



Human Security and Eritrean Refugees: the case of Mai-Ayni Camp,
Ethiopia.

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Disclaimer:

This research paper represents part of the author's study while at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS). The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GoE	Government of Ethiopia
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PFDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice
RCC	Refugee Central Committee
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USCRI	United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants

Abstract

Human security is a new concept introduced by UNDP in 1994. This concept is sought to address security issue by focusing primarily on human individual as a referent of security rather than concentrating exclusively on the state security. Individual/people have been forced to flee from their home country as a result of conflict, Political instability, economic hardship and human rights violation. These people have been looking for safe place to stay and secures their lives. Eritrean refugees are among them who are looking for better environment and better survival. The study is aimed to answer the following research questions. How the government of Ethiopia, the UNHCR and the Eritrean refugees themselves view the refugees' situation in relation to human security? How and to what extent do the government of Ethiopia and UNHCR seek to promote freedom from want and freedom from fear of Eritrean refugees? What are Eritrean refugees' core concerns in the camp in relation to their 'human security'? Do they consider freedom from fear and/or freedom from fear as more important? To answer these questions two in-depth interview with protection office from the government of Ethiopia and protection officer from UNHCR were conducted. In-depth interview with 12 refugees were also employed to understand their perceptional and experiences of camp live. Apart from this, secondary data from UNHCR, from the Government of Ethiopia and other literatures were used to analyze the data. Based on the finding, the Ethiopian government is performing well in protecting the refugees from physical violence. But there are gender based sexual violence among the refugees themselves. Nonetheless, in creating job opportunity and integrating the refugees with the local communities nothing is done by the Ethiopian government. This has caused by the lack of provision of social services in the camp. Shelter, food and employment opportunities are the sever problems of Eritrean refugees in the camp. The key responsibility of the UNHCR is providing protection and seeking permanent solution for the problems of the refugees. However, providing the international protection mainly shelter is insufficient in the camp. Moreover, there is very little durable solution of protracted refugees in the camp.

Relevance to Development Studies

In many corner of the world, refugees have been facing different problems of physical protection and lack of social service provisions. Ethiopia and Eritrea are now in stalemate, but the Government of Ethiopia is hosting Eritrean refugees. Therefore, this study scrutinized the human security framework in to the context of refugees, mainly Eritrean refugees in, May-Ayni refugees' camp-Ethiopia. Since freedom from want and freedom from fear as both central to a definition of development-as-freedom, it was interesting to note the findings of this study. Whilst women were especially affected by lack of physical security (freedom from fear) men in particular complained at their joblessness and dependency (freedom from want).

Keywords: Human security, Refugees, protection and May-Ayni refugee camp

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Chapter 1: Background of the Study

1.1 Introduction

The history of Eritrea was determined by a thirty years war for independence from Ethiopia. This fierce resistance mainly occurred during the period of the military dictatorship called the Derg which lasted from 1974 to 1991 (Westerveld-Sassen 2005:25). In 1991 Eritrean fighters increased their military expeditions by pushing against the military basis of the Derg regime. To overthrow the Derg, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front together with Tigrean People's Liberation struggled side by side and the military junta was finally deposed in 1991 (Kidanu and Endalkachew 2015:96). Consequently, Eritrea became an independent state in May 1991 and officially declared its secession from Ethiopia through a referendum in April 1993. For the next few years these two countries were engaged in different development activities and established formal diplomatic relations to work together. Nevertheless, it was hardly possible to achieve the development cooperation hoped for, due to the mistrust between the two governments.

In May 1998, violent conflict arose again between Eritrea and Ethiopia due to the immediate border tensions in Badme (Abbink 1998:552). In the succeeding months, the violent conflict intensified in to other border districts of Alitena, Zalambesa and Bure, and fighting lasted up to 2000. After two years of deadly fighting, the two countries signed a peace agreement in Algiers in 2000 (Gray 2006:7003). Basically, this peace agreement created three independent bodies to settle the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Under Article 3 of the Peace Agreement, it is clearly stated that there is a need to establish an independent body under the guidance of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to determine the main causes of the conflict. Article 4 established a neutral commission to demarcate the boundary between the two countries relying on international jurisdiction. Article 5 declared the establishment of a neutral commission that was intended to judge the claims of the two countries related to losses and injuries during the fighting. Yet most of the Peace Agreements of 2000 was not applied, since the two countries still have tension at this time.

Forced displacement of the global population has skyrocketed in the past couple of decades. For instance, in 1996 there were 37.3 million displaced people in the world, compared with 65.3 million displaced people by 2015 (UNHCR 2015:6). The same United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) report also stated that at the end of 2015 on average 24 people were displaced each minute due to conflict and repression in their home countries. The Ethiopia-Eritrean war lasted from 1998-2000 and wiped out a lot of human lives and resulted in high military expenditure in both countries, which threatened their socio-economic development (Seifu 2012:145). Again, this has also resulted in displacement of the population of both countries, most importantly those who lived near the disputed borders. According to a United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) report (2015:2), approximately 740,000 refugees were found in Ethiopia in 2014 making the country the largest refugees' destination in the African continent.

Most of these refugees came from Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea. Eritrean refugees alone numbered around 112,000 and migrated from their home country because of repression and fear of the ruling political party of the government of Eritrea called People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) (UNHCR 2016). Perhaps in part because of the deadlocked situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, or perhaps in spite of it, the government of Ethiopia declared an open-door policy, and still welcomes Eritreans as refugees.

According to one UNHCR Standing Committee report (2015:3), voluntary repatriation, relocating to a third country and integration with the host country's community are the three long-term solutions for those with refugee status. The first solution, voluntary repatriation, is not feasible for Eritrean refugees due to the political atmosphere in their home country. Relocation in a third country and integration within the host community (Ethiopia) are the two remaining possible solutions. In relation to this, the government of Ethiopia, the European Union and the Netherlands together with United Nations collaborators have set up a project that provides sustainable development solutions and tries to protect refugees, including Eritrean refugees, in Ethiopia (ENA 2017:1). Developed countries created "containment as strategy and used those various interventions and technologies that seek to restrict or manage the circulation of incomplete and hence potentially threatening life or return it from whence it came (Duffield 2008:146)". This shows European countries want to retain refugees in the neighboring countries of the conflicts that generate refugees in the first place. It follows that integrating refugees with the host communities is considered to be the most probable and more strategic solution to refugees' problems.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Starting from 1990s the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) approach to human security started to receive a lot of attention from policy makers, scholars and practitioners. According to the UNDP 1993 Human Development Report (1994:3), human security can be defined as "providing safety for the people from hunger, diseases, oppression and other chronic threats, as well as protecting them from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life". The report suggested that freedom from want and freedom from fear are the two most important components of human security. Dignity and self-reliance are also considered as main functions of human security. Essentially, human security as an approach was formulated to challenge the hegemonic understanding that the only necessary security is state security, to protect the interest of the state from external threats (Odutayo 2016:373). In contrary to this, in relation to securitization theory, human security focuses on individuals as the referent objects (i.e. those vulnerable persons who deserve special measures for their protection), and the human security framework aims to create a humane world where individuals enjoy their freedoms unreservedly (Paris 2001:91).

When very large numbers of refugees arrive within a short period in an area, and camps are constructed for them, sometimes the speed of the influx means the host country government or the local population, may consider them potential threats to the economy, environment and culture of host communities (Hammerstad 2008:2). In Africa refugees camps are viewed by many governments as suspect, being seen as centers of reprehensible activities including human trafficking, drug trafficking

and gun smuggling, as well as illegal charcoal from the cutting down of forests (Mogire 2011:2) This made some African host countries unwilling to open up their borders or protect refugees who stay for long periods of time (UNHCR1997:114). Irrespective of all aforementioned refugee problems on the host countries, the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) under refugee proclamation No.401/2004 has declared an open-door policy to protect refugees and to promote “people to people relationship” with all its neighboring countries (Federal Negarit Gazeta of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2004).

As was stated in the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees, “restoring refugees to dignity and ensuring the provision of rights includes an approach that would lead to their integration in host society” (UN General Assembly 1951:176). Under Article 34 of this convention, state parties are supposed to facilitate refugees’ local integration through assimilation and naturalization for durable solution of refugees’ future life. However, opening the border for migrants and accepting them as refugees alone is not sufficient by itself, rather the human security of refugees needs to be taken into account.

As I mentioned above, the state security; traditional approach to security is not enough to provide security of people most importantly for the refugees. The human security approach seems to be directly relevant to the situation of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia because of its focus on freedom from want and freedom from fear for people in general and for refugees in particular. In this research paper, I assessed the applicability of human security approach which aimed to ensure refugee’s freedom from want, freedom from fear, dignity and self-reliance. So the study has investigated how the government of Ethiopia and humanitarian aid are working to ensure refugees’ freedom from want and freedom from fear in the camp in relation to the durable solution for refugee’s life.

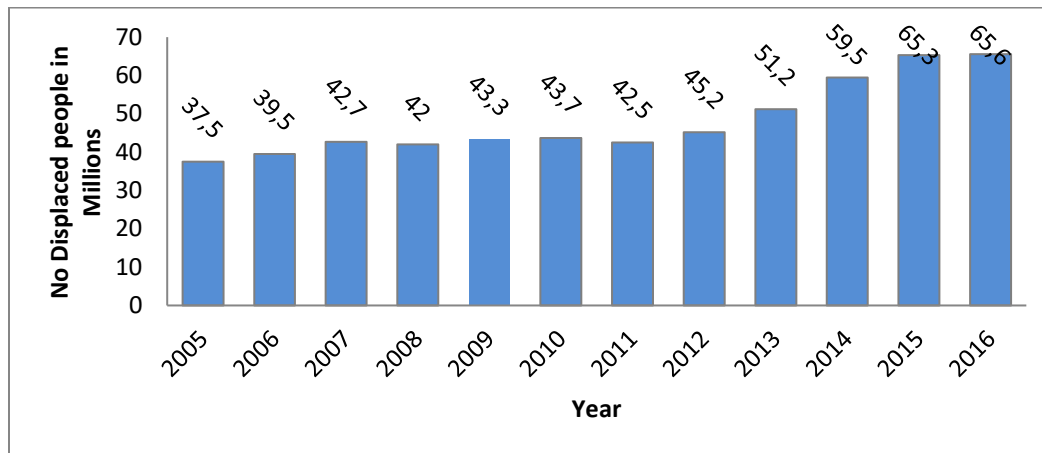
1.3 Trends of displaced people in the world

As it can be seen in Figure 1 below, the influx of forcibly displaced people in the world is increasing from time to time at high rate. According to the UNHCR (2016:2) report, out of the 65.6 million people forcibly displaced people, 22.5 million of them are refugees. Out of 22.5 million refugees, developing countries hosted 84% of the world refugees under the UNHCR’s mandate. Surprisingly, least developed countries received 28% of the refugees, a growing global trend showing that a high proportion remains in countries that are poor or very poor. Violent conflict, human rights violations and political suppression are all among the push factors that lead peoples to flee their home countries, and yet when they flee, many end up in neighboring countries with many of the same problems (Upadhyay 2016:2).

