

**CLASHES BETWEEN REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES: THE CASE STUDY
OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, 1992-2013.**

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.....

Date.....

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This Project has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors

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Dr. Mary Mwiandi

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Date.....

Dr. George Gona

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the Turkana community for their resilience and tenacity amidst very difficult circumstances.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the clashes between refugees and host communities in Kakuma refugee camp in the Turkana County in North West Kenya between 1992 and 2013. It examines the causes of clashes and assesses the impact of the clashes on both refugees and host communities. The study adopted a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. Data was collected mainly through focused group discussions, oral interviews, books and journal articles. The study hinges on two theories i.e. the Basic Human Needs Theory and Social Development Theory both of which allude that humans and society seek to fulfill their unmet needs and aspirations to achieve social and economic goals. Although the study finds evidence of clashes between refugees and host communities, that notwithstanding, the study also finds UNHCR and humanitarian partners policies in their selective provision of humanitarian aid to refugees indirectly responsible for clashes between the refugees and host communities. Hence, the consequences arising from the imbalance and inequality in the provision of humanitarian aid exacerbate clashes between the refugees and host communities. The study finds causes of clashes between refugees and host communities stemming from issues to do with excision of host communities land for settlement of refugees without their inclusion and compensation, wanton cutting down of trees leading to deforestation and environmental destruction. These issues together with host communities' limited access to social services apparently enjoyed by refugees and diverse cultural disparities, compounded by socio-economic and cultural and political impacts all played to exacerbate clashes between the Kakuma refugees and the host communities as well as change the way of life for host communities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

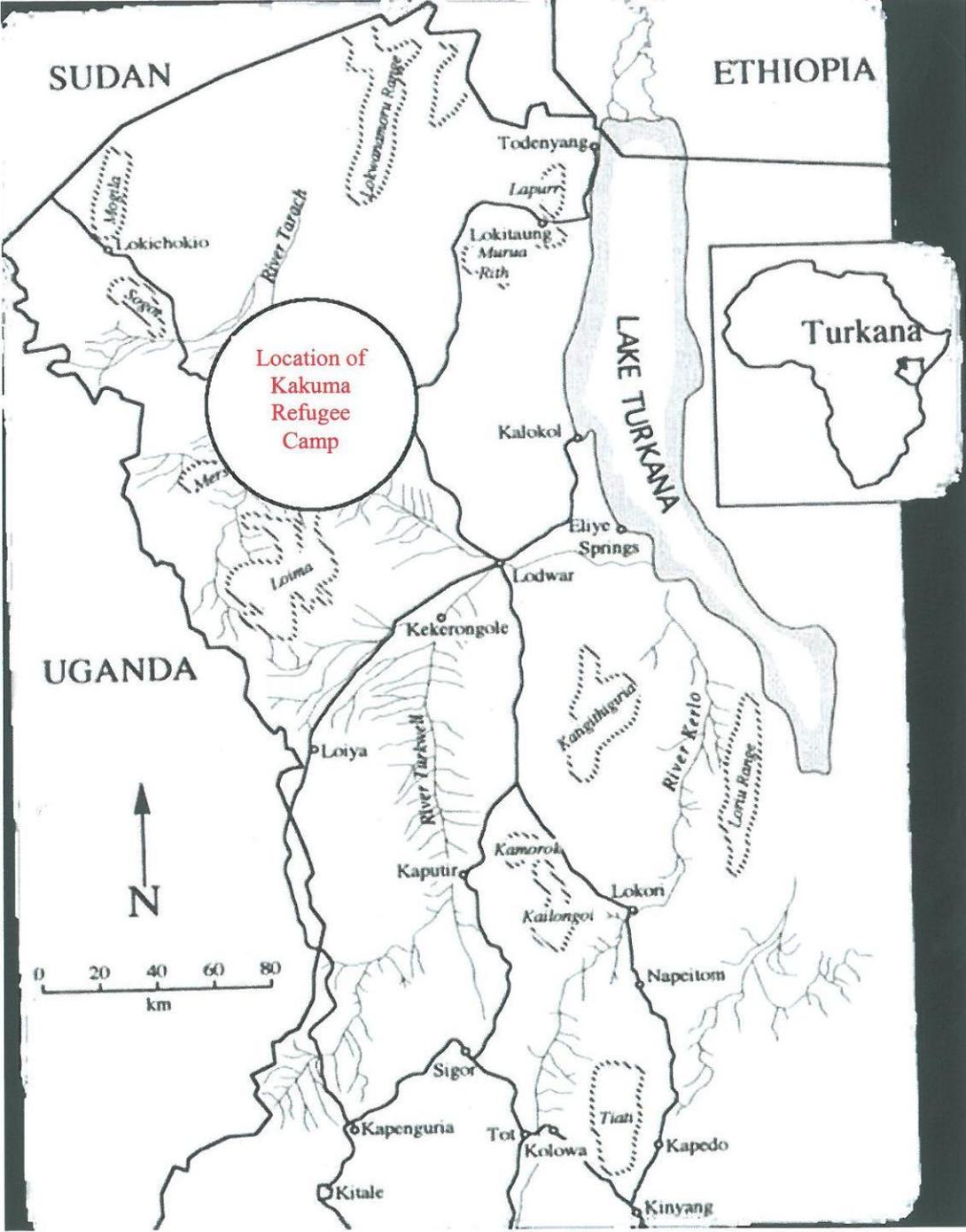
DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
Map of Turkana County: Showing Location of Kakuma Refugee Camp	
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Historical Background of the Study	3
1.3 Statement of the Problem	11
1.4 Objectives of the Study:	12
1.5 Justification of the Study	13
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the study	14
1.7 Literature Review	16
1.8 Theoretical Framework	24
1.9 Research Hypothesis:	27
1.10 Methodology	27
CHAPTER TWO	29
ESTABLISHMENT OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP AND ITS ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS	30
2.1 Introduction	30
2.2 Kakuma refugee Camp	31
2.3 Causes for Refugees flight into Kakuma refugee camp	32
2.4 Reception and registration of new arrivals	37
2.5 The population of host communities	38
2.6 Land issues	39
2.7 Administration of Kakuma refugee camp	39
2.8 Facilities and services offered in the camp	48
2.8.1 Health Care Services	49
2.8.2 Water and Sanitation	51
2.8.3 Construction and provision of Shelter to refugees	53
2.8.4 Provision of education to refugees children	53
2.9 Vocational Training and youth programmes	56
2.10 Rethinking durable solutions	57
2.11 Conclusion	61

CHAPTER THREE	63
CAUSES OF CLASHES BETWEEN REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES, 1992 – 2013...	63
3.1 Introduction.....	63
3.2 Land problem.....	63
3.3 Host community Settlement.....	67
3.4 Refugees and Environment.....	68
3.5 Water resources and health care	71
3.6 Education	73
3.7 Children work for regugees	75
3.8 Cultural Issues and crime.....	76
3.9 Sexual abuse and violence	79
3.10 UNHCR mandate	82
3.11 Impunity.....	86
3.12 Armed robberies within and around the camp.....	87
3.13 Taxation	89
3.14 A ward of Tenders and contracts.....	90
3.15 Job opportunities and host communities.....	91
3.16 Conclusion	92
CHAPTER FOUR.....	94
IMPACT OF CLASHES ON REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES	94
4.1 Introduction.....	94
4.2 Social impacts	95
4.3 Cultural Impacts;.....	99
4.4 Environment impacts	102
4.5 Economic impacts	107
4.6 Hosts find market for their livestock	111
4.7 Economic impacts beyond the immediate hosting area.....	114
4.8 Firewood, Charcoal and building material impacts’ on environment.....	115
4.9 Political issues.....	122
4.10 Conclusion	124
CHAPTER FIVE	125
CONCLUSION.....	125
REFERENCE.....	145

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Kakuma refugee camp population by Nationality and Gender	34
Table 2: Shows Breakdown of security cases by nationality, gender and frequency	79

Map of Turkana County: Showing location of Kakuma Refugee Camp



Source: K.A Grindheim 2003

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DBK	Don Bosco Kenya
GOK	Government of Kenya
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JKML	Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library
LOKADO	Lokichoggio, Oropoi and Kakuma Development Organization
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
RHA	Refugees Hosting Areas
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens Fund
WFP	World Food Programme
RSD	Refugee Status Determination

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

During the 1970s and 1980s, the refugee problem in Kenya was not that profound. The refugee population was small and was made up of mainly Ugandans fleeing their country as a result of Military coups. In the 1990s, the situation changed dramatically when civil and political unrest was experienced in the horn of Africa where countries such as Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea became involved in armed conflict and civil wars triggering influx of refugees into Kenya.¹ Countries within the great lakes region such as DRC, Rwanda and Burundi became involved in civil unrest and human rights violations. Ugandan government too was experiencing internal rebellion from the Lord's Resistance Army in the North. As such, the region experienced unprecedented influx of refugees from these countries into Kenya.

By 1992, a large number of South Sudanese refugees crossed over into Kenya from the border point of Lokichoggio in the present Turkana County. Among the first group of refugees to arrive in Kakuma were large number of Youth referred to as "the lost boys of Sudan" including women and children that had trekked long distances on foot to get to

¹ Jonas Ewald, A strategic Conflict Analysis for the Great Lakes Region, (2004) Padrigu/centre for African studies, Gotenbog University, Published by Sida, Printed by Edita Sverige AB, 2004. Art.No SIDA 3689 pp5-9

Kakuma.² They were eventually settled in Kakuma a small town located in the remote desert where anthropologists hypothesize the human race began.³ Kakuma is a Turkana word derived from the word ‘akumae’ meaning the ‘horn’. It is situated 151Kms from the Kenya – South Sudan border town of Nadapal. It has hot and dry climate with temperatures averaging 35⁰C. It has a population of about 100,000 people comprised mainly of the Turkana Community most of whom are Pastoralists and business people.⁴ Additionally, Kakuma is also home to refugees from other nationalities fleeing their countries of origin. For instance, some Somali refugees from Somalia were resettled in Kakuma refugee camp to avoid inter-clan conflicts instigated by powerful warlords. The Ethiopia and Eritrea refugees were resettled in the Kakuma Refugee camp following feuds orchestrated by struggles over independence and border disputes.⁵ Ugandan refugees fleeing abductions of their children by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) an apocalyptic movement based on bizarre interpretation of Christianity and African traditions were also resettled in Kakuma refugee camp⁶.

Turkana County is one of the Kenya’s arid and semi-arid lands. It is the second largest County in Kenya with a total population of 855,399 forming 2.2% of the Country’s total

² Meade Fionn, *The Lost Boys of Sudan*, *Review of African Economy*, Vol, 29, (Jun, 2002 pp 358 – 362) Published by Taylor and Francis, Ltd.Stable URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006823> Accessed. 09/10/2013

³ Hollenbach, David. ‘The Rights of Refugees in a Globalizing World’. (2008) Marianist Award Lectures, Book1. http://ecommons.udayton.edu/uscc_marianist_award/1

⁴ Ministry of Planning and National Development, *Turkana District Development plan* , (2002 – 2008) “Effective Management for Sustainable Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction”, Government Printer, Nairobi, Kenya. P.4

⁵ Shah, Anup. “Conflict between Ethiopia and Eriteria”. (2000), *Global issue*, 20 Dec. 2000 <http://www.globalissues.org/article/89/conflict-between-ethiopia-and-eriteria> Accessed 08/9/2010.

⁶Hollenbach, David. ‘The hard Lessons of Kakuma’ *America the National catholic Review*, February 9, 2004 Issue

population.⁷ The driest periods are January, February and September. The rainfall is distributed on an east-west gradient with more rainfall in the Western parts and other areas of higher elevation. The rain falls in brief violent storms, resulting in flash floods. Making the County unfavorable for rain fed agricultural activities, livestock production is the main economic activity in the County, subsistence farming is carried out in a number of irrigation schemes within the two major seasonal rivers Turkwel and Kerio. The County is prone to severe and frequent droughts.⁸ The 1992 drought coincided with the arrival of refugees in Kakuma, the resettlement process begun with forceful eviction of hosts from their land followed by massive provision of humanitarian assistance to the refugees. Attempts by locals to seek compensation and inclusion into the refugees support assistance were rejected hence straining relations between hosts and refugees.⁹

1.2 Historical Background of the Study

The Turkana belong to the collection of ethnic groups known as the Eastern Nilotes. The Turkana have myths, which point and trace their origin to the tale of Nayece and the lost grey bull.¹⁰ The story is told of Turkana Youth men who travelled eastwards from the land of the Jie a sub-tribe of the greater Karamojong cluster in North-eastern Uganda looking for a lost grey bull. The young men are said to have descended the escarpment and arrived at the head waters of Tarash River. The young men came across a hill called

⁷ Ministry of Planning and National Development, Kenya (2010), Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009). Nation Bureau of Statistics, Government Printer, Government Printer , Nairobi p.6

⁸ Ibid pp6

⁹ Aukot E. 'It is Better a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma' *Revisiting the relationship between Hosts and Refugees* . Refugees: Canada's Journal on Refugees 21(3). Accessed 9 September 2012. <http://pi-library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/viewFile/23482/21687>

¹⁰ John Lamphear, The people of the grey Bull: The origin and expansion of the Turkana. Source: The journal of African History, Vol. 29, No.1, special issue in honor of Roland Oliver (1988) pp 27 – 39 Published by : Cambridge University Press, Stable [URL:http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237](http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237) , Accessed: 09/10/2013

Moru Anayece where they found the grey bull living with Nayece and old woman who had also come from Karamojong to gather wild fruits. These young men found the place suitable for livestock grazing. They went back and returned with additional young men and girls together with their herds of livestock and decided to remain and settle permanently in their new found land – Turkana land.¹¹

The original name of the settlers or tribe is not known other than the acquired one ‘Turkana’ which means cave dwellers, and seems to have originated from the way in which they sheltered or lived in caves of Moru Anayee.¹² Despite separating themselves from the Karamoja cluster and settling in their new found land, the ‘Turkana’ did not sever links with the Jie community. They continued commercial relations particularly in the area of growing and importation of grains from the Jie. Their spears, knives, and other weapons were made from iron ware manufactured by the Luo-speaking Labwor blacksmiths of Western Karamojong and supplied to them by Jie friends and kinsmen some of whom assumed the role of enterprising middlemen.¹³

A section of the Turkana who settled on the Tarash River plains and later spread northwards the events stated above took place during the Paalajem (wet hides) generation set which correspond with early 18th Century.¹⁴ By the end of Paalajem initiations, the

¹¹ Ibid p.28

¹² White, R.F., Notes from the Turkana Tribe, Source: Sudan Notes and Records, Vol.3, No.3 (July 11920), pp 217-222 Published by: University of Khartoum stable: [URL:http://www.jstor.org/stable/41715798](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41715798)
Accessed???????

¹³ John Lamphear, The people of the Grey Bull: The origin and Expansion of the Turkana. Source: The Journal of African History, Vol.29, No.1, Special issue in Honor of Roland Oliver (1988), pp.27-39,.Pulished by:Cambridge University Press. Stable URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237> , Accessed: 09/10/2013

¹⁴Ibid p.30

Turkana community experienced strong ecological pressures, in addition to the Karamojong escarpment; other Ateker Societies of the Karamojong had occupied all available grazing lands. They had to scale other lands, and in huge Ng'adakarín (Kraals camps) began to move down the Tarash River and headed northwards. As they advanced they realized they were other communities at the foot of Moru Ang'issiger.¹⁵ On arrival, they encountered the 'red people' because of their lighter coloured skins and because they dyed their hair and bodies with reddish clay. They gave them the name 'Kor' which are today's the Samburu. The Kor lived in close pastoral association with the 'Rantalle' and 'Poran' the names used for Rendille and Boran. All three groups herded a variety of livestock, but the Rendille specialized in camels, and the 'Kor' in cattle. Together they controlled most of the country stretching out before the Turkana to the East. When the Turkana reached moru Ang'issiger, they came across another community of 'red people' the Siger. They herded a distinctive type of long-horned black cattle. It is said they once held most of the surrounding country until the 'Kor' and their allies come up from the South and took it from them.¹⁶

It is argued that the dramatic expansion of Eastern Nilotic populations in the second half of the last Millennium was stimulated by their acquisition of humped zebu cattle. In comparison to hump less breeds which earlier pastoralists had herded, the Turkana, including the entire Ateker, the Dinka and Nuer of South Sudan value cattle than any

¹⁵ Ibid p30

¹⁶ Lamphear, The people of the Grey Bull: The origin and Expansion of the Turkana. Source: The Journal of African History, Vol.29, No.1, Special issue in Honor of Roland Oliver (1988), pp.27-39., Published by: Cambridge University Press. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237> , Accessed: 09/10/2013

other animal. The Zebu type of cattle is particularly preferred because it is much hardier (toughened) animal, more resistant to diseases and heat stress, and has significantly lower grazing and water requirement. The nature of the Zebu cattle permit Nilotes to develop new patterns of longer – distance transhumance and to exploit more drier areas of East Africa.¹⁷

The story of founding of the grey bull at Moru Anayece reflected to a larger extent the acquisition of the Zebu by the Ateker. The capture of the grey bull represented a clear message of the ‘birth’ or the first stage of the origin of the Turkana within the Ateker (Karamojong Cluster) that was intimately recognized its distinctiveness with the finding and capture of the grey bull. The distinctive significance of the colour of the bull describes the Zebu of Boran type bulls which resemble the present Ateker cattle of North-eastern Uganda and North Western Kenya that are well adapted to hotter and drier areas. The Turkana, the Dinka and other Eastern Nilotic groups are known to keep huge herds of cattle and view cattle as the ultimate wealth that a pastoralist man can ever own.¹⁸

The Turkana view all livestock to belong to them. The importance the Turkana attach to cattle is unparalleled in that, the cattle have remained a major source of life, pride and death. For instance if another community owns well fed cattle with long twisted horns, cattle with beautiful colour of mixed white and red, designed neck flaps, serrated ears and well developed humps, chances are, the young Turkana men would raid such cattle. The way the bull has been ‘prepared’ can be source of conflict. The shape of the horns of a bull is imitated by the owner during a traditional dance; the owner of the bull would

¹⁷ Ibid p31

¹⁸ Ibid p32

compose a song on the floor of the dance with his hands raised in the air imitating the exact shape of his bull's horns. This is instantly and in unison sang by fellow dancers and age-mates. It is here where young women sometimes confirm the dancing prowess of their would-be future suitors. The practice of horn imitation is testimony to the Turkana and other pastoralist groups' ownership of the zebu type of cattle.

The second stage of the Turkana origin describes the extraordinary emergence of a leader called Apatepes. Apatepes is credited with miraculous supernatural powers, and he is closely associated with hunters. His name was translated as 'the father of the Tepes' the Tepes being Kuliak – Speaking group of hunter-gatherers that lived in the highlands just top of the Karamojong escarpment.¹⁹ His clan Meturona sometimes referred to as Ng'ikalokak, 'the trapping people' by other Turkana. Apatepes is still revered by all Turkana as the founder of Meturona. He is reputed to have held power until late 19th century.²⁰ Turkana accord much importance to 'Ngimurok' (diviners) whose powers are revered and feared as it's said to originate from God (Akuj) the supreme being the power of diviners is inherited and is passed from father to son and the entire clan, tribe and region is made aware of it.

