the community self-management structures in the camps, and solving the community problems, restoring traditional justice systems,	Adapt	Continuous technical support through training on domestic, regional and international and local legal and justice systems,	The refugee community, UNHCR, the Government of

<sup>4</sup> . According to the CARE model of SL, capacity to meet basic needs is one livelihoods outcome as discussed in Valdés-Rodríguez & Pérez-Vázquez (2011).

<sup>5</sup> . May et al. 2009. The Sustainable Livelihoods Handbook: An asset-based approach to poverty. United Kingdom: Oxfam GB & Church Action on Poverty.

<sup>6</sup> . This situation is similar to O'Leary's (1990) argument of the challenge model of resilience that existence of a challenge can increase a person's capacity to withstand the challenge. The community's social fabrics has become much stronger, and it can be a good resource for overcoming the challenges in the camp.

		youth Association, refugee police. Some work in community leadership structures and in the church and they have that responsibility of promoting cooperation within the community. Some say they support in organizing events in youth, and some others say it's is part of their work as social worker.	created, refugees are capacitated for that	co support by government and UNHCR, and NGOs through training and material support NGOS for the structure to function.		on gender equality and diversity inclusiveness for the community structures to continue function and solve its own problem better.	Ethiopia and other NGOs
3. Cultural and spiritual wellbeing	3.1 Access to spaces to exercise cultural activities	There is no limitation to practice their culture and tradition in the refugee camps. There are spaces and facilities where children and youth exercise their culture, sport activities, etc. Its reported this is benefiting them in oping up the challenges particularly psychologically.	There is conducive environment for the refugees to practice their cultural. No major policy limitation for this.	NA	Adapt	It could also benefit the community if the cultural activities such as traditional music and occasions can be linked to generating income. The community can be supported towards that	The Government of the country of Asylum, UNHCR, INGOS
	3.2 Able to carry out religious activities	There is no limitation for the community to practice religious activities in the camps. There are spaces for prayers and rituals. Religious activities as sources of encouragement, emotional stability and peace of mind during challenges in the camp. It gives them hope.	There is conducive environment for the practice of religious activities	NA	Adapt	No major recommendation	NA
	3.3 Opportunity to maintain culture and tradition	The community teaches its culture and tradition to children in a form of dances, music, recreational activities, arts in the camps. And there is no limitation/restriction doing it. It gives you pride and enjoyment. It can help people address their emotional problems by remembering about their country. It is a source of wisdom from elders to solve problems. By displaying culture, people also make money during occasions. It is a means of protection people stand together when it is about culture. This happens in the camp	There are cultural events organized in the camp. Events during World Refugee Day, African Child Day, World Women's Day are examples.	The community takes advantage of those occasions to train children to display their traditional and cultural resources.	Adapt	It could also benefit the community if the cultural activities such as traditional music and occasions can be linked to generating income. The community can be supported towards that. The events need to be regularly taking place. The traditional knowledge and wisdom should be integrated into the school curriculum for better teaching and learning for children. This will make reintegration smooth and better when returning back to their country	The Government of the country of Asylum, UNHCR, INGOS.
4. Physical and Psychosocial wellbeing	4.1 Prevalence of psychosocial issues	There are reports of few cases of psychosocial problems such as trauma, depression, anxiety and conflict, drug/alcohol buses in the camps; the community has good social relationship; for children (unaccompanied and separated children) with psychosocial needs.	The causes of the problems: war related trauma, loss of loved ones, loss of properties and drug abuse.	The culture, religious and the self-management practices and recreational activities contributed to the psychosocial wellbeing;	Adapt	No major recommendation (see below)	NA
	4.2 Access to specialized mental health services	There are limited services available for persons with sever psychosocial problems. However, basic mental health and psychosocial services are available in the camps; more over community provide spiritual advice and counselling	The challenge of the camp life and limited opportunities of work partly contributed to the problem	The community uses mechanisms of advice/counselling through elders and religious leaders, engaging them in spiritual, cultural and recreational activities.	Erode	Set up specialized services in the camp for those refugees with psychosocial problems through capacitating the existing services and personnel;	International NGOs, UNHCR
	4.3 Report of physical health problems	The physical health situation of the population is good. There are primary health care services available. Yet, there is limitation of referral services, and questions over quality of medicines. risk of hunger, malaria, two respondents also mentioned physical security risk;	Service available are only primary care services; there is no specialized treatment in the camp; referral to secondary and tertiary facilities is costly	The refugees use available services, traditional medicines	Adapt	No major recommendation	NA
5. Security and peaceful Co-	5.1 Relationship with hosting Community	There is good relationship in most cases though some say they feel not warmly welcomed by host community. There is strong economic relationship with host communities. The two communities share activities together. Majority feel they are welcome by the host community.	Market exchange, peace committee, being respectful to each other, refugees not going out of the camp much contributes to the situation. Speaking common language (Arabic) is also another factor; they share social events; host	Refugees limit their movement outside of the camp; they control their behaviour that upset the hosting community; accessing woodlot plantation for energy sources with support of NGO. During cultural event in world refugee day, football competition and also in the market, wedding activities, in meetings the	Adapt	For the unpredictability of the community relation, enhance co-existence activities such as joint socio-cultural activities, using common market, addressing the economic and social needs of both communities through implementation of quick impact projects that strengthen the	The local government structures, the host community, the refugee community, UNHCR, the World Bank, UNDP