As Figure 2 shows, of the top ten refugee-hosting countries, nine are developing countries, and many of them are low-income developing countries. The top three African refugee-hosting countries (Uganda, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo) were categorized as least developed countries and have themselves been facing severe obstacles to bringing sustainable development to their own populations (United Nations 2017:1). This shows developing countries as the most important hosts of refugees, with least developed countries consistently hosting a disproportionate number of refugees, in absolute and relative terms. European Union (EU) asylum policy that advocates the respect of right of refugees and asylum seekers was not appropriately applied based on the agreed

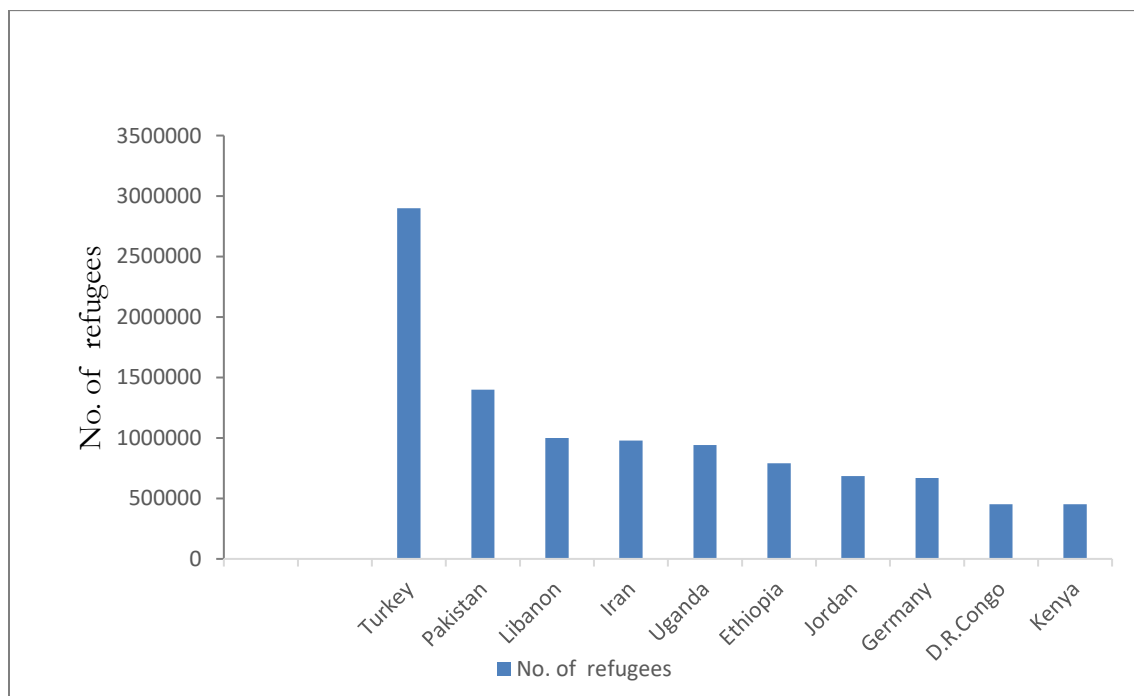
legal ground. European countries have been arguing against each other over the migration policy and this had made it the immigration and asylum very weak and in return the burden of refugees' crisis persisted in the developing countries (Novotny 2015:1).

Figure 1: Trends of Displaced people in the world (2005-2016)



Data Source: UNHCR Global trend report 2016

Figure 2: Top ten refugees Hosting Countries in the world in 2016



Data Source: UNHCR 2016

Under such conditions, there are three important points to take into account. 1) First, the least developing countries are struggling to grow their own economies. 2) Second, although these countries

receive a large volume of refugees, and this places a huge burden on their limited economy and resources, they receive relatively little support for hosting refugees from the international community. 3) Third, since refugees are in need of both physical protection and material provision of basic goods and social services, including employment opportunities, their integration can hardly be handled smoothly in countries with little economic capacity, some of the least developed countries in the world in some cases. Most refugees therefore come from poor countries and are hosted in other poor countries. To ensure the security of refugees, the resources, population size and level of development of hosting countries are imperative factors to be considered (UNHCR 2016:20). The background to this case study is the large magnitude of refugees from least developed countries who can come to be seen as a burden for the least developed countries where they flee to, such as Ethiopia. However, being in another poor country can also be a burden for refugees, since they may find themselves in situations where their freedom from fear, and freedom from want, as well as their freedom from indignity, may be disrespected or unmet.

1.4 Research questions

The main question that guides this study is:

- ✧ How do the government of Ethiopia, the UNHCR and the Eritrean refugees themselves view the refugees' situation in relation to human security?

The sub-questions are as follows:

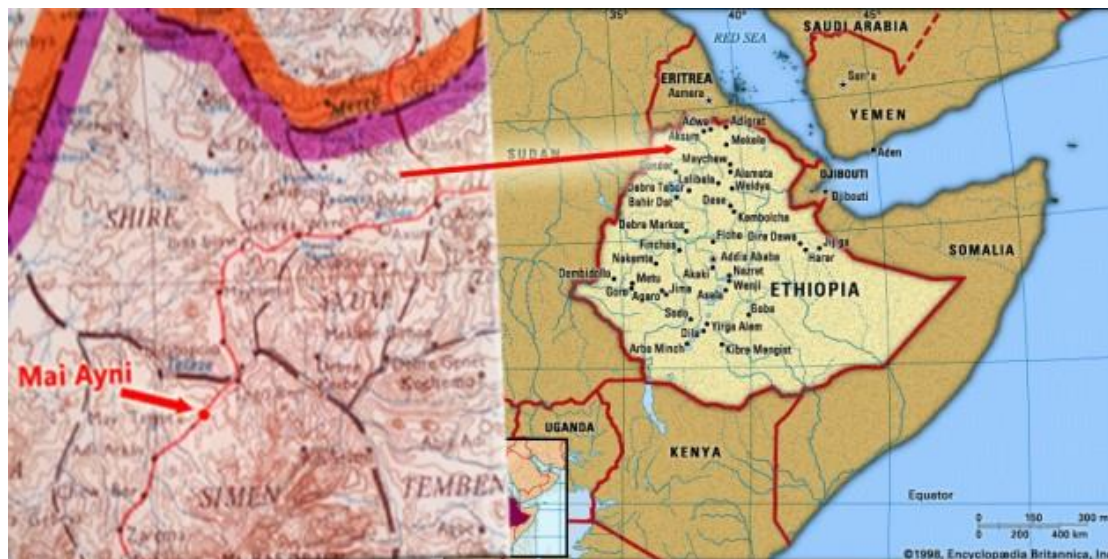
- ✧ How have the government of Ethiopia and UNHCR responded to the protection needs of Eritrean refugees?
- ✧ How and to what extent - do the government of Ethiopia and UNHCR seek to promote freedom from want and freedom from fear of Eritrean refugees?
- ✧ What are Eritrean refugees' core concerns in the camp in relation to their 'human security'? Do they consider freedom from fear and/or freedom from fear as more important?

1.5 Description of the study area and Methodology

In 2004 Shimelba refugee camp was established to accommodate Eritrean refugees in the Northern part of Ethiopia. After the increased influx of Eritrean refugees some other camps were also established in the Northern region of the country. In 2008 to fulfill the needs of Eritrean Refugees and to have more space for refugees, the government of Ethiopia with support from UNHCR, established May Ayni refugee camp in the north of Tigray Regional State (Women Commission 2013:9). The camp is in a rural area around Shire District, and during the period of its establishment, the refugee camp was planned for about 16,000 refugees in total. As reported by United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) report (2015:6), by October 2015, May Ayni camp hosted 9857 Eritrean refugees, the largest compared to other refugee camps such as Shimelba (5,611), Adi Harush (8,610) and Hitsats (9,619). Even though there are 112,000 officially registered Eritrean

refugees in Ethiopia, the 2015 USCRI report shows that of this total, there are only 33,697 refugees registered in the four official camps. In the refugee camps, there are several unmet necessities and the overall feeling in the camps produced high mental turmoil of the refugees. These conditions caused a lot of refugees to leave the camp and preferred secondary migration to Europe as an option to their future life (ibid).

Map 1: May-Ayni Refugees Camp



Source: <http://www.eritrea-chat.com/may-ayni-protest1-eritrean-killed-in-ethiopian-refugees-camp-unhcr/>

1.5.1 Methodology of the Study

To assess the human security of Eritrean refugees in May Ayni camp, perceptions and experiences about their safety and life conditions needed to be collected, through qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is vital when the aim is for social science researchers to understand individuals and group of people's own perceptions, experiences and social interactions in a particular time, and a specific context (Merriam 2002:4). In-depth semi-structured interviews were used with key informants and refugees, a method in qualitative research that allows for more in-depth understanding of people's attitude and personal judgments about specific social phenomena (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006:317). In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), UNHCR representatives and with refugees themselves (coordinators of the refugees in the camp). The researcher interviewed one ARRA protection officer, one UNHCR representative and twelve refugees, eight male and four female.

The process of selecting the interviewees was based on purposive sampling, because the researcher above believed the interviewees had enough information and understanding about the security

challenges and experiences of Eritrean refugees in and around the camp. More importantly, refugees whose stay in the camp was protracted were interviewed to get deeper insight into the situation in the camp in terms of protection and the provision of social services. Before conducting interview with the refugees, the researchers closely observed the refugee camp and drank tea and coffee with the refugees, and took part in sports, such as football and tennis. This assisted the researcher to socialize with refugees and established trust with those who agreed to talk the insight of refugees' freedom from fear and freedom from want. Therefore, observing the environment of the refugees' camp, taking part in their activities to building relationships and trust were the main strategy adopted to obtain original data, and to explore the themes of freedom from fear, freedom from want as well as freedom from indignity and self-reliance as core elements of human security.