The third stage of the origin of the Turkana is told by a section of the Turkana community where a story concerning the creation of Lake Turkana is told. At the time tribes such as the Turkana, Kor, Boran, Toposa, Dasenech and Pokot and other

¹⁹ Lamphear, The people of the Grey Bull: The origin and Expansion of the Turkana. Source: The Journal of African History, Vol.29, No.1, Special issue in Honor of Roland Oliver (1988), pp.27-39,.,Published by:Cambridge University Press. Stable URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237> , Accessed: 09/10/2013

²⁰ Ibid p34

neighbouring people were seen as “one tribe”.²¹ One day a thoughtless child neglected to replace the stone which acted as a stopper on a spring where people got water, creating a huge flood that became Lake Turkana. Then there was a cataclysmic dispersal of all the various tribes leaving the Turkana in possession of the land to the West of the newly formed lake. The reasons for dispersal or scattering are not fully known but it is argued that the specialized pastoral strategies were responsible. The Jie grain trade was seen as critical at the time of severe drought; the importation of iron technology gave rise to the development and expansion of East African pastoralism, suggesting that it was even more important than the adoption of humped cattle. The steady flow of iron weapons from their Jie partners was of prime importance. With those weapons, the ‘Kor’, Upe, Marrille and Karamojong were all defeated and driven from Turkana land. Thus, it was a combination of factors from which the complex formula of Turkana expansion was derived.

By the second half of the 19th Century, the momentum with which the Turkana pursued their enemies was beginning to slow down. In some places the steep escarpment to the West provided natural boundaries which marked the limit of Turkana control over grazing and water.²² Elsewhere, Dasenech at the Northern end of Lake Turkana and the Samburu at the Southern end both composed in part from refugees displaced by the Turkana advance were now offering a more determined resistance. At the same time the Turkana did not see any firm basis for the continuation of pursuit of these tribes. The

²¹ Lamphear, The people of the Grey Bull: The origin and Expansion of the Turkana. Source: The Journal of African History, Vol.29, No.1, Special issue in Honor of Roland Oliver (1988), pp.27-39,.Published by:Cambridge University Press. Stable URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/182237> , Accessed: 09/10/2013

²² Ibid p.37

Turkana had built up a strong attachment to their local territorial sections and differences in dialect, dress and other cultural features become apparent between them. This was especially true for those sections which had incorporated large numbers of strangers. At least two groups, the Ng'ikebootok cultivators who lived along the Turkwel and the Ng'ibochoros fishermen who inhabited the lake shores, had been only perfectly absorbed and continued to live a quasi-independent existence.

At this critical stage, another dramatic Turkana genesis tradition is created around a famous warrior Lokorio, a Meturona Great Diviner descended from Apatepes reveals one last "Stage of origin." In this version, Lokorio separates the waters of Lake Turkana by beating on rocks with his sacred stick so that water floods out. He then led a large Turkana army to raid the Samburu and their Cushitic allies, he returns with large numbers of camels which provide the basis for the present Turkana herds. According to Barrett, the true diviners 'also known as the diviners of Akuj (God)' are the most respected of the Ngimurok (diviners) because they receive revelations directly from Akuj through dreams. The idiom provides Turkana society's transcendence, in this instance a kind of 'rite de passage' by which the Turkana assumed a new collective identity focused on the figure of Lokorio the diviner.²³ By the final decade of the 19th century, Turkana co-operate identity began to diminish as various sections aligned themselves with one another their expansion came to a halt as most frontier areas became stabilized.

²³ Barrett, Anthony, *Sacrifice and Prophecy in Turkana Cosmology*.(1998), Pauline's Publications Africa p.112

The arrival of the colonial administration ensured that Turkana identity persisted although under radically different circumstances following a period of determined resistance, one's Turkananess came to be defined officially by rigid administrative boundaries as a "closed district" status.²⁴ The British desire to establishment 'Pax Britannica' in East Africa led to the subjugation of the Turkana, whom they described as 'the most warlike people' living near the approaches to the Nile. The British were also concerned at the gradual infiltration of the Ethiopians into Turkana. Between the year 1898 and 1903 saw four armed expeditions entering Turkana, two British and two Ethiopian. By year 1900, between declarations, show of strength and diplomacy the British were able to raise their flag at the Northern end of Lake Turkana.²⁵

The Turkana, caught between two fires, fought back bravely using rudimentary weapons against the much superior gun power of both the British and Ethiopians and managed to hold the British advancement from the North. Turkana South however first fell and the people were forced to pay hut-tax to the British colonial Administration.²⁶

Despite the outbreak of world war one in 1914, British forces attacked the Northern Turkana and partially defeated them in a major battle at Pelekech. In 1917 the British after realizing they were dealing with a formidable enemy, assembled 5000 men at Moruete in preparation to launch an all out war on the North Turkana warriors. By mid 1918, the Turkana retreated and the British declared the war over. The British despite their well-equipped army with modern weapons were not able to fully subdue the

²⁴ James Good, Mission to the Turkana (1975), Diocese of Lodwar. Printed by Litho Press Middleton, Co. Cork.

²⁵ Ibid p6

²⁶ Ibid p6

Turkana from Turkana North. These led to punitive actions by the British against the Turkana people. The British claiming to be fighting against cattle-raiding, confiscated and scattered a quarter of a million Turkana stock – a loss which led to deprivation of their livelihood and vulnerability to subsequent famines. The British resorted to barbaric and heinous crimes against the Turkana people. Turkanas were short on sight, and their cattle were confiscated merely because they were Turkana property.²⁷ In the second quarter of the 20th century, British policy was apparent and was clearly aimed at isolating the Turkanas from all outside influence. The British employed the “closed area” policy which was rigidly enforced and an elaborate system of special passes was introduced to any one visiting Turkana Land.²⁸

The British actions against the Turkana people of confiscating their livestock and destroying their livelihoods, including neglect and subsequent marginalization by post independent Kenyan governments partly led to the Turkana people being vulnerable to droughts, raids, and endemic poverty is partly the cause of conflicts between them and the refugees in Kakuma.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Armed conflicts for whatever reasons have devastating consequences on civilian populations leading to displacement and refugee-hood. Following the Sudan Civil War of 1983 – 2005, a large number of Sudanese refugees that fled into Kenya were resettled in

²⁷ James Good, Mission to the Turkana (1975), Diocese of Lodwar. Printed by Litho Press Middleton, Co. Cork p5

²⁸ Gulliver P.H. A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana. A Report compiled for the Government of Kenya, 1950

Kakuma Refugee Camp in North-West Kenya.²⁹ Before the arrival of the refugees to Kakuma, host communities lived relatively peacefully with isolated incidents of cattle rustling by cross border tribes from Uganda and South Sudan. Yet following the establishment of the refugees camp in Kakuma and interaction between the refugees and host communities compounded by complex and multifaceted incidents initiated clashes between the two groups. The establishment of the camp has created new needs and demands from the host communities. It is the competition over resources that continue to create conflict between refugees and host communities. The establishment of the camp and the resultant clashes between the refugees and the host communities were not anticipated the consequence of which begs for investigation. No systematic study has been carried to decipher the clashes between Kakuma refugees and host communities as a result of socio-economic and cultural disparities. Lack of understanding and acceptance of the culture and traditions of the Turkana people by refugees might have created negative inter-cultural rift between the Turkana and the refugees hence negate would have been peaceful co-existence between the refugees and the host community.

1.4 Objectives of the Study:

The aim of this research was to investigate the dynamics of the clashes between the Kakuma camp refugees and host communities. The specific objectives were:

- i) To examine the composition of refugees in Kakuma refugee camp
- ii) To investigate the causes of conflicts between the refugees and host communities.
- iii) To assess the impact of clashes on refugees and the Turkana community.

²⁹ Hollen, D., The Hard Lessons from Kakuma, 2004

1.5 Justification of the Study

Since the pre-colonial periods, the Turkana have experienced conflicts with their neighboring communities such as the Pokots and the Samburu of Kenya, the Nyangatom and Merille of Ethiopia, the Toposa of South Sudan and a number of sub-tribes of the Karamojong of Uganda. These conflicts coupled with severe and frequent droughts and famines have impacted negatively to the lives and livelihoods of the Turkana people and are responsible for the high poverty levels they find themselves in. The harsh reality of life and lack of resources have made their basic needs remain unmet for decades. The arrival of the South Sudanese refugees and a further influx of refugees from other nationalities between 1992 and 2013 into Kakuma provided an opportunity to address some of their unmet socio-economic needs but this was not to be as their aspirations continued to remain elusive and source of protracted conflicts between the refugees and hosts. Although studies have been conducted on conflicts in the Kakuma Refugee camp, emphasis has focused on refugee rights, refugee law, women refugees and sexual violence with less in-depth analysis on clashes between refugees and the host communities. The study will seek to investigate the causes and impacts of the clashes between refugees and host communities in Kakuma refugee camp.

This study shall generate knowledge that will help to better understand the causes of clashes between Refugees and members of the host communities and further examine the impacts of the clashes on refugees and host communities. The study will also inquire the social and cultural disparities between the refugees and the host communities. Furthermore, the relationship between conflict and socio-economic and cultural concerns

may serve as a good reference point for refugee agencies and the host governments in conflict resolution.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study carried out investigative analysis into the causes and impacts of the clashes between the Turkana and the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp between 1992 and 2013. The arrival of a group of 12,000 children referred to as “Lost Boys / Girls of Sudan” and their caretakers after fleeing the civil war in Sudan and fleeing into Kenya, culminated in the establishment of Kakuma Refugee Camp in 1992.³⁰ The camp continues to receive refugees from Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, The Sudan, Congo DRC, Burundi and several other countries (see Table 1, page 30). The study established that the Kakuma refugee population stood at 125,803 against total hosts population estimated at 100,000 as at September 2013.³¹

The scope of the Study focused on the clashes between the Turkana, the Somali and South Sudanese refugees particularly the Dinka and the Nuer tribes. The researcher did not; however carry out in-depth interviews with refugees from the great lakes region as well as other African countries due to the insignificant feuds with the Turkana.

The researcher encountered rigid camp visiting hours enforced by Lutheran World federation an NGO mandated with the management of Kakuma refugee camp. The researcher was allowed a limited amount of time with each research participant often not more than an hour with a refugee participant. The amount of time required for translation and actual interviews was not sufficient leading to the researcher to plan and book for

³⁰ United Nations World Food Program, October. 2013, Kakuma Refugee Camp Operations.

³¹ Ibid p.3

several interviews with the same participant a situation that was time consuming. The refugees staff working for NGOs in the camp often volunteered to translate but often attempted to answer interview questions for participants believing that they were too inarticulate to do so themselves. During interviews, some of the refugee participants would at times refuse to continue interviews when their commanders are present in fear of being victimized for divulging 'certain' important information to the researcher.

Other than group discussions, some individual respondents from the Turkana community would not honor an appointment for interviews and were extremely impatient and mobile as they would leave early in the morning to eke a living in the camp or tender their herds only to return late in the evening. The Somali refugees particularly women could not be interviewed without permission from their relatives who would often attend the entire interview frequently interjecting stifling their freedom of thought.

The number of respondents would have been evenly distributed across gender in each of the three sample communities, the male respondents were readily available whereas female participants were fewer as most were restricted and had to get permission from their husbands, parents and relatives thus widening the range of sexes in the study.

A greater depth of information was obtained from the Turkana community through focused group discussions as well as one-to-one interviews as opposed to the Somali as well as Dinka- Nuer respondents who preferred one-to-one interviews only. Lack of available data on the Turkana, Somali and the Dinka-Nuer tribes' social structures limited

the scope of the understanding of the relationship between the sample communities. This missing link provides for an opportunity for future research.

1.7 Literature Review

Researches that have been conducted on conflicts between refugees and host communities in Kakuma refugee camp have concentrated on the needs and problems affected refugees whereas less attention was given on the impact that the refugees exerted on host community. No systematic study has been carried out to provide the causes of the clashes between refugees and host community in Kakuma Refugee Camp. A few studies that have attempted to address this issue have only done so in passing.

Aukot Ekuru argues that the Kakuma Refugee Camp provides a locality for growing social conflict, economic decline and political abuse which has often frustrated the refugee protection ideal.³² According to Aukot, the impact of refugees in Kakuma cannot be underestimated in that the situation has aroused the host's grievances, motivated by unequal treatment by both national and refugee aid organization. However, Aukots' work does not clearly interrogate the historical genesis of the marginalization of the host community against inequalities arising from support to refugees by international aid agencies. Further, the plight of the host community would not have been exposed had the Government of Kenya chosen to establish a refugee camp elsewhere in the country.

³² Aukot, E. "It is Better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship Between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya" *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights* 21-3(2003; 73-83 Accessed on 19 August 2010

International aid organizations working with refugees would not offer any free food, materials and services to members of the host community because they live within their own state and therefore such international refugee aid organization are restrained by restrictive refugee laws that insist an individual must be outside his country of origin and without protection of that state. In spite of the rigid refugee laws, reality on the ground in terms of human dignity and rights to have basic needs is a contradiction. The Kakuma host communities are poor and illiterate (thanks to the Kenya government unequal society's policy) they are nomadic pastoralists who have never been exposed to other communities of the world, they are isolated, marginalized, forgotten and are themselves socio-economic and political refugees in their own country.

Karen Jacobsen argues that host communities should be made aware of the plan to resettle refugees in their land.³³ She points out that if refugees are resettled without the knowledge of the host communities, chances are they risk being in danger of being harassed or even killed. If the host communities are in the know about the presence of refugees and reasons why they are there, chances are they would be welcomed and assisted to settle. The host communities may for instance have negative beliefs or perceptions about refugees mainly due to sense of loss of control and fear of being overwhelmed that may result from mass influx.

Karen further submitted that when refugees are believed to be responsible for social problems, their antagonism towards the host communities may override the welcome

³³ Jacobsen Karen, *The Response of Third World Governments to Mass influences of Refugees, 1992, A comparative Policy Analysis of Thailand and Zimbabwe*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA Pp.670

arising from ethnic or religious attitudes. Karens work exposes the subtle fear among members of the host communities which may be attributed to lack of transparency on the part of the receiving government. When the host communities are made aware that refugees would return home once security at their home improve, the attitude and beliefs of the host communities about validity of the refugees claim to refugee-hood changes instantly.

Walarigato Coulibaly, argues that the spread of wars and natural disasters particularly in African countries engenders thousands of refugees whose plight does not necessarily have sustainable solutions.³⁴ The irony of their refugee-hood does not provide complete escape from their problems totally. He posits that according to old African tradition, persons who flee their country for whatever reasons were welcomed, given shelter and allowed to share with their hosts the resources that are often insignificant. But are those African traditions still alive today? It would be a misconception to assume that because Dinka Refugees are Africans, the Turkana of Kenya - the host community in Kakuma refugee camp will receive the Dinka with open arms and provide them with whatever they needed. It is worth noting that such traditions may not apply in some contexts because the dynamics have since changed in most parts of Africa. Caulibaly argues that the independence wars in the eve of 1960s and the collapse of apartheid in South Africa contributed in a large scale to sensitize African leaders on the refugee problem and thus be alive to the new challenges. He further avers that African countries that provide hospitality to refugees are not often better than the sending ones in terms of socio-

³⁴ Walarigaton Coulibaly, Refugees and Risk of Conflict in Host Countries: Case Studies of Cote d'ivoire and Guinea, Southern Regional Seminar in African Studies (SERSAS), Spring, 2003. SERSAS Conference 11-12 April 2003. State University of West Georgia.

economic and political development. Most of those countries face economic and social difficulties that are further made problematic when resettled refugees stay for a long time. However, Caulibaly did not expound on the burdens those refugees would load on to the host communities particularly with regard to the long stay in terms of impact to the environment, socio-cultural, economic and political considerations. The activities of the refugees would most likely impact negatively to the host communities particularly if their hosts are marginalized and extremely poor. The case of Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps of Kenya and Darfur of Sudan are glaring examples of how receiving governments preference of resettling refugees in the most remote and inhospitable parts of their countries. Host communities within these camps are poor nomadic pastoralists who are themselves marginalized and live in abject poverty with their socio-economic and political needs gone unmet for decades. The Kenyan case however runs contrary to its 'hospitality' to refugees in Kakuma refugee camps where Kenyan authorities operate with total disregard to the glaring socio-economic problems of the host community-Turkana people, a factor that makes refugees appear better economically than her own Kenyan Turkana people.

Robert Chambers argues that relief organizations consider refugees as their major concern and have little regard to issues related with host community. This attitude he referred to as 'refugee centric.'³⁵ Establishment of refugee camps in poor and remote areas of the receiving country and consequent influx of refugees from different countries and ethnic groups, changes the environment of the host community in either positive or

³⁵ Chambers, R. Hidden Losers? 'The impact of rural Refugees Programs on Poorer host' 1986, *International Migration Review*, 20(2) Special Issue:Refugees: issues and Directions pp. 245-263 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2546034>

negative ways. In most cases, initial kindness gives way to hostility as a number of security and resource scarcities arise.

Chambers work is largely based on realities and social dynamics that come with the resettlement of refugees and subsequent interaction with poorer host communities. But ignores that refugees resettled in some poorer African host communities are not considered as people running away from persecution but rather as visitors resettled in their midst and in the spirit of African tradition, share with them available resources as a precursor to mutual and good relationship. Whereas the notion of sharing or giving host communities resources meant for refugees is alien to relief agencies, the reality on the ground may not permit total enforcement of refugees' laws.

According to Gil Loescher, refugees should not be seen as a humanitarian problem but as a political problem as well particularly in the area of security.³⁶ Loescher argues that too often refugees are perceived as a matter for international charity organizations and not as a political and security problem yet refugee problems are in fact intensely political. The resettlements of refugees in some African countries have soured relations with the sending states and threaten the host states and communities. For instance, the relationship between the host country and the sending country is further marred by armed groups of exiles grafting themselves within refugee camps yet actively engaged in warfare with political objectives. These types of refugees instigate attacks against the sending state prompting military retaliation drawing host country into conflicts with her neighbors.

³⁶Loescher, G. *Refugees Movements and International Security*, Adelphi Paper 268, (London: Brasseif's for IISS, 1992), 6

Although Loescher points out the problem of refugees as political, the manifestation of such problem is a creation of a certain category of refugees and not all refugees. For instance, what should be done to those refugees with political objectives and who may use other refugees in the camp as their political and military resource? Does the idea of accepting refugees into the camps within a host community require some form of inquiry into their ideology? Should there be the need to examine cultural differences between refugees and those of the host communities?

Kirui and Mwaruvie allude that the host community and refugees always have a big mistrust towards each other even though refugees are welcomed by the host state; the reception is normally characterized by suspicion and cold reception which leads to mutual avoidance.³⁷

They argue that apart from refugees posing security threat to host state, refugees also poison relations between the state of origin and the state providing asylum. They aver that the poisoned relations could advance to aggression between the countries involved if not carefully handled.

Mwakasege for instance, captures the strained relations between Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi between 1994 and 1995 when Tanzania hosted thousands of refugees fleeing the genocide in Rwanda and chaos in Burundi.³⁸ Mwakasege expounds the sentiments of

³⁷Kirui,P.and Mwaruvie, J. The Dilemma of Hosting Refugees: *A focus on Insecurity in North-Eastern Kenya*. 2012 International Journal of Business and Social Sciences Vol. 3 No. 8[Special Issue- April 2012] pp.163

³⁸ Mwakasege, J.C. The Impact of refugees on Host Communities: The case of Kasulu, Ngara and Karagwe. A Report of an Oxfam Sponsored Research Project. Presented at the International Workshop on Refugee Crisis in the Great Lakes Region, Arusha, Tanzania, 16-19 August 1995, 13

then Tanzania's Minister for Foreign Affairs when he adverted that the presence of refugees is a source of tension in the relations between Tanzania and Burundi and to a certain extent Rwanda, arising from suspicions that the refugees are regrouping and training in warfare for attacking their countries of origin. The argument by Kirui and Mwarurie and further illuminated by Mwakasege quotation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania confirm the weaker systems used by refugee hosting countries including Kenya when receiving, registering and admitting refugees into camps. The failure by hosting authorities to thoroughly vet each on every refugee is a case to consider when receiving and resettling refugees in their camps. According to Mwakasege, some of the refugees are themselves governments – in – exile and have political objective while in the camp.