			community have access to services	host community and refugees participate together.		community relation and boos the household economy of the communities. Revisit the policy limitations in terms of movement, access to work and employment, etc	
	5.2 Violence incidents (physical attack, looting and loss of properties)	There is no report of violence in the camp. However, some mentioned potential violence from host community in the forest during firewood collection if going out of the camp; local community is feeling of overusing of natural resources and facilities by refugees;	Lack of access to energy, and inadequate services leading refugees to take risky behaviours;	Selling food to buy charcoal/firwood. Meetings between leaders of the two communities. Attending environmental activities, in youth centre and in health enter, in peace committee activities, etc.	Adapt	Address the domestic energy needs of the population through provision of alternative sources of energy; and through empowering the refugees with livelihoods opportunities. The use of solar energy and woodlot planation could be effective considering the weather and location of the refugee camps in Benishangul Gumuz region.	The local government structures, the host community, the refugee community, UNHCR, the World Bank, UNDP
	5.3 Physical security	There is very good physical security and protection in the camps. There is no report of fear of attack or violence in the camp.	There is mechanism in place to ensure physical protection of refugees. There is refugee police and refugee leadership working closely with the camp managers.	The refugees are empowered to use their own security mechanisms such as the Shurta in the camps in addition to the security of the host government	Adapt	No major recommendation	
6. Availability of external aid/ support	6.1 Presence of Humanitarian actors	There are different humanitarian actors aiding under the coordination of UNHCR and ARRA. Basic humanitarian services are available	Humanitarian ground with interventions focusing mostly on life saving activities; funding is constraint, and it is an issue	The community is using different coping strategies such as sharing resources, engaging in labour activities, etc to fill the gap.	Adapt	The humanitarian actors, the donor community need to reconsider the approaches to humanitarian assistance and follow long term and multi-year funding mechanism until the community stands by its foot.	UNHCR, the donor community, international NGOs
	6.2 Presence of Development actors	Some NGOs are bringing development interventions to the refugees; there is also indicator that UNHCR and ARRA working to enhance CRRF in the camps which has development components	There is sign of working on self-reliance and solutions for refugees, but the interventions are negligible and not having impact. While the inclusion of the refugees in development initiatives is discussed, there are no practical development activities and development actors making impacts in the refugee camps.	The community is using different coping strategies such as sharing resources, engaging in labour activities, etc to fill the gap.	Erode	More practical integration of the humanitarian services and development interventions is required. Some of the small initiatives started in camps like Tsore in the area of economic empowerment need to be expanded and strengthened.	UNDP, World Bank, government of Ethiopia, AU, and UNHCR
	6.3 Availability and continuity of funding <sup>7</sup>	According to the refugee population services are inadequate and there is funding limitation to meet the basic needs of the population	The funding is the most challenge mentioned by humanitarian actors; resources is not adequate	Community mobilization and participation for refugee to be part of solutions to their challenges;	Erode	Adequate and sustainable funding until the refugees become self-reliant; fund raising, and advocacy is required at all levels, and the refugee communities can also be part of the fund raising and advocacy campaigns. <b><i>Let the refugee speaks about funding' invite them to the UN General Assembly meeting, to the G7 summit to make their case"</i></b>	UNHCR and the Government of Ethiopia, the AU, IGAD
7. Access to basic humanitarian services	7.1 Food and nutrition	There is food ration distribution in a form of cash and in kind. However, the refugees indicated it is not enough. at the same time, distribution is delayed recurrently. There is limitation of livelihoods opportunities to complement the food needs, lack of food diversification. There are small farms within one of the camps where few refugees grow maize and vegetables	There is limited access to land, tools, seeds and raising animals. Refugees are not using their skills of farming and cultivation; Policy limitation is contributing to it;	Engage in risky labour work in mining; children working by missing their school; working for hosting community in their farms; borrowing food from host community; doing small backyard a gardening and crop plantation; incentive work, casual labour in the camp; Collect wild food in the nearby forest (leaves and roots);	Erode	Implement agricultural projects for both refugees and hosting community through provision of land and agricultural tools and supplies. Increase the level of livelihood opportunities mentioned above. Adjust the policy environment whereby refugees can have more access to opportunities	WFP, UNDP, World Bank, government of Ethiopia, AU, and UNHCR