1.5.2 Data Type and Source

Approaching the source of data collection, both primary and secondary, data was employed to investigate human security of the refugees. Primary data was mainly semi-structured in-depth interviews with key informants and refugee men and women. Secondary data was mainly collected from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and included policies, reports, and transcripts and recordings of speeches from the ministries and Ministers. On the side of the humanitarian agencies and the UN, the researcher analyzed some UNHCR policy documents and assessed their relevance to the real situations of refugees in May-Ayni refugee camp today. Apart from this, academic literature like journal articles and books were discussed to illustrate the security of refugees in relation to the central concepts of freedom from fear, freedom from want, human dignity and self-reliance that compose the core of human security.

1.5.3 Risks and Ethical challenges

The interviewees- and most importantly the refugees - were not always willing to give much genuine information about their own situation, especially about their sense of security or insecurity. Because security is a sensitive topic, and seen as risky, the safety of the interviewee must be a priority for the researcher. The interviewees were informed that any information they provided would be absolutely anonymous and would be used in such a way that it would be impossible to identify them.

The second risk was that government officials and UNHCR representatives would tend to give me the official view and nothing else. They were unlikely to offer their personal opinions or perceptions about the human security challenges of refugees. Fortunately, most did seem to give me their personal views, and admitted there were real problems for the refugees. This may be because I tried to approach them by first looking at official government documents, UNHCR reports, and at NGO reports which give stories from refugee's own perceptions. Seeing that I had done my background research, they were more willing to give me information that could make a difference to this study, and could produce fresh insights.

1.6 Scope and limitation of the study

The study has addressed concerns of refugees and other key actors (government and UNHCR) through the lens of human security, which informs the theoretical and analytical framework. It is hardly possible to assess the security needs of refugees camped in different parts of the country due to time, financial and other constraints. Therefore, the study was delimited to the human security of Eritrean refugees in May Ayni Camp. In selecting May-Ayni Camp in Northern Ethiopia, close to the Eritrean border, as the study area, the researcher adopts a case study approach to research, with purposive sampling due to the fact that large numbers of refugees, as well as the main offices of the largest UN humanitarian agency involved – UNHCR - are to be found in that camp. Human security, as a broad concept so means this study will narrow down the focus to three basic notions that form part of the human security concept: freedom from fear, freedom from want and dignity. All the discussion, analysis and conclusions were drawn from this study, represents only Eritrean refugees in this particular camp, and there is no claim to draw conclusions related to refugees in general. However, as literature and evidence are reviewed, the study of course refers to other refugee groups found in Ethiopia, in the Southern, Eastern and Western parts of the country, as background or for comparative purposes, as well as literature on case studies elsewhere, of other refugees, seeking protection in other refugee camps.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The study divided into five chapters. Chapter one starts with background of the study and detailed by statement of the problem, trends of displaced people in the world, general and specific research questions. This chapter also encompasses the description of the study area, methodology and its subsection followed by data type and source as well as risks and ethical challenges. Chapter two deals with literature review and conceptual framework which were used to analysis the collected data from the field work. Chapter three focuses on the main theme of the study findings and analysis between fear and need. Chapter four thoroughly discusses the present problems and future perspective of the refugees. This chapter explores the UNHC funding gap and its impact on the needs of refugees. Also, the chapter argues about securitizing refugees' in respect to dignity and self-reliance. The final chapter of this study finished up by providing conclusion on the whole study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores relevant literature and presents the conceptual framework of human security as applied in this study in relation to refugees' life situations. First, it gives broader insight about the concept of security more importantly human security based on the UNDP framework. Following that this chapter presents the critics of human security by different scholars. Human Security framework to security has been criticized by security scholars for two broad reasons. The first reason scrutinizes Human Security as a policy agenda of the governments and international institutions to appreciate their own political achievements. While the second critics is more deeply critical of the fundamental conjectures upon which Human Security is originated. It also briefly discusses how human security as a concept is interlinked with refugees.

2.2 What is Human Security? Concept and Critical Review

In the concept of human security, priority is given to addressing the most severe threats to human beings so that they can enjoy their lives without damage to their well-being. Human security as a set of norms aims to create conducive atmosphere so that people can engage in political, economic, social and cultural choices that ensure and protect their freedom and their dignity. Therefore, human security ranges from critical threats to human such as violence, to more qualitative threats to their sense of self-worth. According to the Commission on Human Security (2003:4) human security is intended:

To protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. The vital core of life is a set of elementary rights and freedoms people enjoy. What people consider to be vital what they consider to be of the essence of life and crucially important varies across individuals and societies.

However, what is defined severe can vary from society to society, or even from person to person, and from situation to situation, depending on issues like class, gender, identity and status. Broadly, the UN articulation of human security is consistent with an international system of intervention which aims to tackle causes of poverty and conflict (Christie 2010:171). Consequently, as Christie disclosed, human security is not really a new concept or a new idea; rather it has shaped and altered existing security narratives and practices towards the 'human', towards human species life. This perspective suggests that most of the concerns of the human security concept were already concerns of security before the human security concept has emerged.

After the end of Cold War international institutions like the UN, national states, and policy makers and scholars of International Relations and Security Studies, most of them exponents of liberal peace and democratic governance, introduced human security mainly as a political tool (Christie 2010:172). Regardless of changing the language of security, the role of the state is still crucial and with similar manner. If this is so, why we need to have the concept human security? Isn't it reinventing the wheel or old wine in the new bottle? Gasper suggests that advocates of human development could omit the word human and accept security as a concept. Hence, human security may be seen as a language which focuses on the need for stability to underpin human development (Gasper: 2005:224). In addition, according to Mahbub ul Haq, human security as a concept, by interlinking freedom from fear with freedom from want, shows their interdependence to human well-being and a decent life (cited in Gasper 2005:224).

Under the human development approach also, freedom from want existed already as a concept and freedom from fear, or physical safety was simply added as another concept under the human security approach, because it is a priority for human survival. However, human security as a concept is more concerned with the safety of human beings than the safety or security of the state, departing in this way from a narrow focus on ensuring the sovereignty of the state through military means and territorial control (Gasper 2005:224). The basic idea behind human security is that state security is precarious unless the security of individuals living in that state is protected and maintained. As key components of human security, freedom from fear and freedom from want are insufficient requirements to measure the success of human security, which should also include the goal of providing freedom from indignity (Gasper 2005:225). Similar to this notion, but more critically, Alkire (2003:24) argues that "the target of human security is to ensure the vital core of human being that is a minimal or basic or fundamental set of functions related to survival, livelihood and dignity". This entails those institutions that are supposed to safeguard human security cannot protect every sphere of human aspects, but the minimum more vital core.

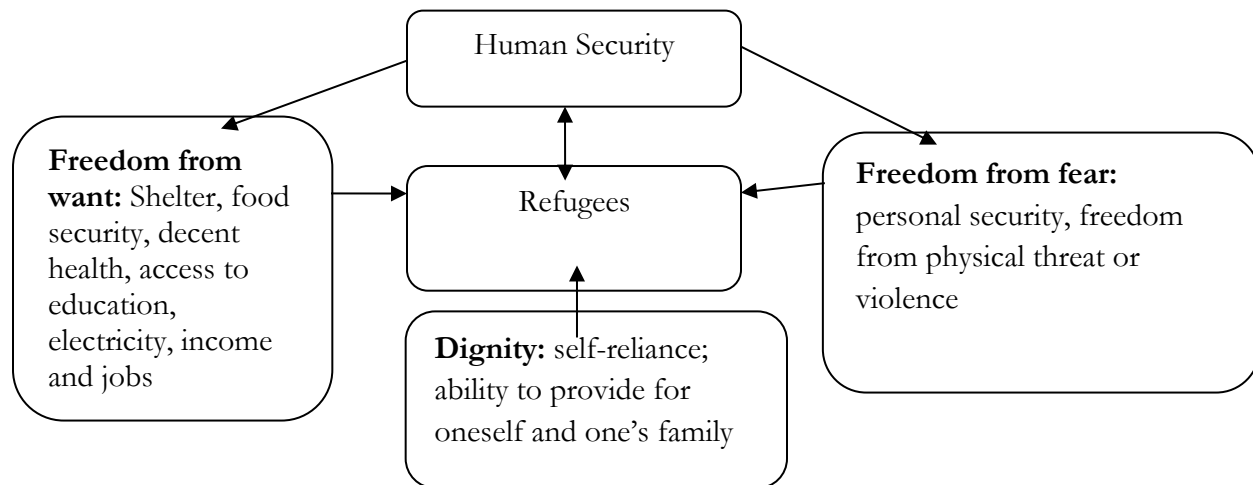
According to Sen (2000:1) development should be defined as a continuous process of expanding the freedoms that people enjoy. Sen has criticized the narrow concept of development defined and attached exclusively with economic growth, industrial enterprise, technological improvement and societal modernity. He suggests that development must include socio-economic and civil right freedoms. In this case, Sen's central argument is that freedom can be considered the most valuable concept, since it creates opportunities for individuals to become capable of making their own experiences, and hence living in dignity. From this perspective, much of development requires removing the causes of "unfreedom", such as improving socio-economic opportunities, ending dictatorships and corrupt forms of administration system, and political repression. Again Sen (2000:4) argued that freedom should be considered the underlying requirement for the development process, for two reasons. First, the "evaluative reason" is that evaluating progress or development requires using values that are based on the degree and types of freedoms people can enjoy. Second, the "effectiveness reason" implies that the success of development should rely on the willingness to contribute and the sense of commitment to positive social change of the people.

The broadest definition of security is “the absence of insecurity and threats” (Tadjbakhsh 2009:21). In a traditional International Relations understanding, security has been predominantly linked with threats to the continued existence of the state, or its territorial integrity. However, when the concept of human security was first taken on by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994, according to the UNDP definition (1994:23) the term had two dimensions. On the one hand, it referred to the safety of peoples from constant threats such as disease, lack of food and oppression. On the other hand, it means protection from haphazard instability in people’s daily life. This can be lack of employment in home at individual level or community level that in turn results threats to development of the people. In contrast to state security, which focuses on securing the state from military occupation and external threats, the concept of human security emphasizes people and individuals as “referent objects of security” (Axworthy 2001:20). Human security and human rights are intertwining approaches both of them shares human rights issues like freedom and creating opportunities to human being (Tadjbakhsh 2013:50). However, human security mainly targets serious and pervasive threats to human beings.