Jeff Crisp examination of conflict between refugees and host government with regard to administration of justice within Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps reveals that even though the camps were located in Kenya, refugees who committed various offences were arrested, adjudicated and punished by indigenous refugee institutions rather than Kenya's legal system.³⁹ Crisp further discovered that the traditional 'judges' and 'bench courts' that characterize the Sudanese community in Kakuma wield immense power including the power of corporal punishment and detention in a prison facility constructed with the assistance of an international NGO. However, Crisp did not clearly interrogate the extent to which such courts impacted upon the offenders and whether justice served met the communal standards in peace time and whether certain human rights were flouted.

³⁹ Crisp Jeff, *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No.16, *A State of Insecurity: the political economy of Violence in refugee populated areas of Kenya*, December 1999.

Further, at what point were Kenyan courts became involved in the administration of justice? Were members of the host communities tried by traditional refugee courts when they had a case with a refugee? The seemingly pro-refugees application of justice by the Kenyan government provided room for disgruntlement among members of host communities and thus set grounds for potential conflict between refugees and host community.

According to Sandra Dudley, the effects of displacement on culture can have significant impacts on the psychological and physical welfare of individual refugees and on the social dynamics within a refugee population. She points out that refugees relief agencies alike often underestimate or overlook the importance of cultural difference between refugees and host communities.⁴⁰ Potential cultural conflicts between refugees and host communities and relief agencies are less recognized yet cultural variation within a refugee camp are fundamental. Sandra argues that if relief agencies develop a greater awareness of cultural patterns and potential cultural conflicts within as well as between communities their programs may be more effective and appropriately designed and implemented. She further alludes that displacement brings greater contact with other refugees and host communities including other diverse groups who themselves have had his contact with, and influence upon each other.

This study will explore some of the culture of the refugees including that of the Turkana people and highlight the unspoken 'cultural shock' as seen in the eyes of the various

⁴⁰ Sandra Dudley, *Traditional Culture and Refugee Welfare* in North-West Thailand. 1999, Culture in Exile, Feature Forced Migration pp.5-7

refugee groups and nationals including Kenyans from other parts of the country. It will also underscore how cultural differences within a refugee population and that of a host community could cause distress among different refugee community in Kakuma refugee camp.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study is based on Basic Human Needs (BHN) theory by Abraham Maslow and Social Development theory. According to Maslow, human needs are arranged in a hierarchical manner and represented as a pyramid with the more basic needs at the bottom and higher one at the top. These are physiological, safety, love and belonging and self-actualization.⁴¹ The theory argues that within the deficiency needs, each lower need must be met before one can move on to the next level and that an individual will endeavor to satisfy any of the deficiency needs if aroused. Further, Maslow argues that an individual can strive to acquire growth needs if the deficiency needs have been met. Saul McLeod alludes that deficiency needs motivate people to act to get them if they are unmet. Thus, the need to fulfill such needs becomes stronger the longer and duration they are denied. He indicates that the longer a person goes without food, the hungrier he will become.⁴²

John Burton asserts that Basic Human Needs are fundamentally, non-negotiable, thus, lack of fulfillment of basic human needs may be a cause of conflict and further, points

⁴¹ Goble, F. *The Third Force, The Psychology of Abraham Maslow*, Richmond, CA: Maurice Publishing, 1970 p.62

⁴² Saul McLeod, *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs*, Published 2007, updated 2014

that human needs are at the heart and center of all conflicts.⁴³ Loyalty, patience, acceptance and compatibility of individuals in the society dictate they live within the confines of societal norms and traditions but not when such individuals have not had a meal for several days yet theirs have enough food to discard. Ikejiaku argues that it is evident that there is interaction between poverty and conflict and both impact negatively on the lives of the affected population.⁴⁴ According to Ikejiaku, poverty is when a population lives in an environment without food security, clean water, sanitation basic healthcare, literacy and basic income. Poverty recalls pictures of destitution, despondent, disintegration, destruction and human sufferings. Versteegen affirms that lack of provision of Basic Human Needs and poverty would enhance tendencies to resort to violent means.⁴⁵ The inherent poverty among members of the host community in Kakuma refugee camp cannot be wished away by UNHCR and relief agencies in their quest to uphold refugee's law. Satisfaction of physiological needs of the host community might not be met by relief Agencies but attempts to disregard their requests might lead to endless clashes with the camp authorities and refugees. Paul Baker argues that the causes of violence may be complex but violence, poverty and inequality are linked.⁴⁶ For instance, the socio-economic deprivation and intense competition over scarce resources made available to refugees in Kakuma refugee camp could have created rivalry between the two groups. On equal measure create antagonism even among refugees themselves. The Nexus between poverty and conflict makes Kakuma Refugee Camp an ideal place for conflict between

⁴³ Burton, J. Conflict: Basic Human Needs. 1990, St. Martin's Press New York

⁴⁴ Ikejiaku, B.V. Poverty- Conflict Nexus : The Contentious Issue Revisited, European Journal of Sustainable Development (2012) 1, 2, 127-150, ISSN: 2239- 5938

⁴⁵ Versteegen, Susan, Poverty and Conflict: An Entitlement Perspective, conflict Prevention Network(CPN) Briefing paper: 2001, Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

⁴⁶ Baker P. South Africa and the World Economy in the 1990s. (1993) Cape Town : Rustica Press

the host community and refugees considering the inability of the host community to meet and satisfy their basic needs.

Justino Patricia alludes that chronic poverty by itself is unlikely to lead to conflict because the chronically poor often lack political voice and organization.⁴⁷ To the contrary, despite lack of basic needs as a result of historical injustices, poor political representation, and neglect by the Kenya Government, the Turkana people have been able to make demands for basic services from both Kenya government and refugee relief agencies. Their quest for fulfillment of basic human needs is non-negotiable. It is worth noting that no matter how politically a community may be disempowered lack of fulfillment of their basic human needs may be a cause of conflict.

Basic Human Needs is relevant to this study because the clashes that continue to take place in Kakuma refugee camp between refugees and members of the host community could be fuelled by frustrations arising from the host community inability to satisfy their basic needs due to the insufficiency and scarcity of resources. While fully aware that the host community had deficiency of basic needs, humanitarian agencies chose to apply selective compassion with total disregard of their hospitality and the negative impact their actions would have over security situation of camp. Among the basic needs that the host community needed to be satisfied include basic provisions and services such as food and water, health care and sanitation and their own physical security.

⁴⁷ Justino, P. On the links between Conflict and Chronic Poverty: (2006) How much do we really know. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Sussex: Brighton.

Social Development Theory entails learning and application of knowledge where society discovers better ways of fulfilling its aspirations and mechanisms to express that knowledge to achieve its social and economic goals.⁴⁸ Social Development Theory is an upward directional movement of society from lesser to increased levels of accomplishments.⁴⁹ The arrival of refugees to Kakuma brought with them new opportunities as well as challenges that influenced the way of life of host communities in terms of dress, food, language, social behaviour, environment, social services and facilities.

1.9 Research Hypothesis:

This study was guided by the following hypothesis:

- i) The demands for humanitarian assistance by the host communities aid organizations would create undue pressure to the camp refugees leading to clashes between refugees and host communities.
- ii) The resultant consequences of clashes between refugees and host communities will impact on refugees as well as host communities.
- iii) Extreme and diverse cultural dissimilarities between the refugees and members of the host communities could contribute to clashes between the two groups.

1.10 Methodology

This study employed both primary and secondary sources. The method that was used to conduct this study was qualitative. Primary data information was obtained from oral interviews, archival materials from UNHCR, relief agencies, reports from government departments working in Kakuma with particular reference to the local Provincial Administration including Kenya police, The Star News paper, relevant governments and

⁴⁸ Harlan C., and Garry J. Social Development Theory, November 1, 1999.

⁴⁹ Ibid

NGOs resident in Kakuma. Village Elders, women and youth from the Turkana community, victims both refugees and host community.

Secondary data was sourced from libraries such as Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library (JKML), UNHCR library in Nairobi and Kakuma, The study obtained information from books, journals, articles from scholarly journals and periodicals, publications and documents from NGOs working in Kakuma such as international Rescue Committee (IRC), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Norwegian Refugee Council, LOKADO, Don Bosco Kenya (DBK) and The Hansard of the Kenya National assembly.

Oral information was gathered through interviews during field work. Stratified random sampling technique was used in selecting respondents.⁵⁰ To successfully carry out this research, key research tools was employed namely interviews and document reviews.

According to Cannel and Khan, quoted in Cohen et al, research interviews have been defined as a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research – relevant information, focused on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation. Subjects were selected in such a way that specific groups both in the camp and Turkana villages were sampled to ensure that key groups were not left out.

The researcher interviewed staff of UNHCR, relief agencies, government officials' in-charge of Provincial Administration, Police Officers, area Chiefs and their Assistants,

⁵⁰ Cohen, L., Manion, K. Research Methods in education, (2000) 5th. Edition, London: Routledge.

area Member of County Assembly (MCA) and Turkana village elders. The second categories of interviewees were refugees' from the Dinka and Nuer tribes.

The informants were interviewed using an open – ended questionnaire. This method gave the respondents complete freedom to respond to questions, thus provided an insight into their feelings, background, hidden motivation, interests and decisions. Probing method was used to guide the informants to stick to the research questions. The interviews were recorded through note taking.

Data analysis was qualitative, because the research would not require a lot of numerical data which would require quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis will involve descriptive of events as narrated by the interviewees.

CHAPTER TWO

ESTABLISHMENT OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP AND ITS ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the establishment of Kakuma refugee camp and its administrative areas and further provides analysis of each of the refugees nationalities resident in the camp by gender. The chapter examines refugees interaction with members of the host community and how the camp has impacted on their relations. It provides a critical look at the issue of land and how forced evictions of hosts by the Kenyan government has indirectly created animosity between hosts and refugees as a result of its refugees resettlement process as it attempts to comply with the international conventions.

In addition, the chapter gives an overview of the humanitarian assistance provided to refugees and how hosts feel about their exclusion from such assistance despite being equally deserving. It concludes by pointing out the failure of the international community and the Kenya government to find durable solutions for the Kakuma refugees having implications for the protracted nature of the camp.

2.2 Kakuma refugee Camp

Kakuma refugee camp was established in 1992 following the arrival of 16,000 Sudanese “lost boys” and “girls” minors of the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups who together with 200 caretakers undertook a hazardous five year odyssey which began with their plight from the civil war in Sudan to Ethiopia.⁵¹ The camp covers an area of approximately 12 square kilometers and is divided into four parts: Kakuma I, Kakuma II, Kakuma III and lately Kakuma IV.⁵² Kakuma I, houses mixed nationalities such as Ethiopians, Eritreans and Rwandese among others. Kakuma II has a predominantly Somali population while Kakuma III also houses mixed nationalities. Other nationalities in the camp include Sudanese from the North and South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Kakuma IV is an extension of Kakuma III to accommodate influx of refugees from South Sudan following the 2014 power struggle between the Dinka the largest ethnic group of which president Salva Kiir belongs and the second largest ethnic group led by former vice president Riak Machar.⁵³ The camp is situated on the outskirts of Kakuma town West of Tarash River whereas Kakuma town itself is located on the eastern side of the river along the Lodwar-Kakuma-Lokichoggio highway 119 Kilometres from Lodwar and is 880 kilometres from Nairobi.

⁵¹ Burlingame Jeff, *The Lost Boys of Sudan* (2011) Great Escapes, Marshall Cavendish Corporation,

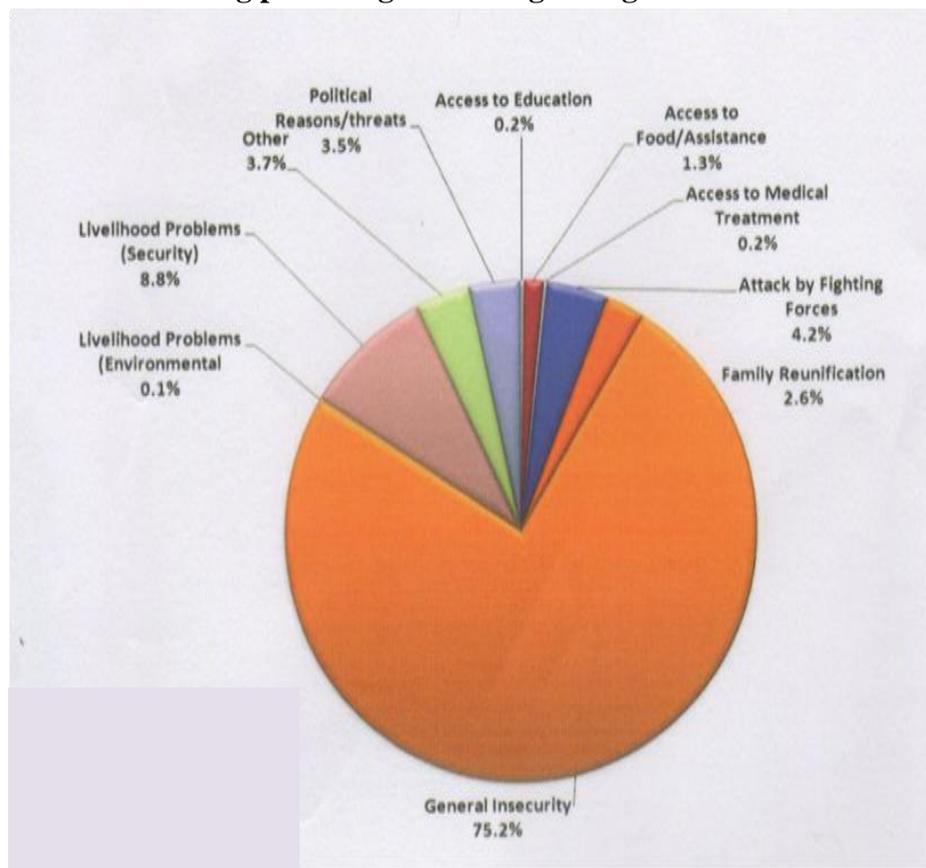
⁵² UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 2013.

⁵³ Carl Odera, Leaders Personal Power Struggle destroying South Sudan : UN rights Chief, Wednesday April 30, 2014.

2.3 Causes for Refugees flight into Kakuma refugee camp

The refugees' flight into Kakuma camp was dictated by various events in their countries of origin. The new arrivals gave various reasons for their flight but three quarter of those interviewed admitted that they ran to Kakuma due to general insecurity in their countries. Others cited family reunification after years of separation, while others came to receive quality education in Kakuma and others said they came to access medical treatment and quite a few came to receive food and livelihood trainings. The influxes into Kenya were primarily as a result of civil wars from the neighboring countries of Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and countries in the great lakes region. The chart below shows percentages of a representation of reasons for their flight.

Figure 1: Chart showing percentages of Refugees flight



circumstances arising from the sending countries of the above populations. 53,587 are of Somali origin representing 42.6% of the total population while 43,994 are from South Sudan and 7,515 from Sudan representing 35% and 6% of the population respectively.

The remaining 16.4% are from Ethiopia (7,184), Democratic Republic of Congo (7,302), Burundi (4,607), Uganda (900), Rwanda (540), Eritrea (115), Congo Brazaville (31), Tanzania (16), Ivory Coast (5), Zimbabwe (1), Iran (1), Egypt (1), Cameroon (1), Nigeria (1) and Burkina Faso (1). 57,364 of the population are female while 68,439 are male representing 45.6% and 54.4% of the population respectively. Persons below the age of 18years make up 55.9% of the total population.

Table 1: Kakuma Refugee camp population by Nationality and Gender

NATIONALITY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
South Sudan	24203	19947	44150	35.00
Sudan	5428	2081	7509	5.95
Somalia	27124	26407	53531	42.44
Ethiopia	4227	3000	7227	5.73
Cameroon	1	0	1	0.000
Ivory Coast	5	0	5	0.004
Iran	1	1	2	0.000
Congo DRC	4029	3372	7401	5.87
Congo Brazaville	12	8	20	0.02
Uganda	487	424	911	0.72
Rwanda	280	231	511	0.40
Burundi	2711	2029	4740	3.76
Eritrea	86	26	112	0.09
Tanzania	6	1	7	0.005
Zimbabwe	2	1	3	0.002
Sierra Leone	1	0	1	0.000
Burkina Faso	1	0	1	0.000
Nigeria	1	0	1	0.000
TOTAL	68,605	57,528	126,133	99.991

Source: United Nations World Food programme, Kakuma Refugee Camp October, 2013

Considering the composition of countries represented by refugees in Kakuma, the camp is a microcosm of nearly all the conflicts in Africa in which according to Hollenbach, provide a glaring reality of a continent skidding off a cliff from the plateau of human existence into a swamp of deepening poverty, cultural dysfunction and ethnic strife.⁵⁴

Drawing from figures above, refugees from countries that have had long and protracted conflicts such as Somalia and South Sudan represent a combined refugee population of 77.6% of the entire Kakuma refugee population. Both these countries have had more than two decades of conflicts as opposed to 22.4% of the combined refugee population of 16 other countries that have had brief or minor conflicts. The largest group of refugees in Kakuma is Somali's fleeing insecurity and conflicts fueled by frequent fighting among clan war lords, while severe and prolonged droughts accounted for a number of refugees. The refugee population of 125,803 outnumbers the total host population, which according to a Turkana elder Lopeyot Ewoi of Nadapal village views refugees as a threat to their lives and livelihoods when he observed:

These refugees are everywhere in our villages, collecting firewood, cutting trees, they are bathing and drawing water from Tarach River our only source of water, their children have taken over our schools and they do not respect us. Something must be done to reduce their numbers because they are threat to our people.⁵⁵

The large numbers of refugees overcrowding the already unequipped hospital, water points and schools with no end in sight to their steady influx worries members of the host community. Lopeyok Ewoi a Turkana elder was worried that the camp would eventually taken over by refugees and become fertile grounds for growing social conflict, economic

⁵⁴Hollenbach David, S. J. , *The Hard Lessons from Kakuma*, (2004).

⁵⁵ Oral interview, Lopeyok Ewoi, Nadapal Village, Kakuma, 4th. April 2014

and political marginalization and conflict with host communities. When the camp was established in 1992, the incoming Sudanese were comfortably settled in Kakuma I. The government realized that Kakuma was relatively peaceful and extremely far from major cities such as Mombasa and Nairobi, refugees from the great lakes region and the horn of Africa who had initially been camped in Mombasa were relocated to Kakuma. The increase necessitated UNHCR to create Kakuma II and III to accommodate the new comers. For the last two decades, the refugee population in Kakuma has grown remarkably safe for a brief decrease prompted by voluntary repatriation of South Sudanese for their referendum and cessation and subsequent self rule in 2005. To date, the refugee population has overtaken the population of the host community.⁵⁶

The impact of refugees in Kakuma is no longer viewed by members of the host community as a people on transit because refugees, GOK, UNHCR and agencies seem to accrue some benefits from having refugees continue staying in Kakuma. The Sudanese stand out as a refugee community that is not ready to fully relocate to their country even after their country gained independence on July 9th. 2011, they continue to come back to Kakuma.