	7.2 Protection and management of natural resources	There are interventions targeting both refugees and host communities. They both participate in awareness raising activities, training, planting trees,	There is NGO specializing in environmental protection with huge protection and afforestation activities	Some refugees plant trees in their compound. Some others participate in the environmental activities which NGOs are	Absorb	Continue the environmental protection activities (prevention, conservation, and rehabilitation; the wood lot intervention for energy	UNDP, UN habitat, UNHCR, the local government structure
	7.3 Health care	There are primary health care services. Referral is limited. There are no specialized services for some health problems such as psychological ones. Some mentioned their health condition is not good because of limited option of services in the health centre and limited referral outside of the camp. Some others mentioned they are psychological affected for sitting idle in the camp. They also mentioned lack of specialized services and lack of referral.	Service available are only primary care services; there is no specialized treatment in the camp; referral to secondary and tertiary facilities is costly	No major coping mechanism mentioned except some said use of traditional medicine with the help of elders.	Absorb	Increase the level of secondary and tertiary level services through upgrading the existing health centres or through referral;	The government of Ethiopia, and UNHCR
	7.4 Water and sanitation	Water and sanitation services are available. But, in one of the camps reported that getting water is a challenge	Breakage of systems and depletion of borehole mentioned as reason for the challenge in one of the camps	Economic use of the available water, using a shift system to get the water with the coordination of camp authorities and NGOs.	Absorb	No major recommendations	NA
	7.5 Education	There are educational services starting from early childhood education up to university for the refugees	There is conducive policy environment for refugees to have access to education.	Refugees mentioned that there is better education in camps than in their country. Yet, there are also children drop out of skill for labour work to meet other needs	Adapt	No major recommendation	NA
	7.6 Shelter	Basic shelters are available. However, refugees indicated that maintenance and construction materials are difficult to get.	Strict government environmental protection policy	Refugees maintain their shelter with support from NGOs. They also take risk to access the forest to collect construction materials and grass	Adapt	The Government, UNHCR and NGOs could consider plantation of trees for shelter maintenance purpose in the future.	The Government of Ethiopia, UNHCR, and International NGOs
	7.7 Domestic Energy	The domestic energy supply is limited. There is no alternative income to meet the needs for the refugee	The NGO support is limited; Resource is a constraint; government restriction to access the forest for firewood	Refugees takes risks to access the forest and collect firewood. Sometimes they face violence.	Erode	Address the domestic energy needs through alternative sources of energy (electrification and solar power systems), and expansion of the woodlot plantation could be a solution.	The Government of Ethiopia, UNHCR, and International NGOs
	8. Preparedness and contingency capacity	8.1 Unprecedented socio-political events in the host country	There is report of ethnic violence and instability in the region since 2018 affecting the livelihoods and assistance of the refugees	Due to the security and political situation movement of goods/services and refugees was interrupted.	Refugees limited their movement and relying on the available services in the camps	Erode	Undertake a national dialogue to compromise and address the different socio-political interest in the country. A culture of tolerance, living in harmony which may include revisiting the constitution, policies and national laws;
8.2 Health Pandemics in the host country		The COVID-19 pandemic was experienced since 2020 impacting negatively on the assistance and livelihoods of refugees <sup>8</sup>	Refugees' movement was further restricted as part of controlling the infection. It also strained the resources for other services. There is no indicator that the refugees themselves had pandemic mitigation plan. This is something to be looked in the future.	Refugees sharing food and adjusting their meals. Many did not know what to do at their level during the pandemic	Erode	Draw lessons from the COVID-19 pandemic, develop a preparedness and response plan for similar health challenges in the future. Inclusion of refugees in this plan is essential. There is a need to have People-centred business continuity and contingency plan to be in place.	WHO, UNHCR, the government of Ethiopia