According to UNDP (1994: 24-25) political, economic, personal, community, environmental, food and health security are the seven categories of human security. From these categories’, freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom from indignity are the three fundamental pillars of human security (see also Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007:51). All these elements together help people’s security to live a life defined as secure. However, creating these categories of human security are not menaces by themselves, rather they are multi-dimensional concepts. For this reason, Owen (2004:383) defined human security as “the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, and health, personal and political threats”. This definition is made to differentiate human security from broader human development and social welfare.

As a normative and conceptual framework, human security discourses generally demand joint policy responses from national and international actors to deal with security threats to human beings, especially in the global South (Owen 2004:384). Thomas et al. (2002:186) are critical of this, and point to three interweaving functions of human security. The first is that human security implies accrediting national and regional threats to international norms that basically originated from incapability of states and poor systems of governance within states resulting in individuals and groups becoming vulnerable. Second, human security affirms that the efforts of the state are required to tackle vulnerability and that individuals cannot tackle their own vulnerability by themselves successfully. Third, both the state and society in poor countries are seen as needing international intervention and ‘assistance’ in order to be able to fulfill the conditions for obtaining freedom from fear and other core threats, for example for refugees. Diagram 1 shows an attempt to visualize the relationships among the different aspects of human security being analyzed in this study.

Figure 3: Analytical Model: Triple Approach to Refugee Human Security



Source: Author's own construction 2017

Among the other categories of human security, personal security is the most essential for people to be protected from physical threats. The UNDP Human Development Report on Human Security (1994:30) indicated that threats to personal security may occur in different forms from different sources. Threats can be from the state, from other states or non-state groups through war, from ethnic clashes, from individuals against individuals. Threats can take many forms, such as violence against women and children, sexual violence, abuse and even risks of self-harm, for instance of prisoners or because of poor mental health. Currently, human security is becoming an important global normative articulation that focuses on recognition, identifying the natures of problem and giving response to individuals' lives (Gasper 2013:325).

2.3 The Nexus between Refugees and Human Security

Based on the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951, UNHCR (2011:10) adopts the legal definition of a refugee as: "a person forcibly displaced from his/her home country seeking protection from a range of causes such as authoritarian regimes, conflict, human rights violations, environmental disasters, and state collapse and unwilling to return to it owing to such fears". The human security framework directs its attentions to such individuals among others, and raises awareness of a variety of sources of insecurity that can affect daily life and human fulfillment, for example of refugees and displaced people. Mawadza (2008:1) argued that to most peoples in the world, the main menaces to security come from domestic conflict, human rights violation, hunger, climate change and the lack of good governance. Political, economic, personal, environmental, community, food and health insecurities were also considered as important categories of threats to human security (UNDP 1994:24). Among these factors, freedom from fear and freedom from want can be considered pillars of the human security approach. Since human security implies the adherence to a minimal standard of human rights to a quality of life that is decent, it makes individuals and communities the referent objects of security

concerns rather than states(Freitas 2002:35). It centered not only physical security of individuals but also socio-economic dimensions. Human security framework has been given special emphasis by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as a result of:

deterioration of the refugee protection regime in terms of decreasing willingness of states to receive refugees, together with the increasing numbers of forced migrants, led to policies that tend to keep these populations in need closer to if not inside their country of origin. This means they are physically much more vulnerable to the collateral effects of wars. The lack of political will to address these situations has led the High Commissioner to call for efforts to ensure the physical security of the refugees and other displaced and even non-displaced populations (Freitas 2002:41).

This quotation clearly states that refugees are one of the most vulnerable and insecure groups of people, and therefore demands stronger support from refugee-hosting countries, international institutions and non-governmental partners to ensure their physical safety, physical well-being, and their dignity (see Diagram 1 above). In the discourse of refugee protection, the human security concept has become a prominent instrument used by UNHCR to elaborate on its refugee protection mandate, and for advocacy purpose by NGOs and governments.

The former High Commissions for Refugees unpacked the present situation of refugees by saying “Refugees are doubly insecure: they flee because they are afraid; and in fleeing they start a precarious existence (Ogata 1999)”. UNHCR is the main UN agency responsible for organizing humanitarian relief and protection for refugees, and is under pressure since: “populations of concern have been increasingly deprived of the minimum standards of security in situations of conflict and of mass displacement” (Freitas2002:35) in recent years, and as resources are diverted to other priorities and concerns.

Chapter 3: Between Fear and Need: Key Findings

3.1 Introduction to findings and analysis

In this chapter, data gathered from informants and key informants, through in-depth interview and personal observation, are analyzed in relation to the objectives of the research. In this section, the researcher tried to look at the roles of the ARRA and the UNHCR in protection and provisions of social services to the refugees in dimension of freedom from fear and freedom from want. Interview with ARRA protection officers and UNHCR representative in the camp were conducted. Most importantly to understand the safety of the refugees' and the availability of social services, in-depth interview with refugees themselves were also conducted. Daily experiences of the refugees in and around the camp, personal feelings and their futurity in relation to the permanent solution of refugees are presented analyzed to meet the objective of the study.

3.2 The treatment of Eritrean refugees by the Ethiopian government

Data collected from the Administration for Refugees Return Affairs (ARRA) protection officer indicates that the Ethiopian government associated with UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies' in providing protection and social services to the refugees. The responsibility of ARRA as the main Ethiopian Government agency responsible is not only about protection, but also providing social services to the refugees. Data taken from the interview with ARRA protection officers pointed that: in our administration, protection is not only about physical safety, rather it takes in to account the voice of the refugees related to social services. An interview conducted with ARRA protection officer indicated that:

Protection, health and education are duty of the ARRA. ARRA with UNHCR and other partners, provide access to education from elementary up to high school level. In addition...qualified refugees can attend University and ARRA covers 75% of their educational fees and other expenses and the rest 25 covered by UNHCR. We are not the only protectors, but the refugees are aware [enough] to ensure their protection themselves. By and large, physical security of refugees is ensured. Whereas in provision of basic social services there is incompatibility of the number of refugees and interest in the actual provision of social services. For instance, refugees' houses are made up of dried clay covered by plastic sheeting. Most of the plastic sheets in the refugee camps are more than five years old. As a result, during the rainy season, refugees are unsafe since their living space is spoiled by rain. On the other hand, during the winter season, the rooms are too hot and it is hardly possible to stay inside. (ARRA Protection officer, May Ayni refugee camp 4 August 2017).

Comprehensively, the number of refugees and the provision of basic social service like food, shelter, health and education are incompatible in the refugee camp. Thus, it is reasonable that housing is the most serious concern of refugees in Mai Ayni refugee camp. The importance of having human security is to deal with security threats of human from the utmost sever and persistent problems in an integrated manner. The Eritrean refugees are facing chronic problem to their adequate standard of

well-being. Actually, the term want is very broader term and it may vary its value among individual or group of peoples. But by considering the most important needs of the refugees like food and shelter, freedom from want become undermined in the camp. In relation to this an interview was also carried out with refugees to understand the role of the Government of Ethiopia in listening to and solving the refugees' problems. The view of one refugee was that:

I appreciate the ARRA in terms of providing us a place to stay here and in protecting our physical safety. The most important thing about protection is that ARRA organized us into a group structure to protect ourselves. For instance, we have a parliament at the top, refugee's central committee (RCC), zonal committees and *kebele* (the lowest organizational structure in the refugee camp) at the bottom. All these committee structures are responsible for checking each and every condition in the camp, starting with protection of the camp environment, to reporting a lack of social provisions in the camp to ARRA and UNHCR. All this coordination is done by ARRA to protect the refugee (32 years old Female refugee interviewee, May Ayni camp, 6 August 2017).

As was stated in the above statement ARRA was playing a great role in protection of the refugees from any violence. However, there are still big challenges for the refugees in creating employment opportunities and fair salaries even after university graduation. The following statement illustrates that unfair treatment of refugees, whose salaries are low compared to those of Ethiopian citizens:

There is access to education up grade 12, but with lack of equipment. For instance, the average class size is 70-80, with limited chairs and with no libraries. The most disgusting thing is that there are no job opportunities, even when you have a university degree. I graduated with a BA degree in sociology from Bahri Dar University in 2014 with CGPA 3.8. It has been almost three years since I have graduated and still have no job opportunity. When I graduate I get letters of recognition from the University that I graduated which state "he has the right to compute in any job opportunities equal with the Ethiopians and get similar scale of salary". Yet, what happened to me is the opposite. Now am serving as a social worker in health, education and social security in the camp and I got 900 Ethiopian Birr (ETB) per month. But the citizens who works with me are being paid 6000 ETB irrespective of the qualification. (33 years old Male refugee interviewee, May Ayni camp, 5 August 2017).

The above story of the refugee verified that refugees are being discriminated in terms of payment. One the broadest principle of United Nations is respecting and promoting human freedoms without discrimination to their sex, race, color, religion and language (UNHCR 1966:16). These human freedoms are highly emphasized under the 1951 conventions and 1976 protocol related to the status and the rights of refugees. Under Article 17 of 1951 convention, refugees have the rights to earn income. But refugees should fulfill specific condition. Among these condition, refugees should at least complete three years' residence in the host country. Besides, the signatory state of the conventions on refugees, are expected to harmonize favorable demotic procedure to support the refugees to become self-employed and engage any sectors like agriculture, trade, industry and other services. According to Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE 2004:261), Ethiopia is one of the state party of the 1951 international refugees' convention, 1976 protocol relating to the status of refugees

as well as the 1969 OAU refugee convention. Under UNHCR convention on the rights of refugees, all state parties are expected to realize the rights of refugees indicated under the convention and protocols. However, the government of Ethiopia didn't allow for refugees to work for those who stayed in the country for long period of time. There are very few refugees who work in the camp mainly as a social worker and employed by the Government of Ethiopia and other humanitarian organization. There are also Ethiopians who work social workers in the camp. Some of the citizens even have diploma which is below bachelor degree and earning much better than the refugees. But refugees' social workers are discriminated in terms of payment compared to citizens' social worker. This is clear discrimination which clash with the 1951 convention on the rights of refugees on wage earning employment.