But in fact, many in Kakuma are far from lost. Though few could be considered saints, the people are deeply engaged in social services, education and even religious ministries to one another that cut across the differences that often lead to violent conflict in their home countries. Whatever generates this conflicts be it ethnicity, religion or straightforward lust for money and power seems not to have the same effect upon some

⁵⁶ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office

people after they have lived or worked at Kakuma for some time. Some have discovered in the camp a peaceful way to relate to those they were fighting at home⁵⁷

2.4 Reception and registration of new arrivals

When refugees are received and registered at the Kenya-South Sudan border point of Nadapal, they are hurriedly placed into groups, briefly checked and transited to Kakuma refugee camp where they are resettled for several months and sometimes years before their status determination interviews are carried out. UNHCR Kakuma office admitted that, considering the increasing rate of new arrivals, the backlog of cases requiring refugee status determination (RSD) is continually rising and at the time of this study, there were an estimated 43,000 individuals waiting for RSD decision. The average time between registration and first instance interview is more than two years, well beyond the UNHCR standard six months. Both UNHCR and Kenya government officials rarely undertake a debriefing exercise that would reassure refugees of their protection including a brief on the kind of the host community they would meet and interact with including their culture, traditions, livelihoods, socio-economic and political situation and how they would be expected to cope while in the camp.

It is at the reception and registration centres where psychological assurance of a safe refuge and peaceful co-existence between refugees and host communities is lost. It is understandable that refugees are a people running away from conflict and could be traumatized, tired and in dire need of protection from harrowing experiences. That should

⁵⁷ Hollenbach Davi S. J. *The Hard Lessons from Kakuma*, (2004).

not be used as an excuse not to fully brief them of their ‘new home’ the status of the camp. The need to debrief refugees from the point of entry into the country of asylum might not be a priority but it is a civilized and humane way to let people know of the nature of the place they would be settled and what they expect when they get there.

According to Kakuma refugee News Letter, when refugees arrived at Kakuma camp, their perception of Kakuma as a peaceful place is dashed when they realize that general insecurity, sexual abuse of women and children, robberies with violence exist in the camp.⁵⁸

2.5 The population of host communities

The population of the host community is estimated at 100,000 people three quarter of whom are nomadic pastoralists owning herds of livestock mainly cattle, goats, camels, sheep, donkeys and some chickens.⁵⁹ A small fraction of the host population is predominantly agro pastoralists fully settled but still owning limited numbers of livestock. They practice some form of rain fed agriculture and grow crops such as sorghum, maize, cowpeas, beans and tomatoes. Other economic activities include extraction of alluvial gold, mining of precious stones, harvesting of building materials such as hardcore, ballast and sand. These materials are sold to construction firms working for UN organizations and their partner agencies. Materials such as tree twigs, branches, charcoal and firewood are sold to refugees. Many refugees families trade some of their food rations for firewood to supplement the one provided for by UNHCR to enable them

⁵⁸ Kakuma News Letter Reflector, A Refugees Free Press (2012) Refugee Trauma Counselling posted in Human Rights, News Updates July 23, 2012.

⁵⁹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office, Operations, 2013.

cook their food. The camp is surrounded by Turkana villages which are blamed for causing problems of insecurity to the refugees in the camp.

2.6 Land issues

Kakuma refugee camp was established two decades ago and has since catered for hundreds of thousands of refugees from the horn of African as well as the great lakes region. The Kenya government identification of Kakuma as a refugee camp is still being contested by some UNHCR and partner agencies staff most of whom Kenyans, arguing that although Kakuma location meets UNHCR criteria in terms of distance from the border, the actual site, Kakuma does not provide conducive environment for the maintenance of refugees' protection and security. The land issue has remained a thorny issue between hosts and the Kenya government. The process of resettling refugees in Kakuma was met with resistance by the Turkana elders who objected to the government's manner in which they were being evicted from their grazing and ancestral land without compensation. The land question is discussed in details in the preceding chapters.

2.7 Administration of Kakuma refugee camp

The camp is administered by UNHCR and managed by LWF while all other organizations provide humanitarian assistance in the form of services and goods and operate under the umbrella of UNHCR. There are other UN bodies present in the camp such as; UN WFP whose mandate is to provide general food distribution to refugees fortnightly and IOM (International Organization for Migration) whose mandate is to facilitate the movement of refugees for resettlement and implements a number of income-generating activities and anti-trafficking programmes for host communities.

The camp is not enclosed hence members of the host communities access it without restrictions. The argument that good refuge-host relations enhances refugee protection and promotes local integration would be far fetched in the case of Kakuma.

On one hand host communities believe that humanitarian aid agencies are providing excess assistance to refugees in form of food, and non food items, yet on close examination, these items are not given in sufficient quantities to refugees. For instance each refugee family is given 15kgs of food per month including maize flour, oil, rice and a 20 litre jerrican of water per day which is barely enough for a families to survive. An Ethiopian refugee ‘Meserit’ admitted that the rations are not enough to last the prescribed one month period. These supplies are given to refugees who have been given the mandate to become fully pledged refugees by UNHCR and approved by the Kenyan government. Nevertheless, the perception of the host community runs contrary to UNHCR mandates which they (hosts) strongly feel that they too deserve food assistance because as Mary Lomojo observed, UNHCR should not discriminate against members of host communities when giving food aid and non food items because they are equally needy.

Mary Lomojo of Narikriko dapal village and a local Turkana women leader observed that:

The refugees are provided with food and other items and our people are given nothing. If we knew that these organizations were going to discriminate against our people, we would not have allowed them to put up a refugee camp here. Now our people are constantly harassed by the police because of refugees.⁶⁰

The resource imbalance has played a role in creating antagonism between partner agencies and host community and by extension refugees.

⁶⁰ Oral interview, Mary Lomojo, Narikrikodapal Village, Kakuma 6th. April 2014

The support provided to refugees by the Kenya government in terms of physical protection is difficult to quantify but gauging from the presence of regular police, General Service Unit (GSU) and Administration Police (AP), it is clear that the Kenya government is contributing in a very concrete way to refugee protection in Kakuma camp.⁶¹ The government for instance though to a lesser extent in terms of consultation with the host communities forcefully made land available to Kakuma refugees and other support agencies. It has also supported improvement of the camps infrastructure with support by UNHCR and partner organizations with a view to serving refugee population better.

The security provided by Kenya police that deal with episodes of clashes between sections of refugees and sometime members of host communities is enforced by the General Service Unit (GSU). Whereas a section of regular police deal with criminal cases of robberies, murder and rape. The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) is the only NGO mandated with the management of the camp and has its own security that deal with minor cases some of which are handled by their Social Services Department for arbitration and settlement.⁶²

The security structure of the camp is based on zonal deployment of segments of the police. For instance in Kakuma I, Zone 2, An administration police patrol base has been set up to monitor security situation of mixed nationalities of Ethiopians, Eritreans, Rwandese among others. In Kakuma I, Zone 3, a regular police post christened 'Hong

⁶¹ Jeff Crisp, A state of Insecurity: The Political economy of Violence in Refugee populated areas of Kenya. (1999) Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR.

⁶² UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 2013

Kong' provides security to the entire zone. A General Service Unit of police has a base close to Don Bosco water tank where they monitor rampant cases of rape and molestation by youth within the zone. In Kakuma II, Zone 2, an administration police control base has been set up to monitor and enforce law and order in this zone, this is a predominantly a Somali zone where cases of clashes and disagreements between Turkana and Somalis do take place. Kakuma III, zone I a regular police patrol base has been established to provide security to a large number of refugees of mixed nationalities.⁶³ It only serves protection area due to the volatile nature of refugees in this zone. In the same Kakuma III, Zone 2, another regular police patrol base enforces law and order around clinic 6 and its surroundings. According to United Nations Convention on refugees of 1951 relating to refugees defines a refugee as someone who:

Has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside his or her country of origin and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there for fear of persecution.⁶⁴

The organization of African Unity (OAU) convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa developed and adopted a treaty in 1969 and further qualified the UN convention and added a more objectively based consideration that:

Any person compelled to leave his or her country owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality.⁶⁵

In furtherance and simplification of the UN convention and by extension the OAU convention, the meeting of Latin American governments' representatives and a group of

⁶³ UNHCR, (2011) 2012, UNHCR Country Operations Profile, Kenya working environment.

⁶⁴ UNHCR, (1951) 'Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees', United nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Accessed 17 may 2012 < <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/refugees.pdf>>.

⁶⁵ Jostram K. And Achiron Marilyn, Refugee Protection: A guide to International Refugee Law, UNHCR.

distinguished jurists adopted the Cartagena Declaration that added a more objectively based consideration to the 1951 convention refugee definition to include:

Persons who flee their countries because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by Generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have been seriously distributed public order.⁶⁶

As a general rule of international law, Kenya has to abide by the conventions in good faith and is obliged to protect refugees in Kakuma and any other refugee within her territory. The arrival of the Sudanese “lost boys and girls” into Kenya, their main objective was to get to safe and secure place, and Kenya being an independent, sovereign and peaceful country was a natural place for them to seek and find a dignified asylum.

The UN convention implores all human beings have a right to flee persecution as stated in the 1951 convention relating to status of refugees. In other words everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy safety in other countries asylum where such individual shall have legal status, rights and obligations including the right to be protected against forcible return or refoulment to a territory where his or her lives or freedom would be threatened.⁶⁷

Unfortunately, the Kenyan state has been hesitant in accepting refugees as per the letter and spirit of the UN convention relating to the status of refugees 1951. This lukewarm approach to refugee affairs continued unabated until the enactment of the refugee Act 2006 in January 2007 the act somehow invigorated the activities of the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA). Yet, despite having been given the requisite mandate to do all

⁶⁶ Ibid p9

⁶⁷ Ibid p10

that appertains to refugee affairs, DRA has since remained sluggish and conspicuously absent in the management of refugee affairs at Kakuma Refugee Camp.

Although UNHCR alleges to have a strong working relationship with DRA in Kakuma, findings revealed that DRA has abdicated its responsibilities to UNHCR and Partner agencies to undertake the entire refugees' process from access to protection, registration, shelter and other forms of assistance. Though DRA is a critical government technical arm on refugees affairs, their activities have been minimal and largely technical appearances in the camp. UNHCR eventual admission that DRA had a limited presence in Kakuma confirms the above stated observation, yet under the provisions of the refugees Act 2006 they are the primary point of contact for persons seeking asylum in Kenya⁶⁸.

It is ironical that UNHCR and its partners, both international entities, are the ones proactively involved in sensitizing government officials on the implementation of the refugee Act 2006⁶⁹. Yet the document is Kenya's refugee policy in which Kenyan officials should have been the ones to take the lead and sensitize UNHCR and its partner agencies on management of refugees' affairs. The limited presence of DRA in the Kakuma Camp is a violation of the refugee Act 2006 which requires that they have to be wholly involved in the management of all issues partnering to the protection of refugees ranging from registration, shelter and other forms of assistance.

Kenya being signatory to the UN convention to the status of refugees, had no choice than to accept to establish a camp at Kakuma 125 kilometers deep into its territory away from

⁶⁸ UNHCR Report, Sub office Operation, 30 September 2013

⁶⁹ Ibid P3

the Sudan border. By so doing Kenya made a difficult but essential decision in relation to the geographic location of the camp.⁷⁰ According to UNHCR, refugee camps should be located further away from the receiving countries border to avoid frontier refugee settlements as an effective way of protecting refugees.⁷¹

In order to minimize problems of international security, Kenya had to implement article 2(6) of the 1969 OAU Convention and established Kakuma camp far away from the sending countries with a view to preventing any possible cross border raids into Kenya. This effectively made it difficult for refugees to use the camp as a base for launching attacks on their countries of origin, thus removing the possibility of potential conflict between Kenya and sending states.⁷²

The purpose for a refugee camp is to provide protection and assistance programmes to refugees and enable them meet their basic needs. It is the intention of the international community through UNHCR and the host government to provide assistance and security to refugees as per Act 1(2) of the UN Convention relating to the status of Refugees 1951. Questions arise however, as to whether refugees actually deserve the hope about their protection when all they need is the policy of do-no harm from the host government.⁷³ Like any other country, Kenya is generally a peaceful state but Kenyans have to contend with insecurity despite protection from the state, do refugees have the right to be safer

⁷⁰ UNHCR, Protection of Asylum Seekers in Situations of Large Scale Influx, Excom conclusion No. 22 (xxxII) , 1981, Para. II. B. 2.g.

⁷¹ M. Othman-Chande, M. , 'International Law and Armed Attacks in Refugee Camps ' Nordic Journal of International Law, Vol. 59, Fasc.2/3 (1990), 170

⁷² Article 2(6) of the 1969 OAU Convention makes it an Obligation for States, on grounds of Security, to settle refugees at a reasonable distance from the frontier of their Country of origin.

⁷³ Bonventure Rutinwa, 'Refugees Protection and Security in East Africa' *Forced migration Review* October 1996 (accessed October 5, 2002); from <http://www.fmreview.org/rpn225.htm>

than the host communities? For instance the Kenya government has deployed 138 Police officers to provide physical security to 125,803 refugees living in an area of 12 square kilometers of Kakuma camp.⁷⁴ The disproportionate provision of security to Kakuma refugee camp continues to be challenged by host communities arguing that the Kenya government places much emphasis on security of refugees than the security of its citizen. Despite a seemingly elaborated security arrangement within the camp, refugees still find themselves being attacked from within and out of camp. The attacks occur almost on daily basis and include inter-communal conflicts arising from social feuds triggered by fights between children, molestation or elopement usually resulting in serious clashes between members of the two communities with serious injuries and even death. Categories of violence are discussed in detail in chapter Three.

According to International Rescue Committee (IRC) Medical Coordinator, protection of women and children remain their priority in the camp, in the year 2012, the number of reported cases of sexual and gender based violence was 330 while 171 new incidents were reported between January and June 2013.⁷⁵ This shows a decline in the number of incidents of sexual violence recorded. The reasons attributed to this trend, is the low reporting of incidents by survivors for fear of reprisal and rejection by their families and community, limited knowledge on their rights and where to seek support particularly

⁷⁴ Mackenzie C. , McDowell C. And Pittaway E. , 'Beyond do no Harm': the Challenges of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research; *Journal of refugees Studies* 20(2) : 299-319 Accessed 5 May 2012 <http://jrs.oxfordjournal.org?content/20/2/299.full.pdf+htm>

⁷⁵ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 2013

among the new arrivals, interference by the traditional leaders and weak witness protection system that threatens the safety and security of survivors.⁷⁶

Despite efforts by UNHCR and partner agencies to address these challenges, the risk associated with the cases and victims of sexual violence still remains high. Attempts to provide psychological, legal, material, medical and alternative livelihoods are inadequate and at most superficial. Lack of adequate professional personnel as well as equipment to help identify offenders is not available, evidence is based on verbatim reports by victims who are usually dismissed as liars or condemned as perpetrators of the very ills.⁷⁷ Research by Horn, suggests that the problems of refugee women in Kenya arise from high levels of poverty, socio-economic disparity and lack of access to opportunities.⁷⁸ Rape and violent abuse against women is a glaring revelation of lack of security in which the most vulnerable groups are sexually exploited and abused within the camp. Contrary to what Kakuma camp authorities would want to portray Kakuma camp as a peaceful, the real nature of the camp's insecurity is authenticated by the hue and cry of the most vulnerable groups, women and children.

Loescher and Milner allude that camp residents and women in particular are left to fend for themselves by international and regional actors, within the context of refugees receiving states and local authorities.⁷⁹ According to Assistant chief Ekomwa, of

⁷⁶ Ibid P 6

⁷⁷ Mwangi, C.W. Women Refugees and Sexual Violence in Kakuma Camp, Kenya. *Invisible rights, justice, protracted protection and human insecurity* (2012)

⁷⁸ Horn R., 'Exploring the Impact of displacement and Encampment on Domestic violence in Kakuma Refugee camp'

⁷⁹ Loescher G. and Milner J. 'Understanding the Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications, p.20-41, Tokyo; United Nations Press.

Lopusik village, the second set of violent attacks against refugee is alleged to be committed by pastoralists' members of the host community in which the attackers either get into the camp at night and rob their victims or waylay them in the bush when collecting firewood. The complex manner of attacks has forced the Kenya Police and UNHCR to re-think their security strategies with a view of addressing the menace. The desire to prevent further attacks within the camp has proven a challenge due to the nature of attacks which are said to be periodic and the perpetrators are said to be invisible and unpredictable. The causes of violence in Kakuma are discussed in chapter 3. The state of insecurity in the camp has however not dampened the operations of UNHCR and its Partner agencies life-saving assistance to refugees.

2.8 Facilities and services offered in the camp

Kakuma refugee camp is a complex evolution of service provision to refugees by aid organizations. Its strategic location as a receiving centre for Sudanese refugee has endeared to Kenyan government, UNHCR and other agencies to have other international refugees from Eastern Africa and beyond resettled in it. Due to overcrowding in the camp, UNHCR hopes to either expand the existing camp or request for another camp within the region. UNHCR and partner agencies continue to offer numerous life-saving services to refugees in Kakuma refugee camp since its inception in 1992.

This study examined some of the facilities and programmes offered by various Partner agencies to refugees within and around the camp. Special attention was given to services considered essential such as health care, water and sanitation, shelter, education,

vocational training and livelihoods, youth programmes, community development and self-management.

2.8.1 Health Care Services

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) provides primary health care, nutrition and HIV/AIDS services to both the refugees with limited access by members of the host community. According to IRC's Medical Coordinator, there is one 120 bed hospital and four satellite clinics spread throughout the camp which provides both curative and preventive health services. The hospital is open 24hours daily for 7 days whereas the satellite clinics are open for 8 hours 6 days a week. Patients who require surgical intervention are referred to Kakuma Miss Patients who require specialized investigation and treatment are referred to pre-selected hospitals in Nairobi. This is however not a common practice, owing to the expensive nature of such treatment. Members of the host community requiring specialized investigation and treatment are referred to Lodwar county hospital located 120 kilometers away at their own expense.⁸⁰

The most common diseases and conditions of public health importance in the camp include pneumonia, malaria, upper respiratory tract infections, diarrhea and malnutrition. The occurrence of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, mental illnesses, congenital defects and other disabilities have become a major health problem in the camp⁸¹. Despite working under difficult circumstances, health indicators are within the acceptable UNHCR standards. According to UNHCR, health services are still

⁸⁰ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 2013.

⁸¹ Ibid P6

classified as being insufficient and highly compromised due to rapid increase in refugee population. The anecdotal assessments done in 2012 showed that over 5% of the refugee population suffered from some form of disability including mental illness, sensory, physical, intellectual and chronic diseases with Somalis and Congolese affected most with mental illness.

Unfortunately, the health care agency lacks sufficient capacity in terms of requisite skills, knowledge and equipment to respond to the needs of refugees appropriately⁸².