<sup>8</sup> . The secondary data reviewed revealed the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the protection of refugees in the camps, see chapter five.

# APPENDIX B1

## Data Collection Tools: Interviews Questions

### University of South Africa (Unisa) College of Graduate Studies

This purpose of this interview tool is to gather information for research entitled: *Forced displacement and community resilience: 'the case of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia'* conducted as part of my doctoral degree study at Unisa. Therefore, you are hereby kindly requested to honestly respond to all the questions to the interviews. Kindly note that all the information you provide in these interviews would be used for the research purpose only and treated with at most confidentiality.

#### **Part I: Interview questions for Psychosocial and personal wellbeing, social support and livelihoods and peaceful co-existence**

Would you like to participate in this study?

##### **Section One: Background Information**

1. Current address of the interviewee (Camp)\_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex:\_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Religion\_\_\_\_\_
3. Date of Arrival to Ethiopia: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Marital Status: a. Single b. Married c. Divorced/ Separated d. Widow
5. Education Level: a. Illiterate b. Primary level c. Secondary level d. Diploma and above e. Basic Literacy level
6. Occupation: a. Employee/incentive worker b. skilled worker c. farmer d. running petty business e. Depend fully on external aid. f. Other (specify)\_\_\_\_\_
7. Estimated monthly income in USD: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Previous Displacement Experience a. Yes, b. No
9. Do you get services in the camp? a. Yes, b. No; If yes, what services?
10. Do you think the services provided by different organizations helps you to cope with the challenges of the displacement you have experienced? If yes, how?

##### **Section Two: Livelihood Experience**

11. How do you evaluate your livelihood experience in your country and in the refugee camps?
12. What means of livelihoods you owned in your country of origin?
13. What means of livelihoods you currently own in the refugee camps?
14. Where have you got those means of livelihoods? a. Brought from home country b. Support from NGOs c. Support from community/family in the camp; d) Remittance from outside of Ethiopia
15. Do you think that your life situation has improved after you come to Ethiopia as refugees? If yes, how?
16. What risks have you encountered since you have arrived in the camps? physical, health, economic, social, cultural etc?

17. What mechanism are you using to address your livelihood needs?
18. What was your estimated income before and after the displacement? USD\_\_\_\_\_
19. What assets/capitals (physical, natural, human, and social assets) do you access while residing in the camps?
20. How was your access to financial services such as saving and credits in your country of origin? how about in the refugee camp?