Figure 4: Access to Electricity



Source: Field work observation (May Ayni Refugee camp, Ethiopia, 2 August 2017).

As can be seen in the above picture, there is an electric transformer passing through May-Ayni refugee camp to May-Tsebri Town. However, only four cafeterias in the refugee camp are only allowed to use this electricity for a few hours (and never more than four hours) during the night time. The whole refugees' residences are dark during the night. This shows that the Government of Ethiopia (ARRA), which is supposed to provide electricity to the refugees, is unable or unwilling to do so. This results in the life of the camp being very difficult, particularly for women. As a result of this there is probably more theft, gender-based violence and insecurity than would otherwise exist in the camp. In terms of freedom from fear the advantages of providing electricity at night are evident. The provision of electric light would also assist children to do their work in the evenings for school.

The Government of Ethiopia has been providing different services starting from physical protection up to provision of social services based on the international refugees' convention that intended to protect and improve the lives of refugees. The next view states the implementation of the international Refugee Convention by the Government of Ethiopia so far did little to improve the life of the refugees:

In September 2016 in New York, around 193 UN member states signed an agreement to address the large movements of refugees and to improve their lives. Ethiopia commends the initiative and would like to reiterate its commitment to improving the lives of refugees by making the pledges that are specified as follow. Expanding the out-of-camp policy, access to employment, work permits for refugee graduates, access to education, self-reliance and access to land, local integration, job creation, basic and social services and other benefits like opening bank accounts and driving licenses. From these nine promises, access to land and local integration are the most difficult pledges to apply. This is due to the fact that Ethiopia allows local integration for protracted refugees who live in the country 20 years or more. Due to land scarcity in the region, allocating land for refugees, when the local community does not have enough land to farm itself, would be difficult. (Interview with ARRA protection officer, May Ayni refugee camp, 1 August 2017).

In developing countries, the most significant factor that detracts from a relaxed life for refugees and a permanent solution to their situation is the host country's political atmosphere and the socio-economic dynamics (Grant 2016:3). Hence, in most instances, those host refugees are themselves bothered by a lack of resources, poor infrastructure, inadequate social services and economic difficulties, especially low incomes. As a result of this, integrating refugees into the local community is exceedingly difficult. This leads us on to a most important question: can African refugee-hosting countries really establish policies and strategies to allow for the absorption of hundreds of thousands of refugees permanently? I argue that it is huge burden both for the refugees themselves and for host countries to integrate refugees into the local community permanently. It is unrealistic to integrate refugees in as poor a society as Ethiopia, and the results can make life worse for the refugees rather than improving their lives. One possible solution could be creating temporary settlements that could be supported by international donors as well as host countries. I suggest that the first permanent solution for refugees is solving the situation of refugees' problem in their home country. This can be through international humanitarian intervention and other diplomatic means. The second solution is a shared sense of responsibility is needed between UNHCR, developed countries and other agencies for the well-being of refugees.

In general, the Geneva Refugee Convention remained as an idea rather than a practical reality, largely thanks to the reluctant behavior of most developed countries in relation to Third World refugees. If the developed countries are interested to host refugees, the burden of refugees in the developing countries would be reduced and although developing countries could host some of the refugees permanently, the burden-sharing would be more equitable. As per the approved definition of refugees, they are peoples, who are escaping from armed conflict, persecution and political insecurity. The rights and protection of a refugee is clearly stated in the international laws, 1951 Refugee Convention and

1967 Protocol on the status of refugee (see also UNHCR 2011 hand book criteria for determining the status of refugees). Consequently, refugees cannot be expelled or repatriated to a situation where they may possibly face persecution and threat to their lives. Based on this framework repatriation does not work in the case of Eritrean refugees. Understanding the relationship among the host community and the refugees is crucial issue for the security of the refugees. Therefore, the relationship signifies that:

The refugees and the host communities have harmonious relationship. In occasions of social festivities like marriage, Epiphany, funerals and Tezkar they invited each other. However, it does not mean that the relationship is full of peace. To specify, there was latent conflict among the refugees and the host communities caused by deforestation. Refugees cut trees for firewood and cooking food; there is no access of electricity for lighting during the night time. To settle down such conflict a committee called peace committee was established. It comprises twelve people, six from the refugees and six from the host communities. Its main function is to resolve conflicts raised among these communities through negotiation. If the negotiation is not fruitful and the conflict is in a sever stage, it goes to formal ways of settling conflict in a legal means (ARRA Protection officer, May Ayni refugee camp, 4 August, 2017).

As I have already discussed in the introduction part, Eritrea was part of Ethiopia until 1991. So the two countries shared common demography, language, cultural and religion characteristics. Mainly the northern part of Ethiopia in which the current Eritrean refugees hosted is called Tigray region. In this region the host community speaks a language called Tigrigna which is the same with the language of Eritrean refugees. There are very few Eritreans who speak other language than Tigrigna. Coming to religion, Christianity more importantly Orthodox is the faith of Eritrean refugees and the host communities. Granted that relationship, the refugees and the host communities are brothers and sisters in all aspects and the only difference is that citizenship. Resource related conflict was addressed through negotiation. This historic and social relationship has created a favorable condition for peaceful coexistence of the refugees and the host communities.

3.3The Role of UNHCR

The key responsibility of UNHCR are ensuring and improving protection mechanisms, searching permanent solution based on the international legal framework to safeguard the safety and well-being of refugees (UNHCR 2014:17). Besides, UNHCR role goes up to ensuring the awareness of the states, mainly the host states and their obligation to refugees as regards to international refugee law and refugees rights. As I have described in the first page of this chapter, physical protection of the refugees is the responsibility of the host state. Therefore, the role of the UNHC is highly focused on monitoring protections and organizing funds so as to ensure the safety of the refugees. UNHCR tried to ensure the safety of refugees since the arrival in the refugee camp. Staffs of UNCHR deals the refugees problem by through direct engagement. Interview conducted with UNHCR representatives noted that:

What we do is that registering first arrival refugees based on their age, sex, and vulnerability. The registration helps to know refugees background, protect their safety and to solve their problems accordingly. Weekly, we have camp visiting programme to observe the problems of the refugees. While visiting and listening the voice of the refugees, they have been facing insolvency instances during flight to Ethiopia and when they arrive here in the camp some of them have psychological problem and some of them are affected by gender based violence (Interviewee with UNHCR protection and service officer, May-Ayni refugee camp, 2 August 2017).

As indicated above, UNHCR checkup the registration of refugees. This is the vital to safeguard the day to day personal security and rights of the refugees. Of course UNHCR also listens the voice of the refugees. But does it give solution to the problem of refugees after hearing their concerns? As I stated, physical protection of refugees is the main concern of state, but what about in organizing and mobilizing funds to fulfill the social provision of the refugees? To understand the major problems of Eritrean refugees' whether it is about physical protection or about services, the researcher has conducted interview with UNHCR representatives in the camp. The main points are presented in the following clause:

In some instances eight to nine refugees live in one room and this made them to be plagued by stress. This depression has come as a result of encampment policy which did not allow refugees to work surrounding the environment. In addition, the volume of refugees are increasing from time to time and the international humanitarian aids are decreasing from time to time and unable to meet the needs of the refugees. The problems are not about protection mainly, rather about provision of social services. Ethiopia has approved off camp policy for Eritreans. But this off camp policy is conducive for the refugees who have Ethiopian relative signed for them as a guarantee (Interview with UNHCR, protection and social service officer, May Ayni refugee camp 2 August 2017).

Ethiopia publicized out of camp policy since 2010, which previlgdes Eritrean refugees freedom of movement (USCRI 2010:1). Since the implementation of this policy, about 500 refugees were benefited and 200 of them have got the opportunity of attending their education at universities. Even though the out of camp policy benefited few Eritrean refugees, most of the refugees are under the encampment policy. For instance, in May-Ayni refugee camp there are about 11000 refugees and similar or above this number in other camps like Adi Harush, Hitsats and Shimelba. In comparison to the number of refugees in the camps, the success of the off camp policy is very low. This indicates that the refugee camp policy is restrictive and the freedom of refugees' movement is confined to surrounding the camp. To be eligible for out of camp scheme, refugee have to have enough financial means to support themselves. Moreover, the out of camp policy didn't allow refugees right to work. It means refugees who have enough finance are entitled to out of camp scheme. This made it hard for refugees to build a future in Ethiopia. From these all points, it is clear that no work right means, Eritrean refugees can't go out of camp to live permanently in cities and rural areas. The only thing they can do is remaining in the camp until they get resettlement opportunities or leaving the camp and taking risky journey to reach Europe through Sudan and Libyan Deserts. As it noted by UNHCR protection officer "only a small number of countries take part in resettlement programme". If

resettlement programme is very slow process, if the government of Ethiopia is not allowing refugees to work and if the provision of social services are insufficient, the only thing refugees can do is leaving the camp and crossing dangerous journey to reach in Europe and other places for better future. During the journey, refugees /by now migrants/ are being tortured, killed and abused and their freedom from fear is being violated.

Figure 5: Access to Housing



Source: Field work observation (May-Ayni Refugee camp, Ethiopia, 1 August 2017)

The above posted picture is the residence house of the refugees. As it can be seen the room is built from mud. This mud is easily ruined and eroded during the rainy season and the plastic sheet covering in somehow its radius and the roofing staffs are hot during the winter in Ethiopian season. The environment is very hot during the winter season and the temperature is difficult to survive which ranges from 35 °C-42°C. This environmental condition and the housing condition made them for the refugees to live in hard circumstances.

UNHCR is headache of the refugees. For instance, not only do they fail to solve the claims of the refugees, in health, education and shelter, but UNHCR staffs also treats you with rough facial expression. There is lack of commitment to serve the refugees during working hours (male refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 8 August 2017).

According to the Commission on Human Security (2003:10) the concept of human security was intended “to safeguard the vital core of human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long term human fulfillment”. This entails that the characteristics of referent object to be protected, not the protector the reference object. Of course it gives the responsibility to protect to the state and international organization, but most of the activities to protect the refugees are joint

responsibilities. This has created ambiguity among the protector of the security and human security remained inspirational tool of international system than solving the problems of insecurities. That is why the government of Ethiopia criticized the UNHCR for its failure in providing social service mainly shelter and the UNHCR blame for the government for the encampment policy and lack of creating job opportunity of Eritrean refugees in May Ayni camp.