Health care services are constrained by operational challenges which include lack of adequate staff with requisite skills to provide health care to desired standards. The current ratio of clinician to population is 1:18,000 as opposed to UNHCR standard of 1:10,000; each clinician attends 90-130 patients per day compared to UNHCR standard of 1:50⁸³. Such high clinician-consultation ratio compromises the quality of care provided to refugees. Health seeking behavior especially for reproductive health, such as antenatal care, hospital based delivery, postnatal care are still inadequate. For instance, coverage of complete antenatal care and post natal care still ranges between 80% and 85% per month in comparison to the standard of 100%⁸⁴. Maternal mortality ratio is still above 200/100,000 live births against UNHCR standard of less than 100/100,000 live births.⁸⁵ In 2012, eight (8) maternal deaths were reported and as of August 2013, six deaths had already been documented.⁸⁶ Education on safe motherhood at the community level; maintaining 24-hour ambulance services, frequent home visitation for high-risk mothers

⁸² Ibid p6

⁸³ Ibid P6

⁸⁴ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 2013

⁸⁵ Ibid p7

⁸⁶ Ibid p7

and prompt referrals for obstetric emergencies are still weak and need strengthening to ensure comprehensive health care to refugees. The health physical infrastructure is in a serious state of disrepair; some of the buildings were done 20 years ago and require extensive rehabilitation or reconstruction. The main hospital buildings are said to have been condemned 4 years ago and yet they are still in use.⁸⁷

Patients from the host communities are also attended to whenever they come for treatment to the refugee health services facilities. There are no outreach services for members of host community. Kuya Apalia, a local member of the Turkana community observed that,

The Catholic Mission hospital here in Kakuma charges for treatment, most of us cannot afford it, even when a child is sick with malaria you have to pay for it. Here in Kakuma, poor women give birth at home, it's bad. We need a government hospital here like the one in Lodwar.⁸⁸

2.8.2 Water and Sanitation

Like health care services, water is an essential resource for refugees well being. Lack of water is one of the sources of conflict between refugees and host community. According to UNHCR, ten operational boreholes have been constructed in several strategic areas of the camp. The average amount of water received by each refugee was reduced from an average of 21 litres per day in 2012 to 19.9litres in 2013.⁸⁹

According to a Dinka refugee Marial Kol, We rarely get enough water, we have to go to the river to fetch water and there we sometimes fight with Turkana people. But things are

⁸⁷ Ibid p7

⁸⁸ Oral interview, Kuya kucha l Nayenae Emeyan Village Kakuma,

⁸⁹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 2013

changing a bit.⁹⁰ The reduction of water to refugees was occasioned by an increase in the refugee population without a corresponding increase in water production. As at June 2013, an additional 8.5 Kilometer long water pipeline was laid to increase supply of water to the new arrivals and additional elevated water tank has been constructed to improve overall distribution of water.⁹¹ Two boreholes had been constructed to ease refugee conflict with locals.

In September 2013, the Kenya government announced it had discovered a huge water source at Lotikipi basin Turkana County measuring about 100 kilometers by 66 kilometers. The aquifer is estimated to have a capacity of about 200 billion cubic litres of water that could supply the entire country for 70 years.⁹² The discovery of water resources would be a game changer in the fortunes and suffering of the host community as they would be able to access water for their livestock, and for irrigation purposes thus transform their arid region into an agricultural area.

Sanitation in the camp is implemented by Norwegian Refugees Council (NRC), according NRC, 55% of refugee families in the camp have latrine while the remaining 45% share latrines.⁹³ For the common latrines, the user ratio was 1:12 which is slightly better than the UNHCR minimum standard of 1:20. At least 12.33% latrines are required to give each family a separate latrine. According to NRC, most schools in the camp did not have adequate sanitation. The average latrine to user ratio is 1:79; in some schools,

⁹⁰ Oral interview, Marial Kol, Sudanese refugee, Kakuma II, 10th. April 2014

⁹¹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office operations, 2013.

⁹² Onyango Lilian, and Kariuki James: Kenya Strikes water reserve in Arid Turkana region, Africa Review, Wednesday September 11, 2013.

⁹³ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 2013.

the ratio is as high as 1:250. The ratio of refuse pits to the population stands at 1:799 which is way higher than the UNHCR standard of 1:500.⁹⁴ Based on these statistics, the sanitation situation in the camp is far below the required standard, the need for proper sanitation situation in the camp is far below the required standards. The need for proper sanitation is critical for such a huge camp like Kakuma. Considering the continuous influx of refugees and limited sanitation facilities would most likely lead to outbreak of communicable diseases.

2.8.3 Construction and provision of Shelter to refugees.

The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) is responsible for shelter construction in the camp. According to NCCCK, 62% of households in Kakuma refugee camp have adequate shelter. A further 2,927 more shelters are planned for construction to improve the coverage to 65%⁹⁵. The need for more shelters to cover the remaining 35% of new refugees including families living in tents and dilapidated makeshift shelters require roof replacement. Another 20,040 refugees were expected to arrive in the camp and because of this influx of new arrivals at an average of 1,670 refugees per month; At least 5,000 shelters were required to meet the growing demand.⁹⁶

2.8.4 Provision of education to refugees children

The education component is managed by Lutheran World Federation in the entire camp. According to LWF, all students enrolled in primary and secondary schools in the Kakuma camp study the validated Kenyan school curriculum. Primary school enrollment for

⁹⁴ Ibid p 7

⁹⁵ Ibid P7

⁹⁶ Ibid p 7

children aged 6-13 is 44.9% while enrollment in primary schools for older children and youth was 25,021 (14,486 boys and 10,535 girls) showing an increase of 4,557 children from an enrolment of 20,464 at the end of 2012.⁹⁷

It is worth noting that education is a basic human right for all children, and it is especially important that refugee children receive education because it creates a sense of security and hope; which is often lacking in refugee settings. According to Bruijn, after times of conflict, educational activities play a very important role in helping to reintroduce a sense of normalcy and routine into the lives of children and adolescents.⁹⁸ Educating refugees has multiple benefits and an immediate positive and widespread impact on society. Because education teaches self reliance, helps create the human social capital needed to spur development and plays a fundamental role in providing both physical and psychosocial protection for the child. Education is critical for refugee children, so that they can be informed about health and hygiene.⁹⁹

According to LWF, the continuous influx of new arrivals from Sudan and South Sudan into Kakuma camp has overtaken all the gains made to improve the quality of education through construction of additional classrooms and the provision of educational supplies including furniture and textbooks. Most classes are over congested and facilities are inadequate to cope with the influx of refugees.

⁹⁷ Ibid p 8

⁹⁸ Bruijn, B. Human Development Research Paper 2009/5. The living conditions and wellbeing of Refugees p. 37

⁹⁹ Mann G., 'Finding a life among undocumented Congolese refugee Children in Tanzania. Children and Society. 24-5 (2010); 261-287.

Considering the influx of children into schools in the camp clearly indicated that refugees value education and view it as an important tool for ensuring future success and better life. According to Mann, formal education was considered by nearly all boys and girls and their parents of Congolese refugees to be an essential ingredient in the plan to make a better life.¹⁰⁰

Mareng observed that for the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya education in the camp was highly regarded as a helpful solution for their personal problems.¹⁰¹ Though children and parents both realize the importance of education, many refugee children, especially girls are unable to attend school, which explains the huge disparity between boys-girls school attendance in Kakuma refugee camp. The issues affecting girl child education are compounded by African culture which views girls as commodity for sale in form of dowry acquisition. In such a refugee situation, when children have lost parents in conflict and need to help care for their younger siblings or prepare meals for their families, it is the girl child that is mandated to carry out those responsibilities thus disadvantaging her education. In Afghanistan for instance, girls are prohibited from going to school. It takes much effort to educate girls in that country. Kirk exemplifies the bravery and hard work of an Afghan girl Sakena Yawobi to overcome the Taliban barriers and created a school for girls and was able to educate 3,800 girls in an underground school.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Mann G., 'Finding a life Among undocumented Congolese refugee Children in Tanzania. Children and Society.

¹⁰¹ Mareng C. 'Analysis of the Refugee Children's Education

¹⁰² Kirk J. and Winthrop R. 'Promoting quality Education in Refugee Contexts: Supporting Teacher Development in Northern Ethiopia'. *International Review of Education*. 53. (2007) : 715-723. Accessed on 12 August 2010.

The girl child situation in the Turkana community is no different from the refugee girl and fall short of being equal to that of Taliban for the Afghanistan girls. Girls of the host communities are beautified and prepared for household chores and marriage. The culture of the Turkana community deprives girls of their education and condemns them to a life of doom and poverty in the long run. By extension their suitors and husbands would eventually end up as victims of droughts, cattle rustlers and or camp robbers and source of conflict between refugees and host community.

2.9 Vocational Training and youth programmes

Vocational training programmes in the camp are run by Don Bosco Kenya (DBK) and are meant to provide skills to young refugees to enable them set up their own income generating activities and earn a decent living. According to DBK, there are more than 2,000 refugee applications ready and willing to undergo training in various vocations. Only 12.5% of the working age population in the Kakuma camp is involved in some income generating activities.¹⁰³

They are engaged as incentive workers by aid agencies operating in the camp with some of them involved in running small enterprises in markets within the camp. Further, DBK adverted that since the inception of the camp in 1992, no study has been carried out to determine the socio-economic and livelihood situation of the camp. DBK asserts that the Kenya government policy against employment of refugees contributes to their over dependency on relief provided by UNHCR. Consequently, the inadequacy of relief leads some refugees to engage in negative coping mechanism such as making and selling

¹⁰³ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 2013

alcohol and prostitution by some women who are most vulnerable. LWF has established an arts and crafts as well as a hair salon and drinks shop to further assist some of the vulnerable refugees. According to DBK, some of the projects undertaken by their graduate include; vegetable gardening, peanut butter production, poultry and rabbit keeping, soap production, tailoring, hairdressing and production of sanitary towels for women. Considering the number of graduates rolled out by DBK and other unemployed people in the camp, the income generating activities undertaken do not meet the needs of the refugee population. A few Turkana youth are occasionally admitted into the training centre to acquire some skills but Turkana youth are not their priority as their admission into Don Bosco does not attract donor funding to their institution.¹⁰⁴

Youth programmes provide recreation and sports activities to youth in the camp and are supervised by LWF department of youth and managed by refugees themselves. There are three youth centres in the camp and include activities such as youth friendly services, reproductive health education, HIV awareness, drug and alcohol abuse, debates on promotion of a healthy image of manhood. The centres are equipped with indoor games. Major sports include football, basketball, volleyball and netball. Sporting activities between members of the host community are namely hosted a situation which does not reflect and encourage aspects of good neighborliness and peaceful co-existence between refugees and members of host community.

2.10 Rethinking durable solutions

Rethinking durable solutions to Kakuma refugees begs for fundamental review of ways to finding durable solutions to their plight. It is not just enough to protect refugees but to

¹⁰⁴ Ibid p 8

constantly look for lasting solutions out of their refuge-hood. Ruud Lubers averred that it is not acceptable that refugees spend years of their lives in confined area.¹⁰⁵

Kakuma refugees camp has been in existence for more than two decades, yet very little has been done in terms of serious attempts to finding durable solutions. The failure to find durable solutions for refugees has led to a near permanent situation the camp finds itself in. Crisp observed that unable to return to their homeland, settle permanently in their country of first asylum or move to a third state, many refugees find themselves confined indefinitely to camps or holding areas, often in volatile border zones.¹⁰⁶ Smith further added that such restrictive conditions are a denial of rights under the 1951 UN refugee convention and a waste of human talents.¹⁰⁷

Helton argues that the prevalence in prolonged refugee situations of idleness, aid-dependency, and a legacy of conflict and weak rule of law can induce fresh cycles of violence, threatening human security¹⁰⁸. The traditional durable solutions of voluntarily repatriation, local integration in the country of first asylum or settlement in a third country are seemingly the options available for the permanent resolution of the 'refugees' cycle'.¹⁰⁹ Only voluntary repatriation is confirmed to have taken place in Kakuma when South Sudanese refugees voluntarily returned to their new country between 2005 and

¹⁰⁵ Lubbers R. , Commissioner for Refugees, Statement to the European Conference on Migration, Russels, 2001

¹⁰⁶ Crisp J., No solutions in Sight? The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper, No.75, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Smith M., Warehousing Refugees: 'A Denial of Rights, a waste of Humanity'; World Refugee Survey, 2004, P. 40-1

¹⁰⁸ Helton A., The price of indifference, oxford University Press, Oxford, (2002) P. 154-62

¹⁰⁹ Black R. and Koser K., The End of the Refugee Cycle? Refugee Repatriation and reconstruction, Barghahn, 1999.

2008 after the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement between the government of the republic of the Sudan and the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement/ Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army signed in January 9, 2005.¹¹⁰

But the transition from refugee hood to nationhood by South Sudanese did not last as the power struggle ensued between President Salva Kiir young government and his former deputy Riek Machar in December 15th, 2013. The conflict has since seen inflow of refugees into Kenya and back to Kakuma refugee camp and without visible reconciliation in sight between the two leaders, Kakuma is set to become a permanent refugee camp not just for the South Sudanese but also for other nationalities whose hope of getting durable solutions to their plight becomes bleak by day.

The aspect of local integration is by far the weakest of the durable solutions as it would not be possible with host community owing to the extreme and diverse social-cultural disparities between the refugees and the host communities which would not permit cohesive integration. Issues to do with language, hosts strong adherence to their culture, aridity of land and land use including already cultivated perceptions and attitudes of both refugees and locals over each other created by partner agencies in terms of supports programs would play to create hostilities which would endanger integration. Further, according to Bulcha “While unfailingly generous in giving asylum and relief to rural refugees...African governments have been slow in promoting real integration and slower

¹¹⁰ Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and The Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM/A Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army was officially signed in Kenya on January 9th. 2005

with regard to naturalization. The stringent security regulations in force...in rural settlements have also served to curtail integration.”¹¹¹

According to UNHCR, resettlement is being pursued both as a tool of protection and as a durable solution for long staying refugees in Kakuma. In January 2013, 3,875 refugees of various nationalities were identified to be in need of resettlement as either a durable solution or protection intervention mechanism. Out of those individuals, the Kakuma operation prioritized to submit 3,500 individuals for resettlement owing to limited case processing capacity and available submission slots. UNHCR further indicated that by the end of 2013, a total of 625 cases of 1,699 refugees of various nationalities were submitted for resettlement consideration to various resettlement countries including USA, Australia and Netherlands, while 310 cases of 837 individuals have departed to third countries. The annual target of refugees to be resettled almost doubled from 2,000 individuals in 2012 to 3,500 individuals in 2013.¹¹²

Attempts by UNHCR to find durable solutions for these protracted refugees might be commendable but not enough considering the huge numbers of refugees whose hope of voluntary repatriation is bleak. Due to the volatility and proliferation of the situations around and lack of clear durable solutions for refugees in Kenya, Kenya should be prepared to bite the bullet and integrate some of the refugees lest the present camps would become permanent homes for refugees.

¹¹¹ Bulcha M., *Flight and Migration: Cases of Mass Exodus Ethiopia and Problems of integration in the Sudan* (The Netherland: Uppsala, 1988, 175

¹¹² UNHCR, *Kakuma Sub Office Operations*, 2013.

2.11 Conclusion

The Chapter analyzed the establishment of Kakuma refugee camp and its administrative areas indicating the camp layout and how refugees have been settled by their nationalities in various zones. The reasons for refugees flight into Kakuma were highlighted with General insecurity, livelihood problems, and attacks by fighting forces and political reasons being central to their flight. The chapter illustrated the Kakuma refugee camp population by nationality and gender clearly demonstrating that the camp is a microcosm of most conflicts in Africa as shown by the nationalities represented in the camp. (See Figure1 on page 32).

Refugees from countries that have had long and protracted conflicts such as Somalia and South Sudan represent the largest numbers of refugees in the camp with countries within the great lakes region, west and North Africa with fewer refugees in the camp. The large number of refugees in Kakuma which outnumber host communities population is cause for concern by the hosts who believe the refugees population has overstretched their limited natural resources as well as services hence a source for growing conflict between the Turkana and the refugees. The chapter explored the process of reception and registration of South Sudanese refugees new arrivals from the border town of Nadapal where they are transited to Kakuma for refugee status determination. The facilities and services offered to refugees are limited but are by far superior to what the Kenya government offers the local Turkana population particularly in areas such as provision of health care, water and sanitation, shelter, education, vocational training and youth

programmes. The huge disparity in service delivery in favour of the refugees is a source of conflict between the Turkana and the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp.

The chapter sought to examine attempts to find durable solutions for Kakuma refugees and further argued that despite the existence of Kakuma refugee camp for well over twenty years little movements in terms of provision of durable solution has been realized. The complexities arising from implementation of the traditional durable solutions of local integration is overlooked by most refugees owing to their incompatibility with the Turkana Culture and environment. The refugees attempts to integrate into Kenyan society has not been successful, hence refugees have to contend with limited options available for resettlement in a third country. The chapter concludes by interrogating Kenya's sincerity in upholding protection of refugees.

CHAPTER THREE

CAUSES OF CLASHES BETWEEN REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES, 1992 – 2013

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter examines causes of clashes between refugees and host community in Kakuma refugee camp in Turkana County and provides an analysis of areas central to the causes of clashes between the refugees and host communities. There were multiple causes of the clashes between these communities, among them; competition for pasture land, water, mistrust between the communities and cultural differences. The people living in the refugee camp were viewed by the host communities as the privileged, yet they were not the indigenous people.

3.2 The Land Problem

The relationship between refugees and host community were marred with mistrust and suspicion when the Kenya government and UNHCR resettled the first group of refugees in host's grazing and ancestral land in Kakuma without prior notice and permission from local elders. The Kenya government did not only seek permission from the land owners the Turkana community, it forcefully evicted them to settle refugees without any form of compensation. During a focused group discussion with the elders of Nayene-emejan village in Kakuma, Palal, a village elder stated that the Kenya government officials believed that the unoccupied tracks of lands found in their area were waste lands without

owners and hence were suitable for settling refugees which in his view was absolutely incorrect. He asserted that all their land has owners some of the land is owned by family generations which they termed as '*ngireria*' (ancestral dwellings) while there is the communal land used by the community to graze their livestock without restrictions. Such land is reserved and protected by elders who may give out a portion to an individual or a group of people based on whether such a group is peace abiding and seeking to access land for livestock grazing purposes or otherwise. Ekal Meresia a local Turkana elder of Natukobenyo village in Kakuma observed that,

There is no such thing as Freeland here; the government has no right to settle people in our land without talking to us. The entire riverine areas of Tarach River are family *ngireria*.¹¹³

The elders pointed out that there were specific areas that were suitable for refugees because they are not '*ngireria*' and wondered why the government was not interested in consulting them during the refugees settlement process. The high handed manner in which the government resettled refugees in Kakuma created bad blood between hosts and the refugees and has since become source of conflict between the Turkana and refugees in Kakuma.

The land problem has become a political issue as politicians coming in defense of the Turkana community. Assistant chief Ekomwa of Lopuski village alluded that the land issue has been politicized because before the establishment of the camp, land was not an issue but it is now. The government rejection of hosts' demands for compensation further reinforced the anger and frustrations of the hosts. Eyenae, a Turkana elder from Lopusiki

¹¹³ Oral interview, Ekal Meresia, Natukobenyo village, Kakuma 14 th. April 2014

village who resides next to the camp observed that '*Emam ekisil kane*' (there is little peace around here) the arrival of refugees and the gradual annexation of their land by authorities has pushed hosts farther away from their ancestral dwellings.

The majority of refugees living in Kakuma have in one way or another encountered some form of violence from either within the camp or its surrounding areas and with the land issue unresolved conflicts between the Turkana and refugees among other issues would continue for some time. Disturbingly, the level of violence in Kakuma appears to be on the rise with incidents involving death and serious injuries taking place on daily basis.¹¹⁴ The security situation in Kakuma continue to deteriorate and could be traced back to the inception of the camp in early 1990s when refugees were settled in Kakuma in hurry by the Kenya government in conjunction with UNHCR without adequate preparation and consultation with the Turkana elders. Agnes Asekon, of Nakikriko Dapal Village in Kakuma noted;

Most of us thought that refugees were temporarily resettled in Kakuma but look now; they have been here for a very long time. We fear they might settle here for good. The camp keeps on enlarging and soon they might declare themselves owners of our land.¹¹⁵

The sentiments experienced by Agnes are common in Kakuma; the study established that there were subtle fears among members of host communities regarding prolonged presence of refugees in Kakuma. Some members of the host community link the large number of refugees with sense of loss of control arising from fear of being overwhelmed by the influx of refugees into Kakuma, their apprehension stems from lack of clear

¹¹⁴ UNHCR, Document, 25 May 1999

¹¹⁵ Oral Interview, Agnes Asekon, Narikriko Dapal Village, Kakuma 14th. April 2014

timeframe for refugees return to their countries of origin.¹¹⁶ The study however established that elderly Turkana people (ages 60 years and above) are most frightened by the continuous influx of refugees into Kakuma than the educated Turkana Youth (ages between 18 to 35 years). The Youth asserted that the presence of refugees was beneficial to them, because the camp enabled them get jobs as well as acquire skills imparted by UNHCR, partner agencies as well as refugees themselves.¹¹⁷ When the host community is fully aware that the refugees are ready and willing to return home, once security conditions at their home countries improve, the attitude and fear of the host community about the validity of the refugees stay in the camp would change quickly. Hence, they would be viewed as visitors rather than settlers.