**Section Three: Access to Social support** (individual, relational, communal, and cultural)

21. How do you evaluate the use of your qualifications or skills in the camp?
22. How do you explain your cooperation with people in your community in the camp?
23. Do you get support from your family? If yes, what type of support?
24. How do you rate your spiritual beliefs and its benefit to you?
25. How do you rate the support you get from your community and friends?
26. Do you think that your families stand by you during difficult times? If yes, how?
27. How is your participation in religious and cultural activities? If no participation, Why?
28. How do you describe the benefit of your cultural and family traditions in the camp?
29. Do you freely practice your cultural and religious activities in the camps? If no, why?

**Section Four: Physical and psychosocial wellbeing**

30. How do you evaluate your living condition in the camp versus in the country of origin?
31. How do you evaluate your health condition in the camp?
32. Do you feel you are achieving something important in your life in the camp? If not, why?
33. How is your personal relationship with other member of the community in the camp?
34. Do you feel being part of your community? If No, why?
35. Are there people in your community with psychosocial problems in the camp? If yes, what are the major problems and the causes?
36. How do you rate your safety and physical security in the camp?

**Section Five: Peaceful Co-existence between forcefully displaced people and hosting communities:**

37. Do you think that you are warmly welcomed by the hosting communities to where you have settled? If no, why?
38. Do you participate in activities with the host communities? What are those activities?
39. How do you explain hosting community's participation in activities you organize in the refugee camp?
40. Are there humanitarian programs targeting both hosting and displaced communities? If yes, what are those?

41. Does the refugee community make any social and economic relationship with the host community? What kind of economic relationship?
42. If you think there is positive relationship between the two communities, what do you think is the reason?
43. Do you think that those positive relationship with the host community help you to recover from the impact of the displacement and the challenges of the camp life? If yes in what way?
44. What do you suggest improving the interaction and peaceful co-existence between the two communities?

## APPENDIX B2

### Interviews Questions for Humanitarian Workers

1. Organization: \_\_\_\_\_ Job Title: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Number of years as Humanitarian/Development Worker \_\_\_\_\_
3. What do you think is the cause of the displacement of the population you are assisting in the refugee camps?
4. What challenges do the displaced communities face in this refugee camps?
5. What services/ assistance does your organization provide to the affected population?
6. How does your organization evaluate the resilience of the displaced communities in the camps?
7. Do you think the communities are resilient from the negative impact of the displacement? if yes, what are the indicators?
8. Which group of the communities are more resilient? Why?
9. Do you have specific programs that aimed at enhancing resilience of the displaced communities in the camps? If yes, can you mention some examples?
10. Do you think that your interventions helped the affected communities for recovery from the impact of the displacement? If yes, how do you explain the impact?
11. How do you evaluate the relationship between the hosting community and the displaced communities? Mention indicators of bad or good relationship between the two communities.
12. Are there peaceful co-existence programs for the two communities which your organization is implementing? Can you give example and explain the objective of those programs if any?
13. What do you suggest the humanitarian/development organizations and the government should do to better build the resilience capacity of the displaced communities?

### Appendix B 3: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion with Refugees

#### Themes of FGD for Community Resilience study:

- (1) The impact of the conflict induced forced displacement for South Sudanese Communities
- (2) How different factors impact resilience capacity of forcefully displaced South Sudanese Communities
- (3) What type of support household members received from other members of their community (defining social networks)?

- (4) How the humanitarian assistance impacts the resilience and recovery of forcefully displaced South Sudanese Communities,
- (5) How the relationship with hosting community affects the resilience and coping capacity of south Sudanese Communities
- (6) What coping strategies the Displaced communities are using.