3.4 Human Security Perception of Eritrean refugees

Security is the most prominent thing for the refugees. Hence, refugees are by nature left back their home and settled in a new environment with the unfamiliar people. Their issue of security can be physical security, economic security, social security or political security. Understanding the security of the refugees helps to make valuable interventions from the host state and international communities. The following point illustrates that:

It has been 8 years since I arrived in this camp and I do not know for how long will stay here. If things are peace in my country, I will go back home, if not I will stay here until resettlement opportunities will come. I would be happy if I get an opportunity to work here in Ethiopia and help myself and my families. But I have never planned to travel illegally to other countries. First, I don't have the capacity to pay money for the traffickers to displace me from here to Europe. It costs ETB 200000 to travel to Europe. Second, if had had that money, I would prefer to work here instead of putting my life in risky situation (male refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 9 August 2017).

The perception to understand the provision of food and its adequacy interview made with female refugee confirmed that the monthly quotas are very small and insufficient to feed daily three times per day.

I get monthly ration of 10kg wheat and ETB 60 for monthly expenses. However, this is insufficient to feed the whole month. Most importantly, those who are unmarried male refugees are worst to feed themselves. This because male refugees did not know how to prepare the flat bread (*Enjera*) and they prefer to prepare flat bread (*Kicha*). In Ethiopian and Eritrean culture, females are more skilled to prepare *Enjera* than male. As compare to *Kicha*, *Enjera* takes a lot of water to prepare it and you can produce lots of *Enjera* with few kg of wheat. With this ration, I can only afford a meal twice a day to finish the month (Female refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 10 August 2017).

This view affirmed that refugees, most importantly male refugees are being challenging by the lack of food supply. Majority of the refugee in the camp (65%) are males and the rest 35% are females. It does not mean that female refugees are not starved, but it is worst in male refugees due to lack of skill to prepare *Enjera* by themselves. As it was stated in the above paragraph, food supplied by UNHCR and other humanitarian supports are not enough feed the refugees the whole month and most of the refugees get additional money from their family, relatives and friends from the different part of the world through remittance. The following section describes refugees' sources of livelihood apart from the ration provided by UNHCR:

Refugees are not allowed to work outside the camp, a few have businesses begun from funds sent to them by their relatives from, U.S.A, Europe and Israel. There are beauty salons, restaurants, and retail shops and some refugees have been hired to work at these places. Other few refugees have found employment with UNHCR's implementing partners in a low payment (Interview with UNHCR protection and service officer, May Ayni refugee camp, 2 August, 2017).

As noted in the story of the interview, most refugees are supported by family and relatives. What would happen to the life of the refugees if their families and friends didn't support them through remittance? What about to the refugees who haven't relative abroad? It would be worse than the current situation of the refugees live. On the top of remittance, still the refugees are struggling to survive. This is much worst for the refugees who hadn't relative abroad. Therefore, the finding of this shows that refugees in the camp are worried of about freedom from want. The next sentence explains the daily life of the refugees and its hardest part staying in the camp:

As there is no other chances like resettlement and job opportunities, boredom regulates my daily life. Most of my time I spent it playing cards, drinking coffee, smoking chatting in small groups, or watching DSTV transmitted football (soccer) games and movies (male refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 11 August 2017).

Similar to the above idea, but with the energetic expression the interest of the refugee is articulated as:

The only and the best thing what I need is job....job....job opportunity. If I get this such opportunity, I can feed and live better by myself. Even I will not wait aid from UNHCR, ARRA and other international institutions because I am young enough to work up (male refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 9 August 2017).

Under Article 17 of UN convention on refugees, "the contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory with the most favorable treatment in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment"(UN General Assembly 1951:164). It also affirmed contracting state should give sympathetic consideration of wage earning employment opportunities for the refugee who has completed three years of residence in the host country Nevertheless; the situation that is happening on the Eritreans' protracted refugees in Ethiopia is different. The government of Ethiopia is unable to create wage earning employment opportunity for the refugees and the treatment in terms of payment in wage rate is unfair compared to the citizens. The researcher has interviewed the refugees' condition about their physical protection. Most all of the interviewee assured that the environment is safe and they did not face threats to their lives in the refugee camp. Even though houses are with no electricity there were no great offenses that harm refugee's life. But it does not mean the camp is free from thefts during the night time. There is competition among the refugees in the context of dwindling resource in the camp. For instance, in sometimes male refugees steal food and other cooking staffs when they have nothing to eat and spent. This is certain that if refugees' haven't the right to work in the host country and the resources in the camp are very limited, refugees can commit crimes, violence and other morally and legally forbidden action over the refugees in the cam and out of camp.

The government of Ethiopia have hosted the Eritrean refugees in the northern part of Ethiopia in different camps. The treatment towards the refugees is expressed in to two main deductions. The government is protecting their physical safety and there is no sever violence occurred in the camp. But due to food insufficiency, lack shelter and lack of employment opportunity, refugees' rivalry and violence on over the other have been seen. The government of Ethiopia criteria to local integration, mostly the right for citizenship has made it very long years (20) which made the protracted refugees to lose the opportunity to work and stay until their country become stable. The UNHCR is working to ensure the safety of the refugees. However, in organizing and enlarging the sources of funding from various actors so as to fill full the short and long-run needs of the refugees' is still minimal. All these factors resulted the lives of the refugees to become depressed and hopelessness.

Chapter 4: Present Problem and the Future Prospects of Refugees

4.1 Introduction

This chapter address the present problems and the futures of the Eritrean refugees those who live in May Ayni refugee camp. To create temporary and durable solution for refugees, it is very crucial to discuss about the annual budget and available funds of UNHCR. For this purpose, the first part of this chapter demonstrates the trend gap required budget and actual available budget globally. Thereupon, I examined the impact of funding gap on the refugees' needs. After that, I proceed directly to the current problems of the refugees in the camp, it is prominent to understand why young Eritrean flee from their home country to the other neighboring countries. Therefore, I have discussed the overview of Eritrean political system under the ruling party and its treatment of its citizens before they left home. After that I have analyzed the life of the Eritreans in Ethiopia refugees' camp. Based on these trends of the Eritrean refugees both at their home (Eritrea) and in the refugee camp (Ethiopia), I have projected some points about the future prospects of the young people in relation to dignity and self-reliance.

4.2 UNHCR: Funding and the future of Human Security for Refugees

UNHCR prepare annual budget plan based on the current global needs and projection of the refugees' interest. The following chart shows the trends of UNHCR budget and its available fund from 2012-2017.

Table 1: Budget and Available fund of UNHCR {2012-2017}

Year		Budget in Billion {US\$}	Available fund	Funding gap
1	2012	4.256	2.594	1.594
2	2013	5.335	3.234	2.234
3	2014	6.570	3.603	2.967
4	2015	7.232	3.707	3.525
5	2016	7.510	4.411	3.099
6	2017	7.963	3.528	4.435

Source: UNHCR 2017

The above table illustrates the budget trends of UNHCR is increasing at high increasing rate, while the available funds are increasing at a decreasing rate. Even though the available funds are insufficient to address the over planned activities of the UNHCR, fund was increased at very slow rate until 2016. However, in 2017 the available budget was 3.528 billion US\$ and this quietly diminished compared to 2016 which was billion 4.411 US\$. Ove all the world, mainly from developing and least

developing countries, conflict and violence are increasing from time to time. At present Refugees' crisis is skyrocketed due to the conflict in Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Afghanistan and other countries in Africa. The following quotation confirms the increase number of Syrian refugees of from time to time and the need for more financial demand to secure the refugees life and support the neighboring local communities hosting the refugees:

Syrian refugees and host communities need our support now more than ever. The international community must send a clear message that it stands with them and provides the urgently needed support. UNHCR and partners are ready to address the needs and vulnerabilities of Syrian refugees and the communities hosting them, but require the necessary and flexible funding to do so (Filippo Grandi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Helsinki-Finland 24 January 2017).

The UNHCR and other partner organizations proposed US\$4.63 billion to address the basic needs Syrian refugees and assisting the host countries to create further opportunities for refugees (UNHCR 2017:1). UNHCR has also proved the 2016 availability of funding from donor countries was inadequate. Accordingly, the number of refugees was increasing from time to time. This means Refugees needs more assistance than ever before. To provide basic needs and seeking solution to the refugees to become self-reliant, the financial gap need to be filled. To realize this, all member of the UN, UNHCR signatories' states and privates should actively involve and increasing funding to UNHCR. But it does not mean that financial assistance alone can solve the problem of refugees. It requires accepting refugees and offering a safe place to stay during the refugee crisis is a huge contribution of humanity. As a result, apart from funding countries should also welcome refugees and integrating them with the host communities.

According to UNHCR (2016:45) two thirds of the world refugees live are protracted refugees. As I have described in page 8-9 of this study, majority of the refugees are hosted by developing and least developing countries where they are struggling to boost their economy and feed their citizens. This means that the developing and least developed countries can host refugees, but without fulfilling the needs of the refugees. But this does not mean that the host countries are not completely responsible to fulfill the needs of the refugees. In order to secure the life of the refugees, host countries should assist refugees to respect the human rights of the refugee and enjoying the right to asylum. According to UNHCR (1966:31) under Article 35 "contracting states supposed to undertake to co-operate with the office of the UNHCR or any other agency of the United Nations which may succeed it, in the exercise of its functions, and shall in particular facilitate its duty of supervising the application of the provisions of this Convention". This means protecting and hosting refugees is a joint responsibilities of the host states, donor's states, international humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations. Now a days the flow of number of refugees as a result of conflict and persecution are growing from time to time. In spite of the rapid and large growing flow of number of refugees from developing countries to developing countries in some instance to least developed countries, the issues of refugees has received very little attention from the international communities.

The increase in number of refugees and the decrease of international sources of funding for refugees programs has significant security implications both for the refugees and the hosting countries. The reduction of funds by international community and the developed countries might push refugees to compete with host communities for the scarce resource and this creates conflict of interest (Best 2015:1) Therefore, the diminution of funding could effectively push refugees back to their country of origin (ibid). But this only materialize when the refugees' home country is stable and peaceful. If the conditions for refugees in the host country have not met and what refugees can do is migrating to developed countries to seek good opportunity for the future life. The developed countries USA, Canada, Australia, Japan and European countries mostly the developed should actively engage in funding the UNHCR to fulfill the needs of the refugees and ensure their security in a sustained way. What is happening now European countries does not want to receive refugees and share the burden of the developing countries. This contradicts with UNHCR convention and protocols about the mutual responsibility of the countries for protection refugees. If the developed countries did not share the burden of the developing countries and continue waning the financial support to UNHCR, refugees hosted in the developing and least developing countries will keep continue migrating in to developed countries.