When refugees are believed to be responsible for social problems, antagonism towards them may override the welcome arising from ethnic or religious attitudes.¹¹⁸ In Pakistan for instance, the host community held the Afghan refugees responsible for the increased availability of arms and for the burgeoning trade. That understanding led to the tensions between refugees and locals despite ethnic and religious compatibility.¹¹⁹ The study found out that a number of refugees, the Dinka, Nuer, and the Somalis in particular preferred to own livestock such as goats, sheep and chicken in their camp shelters. Like

¹¹⁶ Alix-Garcia, J., and Saah, D. The Effect of Refugee inflows on Host Communities: Evidence from Tanzania' *The World Bank Economic Review*. 24.1. (2010): 148-170. Accessed on 19 August 2010

¹¹⁷ Boamah-Gyau, K. 'The socio-cultural and economic impact of Refugees on the host indigenous communities in West Africa. A case study of Liberian Refugees at Buduburan community in Ghana'. Thesis. University of Tromso. June 2008. Accessed on 19 August 2010.

¹¹⁸ Jacobsen, K. The response of third world to mass influence of refugees. (1992) A comparative policy analysis of Thailand and Zimbabwe. PhD Dissertation of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology MA.

¹¹⁹ Ibid

the Maasai of Kenya the Turkana believe that God entrusted all the worlds livestock to them for safe keeping hence would justify raiding of livestock from other tribes.¹²⁰ Livestock hold great importance to the Turkana both in ritual and in ceremony. And is a major source of wealth and is exchanged between a groom and his bride's family as a symbol of their bond. Keeping of livestock by a section of refugees in the camp within a territory of a community that believes that all livestock belong to them was a calculated risk by the Kakuma refugees which indeed came to bear with serious consequences that saw Turkana pastoralist raid refugee shelters with livestock. Host communities firmly believe that refugees are responsible for the disappearance of their livestock leading to armed robberies against refugees.¹²¹

3.3 Host communities' settlements around the camp

Turkana residents who live in various villages close to the camp are viewed by the police and camp authorities of being responsible for criminal activities within and around the camp. According to the police, incidents of crime have gone up following increased settlements around the camp with a number of individuals being caught for engaging in criminal activities a situation that often created clashes between refugees and settlements dwellers. These are poor people who have detached themselves from the pastoralist system and opted to settle around the camp to eke a living by hawking or doing casual jobs after losing their livestock to cattle rustlers or droughts. They however, own a few livestock mainly goats, sheep and one or two donkeys. Their children rarely attend school and are found roaming in the camp either employed or run errands for refugees. The

¹²⁰ Jens Finke, (2000) Traditional Music and Culture of Kenya. www.bluegecko.org/Kenya

¹²¹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

‘Ngikwakais’ is an example of a village established by drought affected families from as far as Turkana North. Ekeno Ipoo, a member of Ngikwakais, observed that;

We are not Ngilukmong (Turkana Clan residing in Kakuma), we are Ngissiger from Lokitaung all our livestock perished as a result of a drought. We heard that the government was giving free food to people in Kakuma that is why we came here.¹²²

The residents of Ngikwakais village for instances are drought affected internally displaced people (IDPs) from Turkana North who crossed over and settled in Kakuma close to the airstrip in search of relief assistance from the Kenya government but the same government saw them as an eyesore and thus forcefully evicted them from their plot and literary hid them from the public. These unknown internally displaced drought ‘refugees’ are an important aspect of the international refugees protection particularly when their unmet needs are ignored. The Kenya government and UNHCR would not expect to have a peaceful coexistence between refugees and host communities when a section of the Turkana community are themselves internally displaced food deficient ‘refugees’ settled around a refugee camp that is well served by the international community.

3.4 Refugees and the environment

The host communities are alarmed by the indiscriminate manner in which indigenous trees such as Elim, Ngiwo, Ngisekona (Chewing stick) are cut down by refugees without serious efforts to replace them. Some of the trees cut down are as old as hundred years. The wanton act of cutting down trees by refugees has made host communities prevent

¹²² Oral interview, Ekeno Ipoo, Ngikwakais Village, Kakuma, 14 th. April 2014

refugees from accessing the riverine forests to cut trees sparking clashes between the two groups. Earlier efforts by a German NGO (GTZ) to reforest open areas exposed after destruction of trees have not been successful.¹²³ An NGO Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) working in the camp on environmental protection awareness on alternative sources of energy distributes energy saving stoves to refugees as a way to minimize cutting down of trees.¹²⁴

The host communities argue that UNHCR, Partner agencies and the Kenya Government have lost the war on environmental protection in Kakuma. Neither the forestry department nor the provincial administration is active in preventing wanton cutting down of trees in Kakuma. The Turkana argue that refugees demand for shelter twigs is overwhelming. The extent at which Kakuma environment is being destroyed is clearly marked with huge treeless patches covering an area of 20 square kilometers easily visible as one approaches Kakuma town from Lokore.¹²⁵ The Turkana being pastoralists preserve forests because their livestock largely depend on them. Destruction of indigenous trees not only puts their animals at risk but also exposes them to dust storm, soil erosion and diminished shades. Hence there have been frequent clashes between refugees and hosts community on this issue.¹²⁶

All five of the Turkana pastoralists interviewed at Lokangae village for this study pointed out that Kakuma refugee camp has had a negative environmental impact

¹²³ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

¹²⁴ Ibid p7

¹²⁵ Ibid P7

¹²⁶ UNHCR, Kakuma, Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

to their lives and livelihoods as refugees continue to cut down indigenous trees normally used by their camels and other species of livestock. According to Mariangela, destruction of forests and environment as a whole exposes the land to sand storms.¹²⁷ The continuous growth of the camp has restricted pastoralists access to their wet season grazing areas. Refugees' access to land and common resources has aggravated security problems in Kakuma with pastoralists extremely unhappy with the manner in which their environment is being decimated.

The riverine forests that beamed with animals and birds have been cut down to erect refugee huts and twig fences. Destruction of riverside forests and other adjoining areas stand out as glaring testimony of the negative refugee's activities in Kakuma. Cutting down of tree species including those considered sacred by Turkana elders has been responsible for conflicts between refugees and the host communities. Ekwe Ethuro then Member of Parliament in a debate in parliament observed;

I will cite one example, at one time, our local people were trying to protect their forest from being depleted and in the process a woman was shot dead and the people in Kakuma demonstrated. As a result, the police came to attack Kenyans...these are serious matter that I have first experienced ...But let us make sure that the living conditions of both refugees and host communities are well taken care of.¹²⁸

The hosts argue that attempts by the government to establish another camp in their prime grazing land would be resisted unless proper environmental safeguards are put in place.

¹²⁷ Mariangela Bizzari, Safe Access to Firewood and alternative Energy in Kenya: An Appraisal Report, 17-31 July 2010

¹²⁸ Kenya National Assembly, Official Record (Hansard) Tuesday, 14th. November 2006

3.5 Water resources and health care

Water has remained a source of clashes between refugees and hosts due to its scarcity and quality. The hosts argue that the influx of refugees has created high demand for water to the extent that traditional water sources have either dried up or depleted remarkably. There are constant feuds and clashes between host communities and refugees at water points around the camp and at hand dug wells in Tarash River. Kakuma town shopkeepers and water kiosks sellers interviewed complained that they have been adversely affected by water rationing occasioned by overload exerted on the available water aquifers by refugees. Host communities further posit that they have to trek long distances to fetch water for household use as well as for their livestock. Despite the presence of ten operational boreholes scattered around the camp, refugees still cross over to use the river bed in search of water and in the process clash with the hosts. The Turkana argue that their women are forced to travel long distances from their villages to the refugee camp to look for water where they are prevented from accessing water by refugees who would sometimes attack them sparking serious clashes among the two groups.

Figure 3: Typical Water collection Point for refugees in Kakuma



Source: (Grindheim, 2012,)

Water collection points such as shown in the photograph above are a source of clashes between refugees and host communities in Kakuma.

UNHCR and partner agency provide free health services to refugees as well as poor and deserving locals. The refugees feel Turkana were intruding to their health services, occasionally pushing and chopping them at waiting bays. An official of International Rescue committee (IRC) submitted that the poor sanitation in Kakuma refugee camp was as a result of limited number of toilets that cannot support sanitation needs of the huge numbers of refugees. Some refugees are forced to use nearby bushes around the banks of Tarash River as toilets as well as take bath from hand dug shallow wells that are also

used by members of host communities as their water sources. UNHCR and the County Government, for instance do not have readily available exhauster services in Kakuma, most of the toilets are pit latrines that get filled up quickly owing to huge number of refugees. It takes about three months to find an exhausted and is usually hired from as far as Kitale about 450 Kilometers' away.¹²⁹ In the mean time refugees have to resort to using nearby bushes as toilets thereby polluting the water sources and exposing themselves as well as hosts to water borne diseases often sparking clashes between the two groups.

3.6 Education

Primary school enrolment for refugee children has grown from about 20,000 in 2012 to slightly over 25,000 in 2013. While Secondary Schools enrolment has also increased from 1438 in 2012 to 1929 by June 2013.¹³⁰ A corresponding increase in facilities in both Primary and Secondary Schools had also been realized. The Turkana argue that while UNHCR and partners agencies are focused on providing free education to refugee children including provision of better facilities and materials, they were doing too little to support their dilapidated schools infrastructure. On one hand LWF is accused of poaching Kenyan teachers to teach in refugee schools in the camp with a view to improving the quality of education for refugees children while on the other hand refugees are flooding Turkana schools with their children creating overcrowding in classes a situation which the head teacher of Kakuma Arid Zone Primary school John Nabuin observed;

Whichever way you want to look at it, the presence of
the refugee camp is impacting negatively on the

¹²⁹ UNHCR, Kakuma, Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

¹³⁰ Ibid P7

education performance of the Kenyan children leading to poor quality of education in the long run¹³¹. The Kakuma mixed primary school for instance had the highest number of refugee children and could be mistaken for a refugee school because half of the children enrolled there are refugees mainly from the Sudanese and Somali refugees. The situation continues to create friction between Turkana parents and refugees with hosts demanding for total withdrawal of refugees children from their schools.

Figure 4: Tarash River is main source of drinking Water



Source: (Grindheim, 2012); Hosts dig shallow wells at river bed to water their livestock, refugees use them as bathrooms,

¹³¹ Oral Interview, John Nabuin, Kakuma Arid Zone Primary School, 14 th April 2014

3.7 Children work for refugees

Children from the host communities are employed by refugees as workers and can be seen carrying huge jerricans of water throughout the camp. The researcher had the opportunity to interview a number of children one being John Ekitela, a 12 year old boy from Narikriko dapal village. The boy observed that he left school to eke out a living in the camp to support his parents whom he said were too poor to support themselves. According to Kakuma Newsletter the reflector, Working children wake up very early in the morning to start their daily chores and activities. The jobs they perform include such chores as fetching water, washing clothes, cracking stones, fetching or draining sewage water, washing utensils in hotels, making bricks, and keeping the employer's compound clean.¹³² Children are involved in heavier duties such as carrying food rations from food distribution centers to refugee homes. Girls as young as 14 years old can be seen carrying food rations on their heads and boys push them in wheelbarrows. Rations as heavy as 20 kilogrammes are too heavy for children to carry for a distance of four or more kilometers. The children employers do not care whether or not the load is too heavy for the child, their concerns is to see to it that their rations have been delivered to their homes.

Due to extreme poverty levels among some members of the host communities, children are bred winners for their families. Parents do not attempt to stop their children from working for the refugees as they rely heavily on children for food and other basic needs.¹³³ James Ekomwa, Assistant chief of Lopusiki village in Kakuma observed that:

¹³²Children Workers in Kakuma Refugee Camp: Kakuma News Reflector – a Refugee Free Press, December 22. 2008

¹³³ Ibid

The number of Turkana children dropping out of school to work for refugees was growing day by day and was a concern for host communities.¹³⁴

He submitted that the refugees were using children as young as six years old to run errands such as; drawing water, carrying food rations, and taking cereals to millers including carrying out house chores for refugees for a meal. He averred that some children drop out of school to join their peers in the camp to work for refugees and or engage in petty business in the camp a trend he admits was getting out of hand and if not checked would be cause for conflict between Turkana and the refugees. There have been cases of refugees beaten up by parents of the employed children a situation the chief fears would ignite a major clashes between refugees and parents of the affected children.

3.8 Cultural Issues and crime.

The traditional pastoralists Turkana are independent individuals who love their tradition and culture as can be seen in their traditional attire. Rayne description of a Turkana man paints a picture of a free and independent individual in his poetry as:

One would be struck by the grace of their courage and the independence of their demeanor, as with a light sure tread that would scarcely crackle a dried twig, as they advance from out of the bush to meet you. Their heads bows to no man, whether black white or yellow, typically crowned with a wonderful coiffure, consisting of their own hair and the hair of their ancestors so platted and stiffened with grey and orange clay that looks like the wig of an old cavalier.¹³⁵

The Turkana place such a high value on cattle that they often raid other tribes to acquire more animals. Cases of theft of refugees livestock by members of host communities are common in the camp. The Dinka refugees in particular are fond of livestock and buy and

¹³⁴ Oral interview, Ekomwa James , Lopusiki village Kakuma 18 th April 2014

¹³⁵ Rayne, H. Turkana: Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol.18, No. 72 (Jul., 1919), pp.254-265 published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society Stable URL; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/716040> Accessed : 09/10/2013 13:24

keep goats and sheep in their houses. They have also been caught with stolen livestock sparking clashes between host communities and the refugees.

The Turkana pastoralists visiting the camp do not value equipments and items stocked by most refugees in their shops i.e. cars, radios, jewelry, mobile phones, electronic equipments and so forth. They brand them the white man's wonder and art of confusion.

James Ekomwa an assistant Chief in Lopusiki Village observed:

If Turkana Goats are left to wonder into the camp unattended and one or two disappear, the key suspects of the Turkana pastoralists would be the Dinka refugees because they have done so several times. If found by Turkanas, the ensuing clashes would only be averted by the paramilitary police. On the other hand, animals purchased by refugees could easily be stolen by Turkana if they are not properly secured or slaughtered the same day.¹³⁶

The chief's office has been constructed by UNHCR close to Kakuma III to monitor interaction between refugees and the Turkana. According to the Chief, minor incidents such as a Dinka refugee child fighting a Turkana child at a water point, would trigger a major conflict between host communities and refugees. A Kenya Police officer observed that:

The Police have managed to reduce large scale outbreaks of violence between Sudanese refugees and Turkana; they have been two major outbreak of violence between the two groups, one in 1997 and a very serious one in 2011. Where a combined contingent of three police units intervened and saved what would have been a major disaster. Both refugees and Turkana lost their lives in both conflicts.¹³⁷

The Policeman further explained that minor skirmishes are so common that police could no longer afford to receive information from the base because clashes between Sudanese

¹³⁶ Oral Interview, Ekomwa James, Asst. Chief Lopusiki Village, Kakuma 18th. April 2014.

¹³⁷ Oral Interview, Police Officer, Kakuma Police, 19th. April 2014

refugees and host communities are extremely fast and serious and for the Police to avert them, regular patrols have been intensified including camp based patrol bases all of which are meant for rapid interventions. The police officer submitted that major incidents are common between the Somali, Dinka refugees and Turkana. A number of incidents are retaliatory in nature in which a Somali refugee would hire a Turkana youth to transport his food ration from the distribution centre to his home in Kakuma III in the camp a distance of about 4 Km, then refuse to pay him after delivering his commodities, when the youth insists to be paid his dues, the refugee would either slap the boy or threatened to kill him with a sword.

On many occasions, Turkana youth admit they do not report such incidents to the police knowing too well that the police would demand for a bribe from the refugee to reverse the charge in which the youth would be accused of creating disturbance and charged instead. The youth would opt to mobilize themselves and seek revenge against the particular refugee. John Iria a Turkana Youth observed,

For any criminal incident that takes place within and around the camp involving refugees and Turkana, Kenya Police and UNHCR would blame it on us. Refugees have known this to undermine us. The police would not for a moment listen to us Turkana – because of this we are sometimes forced to defend ourselves.¹³⁸

Inter-refugees feuds particularly among the Dinka and Somalis is quite pronounced though not to the level of clashes between refugees and members of host communities. Lam Akol, a Dinka leader alluded that the Somalis have a bad habit of not shaking hands with other refugees whenever they try to greet them as they consider other refugees

¹³⁸ Oral Interview, John Iria, Turkana Youth, Kakuma Township, 20th. April 2014

‘haram’ (unclean) and using derogatory words such as ‘guf’ (dog). Lam submitted that when a goat is slaughtered by a Dinka, the Somalis would reject to buy its meat terming it ‘haram’ and yet they would prefer to be allowed to slaughter Dinka’s goat a habit the Dinka vehemently reject terming it as an act of provocation and a way of Somalis to encroach on their meat. Such feuds have set a part the two refugee groups and are potential for conflicts in the camp.

3.9 Sexual abuse and violence

Sexual abuse and violence against women constitute a daily reality for refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp.¹³⁹ The Kakuma police admit that there have been cases of rape of Turkana women and girls by refugees in the camp and a number of refugees have been arrested and convicted. The Kakuma police are aware of the Turkana culture on rape and admit that they normally move in quickly and arrest an individual refugee responsible for rape to avoid serious clashes between the Turkana and refugees. Incidents of attempted rape have also been reported by refugee women whenever they go to the bush to collect fire wood. Most reported cases of rape are rampant among the Somali refugees who have the highest number of sexual abuse, assault.¹⁴⁰

The rape cases associated with the host community is extremely low owing to the extreme punitive measures against rapists. Nalumio a Turkana elder observed;

¹³⁹Crisp J. ‘ A state of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Kenya’s Camps’. African Affairs 99 (397) : 601-632 Accessed 20 October 2012 <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/99/397/601.full.pdf+html>

¹⁴⁰ Clare Waithera Mwangi, Women Refugees and Sexual violence in Kakuma Camp, Kenya, (2012) Invisible Rights, Justice, Protracted protection and Human insecurity MA Dissertation, International Institute of Social Studies. The Hague, The Netherlands

Rape is an act punishable by death according to the Turkana culture; if we get a rapist we punish him in accordance with our culture. But now the government jails them instead.¹⁴¹

According to Nalumio, the rapes committed by members of the host community could only be committed by outlaws, individuals who are themselves bandits and are responsible for other criminal activities such as theft, robberies and other antisocial activities. Such individuals live in forests and are dangerous not only to refugees but also to members of the host communities. Considering the population of Kakuma Refugee Camp of 125,803 individuals, the number of reported incidents of sexual and gender-based violence in 2012 was 330 while 171 new incidents were reported between January and June 2013 showing a slight decline, but according to agency staff, refugees and local informants, the number of unreported cases is much higher.¹⁴² Majority of the rape cases in the camp are not committed by people unknown to victims, according to the police, this is common among the Somali refugees whom Police allude have a habit of raping their close relatives as they take advantage of their familiarity and innocence of their victims to sexually abuse them. The rapes occur mostly occur night. During the day, rape occurs where women and girls go to collect firewood with which to cook their meals.