### **FGD Guiding Questions**

FGD Moderator: \_\_\_\_\_

Rapporteur: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

FGD site/Village/: \_\_\_\_\_

Start time: \_\_\_\_\_ End time: \_\_\_\_\_

1. How do you share your displacement experience? Is this your first experience?
2. What are the measures the community is taking to cope with the challenges of displaced?
3. How do you explain your access to basic service?
4. How do you describe the impact of the different service in addressing your displacement related challenges?
5. How do you describe your access to means of livelihood and income in the camps? Do you have household properties or assets? Where did you get them?
6. How do you discuss the impact of the displacement on your life? Livelihoods, health, psychosocial, Culture, etc?
7. How do you compare your life in camps to that of your country/place of origin? Are there things you are missing here?
8. How are your community support systems functioning? Do you think you have maintained the community support systems you used to have back home?
9. What does it mean to you, to your family, and to your community, when bad things happen? How do you solve them?
10. How do you evaluate the physical and psychosocial wellbeing of your community in the camps?
11. What do you do, and others you know do, to keep healthy, mentally, physically, emotionally?
12. How do you evaluate your relationship with the hosting community?
13. Are there any security incidents reported between you and the hosting communities? What are the causes for that if any?
14. What do you suggest for humanitarian and development actors to do to improve your situation?
15. What kinds of things are most challenging for you living in the camp?
16. What mechanism you use to address your challenges: before, during and now?

## **APPENDIX C**

### **Participants Information Sheet (Leaflet)**

**University of South Africa (Unisa)  
College of Graduate Studies**

**Ethics clearance reference number:**

**Research permission reference number (if applicable):**

12 September 2021

Title: Forced displacement and community resilience: the case of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia

#### **Dear Prospective Participant**

My name is Mr Zeru Maru Woreta and I am doing research with Professor Doctor Andreas Velthuizen, from The Institute of African Renaissance Studies towards a PhD degree in Development Studies at the University of South Africa (Unisa) . We are inviting you to take part in a study entitled: The resilience of South Sudanese refugees in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?**

I am conducting this study to examine the different factors including the role of humanitarian programs in affecting resilience and suggest a strategy for humanitarian actors to boost the resilience and coping capacity of communities in the context of conflict-induced forced displacement.

#### **WHY BEING AM I INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?**

The study population are chosen due to their situation of being refugees from South Sudan in Ethiopia. Your name was obtained from the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). The approximate number of participants of the study including you is about 210 individuals.

#### **WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?**

The study involves focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. The questions to be asked includes topics related to capacities of addressing challenges of displacement and of being a refugee, the type of services and supports available such as livelihoods opportunities, social and basic services, and the relationship among refugees



and hosting communities. The expected duration of a participant to take part in the FGD or the interviews is a maximum of 45 minutes.

### **CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?**

Kindly note that participating in this study is voluntary and there is no obligation to consent to participation. You can also withdraw the participation if you do not like to continue during the FGD/interviews. There is no harm or loss of benefit that you may encounter by withdrawing from the study. There is not also identity to be mentioned in the interviews or in the FGD summary notes. They will be done anonymously in the form of coding systems.

### **WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?**

The study has direct benefit to you and your community, in the sense that it will have impact in future on the way humanitarian organizations support you in building resilience capacity as forcefully displaced people. It enables humanitarian and development interventions to help people who face similar challenges. At large, the study will benefit the human learning process by drawing the attention of the scientific community to conduct future studies on similar issues.

### **ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?**

In participating in this study, there are not reasonably foreseeable (or expected) risks for research participants. However, you have the right to make decisions in an event you feel discomfort to take part or to continue in the discussion/interviews. You also have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the interview at any point during the process.

### **WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?**

Regarding confidentiality, please be informed that in nowhere in the discussion your name would be indicated or mentioned. However, for the audio recording of some of the information, you can insist not to be recorded if you do not feel comfortable. Your answers will be given a code number, or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings as necessary.

In addition, some of the information could be shared with humanitarian and development organizations, and research institutions who are providing the assistance services and doing further studies just for improving the services delivery and for a better design of programs. Even in this situation, you will not be known as research participants as the information will be shared without mentioning names. Furthermore, your answers may

be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

While every effort will be made by the researcher to ensure that you will not be connected to the information that you share during the focus group, I cannot guarantee that other participants in the focus group will treat information confidentially. I shall, however, encourage all participants to do so. For this reason, I advise you not to disclose personally sensitive information during the focus group discussion.

### **HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?**

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a minimum period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet in UNISA for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer under the researcher. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. In relation to this, hard copies will be shredded, and/or electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer through the use of a relevant software program.