Table 2: Impact of funding on refugees needs in the world in 2015

No.	Performance Indicators	By percentage (%)	
		Prioritized	Unmet
1	Access to Shelter	39	61
2	Basic Assistance: core relief item, sanitation and winter support	42	58
3	Access to Education		
3.1	Primary education	50	50
3.2	Secondary education	25	75
4	Access to basic Health service	61	39
5	Protection	59	41
6	Self-reliance-Livelihood support	46	52

Source: UNHCR 2017

The number of refugees and the needs of refugees have been mounting significantly than the availability of funding from various humanitarian donors and states. This indicate there is glaring gap between the fund the need to be addressed. The above table depicts there are vast unaddressed social service and protection of the refugees. This is considerably worst in shelter, core relief items and access to education. From the over performance indicators in 2015, only 37% of the refugees' needs were fulfilled. The rest more than half of the needs (63%) of refugees remained unaddressed. In 2010 funds available to UNHCR are able to address 64 % of its comprehensive plan, but in 2015 available fund was able to achieve only 47% of the annual comprehensive plan (2017:20). This shows majority of the refugees are in need of urgent support from international communities mainly from the economically advanced countries of the world. Consequently, lack of funding can lead refugees to displace from

their refugee camp to other place for better option. This in turn leads to exacerbate the vulnerability of life of refugees. Hence, most of refugees travel long distance and confronted with gender based violence, tortured and killed as a result of smuggling. This can affects the possible stabilization of refugee crisis and become quite challenging to search durable solutions. In order to adequately address the basic needs of refugees, UNHCR needs more additional funding from the international communities.

4.3 The Future of Eritrean Refugees in May Ayni refugee Camp

The agglomeration of protracted refugees in Africa is due to the fact that the host country, international donor countries and the UNHCR have given it too little attention to the durable solution like local integration and resettlements (Crisp 2003:3). Looking to the present conditions of Eritrea, the ruling party People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ), designed a policy obligatory military national service those who are aged 18 years old(US Department of State 2014:23). In principle, this military and other national service like participating in farming, weeding and harvesting crops require for both man and women for 18 months. Nevertheless, peoples are enforced for prolonged military service with no limit of time as well as arbitrary arrest and detention for those who are not submissive to the interest of governing party (Human Right Council 2016:20-22). Therefore, the human right council affirmed that forced labor, long military service, torture, fear and hopelessness made the Eritreans to left their country. The main goal of flying of young Eritreans refugees is to secured their life in a settled and stable countries and so that they can fulfill their socio-economic desires which were violated before by their own highly restricted government policies (Bariagaber 2013:6).

In Eritrea, the immoral governance system and human right violations are common and life is miserable to live in this kind of environment. To escape from this bad situation and life of conscription they began flying to the neighboring countries extensively to Ethiopia. The moment they begin their journey, Eritrean refugees are exposed violence exploitation and torturing. After living in a bad condition at home and facing problematic seasons throughout the whole journey to reach to Ethiopia, the refugees have also continued to face sever life challenge in May-Ayni refugee camp. Therefore, the Eritrean refugees are compounded by different life challenges at home, during journey to neighboring country and little support and protection in Ethiopia refugee camp. In-depth interview conducted with female refugee shows comparatively, women refugees are more vulnerable and insecure:

In my country I hadn't have the chance of schooling and change my life through. I went to Sawa which is the center of national military training service & trained for six months. Thence I have worked for free in different government service like weeding & harvesting. I have been exploited, abused in many instances and life become worthless. I started my journey at night & it was so dark sometimes I blunder the street clash with bush. Meanwhile, I had period pain & it was so difficult for me to walk even. After a tiresome journey, I arrived in the camp. It is better than my country's situation, but with inadequate social services service & no hopes of resettlement. I am here in the camp without future indefinitely (Female refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 11 August 2017).

Life for young refugee in the camp is difficult and sometimes dangerous. With no the opportunity to get access to education beyond high school and little chances to learn vocational skill around the camp, young men sense that their lives are passing seating in the camp. Refugees run multiple risks in the whole process of fleeing from persecution. To examine this multiple vulnerability and experience of oppression over the Eritrean women refugees, intersectionality tool of analysis is so important one. Crenshaw (1989:140) illustrated the intersection of varieties of power and social structure like sexuality, gender, sex, socio-economic status, and status as refugees contributes to unique experience of victimization and privilege in a given society.

According to an interview conducted with the Chairperson of Women's Affairs, young male refugees tend not to violate female directly, rather they used other mechanisms like income they got from remittance to exploit the women sexually. Most of the young women in the May Ayni refugee camp live without protection of parents and relatives. Some of the women marry to gain protection from men, while others live alone or with other women in a fear and frustration. Again, it is common that young men who arrived and established their life in the camp easily marry and make sexual intercourse with the new arrival women. This because, women refugees are empty handed when they arrive in the camp and long stayed men refugees specifically those who have relatives abroad indulged in cheating them for temporary satisfaction and left them after a while. On the top of this, there is no light in the refugee camp and this is putting of girls and women at risk at night, even on their way to the toilet. Sexual exploitation is the sever problem in which Women of May Ayni Refugee camp are facing. All this happened because ARRA and UNHCR and were unable protect the women refugees from these vulnerability.

The permanent solution approaches must be able to address freedom, social and economic desires of refugees who are unable to repatriate to their home country (Da Costa 2006:11). This can be through resettlements and local integrations. But what is happening in Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia is neither integration nor resettlements to third country. This is to mean that the government of Ethiopia is not allowing the refugees to work and integrate in to the local community based on the international convention principles and protracted refugees who stayed in May Ayni refugee camp more than eight years are being suffering by losing their dignity and self-reliance. According to Alkire (2003:23), "the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, without impeding long-term human fulfillment". Looking all these trajectory of refugees' life, explicitly women's life is victimized without optimism of self-reliance and dignity. To share the burden of refugees from least developing and developing countries, developed European countries, USA, Canada, Australia and Japan must receive more refugees in an equitable manner. If this is so the future life of the refugees will be enthusiastic.

4.4 A Possible Solution: Securitizing the Human Security of Refugees

The Commission on Human Security (2003:4) articulated that protecting individuals from threats by itself is not the sign of success to the human security, rather individuals' needs to be empowered to lead their future life in a better way. In this case, May Ayni- refugees' camp lacks a lots of basics service provisions like health, water, food, electricity and especially shelter and job opportunity. All the interviewed informants viewed these services are their main problems. Giddens (1991:38-39) asserted that ontological security which refers to individuals underlying sense of safety is to create conducive environment that create trust among the other peoples. This relationship of trust is essential for the individuals to maintain their psychological well-being as well as avert their existential concerns. Even though the government of Ethiopia is protecting the refugees from any physical threats, the absence of the social service leads them to lose their psychological wellbeing and frustrated for their future life.

After the end of cold war, the international system become modern and more complex. In order to critically understand the complexity political, economic, military, environmental and societal, Copenhagen School of critical security studies has introduced the concept "securitization". It is a comprehensive framework used to analyses the critical security issues. Buzan et al (1998: 21):

"Argue that in international relations something becomes a security issue when it is presented as posing an existential threat to some object-a threat that needs to be dealt with immediately and with extraordinary measures".

Every problem may not be cogitate as a security issue. To be considered as a security issue:

"They have to meet strictly defined criteria that distinguish them from the normal run of the merely political and can be staged as existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules that would otherwise bind (Ibid 1998: 5)".

Corresponding to this point of securitization, Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia are facing sever challenges mainly psychological crisis due to lack of provision of basic needs, restricted freedom of movement and no hope of job opportunity.

In May Ayni refugee camp, the government of Ethiopia and UNHCR as well as other partner organizations are supposed to care the refugee's in terms of protection and providing the social service. Physical protection, local integration, creating access job opportunities are among the basic responsibilities of the government of Ethiopia. Regardless of this, assumption, creating employment opportunities and local integration are the most difficult pledges to realize. Hence, the local community themselves does not have enough job opportunities and arable land. With regards to UNHCR, on the top of providing shelter, food, and health services by organizing funds from different source, arranging resettlement process to other countries is its mandate. However, provision of food and shelter are among the worst in May Ayni refugee camp. The same thing happened in resettlement process. The refugee camp was established in 2008 and since its establishment refugees who resettled

to USA, Canada and Australia are not more than 2000. Even though the number of refugees is volatile due to displacement, there are around 12000 refugees in May Ayni refugee camp. Thus, comparative to this number, few resettlements are successful so far. All these threats have got less attention by the Ethiopian government, UNHCR and generally the international community.

Due to the large scale of global refugees' incursion, hosting countries challenged by extensive financial cost, protection and provisions of social services. European countries didn't want to tolerate all these costs (Metcalf-Hough 2015:4). Unwilling to receive the refugees is against the 1951 convention and 1967 protocol on the rights and status of refugees. Therefore, so as to securitize and seek substantial solution to the live of the refugees in the camp, solidarity and refugees-burden sharing among the member state of UNHCR mostly the developed countries is precisely important. The lives of the Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia is at risk and their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled. If possible solutions is not given to the current protracted refugees in the camp, by the international community, the future life of the refugees might be quite worse than by now . Therefore, refugees, mainly the human security of Eritrean refugees should be turned in to referent object by the international community.

4.4 Towards Dignity and self-reliance for Eritrean refugees

According to Martin (2003:5) young people are considered as:

“Key agents of development and this is because they have the courage to dream and to visualize the kind of world they would like to inhabit and they have the enthusiasm and determination to work to create that reality, if they are given the necessary opportunities and tools”.

This argument describes, people mainly the young are capable in any sector of development and they are considered as the makers of tomorrow' world. But to realize this capability, young people require access to favorable educational system and encouraged to support for themselves and their family. Therefore, Eritrean refugees mostly the young men and women are supposed to be encouraged and arranged favorable conditions to be self-reliant. This can help the refugees to exploit the creative ways of producing and developing their knowledge through education. Shaping up this with the Eritrean refugees, to meet young people's interest, national and international partnership can be a decisive strategy. In this case, the government of Ethiopia and UNHCR are the key responsible actors for creating and building encouraging environment for refugees to become self-reliant.