Sexual abuses are a daily nightmare for refugee women and girls in Kakuma refugee camp. Although UNHCR has elaborated standardized guideline on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), the guide lines are not fully integrated into their core programmes that underscore sexual violence as an emergency undertaking. UNHCR and partner agencies failure to set aside provisions such as firewood, solar stoves and building

¹⁴¹ Oral Interview, Nalumio Miyo, Naro Aikeny Village, Kakuma 16th. April 2014

¹⁴² UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Report Operations, 30 September 2014

materials for vulnerable women and girls as an affirmative measure to reduce their exposure to rape when collecting firewood is an issue to consider in their programmes.

Despite the existence of Kenyan laws that protects and guards women and girls against rape in Kakuma refugee camp, such laws are undermined by weak enforcement efforts as well as flawed UNHCR protection measures that are retrogressive in their applications¹⁴³. Kakuma means to refugees women, intimidation, sexual harassment, sexual abuse and violence. The camp provides weak security to women and girls in that they feel insecure and their freedom to live as free as other people is not guaranteed. The camp itself sometimes serves to exacerbate feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, torture and rape are common occurrences in Kakuma.¹⁴⁴ Despite assertion by UNHCR and Kenya Police that sexual abuse is on decline, most of the informants (women staff of LWF dealing with SGBV) interviewed confirmed that the camp is quite insecure, unstable and women who live alone are particularly susceptible to sexual harassment, abuse and physical violence. Single or unaccompanied women refugees are targeted for rape because they are first refugees that do not have relatives or friends to protect them. They are also targeted because of their actual or perceived political or ethnic affiliations, and because they are women.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Clare Waithera Mwangi, *Women Refugees and Sexual violence in Kakuma Camp, Kenya*, (2012) Invisible Rights, Justice, Protracted protection and Human insecurity MA Dissertation, International Institute of Social Studies. The Hague, The Netherlands

¹⁴⁴ Cindy Horst, 'Refugee Life in the Camps. Providing Security or Sustaining Dependency'. Accessed 5 October 2002; available from <http://www.hiiraan/may02/op/cindy2.htm>.

¹⁴⁵ Human Rights watch, *Protection of Refugee Women*, P.1 Accessed October 2002, Available from <http://www.hrw.org/1997/gen3/General-04.htm>.

3.10 UNHCR mandate

The mandate of UNHCR is to provide protection to refugees as well as putting in place measures to improve the situation of refugees and by so doing reduce the numbers of those persons requiring protection. Failure to do so would subject refugees to danger and suffering a situation that would be tantamount to human rights violation. UNHCR is mandated by international law to coordinate and support refugees' integration, repatriation, and resettlement programmes all of which are meant to finding permanent solutions to the refugee problem. Under the circumstances, UNHCR is not to blame for providing humanitarian assistance solely to refugees, because according to international law, in order to receive international aid, a person must live outside the country of origin and without state protection.¹⁴⁶ Hence, UNHCR is not mandated to provide assistance to host communities no matter how poor they may be. In the case of Kakuma refugee camp, UNHCR applied this mandate by providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in the form of essential needs such as free food, shelter, housing materials, water suppliers, sanitation centres, health care, as well as education services. UNHCR selective provision of humanitarian aid to refugees unfortunately cause imbalance that has resulted in the host community feeling aggrieved and hostile and blaming their problems on refugees. UNHCR's mandate of enforcing international law of providing assistance to refugees and disregarding host communities raise fundamental questions about human rights and equality. In the case of Kakuma, the refugees who receive free food, shelter, firewood,

¹⁴⁶ Kirui,P.and Mwaruvie, J. The Dilemma of Hosting Refugees: A focus on Insecurity in North-Eastern Kenya. 2012 International Journal of Business and Social Sciences Vol. 3 No. 8 [Special Issue- April 2012] pp.163

health care and education have better conditions than their hosts. UNHCR provides unenviable monopoly of assistance to refugees. Ekuru Aukot argues that the Kakuma refugee camp provides a locality for growing social conflict, economic decline and political abuse and has often frustrated the refugee's protection.¹⁴⁷ The situation arouses the host communities' grievances, motivated by unequal treatment by UNHCR and partner agencies.

UNHCR does not care about the grievances of the host communities but listens more to the national government as it implements its international mandates. UNHCR does not limit the number refugees that troop into the camp in large numbers and does not care whether the receiving country and host communities are overwhelmed. Under the circumstances, UNHCR continue to implement its mandate of protecting refugees as it endeavour to improve their living conditions. The economic burden exerted by influx of refugees to the receiving country and host communities often becomes unsustainable and the fact that the host government cannot bear the burden is not an issue to UNHCR. Kakuma refugee camp for instance contributes little to the Kenyan economy but uses its resources in the form of land, security, and natural resources to make refugees more comfortable and better off than host communities. Considering that host communities are poor people, the opportunities cost of hosting such large numbers of refugees becomes extremely high. Hence, there would be pressure to interrogate UNHCR's mandate of providing international aid solely to refugees when the host communities basic needs

¹⁴⁷ Aukot, E. "It is Better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship Between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya" *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights* 21-3(2003; 73-83 Accessed on 19 August 2010

remain unmet for decades. Such a situation perpetuates escalation of clashes between refugees and host communities. Kenya's diversion of national resources for sustenance of refugees at expense of her citizens makes host communities hostile not only to refugees but to their own country as well. This is further compounded by the unwillingness of UNHCR partner organizations to support host communities' social projects within Refugees Hosting Areas (RHA) as away to minimize clashes between refugees and host communities.

Both UNHCR and the partner agencies are more concerned with the wellbeing and protection of refugees and neither of them is really concerned with the problems of host community other than providing them with some form of support purely to keep the peace. The glaring disparity in the form of recognition, protection and welfare support is overwhelmingly inclined towards refugees. UNHCR support for host community is not genuinely humanitarian as such but is meant to keep off the host community from causing trouble and thus allow them to manage the camp peacefully. On the contrary, Partner agencies are neither interested in peace nor in provision of some support to local communities. They would rather have chaotic and turbulent camp to warrant declaration of disunity and emergency situations as often as possible to guarantee a fare ticket to raise more funds from their donors to keep them in business. Graham Hancock remarked that:

The more an agency's work is packaged as humanitarian and charitable, the more likely it is to receive the mandate of popular approval, because that is both exciting and fulfilling to the employees when funds get directly to them. Because

the public gets worked up and concerned about children in trouble that is a 'sexy subject'.¹⁴⁸

In the case of Kakuma camp, when refugees are received and their pictures taken including those of emaciated and hungry children to justify a 'sexy state of children in trouble' that is what NGOs would want to submit to donors. But not those of skinny and malnourished children of the host communities, they would not be 'appealing and sexy.' 'Sexy' here means one that would mesmerize potential donors to raise lots of money to justify their work in Kakuma. Implicit is the lack of support by partner agencies for host community is avoidance of what would be a slow charitable impulse by donor community that is potent only on 'sexy' issues which underlines the behaviour of some partner agencies in Kakuma.¹⁴⁹ The definition of support as prescribed by partner agencies that excludes support for members of host communities breeds dislike for each other and recipe for conflict.

The refugees are made to remain in an area that has traditionally been insecure, where insecurity is rampant where perpetrators of violence are invisible and act with impunity. Considering the state of insecurity in Kakuma Camp, the refugees are obliged to live in very uncertain security circumstances, a factor which increases their propensity and vulnerability to violence.¹⁵⁰ Refugees having experienced protracted and very brutal forms of armed conflict from their countries of origin, find themselves encamped and

¹⁴⁸ Hancock Graham, *Lords of Poverty*, (1989) The Freewheeling lifestyles, Power, Prestige and Corruption of the Multibillion dollar business. Published in the United Kingdom in 1997 by Arrow books.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid* p5

¹⁵⁰ Crisp J. A state of insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Kenya's Refugee Camps', *African Affairs* 99(397) : 601- 632 Accessed 20 October 2012
<http://afraf.Oxfordjournals.org/Content/99/397/601.full.pdf+html>

caged in the camp without freedom of movement, with few economic or educational opportunities, and with almost no immediate prospects of finding a solution to their plight. The clashes which affect Kakuma camp are deeply rooted in nature, and are a consequence of the host communities many years of socio-economic and political isolation by the Kenyan government which have now returned to haunt it through such conflicts. Consequently, both Kenya and UNHCR have to contend with huge security costs to contain insecurity in and around Kakuma camp as both are bound to do so by international conventions. The security measures undertaken by the Kenyan Police of patrolling the camp and having patrol bases in various areas of the camp are commendable, though well intentioned; they are not sustainable and hence will not solve the endemic problem of clashes between refugees and host communities.

3.11 Impunity

The Host communities argue that refugees are a law unto themselves in that refugees commit serious crimes against hosts but less or no action is taken against them. Hosts have come to believe that refugees are untouchable and are above the law simply because they are refugees. The inability of the Kenya police to bring refugee perpetrators of violence to justice has created a perception among locals that Justice cannot be dispensed once one of their own has a case with a refugee in Kakuma. The rule of law is weak on refugees and refugees' criminals have taken advantage of this to commit heinous crimes against members of host communities with impunity¹⁵¹. The hosts wonder whether it is the police

¹⁵¹ Crisp, J. 'A state of Insecurity: The Political economy of Violence in Kenya's Refugee Camps', *African Affairs* 99 (397) : 601-632. Accessed 20 October 2012
<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/99/397/601.full.pdf+html>

who have a limited capacity to bring refugees criminals to book or the Kenyan Judicial system that is weak on refugees' issues.

The Turkana elder Lokamar Itao of Lopusiki village narrated vividly of how a Turkana pastoralist traced his lost goat to a Dinka refugee's house and found the skin and hooves in the Dinka's house. When he confronted him, the Dinka attacked the pastoralist prompting him to seek assistance from fellow pastoralists who caused mayhem in the camp. If indeed refugees have immunity over criminal acts because they are refugees then the Kenyan Government has to take the responsibility to protect her citizens from the refugees, by introducing regulations or amendments which would lift their immunity because the refugees believe they enjoy. So that refugees are made to account for their actions.

3.12 Armed robberies within and around the camp.

The problem of banditry in Kakuma refugee camp is manifested in the form of armed robberies reported within and around areas close to the camp. The perpetrators are alleged to be pastoralist members of the host community. But according to Ejem a Turkana elder of Lopusiki village explained that refugees are also involved in armed robberies within and around the camp. He argued that the Kenya government as well as UNHCR and refugees alike think that the perpetrators are members of host communities until a refugee by the nickname 'Apalokwong' was waylaid and ambushed in April, 2013 and shot by Police at night only to realize he was a refugee. Apalokwong was armed with a gun and from then on the police had to rethink their approach to banditry in and

around the camp. The incident demonstrated that a number of refugees possess illegal guns in the camp and are directly involved in robberies within and around the camp. A Somali refugee Mohamed Hussein, observed;

Incidents of armed robberies are common here in the camp. Most robberies take place at night they rob shops and take foodstuffs, sheets, shoes, clothes and cash. At times they also attempt to rape women.¹⁵²

Mohamed described armed robbers as invisible attackers who strike and disappear into the night. Though refugee shops are broken into and items stolen at gun point, neither the Police nor local incentive refugee workers have apprehended a robber. Hussein blames it on the structure and layout of the camp as being responsible for such armed robberies arguing that the camp is dangerously exposed as it is not fenced thus allowing armed robbers to access it without hindrance.

According to a retired Administration Police Officer, a number of refugees in Kakuma refugee camp do possess guns in their houses. The officer asserted that in July 2011, conflict erupted between the Turkana and the Dinka following the killing of a young Turkana boy by a Dinka refugee. The body of the boy had been thrown into a pit latrine; the Turkana traced the blood to a pit latrine where the body was retrieved. The Turkana attacked the Dinka with sticks and before long, the Dinka refugees emerged with guns from their houses and began shooting at the Turkana. The conflict was put down by combined Kenya Police units; Regular, Administration Police and General Service Unit (GSU). According to the retired officer, although armed robberies are alleged to be committed by members of host community, it would not be strange to discover that a

¹⁵² Oral interview, Mohammed Hussein, a Somali refugee, Kakuma refugee camp Zone IV, 17 th. April 2014

number of the armed robberies in the camp are committed by a section of refugees. The Kakuma refugees' newsletter the reflector observed;

On 6th March, 1998, a 40 – year old refugee from Bah – el – Ghazal was shot dead. On the evening of 15th March, 1998, a lone robber shot dead a Ugandan refugee in the arm while fleeing refugees' local guards. On the 19th November 2011, a child was shot in the head by armed robbers and died on the spot. On 11th January 2012, at 2:00 am a house of 32 year old female Ethiopian refugee was broken into by a gang of armed robbers at gun point, stole a laptop, cameras, mobile phones and cash. On the 18th of January, 2012 at 3:00am, a 20 year old Ethiopian was shot dead by armed robbers and attempted to rape his relative.¹⁵³

The Reflector observed that the spate of robberies in the camp were on the increase, several cases of armed robberies, murders, thefts and assaults continue unabated despite a seemingly elaborate police patrols and police posts established within the camp. Majority of cases reported to the Police were not exhaustively investigated due to the unwillingness of the Police to pursue the perpetrators and bring them to justice. Many more cases were said to be unsolved due to either weak investigations or weak security monitoring mechanisms. At the time of the study, the relationship between refugees and Host communities was at an all time low due to increased incidents of violent armed robberies and rape in the camp.

3.13 Taxation

Traders and business people in Kakuma town continue to express their anger and frustrations on Kenyan Government for allowing refugees to operate businesses without subjecting them to taxation. Most traders admit they have been forced to either close down or change their business strategies in order to remain a float. The refugees goods such as clothes, food stuffs, electronic equipments Mobile phones etc. are not taxed by

¹⁵³ UNHCR Security Reports, Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1998-2012

the Kenya government hence refugees sell their goods at relatively cheaper prices than their Kenyan counterparts in Kakuma. Kenyan teachers, nurses, hawkers and villagers interviewed admitted they preferred to buy refugees goods than Kenyan ones. Because goods sold by refugees are a lot cheaper than those sold by Kenyan shopkeepers, besides, refugees shops had varieties of assorted items thus attracting more customers and making substantial profits than Kenyan traders.

3.14 A ward of Tenders and contracts.

The hosts allude that the presence of a refugee camp in their midst was initially thought to present opportunities for employment, a ward of tenders for supply of goods and services to camp were initially given to host communities. But this has since changed in that a number of NGOs now prefer to award supply of smaller items such as stationery, building repairs to refugees than to locals because refugees are cheaper to contract than locals. Larger contracts are awarded to contractors from other parts of the country owing to their experience and capacity to deliver and complete projects on time. Julius Akure former member of Turkana youth environmental group argued that a new arrangement had been introduced by the camp management with a view to locking them out and bring in outsiders to perpetuate corruption through ‘competitive tendering’ he observed;

Competitive tendering in itself is not a bad idea but why allow this outsiders most of whom are relatives of senior camp managers to import meat from as far as Eldoret a distance of 500 kilometers away when we have plenty of it here in Kakuma, is that not corruption?¹⁵⁴

The hosts argue that lucrative tenders that were initially the bone of contention between hosts and earlier administration were being reintroduced by senior Kenyan working in

¹⁵⁴ Oral Interview, Julius Akure, Kakuma Township 20th. April 2014

UNHCR and partner agencies so that their friends and relatives could access the tenders. The new tender award arrangements continue to create conflict between Kakuma youth, UNHCR staff and refugees.

3.15 Job opportunities and host communities

The resentments by the Turkana youth in Kakuma over the manner in which available job opportunities are given out by UNHCR and partner agencies is seen as unfair in that UNHCR and partner agencies now prefer to offer jobs to refugees than locals because they could hire refugees for a lesser pay than locals. Host communities argue that jobs are the only source of tangible security for them and subjecting them to competition for the same jobs with refugees is in essence indirectly locking them out of the available jobs in the camp.¹⁵⁵ Hosts demand that hiring of refugees to replace them is recipe for clashes between them and refugees. The hosts argue that the only benefit they get from the existences of the refugees in their land is possible employment which to them is a form of compensation. They further argued that their land had lost its natural capacity to sustain their means of livelihood due to occupation and use by refugees.¹⁵⁶ Joseph Ekeno a Turkana youth observed that;

Most jobs are given to refugees or non-Turkanas because all partner agencies are headed by outsiders who take advantage of their positions to engage in nepotism, tribalism, favoritism and reject them based on the assumption that we are ‘unqualified’.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Crisp, J. A State of Insecurity: ‘The Political economy of Violence in Kenya’s Refugee Camps’ African Affairs 99 (397): 601-632. Accessed 20 October 2012 <http://afraf.Oxfordjournals.org/content/99/397/601.full.pdf+html>

¹⁵⁶ Ibid p25

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview, Andrew Ekeno, Nadapal Village, Kakuma 24 th April 2014

UNHCR on their part claimed that 85% of jobs were reserved for Turkana and blamed locals for politicizing the issue of employment.¹⁵⁸

Ekeno argued that if UNHCR was true to its allegation that 85% of jobs in the camp were reserved for local people, UNHCR should carry out an independent and transparent audit of employees with focus on senior positions to authentic its allegation. He submitted that The attitude of some UNHCR and partner agencies senior staff contributed adversely to the conflicts between refugees and the Turkana people by offering jobs to refugees and sidelining them from mainstream management of the camp affairs. Guglielmo Verdirame rightly put that UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies are an intrinsic part of the security problem in Kenya administering the camps in ways which often appear to be blatant disregard of international human rights standards.¹⁵⁹

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter examined the causes of clashes between refugees and host community in Kakuma Refugee Camp and identified a number of the key areas that formed the bone of contention leading to clashes between the two groups. The relationship between refugees and host community were marred with mistrust when the government forcefully evicted host communities from their grazing and ancestral land for purposes of settling refugees. Lack of water sources including limited provision of social services such as education, and health care to refugees and host communities was responsible for growing disgruntlement and clashes among the two groups. The chapter pointed out that child labour is rampant in the camp with refugees employing children below the age of 18

¹⁵⁸ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

¹⁵⁹ Verdirame, G. and Harell- Bond, B. (2005) Rights in Exile Janus-faced Humanitarianism Oxford: Berghahn Books.

years to run errands and undertake heavy activities. Some children drop out of school to join their peers in the camp drawing anger among parents leading to clashes between host and refugees employers. The host communities' culture of placing high value on livestock was blamed for livestock thefts within and around the camp. The Dinka refugees who too love livestock were found to be involved in livestock thefts around the camp. The chapter pointed out that sexual abuse and violence was a daily reality in the camp in which both refugees and hosts women and girls were reported sexually assaulted with minimal arrests made of the perpetrators.

The chapter expounded on UNHCR's mandate stating that its core mandate is to provide protection to refugees and improving their wellbeing. Failure to do so would subject refugees to danger and suffering a situation that would be tantamount to human rights violation. Armed robberies within and around the camp were seen to be carried out by members of the host community a few incidents found to be perpetrated by refugees. The chapter further discussed the issue of taxation in which Kenyan traders were losing businesses to refugees due to the Kenyan government's policy of allowing refugees to operate businesses without taxation. Finally the chapter highlighted the case of host communities' loss of tenders and job opportunities to refugees owing to humanitarian organization preference of employing refugees for a lesser pay than locals.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF CLASHES ON REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES

4.1 Introduction

The establishment of Kakuma refugee camp and the continuous influx of refugees have in many ways affected the lives of ordinary people of Kakuma and its surrounding areas. The unending expansion of the camp has forced hosts to adapt to the changes, challenges and opportunities brought about by the camp. The attention of the international community, UNHCR, and the Kenya government is directed specifically towards assisting refugees owing to their plight of being a people running away from persecution and in dire need of protection. On the other hand, the hosts are overlooked despite having similar or even more difficult living conditions than the refugees. Hence, the presence of refugees in their midst while assisted by the UNHCR and partner agencies make them look privileged, a situation that has created animosity between the two groups.¹⁶⁰

The impact of the camp to hosts may not be necessarily negative; indeed there are aspects of the camp that have impacted positively to the lives of hosts depending on various areas of interactions. What are experienced are the impacts of new realities of hosting refugees

¹⁶⁰ UNHCR, Global appeal (2011): Kenya (on line) <http://www.unhcr.org/4cd9600dq.html> accessed 13.12.2012

that are creating tensions and conflicts between the refugees and hosts.¹⁶¹ Such conflicts have taken place for a number of reasons such as competition over natural resources, refugees biased services provision by humanitarian agencies, corrupt employment practices, contracts all of which have a bearing on refugees-hosts negative relationships. This chapter examines the impact of clashes between refugees and hosts in Kakuma Camp. It discusses the manner in which the hosts, refugees as well as stakeholders have been impacted upon by the conflicts. In addition, it examines how conflicts have affected the Socio-economic activities of the people of Kakuma.