### **WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?**

There are no planned payments to be affected to you for your participation in the study. However, there would be some refreshments such as tea/coffee and beverage that would be made available during the conversation.

### **HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?**

This study has received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the UNISA.

### **HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?**

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact Zeru Maru Woreta on +251930076254 or Email: [zwereta@gmail.com](mailto:zwereta@gmail.com). The findings are accessible for December 2021.

Should you have concerns about the way the research to be conducted, you may contact Prof Andreas Velthuisen at [velthag1@unisa.ac.za](mailto:velthag1@unisa.ac.za) Contact the research ethics chairperson of the Of University of South Africa if you have any ethical concerns.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Thank you, Zeru Maru Woreta

# APPENDIX D1

## Research Participant Consent Form

### UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA GRADUATE STUDIES

#### Introduction

- You are being asked to be in a research study of identifying the different factors affecting resilience in forced displacement context, and to see the link between resilience with development and humanitarian interventions.
- You were selected as a possible participant because of your identification as refugee or IDP in Ethiopia displaced due to the conflict occurred in different locations in Ethiopia and in South Sudan.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

#### Purpose of Study

- The purpose of the study is to investigate the social, psychological and economic predictors of resilience among forcefully displaced communities of South Sudanese and Ethiopian nationals.

#### Description of the Study Procedures

- If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following things: You will be participating in an individual interviews and Focus Group Discussions where you will share your experience of the displacement and how you are coping with the new life situation(after displacement)

#### Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

- In participating in this study, there are no reasonably foreseeable (or expected) risks for research participants

#### Benefits of Being in the Study

The study though does not have direct benefit to you and your community, it will have impact in the future in building the resilience capacity of forcefully displaced communities and it enables to shape the humanitarian and development interventions for people who face similar challenges.

#### Confidentiality

This study is anonymous. We will not be collecting or retaining any information about your identity.

## Payments

- There are no planned payments to be effected to you for your participation in the study. However, there would be some refreshments such as tea/coffee and beverage that would be made available during the conversation.

## Right to Refuse or Withdraw

- The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time without affecting your relationship with the investigators of this study or Smith College. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the interview at any point during the process; additionally, you have the right to request that the interviewer not use any of your interview material.

## Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

- You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, Zeru Maru Woreta by email or telephone. If you have concerns with regard to your participation in the study, you can contact me and share your concerns any time using the above contact address.

## Consent

- By putting your signature below, you are hereby making commitments to volunteer as a research participant for this study with full understanding of the information stated above.

Research participant's name \_\_\_\_\_

Research participant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX D2**

### **Confidentiality Agreement for Data Collectors**

#### **University of South Africa (Unisa)**

#### **Graduate Studies**

In the interest of completing a standard study for the PhD in Development Studies, the researcher would make utmost effort to collect a quality, credible and objective data through data collectors maintaining all the ethical principles of scientific research. Thus, I would like to enter into this confidentiality agreement with the data collection for the protection of all information being provided by research participants.

Confidentiality related Obligations of data collectors:

1. Data collectors have obligations to collect credible, objective and independent data from research participants as per the data collection procedure
2. Under the supervision of the researcher, data collectors will ensure research participants have received timely and appropriate information about the study before starting to gather the data
3. Data collectors have obligation to treat research participants with respect and attending to their concerns and issues that might arise the I process of the data collection.
4. In performing their task, data collectors are expected to maintain high standards of personal conduct, which is free from harm, humiliation, or misleading of participants.
5. Data collectors have the obligation to properly store, safeguard and protect data collected from the research participant. This includes not limited to the refraining from exposing the personal data and profile of the research participants.
6. In the process of data collection Data collectors are expected to work with research participants in a spirit of cooperation and must gain trust of participants which lead to open and two-way communication.

7. Data collectors expected to respect the privacy and property of respondents and refrain from giving false promises in relation to the study.

As a data collector for this research, I understand the meaning and implication of the above-mentioned statements, and I am committed to respect and demonstrate the obligations throughout my work as data collector.

Name of Data Collector \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_