Self-reliance is the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity. Self-reliance, as a programme approach, refers to developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance (UNHCR 2005:1).

The current humanitarian intervention and protection by UNHCR and Government of Ethiopia is regarded as undermining the capacity and the rights of the refugees to cope up from the depressed

life of encampment. Instead of becoming self-reliance, this has impacted the refugees to become dependent on the unfulfilled humanitarian aid. Actually, self-reliance of the refugees needs facilitating favorable conditions both by the UNHCR and the government of Ethiopia. For instance, to become self-reliant, refugees need to be trained in some kinds of skill, the right to work, right of movements and other needs of the refugees shall be permissible. With regard to rights marriage situation of the refugees, the 1951 UNHCR under Article 12 of the convention affirmed, refugees' right to marriage shall be respected by the host state with all the procedures required by the law of the state. Ideally, this helps the refugees to establish marriage and create their own family within and outside the camp. Connecting this to the Eritrean refugees in May Ayni refugee camp, most of the refugees are young and they need to be self-reliant by building up their social and economic wellbeing.

I have been here for 5 years. I have two male brothers (aged 9 and 12) live with me in the camp. I have completed grade 11th in Eritrea, when the situations are not well, I left home. I wish if I could pursue my education up to higher stage, but I need to take care my brothers. I have trained by UNHCR for six months and become a professional cooker. It is now three years since I trained and no hope of job. I need to go to Europe to support myself and my brothers, but I don't have money. There is scarcity of food and no other opportunities to improve our livelihood. I am young and it heavy to take care my brothers on the top of unmet needs of the social services. I remained confused and I lost hope (female refugee interviewee, May Ayni refugee camp, 5 August 2017).

The aforementioned story of the protracted female refugees in the camp entails that the camp life is depressed with no hope to lead future life. If this is so, the important question here is why would refugees stay in the camp for indefinite period of time? UNHCR and ARRA protection officers have been implemented awareness creation campaign in the refugee camp about the risks of secondary migration to Europe illegally (USCRI 2015:5). USCRI has also noted the hassled movement of Eritrean refugees puts at risk of being trafficked, sexually abused, killed and died trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. However, still the refugees continue to leave the camp. From this it can be understood that the life of encampment of the Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia is not encouraging and majority of the refugees leave the looking for opportunities by crossing risky journey to Europe by crossing the Libyan and Sudan desert. This also show how the life of refugees' camp is miserable to live in and refugees prefer to reach Europe or dies in the journey. According to Crisp (2003:1):

“Refugees can be regarded as a protracted when they have lived in exile for more than five years and they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlements”.

As UNHC approach, in 1999 self-reliance was planned to help the refugees to maintain their lives by themselves and be able to afford any basic needs and social services (Hovil and Dryden-Peterson (2003:8). However, there is no any intervention so far over the protracted Eritrean refugee's camp in Ethiopia. Therefore, self-reliance strategy should be designed to tackle the long term nature of Eritrean refugees' situation in camps. This can be done through integrating the service provided to the refugees in to the host government policies and comprehensive development agendas. This can evacuate the refugees from waiting the international relief to self-reliance. Furthermore, it is not only benefit the

refugees to become self-sufficient, but also boosts the local and national economy of the country. Thus, refugees cannot be seen as social and economic threat to the host community. But to realize self-reliance as a sustainable solution, backing the host governments by international actors is the most crucial step.

Now a days' the influx of refugees is increasing from time to time as a result of conflict, human right violation and bad governance system. In spite of this, less attention is given by international community to the refugee crisis. Most of the burden of the refugees' crisis is under the developing and least developing countries. The availability of fund is incompatible to meet the needs of the refugees in the camps. In addition to this, there are very few resettlement programs done by developed countries. Therefore, to ensure the security of refugees in the camp and seeking permanent solution, refugees need to turn in to referent object by the government of Ethiopia, UNHCR and other partner organizations. Thereafter, dignity and self-reliance of the refugees can be realized.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Post 2000 Ethiopia and Eritrean conflict, for more than a decade, many Eritrean have been looking for protection in Ethiopia. The government of Ethiopia is welcoming Eritrean migrants and hosting them in different refugee camps. May Ayni refugee camp is one of the hosting place. By and large, the government of Ethiopia is successful in terms of protecting the refugees from physical violence from local community, militant groups and among the refugees themselves. Petty offense created among the refugees and the host communities are settled by the peace committee of the two groups under the supervision of ARRA. Great offenses like human trafficking are settled through legal means. ARRA has also created an opportunity for the refugees to attend school up to university level. Furthermore, refugees have also the right to move around the camp and May Tsebri town in the day time. In addition to this, refugees have also freedom of movement to go out of the camp for up to one month to visit relatives in different parts of Ethiopia. But these freedoms are restricted.

Despite these treatments by the Government of Ethiopia, Eritrean refugees face severe challenge in provisions social service in the refugee camp such as shelter, food, water, health care, electricity and employment opportunities. Protection is the major responsibility of the ARRA, due to this fact the government of Ethiopia is supposed to provide electricity to the refugees. This is because during the night time, children and women are afraid of the darkness. Some women are sexual exploited due to lack of resource and livelihood which is the features of the camp. Besides this, the government allows out of camp policy for the refugees who have Ethiopian relatives sign for them as a guarantee and those have enough financial means to help themselves. But the policy didn't grant refugees to work. Protracted refugees who have university degree and other skills like driving license are not allowed to work out of the camp. Apart from this, the criterion set by ARRA to integrate the refugees with the local community is also difficult due to too long (20years) stay in Ethiopia.

Most of the provisions of social service like food, shelter, water supply and health care are provided by UNHCR supervision other humanitarian partners. Yet the services are insufficient to fulfill the needs of Eritrean refugees in the camp. With regards to the physical protection of the refugees, results show that there is no sever problem of physical safety. There are disagreements among the refugees themselves and the host communities like other people face in their day to day lives, but refugees have never been intimidated by local people, police and the army because of being Eritrean refugees. Due to inadequacy of social service provision, hungered refugees forced to engage in theft in the camp. The study has displayed that the main concern of the Eritrean refugees in May Ayni camp is lack of social services not physical protection. Shelter is the number one critical problem in this camp. During the winter (dry season) refugees are suffered by lack of water and even they go very far to fetch water from the Surrounding Rivers. Even though there is availability of health care center, there are lacks of equipment and most of medicines are bought from out by the expense of the refugees. Accordingly, in May Ayni refugees' camp freedom from want is the main concern of Eritrean refugees than freedom from fear.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview Guidelines for Government officials: Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA)

1. How do you work with Eritreans in this refugee camp?
2. How do you hear of problems faced by the Eritreans in the camp?
3. If you hear of such problems, how do you respond?
4. Are those problems mostly about protection or about services, in your experience?
5. What does your administration consider a priority – physical safety and security, or filling stomachs and providing services?
6. Do you think basic social services in the camp are fulfilling refugees' needs?
7. How do you work with UNHCR to fulfill basic social services for Eritrean refugees?
8. How do you work with UNHCR to protect the safety of Eritrean refugees?
9. How is the interaction of the refugees with host community? Are you aware of any problem so far? If there are problems, how do you deal with them?
10. What can your organization improve in future to improve camp safety for refugees?
11. What can your organization improve in future to help refugees meet their basic needs?
12. What challenges do you personally find in your work, on a daily basis and in the longer run?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for UNHCR Representatives

1. How do you work with Eritreans in this refugee camp?
2. How do you hear of problems faced by the Eritreans in the camp?
3. If you hear of such problems, how do you respond?
4. Are those problems mostly about protection or about services, in your experience?
5. What does your administration consider a priority – physical safety and security, or filling stomachs and providing services?
6. Do you think basic social services in the camp are fulfilling refugees' needs?
7. How do you work with ARRA to fulfill basic social services for Eritrean refugees?
8. How do you work with ARRA to protect the safety of Eritrean refugees?
9. How is the interaction of the refugees with host community? Are you aware of any problem so far? If there are problems, how do you deal with them?
10. What can your organization improve in future to improve camp safety for refugees?
11. What can your organization improve in future to help refugees meet their basic needs?
12. What challenges do you personally find in your work, on a daily basis and in the longer run?
13. What is doing your institution to bring short term and long term solutions to address the challenges of the refugees in relation to freedom from fear and freedom from want?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Refugees

1. How long have you been in this camp?
2. How long do you expect to stay in future? Do you expect to move elsewhere?
3. Have you been in any other camps before this one? For how long?
4. How do you describe your daily life in this refugee camp?
5. How do you find the provision of basic services?
 - a. Education?
 - b. Shelter?
 - c. Food and water?
 - d. Health care services?
 - e. Other services like security?
6. How is your interaction with the surrounding community around the camp?
7. Do you usually feel safe in this camp? When have you felt unsafe?
8. Do you feel your movement is restricted inside and outside the camp?
9. Is there something else you would need to feel safer?
10. Is there something else you would need to feel better living here?
11. Do you think UNHCR cares about you and protects you?
12. Does the Government of Ethiopia help you and listen to Eritrean refugees here?
13. What is the best part, and what is the hardest part of your daily living in this camp?
14. Can you discuss which matters more for you -basic services or safety in the camp?

Appendix 4: Background of Research Participants

Number	Name of respondent	sex	Age	position	Educational level	How long stayed in the camp
1	Respondent 1	Male	38	ARRA Protection officer	Masters	-
2	Respondent 2	Male	35	UNHCR service and protection officer	Masters	-
3	Respondent 3	male	39	Refugee(Youth Affair chairman)	High school	8
4	Respondent4	male	24	refugee		7
5	Respondent5	male		refugee	Bachelor degree	8
6	Respondent6	female	32	Refugee(women's affair chair women)	High school	8
7	Respondent7	male	28	refugee	Bachelor degree	7
8	Respondent 8	male	26	refugee	elementary	5
9	Respondent 9	female	25	refugee	elementary	4
10	Respondent 10	male	29	refugee	elementary	4
11	Respondent 11	female	21	refugee	elementary	5
12	Respondent12	male	27	refugee	elementary	7
13	Respondent13	Male	24	refugee	elementary	6
14	Respondent14	female	35	refugee	elementary	8