Violence and resultant insecurity in Kakuma have conspired to undermine peaceful co-existence between refugees and hosts. As a result, most refugees have had to restrict themselves in the camp a situation that has caused widespread discontent and disenchantment among the refugees themselves, UNHCR, partner agencies and other stake holders. Largely, insecurity in and around the camp has significantly interfered with the freedoms and mobility of refugees in many ways yet on the other hand, the camp has been changing lives and livelihoods of members of host communities in a number of ways.

4.2 Social impacts

Before the establishment of the Camp, locals were living and managing their lives without negative influences but this had to change following the arrival of refugees to Kakuma. Negative Social behavior such prostitution and drug abuse that were alien to

¹⁶¹ Crisp, J. No solutions in Sight: The Problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa.(2003) Evaluation and policy analysis Unit, UNHCR. Working Papers, center for comparative immigration Studies, UC San Diego.<http://scholarship.org/uc/item/89d8r34q> accessed 13.12.2012

locals became a reality to host communities. The arrival of the refugee camp changed all that when for the first time host communities realized that there were certain minimum standards required of human being in terms of humanitarian assistance. They were able to compare their 'low-life' situation with that of the refugees in terms of humanitarian assistance provided by International Organizations. The realization did not only create jealousy and despondency but disgruntlement that eventually led to clashes between them and refugees leading to reprisals.

The host communities would restrict refugees from accessing the forest to harvest firewood as well as cut trees for construction of their houses. Further, the host communities would bar refugees from loitering in their villages effectively confining them in the camp. The refugees on their part restricted hosts from drawing water from the boreholes in the camp. The situation indeed "educated" the Turkana to explore a paradigm shift from the traditional ways of doing things for instances diversifying their sources of livelihoods by engaging in trade and businesses that are not affected by weather conditions.

The tension and sometimes clashes between hosts and refugees were either directly or indirectly instigated by UNHCR and partner agencies officials whom hosts accuse of being responsible for driving a wedge between them and refugees by employing refugees and leaving them out. Hosts argue that there exists an inherent negative attitude towards them by officials of humanitarian organizations particularly limited their interaction with refugees. The hosts argue that UNHCR and partner agencies 'own refugees' and are

involved in isolating them instead of encouraging natural social interaction between refugees and host communities.

The seemingly endless infrastructural development of the camp has had some negative impacts on the hosts, for instance the camp continues to expand in size due to influx of refugees.¹⁶² As a result, it has blocked pastoralists' access routes to watering points at River Tarash and forced them to take longer routes to access the river downstream. The expanding nature of the camp continues to encroach on their villages as well forcing their manyattas to move farther away.

The annexation of hosts' ancestral land confirmed host communities worst fears regarding refugee's resettlement in Kakuma. Maraka Kebo asserted that:

The government continues to remove us from our ancestral land; all my relatives are buried in this land. I cannot understand why these people are more special than us, now we have to relocate to a place we are not familiar with far away from our water sources.¹⁶³

Consequently, the government's actions continue to strain relations between hosts and refugees with communities accusing it of giving preferential treatment to refugees. The continuous influx of refugees means more hosts land would be curved to pave way for more settlement of refugees. The resultant effect not only impacts negatively on hosts' economic and political security but also challenges the status quo in terms of dilution of their socio-cultural identity and submerging their visibility as a people of distinct culture

¹⁶² UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

¹⁶³ Oral interview, Maraka Kebo, Nayenae Emejjan Village, Kakuma 22nd. April 2014

and traditions. The prolonged stay of refugees in Kakuma influences the social lives of host communities through use of language, music, religion and social interactions.

Such changes could create tension which would lead to outright rejection of refugees. Lebanese rejection of permanent resettlement of Palestinians' on their soil, for instance, was at least partially based on the fear that Palestinians resettlement would upset the already fragile confessional balance of the Country.¹⁶⁴ The Lebanese case mirrors perspectives seen create social wellbeing of host communities.

Allowing and settling large numbers of refugees into the hosts traditional social structures would lead to social instability and barriers between hosts and refugees.¹⁶⁵ The hosts allude that none of the refugee's nationalities resident in Kakuma can speak in Ng'aturkana (Turkana language). Indeed there is limited common ethnic and cultural affiliation between refugees and Turkana community and hence there are huge barriers in terms of language, culture and generally whole way of life between the two groups. Attempts by UNHCR, partner agencies together with the Kenya government to initiate social programmes aimed at strengthening cooperation among refugees and host communities were discontinued as a result of clashes between refugees and host communities. Hosts argue that social programmes that had enhanced cohesion and interaction between refugees and hosts i.e. games of football and volleyball were either suspended or cancelled all together as a result of clashes.

¹⁶⁴ Sanjuga Vas Dev, The reluctant Host: the Socio-Cultural impact of refugees on developing communities (2002) No. 21 May 2002, <http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/motspluriels/MP2102s.html> university of Adelaide.

¹⁶⁵ Alix- Garcia, J. and Saah, D. 'The Effect of Refugee inflows on Host Communities: Evidence from Tanzania.' The world Bank Economic Review, 24.1 (2010): p.148-170

4.3 Cultural Impacts;

The presence of large numbers of refugees is bound to influence the hosts language and culture in the long run. Under the circumstances, the culture and traditions of Turkana is not fully documented hence it is fragile and is bound to crumble under the weight of the dominant western type culture adopted by most refugees. There is already evidence of cultural intrusion in Kakuma, a part of Kenya that had remained culturally and traditionally unaffected for thousands of years is gradually being violated by exterior cultures and forced to embrace 'western type' of civilization thanks to the presence of refugees.

The Turkana community values the sanctity of marriage as an institution respected and treasured by the entire community. There is no exception except for those who opt to become priests; a Turkana man must look for livestock to marry a girl from any part of the county. This condition has been in part responsible for driving young Turkana men to engage in cattle rustling in order to acquire livestock for marriage. Dowry varies from clan to clan marrying a girl from the Turkana kwatela clan for instance could be quite 'expensive,' a bride could collect in a dowry, at least 40 heads of cattle, 100 sheep and goats, 30 camels and 10 donkeys which if put in monetary terms is about 2.8 million Kshs. yet this is considered a poor man's marriage. Among the Lukmong clan, a bride could collect at least thirty animals in dowry.¹⁶⁶ A refugee man who falls in love with a Turkana girl has no chance of marrying her other than eloping with the girl and probably plan to marry her later, but he cannot keep her without the consent of her parents. The

¹⁶⁶ Aukot E. 'It is Better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma': revisiting the Relationships between hosts and refugees in Kenya.' *Refugees: Canada's Journal of Refugees* 21(3): 73-83. Accessed 9 September 2012 <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/viewfile/23482/21678>

Turkana take marriages very seriously indeed, marriages are planned and executed in a classic traditional ceremony that involves two or more kraals and is never a two family's affair. It is an elaborate communal ceremony that takes almost a week to conclude. Refugees' eloping with Turkana girls is cause for conflict between the Turkana and the refugees. Elopement in itself is not a new practice in Turkana; the expectation was that once the family of the girl "reclaimed" her, they would be accorded due respect and negotiations for marriage would begin.¹⁶⁷

But refugees do not understand the above practice and its importance to the Turkana who traditionally demand for dowry or compensation when a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock. Refugees often object on the grounds that they do not have the cows to pay as dowry or they do not relate to the culture, and argue that it is the girls who befriend them (refugees) of their own volition. The elders confirmed the existence of another factor causing girls to breach hosts traditional values, the duty to fend for their impoverished families through elopement with refugees. The Turkana accuse the Kenya Government of conspiring with UNHCR to hush a long term plan to destroy their proudly valued culture and traditions by allowing refugees to live in the camp for many years. Ryan argues that the attire of a Turkana man would soon vanish as a result of influence from western culture as he observed:

His centuries old attire is gradually being shed off not with nostalgia. His beautifully crowned head adorned with wonderful coiffure of ostrich feathers and his own hair platted and stiffened with grey mud with a beaded band across his face '*akolach*' completes his remarkable head gear. He wears a flat aluminum disc *akapirperiat* ornament on his nose, around his neck, he wears a string of beads with assorted colours; suspended on his waist is a belt of similar beads hang with several

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

charms of bone or hardwood; He wears a strip of white pieces of white cow hides tied tightly round his ankles '*ngapokoi*' and a pair of hippos sandals on his feet. On his waist, he forgets he wears nothing a factor that has not only created culture shock to his visitors but makes him the most independent and free flowing gentleman.¹⁶⁸

The Turkana culture has been under siege for the last two decades particularly during the lifespan of the Kakuma refugee camp. Their culture and traditions were impacted to the extent that a number of local attire, housing, food usage and general lifestyles though some still pastoral, had dramatically changed. The century's old cultural attire narrated above was painfully disappearing bringing to an inevitable demise of a culture and tradition that had survived and outlived several other civilizations. The Turkana recreation of their culture through the recently introduced *Tobong'u Lore* cultural festival was an attempt to look back with nostalgia and with pride refuse to let go their cultural identity as they embrace other cultures as a result of education and other influences.

Turkana people accuse refugees of introducing alien behavior such as prostitution, loss of dowry, drugs, alcoholism to their community. These behaviors negative as they were have been entrenched in Kakuma refugee camp and its environs with their impacts back rolled to Kakuma host community. The discovery of oil and water in large quantities in Turkana is set to speed up the erosion of the Turkana culture and consequently its demise. The Turkana posit that their livestock risk being confiscated by cattle rustlers from neighboring cross border communities,¹⁶⁹ because their young herders 'cow boys' are

¹⁶⁸ Rayne, H. Turkana: Journal of the Royal African Society Vol. 18, No. 72 (Jul.1919) pp. 254-265
Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the Royal African Society Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/716040> Accessed: 09/10/2013 13:14

¹⁶⁹ Pkalya Ruto, Mohamud Adan and Isabella Masinde, Conflict in Northern Kenya: A focus on The Internally Displaced Victims of Northern Kenya, Nairobi: ITDG, 2003

fascinated by the activities of Kakuma refugee camp hence they make frequent visits to the camp where they consume local brews which daze them exposing their livestock to possible raids.

Prior to the discovery of oil in Turkana, Kakuma refugee camp was the only place where both Turkana pastoralists and job seekers could seek for employment opportunities. The camp had been the hub of economic activities in North West region of Turkana County and attracted all sorts of people who sought to gain from the “refugee assistance boom” rolled out by UNHCR and partner agencies. The discovery of oil and the devolvement of funds to Turkana County following the promulgation of the New Constitution in 2010, has created new avenues for Job seekers and thus eased the pressure on Kakuma refugee Camp.

4.4 Environmental Impacts

The demand for firewood and building materials from the camp and host communities is very high with a host population of 100,000 and camp populations of 125,803, the demand from the two populations are more or less equal.¹⁷⁰ Kakuma refugee camp is located in environmentally fragile arid area where signs of desertification were present long before the arrival of refugees. More than two decades of refugees’ existence in Kakuma and the continuous influx of refugees to an already fragile environment continues to stress the environment further. The majority of the Turkana respondents argue that indiscriminate cutting of indigenous trees and plundering of natural resources had led to reduction of tree cover within and around Kakuma Sub County.¹⁷¹ They admit

¹⁷⁰ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 30 September 2013

¹⁷¹ Ibid P7

that it has become extremely difficult to find firewood within Kakuma and locals are made to travel greater distances to find firewood and poles for shelter construction than it was a few years ago. Attempts by refugees to get into the interior to access firewood or twigs for their shelters are met with resistance and hostility from locals. Hosts argue that refugees have resorted to illegally cutting down living trees, dry them up and use them as firewood and twigs for construction of their houses, actions which contribute directly to deforestation at the same time exacerbate conflict between the two groups.¹⁷²

On one hand Turkana reject any harvesting of firewood or cutting of living trees by refugees whereas on the other they themselves are involved in harvesting and cutting of fresh poles and selling them to refugees. The high demand for firewood, charcoal and poles escalates the wanton destruction of local forests leading to depletion of forest cover hence exposing the entire area to the vagaries of weather. In effect, Turkana are themselves responsible for the destruction of their environment in their pursuit of economic gain.¹⁷³ While this problem would be considered detrimental to any community; it is particularly acute and serious in Kakuma where the great majority of both refugees and hosts depend on the natural resources for their fuel and other needs. Deforestation activities are escalated by the rapidly growing local population presently settling around Kakuma and continued influxes of refugees. The Kenya Government is aware of the destruction and damage to the environment by these two groups but has chosen to remain silent about the issue.

¹⁷² Menye S. (2012) Socio-Economic Impact of Refugees on the Areas Neighbouring Camps: A case Study of Kenya's Refugee Camps.

¹⁷³ Dhirendra K. Vajpey (2001) Deforestation, Environment and sustainable Development: A Comparative Analysis.

Access to water and sanitation is a fundamental human right and essential to life, health and dignity. Timely and adequate provision of clean water and sanitation services to uprooted people is particularly important, given the vulnerability of their situation.¹⁷⁴ Proper disposal of all waste as well as control of the carriers of communicable diseases, including mosquitoes, rats, mice and flies, has not been adequately attended to thus exposing refugees and hosts to preventable health risks. The average amount of water received by each refugee had in fact reached the recommended minimum daily water requirement of 20 litres per person per day in 2012 but was later reduced to less than 19.9 litres in 2013 due to refugee' influx.¹⁷⁵ Access to water has always been and still is a problem to Turkana pastoralists, the need to provide water to pastoralists and their livestock is apparently not a top agenda of UNHCR in Kakuma camp. Yet the same organization has constructed cattle troughs to all Somali villages within the Dadaab refugee affected areas effectively reducing conflicts with Somali pastoralists.¹⁷⁶

UNHCR and partner agencies do not see the need to provide water under a similar arrangement to the Turkana pastoralists who are forced to drive their livestock into the camp in search of water often clashing with refugees. It is another glaring example of lack of strategy on the part of these organizations to undertake programs that seek to create peace and harmony between the two groups through provision of water to hosts within the refugees affected area.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

¹⁷⁶ Martin Enghoff et al. (2010) Socio-economic and Environmental Impacts of Dadaab Refugee camps on Host communities.

Provision of water to pastoralists either from boreholes or piped systems through a well developed infrastructure would have several gains. It would influence pastoral production systems to thrive, decrease overall mobility, reserve use of grazing and forage resources and above all reduce tensions and conflicts between refugees and Turkana.¹⁷⁷ UNHCR had not taken significant measures to lessen the social impact of inadequate water supplies, including the effect on children who miss school while collecting water and the risks to women who must travel far to reach a water outlet. Though water was still a scarce resource in Kakuma, a few communities had managed to access it through the efforts and assistance of LWF an organization that had ensured that perennial problems of engine breakdowns or lack of diesel that often caused delays in pumping water were amicably addressed.

A LWF security guard working in the camp observed that the camp does not contain innocent men, women and children only but was infested with former militants, combatants, murderers, homosexuals and rapists who had run away from their countries of origin for committing heinous crimes against their people and were now masquerading as refugees in Kakuma. They were the ones involved in criminal acts within and around the camp. Hosts observed that insecurity was a major negative impact that had changed their lives for worse since the inception of the camp. While admitting that some rogue members of their community were responsible for insecurity in the camp, they were understood to be rejects, outlaws found in every society and when caught they would be subjected to full force of Kenyan justice. Turkana posit that refugees feel they were a law

¹⁷⁷ ibid

unto themselves as they would carry out various acts of violence such as picking fights with locals on trivialities, robberies, rape and even killings thus drawing locals to acts of revenge.

Turkana employed by NGOs and working in the camp allude that although a number of their members would want to view the camp as a 'necessary evil', the presences of some rogue refugees have turned the lives of a peaceful community into a living hell through constant fear of assaults, harassments and killings. The hosts further argue that the behavior of refugees was reinforced by the Kenya Police hard line support for refugees despite their glaring atrocities against hosts a situation which has made refugees believe that they have immunity over criminal acts and could commit crime with impunity because they are refugees.¹⁷⁸

The hosts posit that forceful removal (of their community- the people of Nawi Aemejan located just behind section three of the refugee camp) from their valuable grazing and ancestral land to give way for the expansion of the camp without compensation is an act of impunity and blatant violation of their rights. Turkana elders observed that before the arrival of refugees, prostitution and sexual exploitation of Turkana girls was unheard of in Kakuma. Because of refugees, the elders lamented that young girls get lured into prostitution owing to their limited economic opportunities. The consequence of such behavior would result in unplanned pregnancies notwithstanding the prospects of acquiring infections from venereal diseases and HIV/ AIDS¹⁷⁹. Children from such

¹⁷⁸ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 30 September 2013

¹⁷⁹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 30 September 2013

arrangements are branded by hosts as *Ngide akeor* (children born out of wedlock). Hosts admit that there were many such children in Kakuma being taken care of by their grandmothers who themselves were recipients of GOK food aid. Most Turkana argue that some of the clashes between them and refugees take place as a result of refugees disrespecting hosts culture and Kenyans at large. They allude that refugees harass and disrespect them whenever they go to the camp to sell firewood or buy their items. Hosts accuse Kakuma refugees of being thankless people who despite being given refuge in their land have the audacity to disrespect them and the country of asylum.

Due to the seemingly ‘attractive camp life’, there is a gradual rural-urban migration to Kakuma by the Turkana as evidenced by rapid expansion of villages within and around Kakuma.¹⁸⁰ These settlements are unplanned and without proper sanitation and chances of outbreaks of water and air borne diseases are high. The abundance of market based activities including dietary changes continues to draw pastoralists’ families to Kakuma away from their traditional pastoralists’ diet of milk and Meat.

4.5 Economic impacts

Clashes between the host communities and refugees sometimes provided fertile ground for economic reprisals where refugees would refuse to buy hosts livestock and goods to punish hosts for carrying clashes against them. The hosts on their part would not allow refugees access the river and the neighbouring forests to harvest firewood. Economic sabotage by either group is a common strategy used by either group to punish the other for initiating clashes.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*

Most of the Kenyan traders around Kakuma are entrepreneurs with established networks in the area providing all sorts of goods and services to refugees as well as local support staff. They migrated to Kakuma to take advantage of the commercial opportunities offered by the camp.¹⁸¹ The Somali and Ethiopian refugees have enhanced business skills to handle goods and services on multiple scales within the camp and own a range of businesses from wholesale to retail. The Ethiopians are quite enterprising of all the refugees providing high quality commodities in their shops competing to Kenyan traders in terms of provision of diverse business. They have forced the Somali refugees traders and Kenyan traders to sell goods at competitive rates.¹⁸²

The hosts communities being mainly pastoralists depend on sale of their livestock whereas those settled in Kakuma town are engaged in other informal businesses such as mechanics, carpentry, butchery, bar, beauty salons, barber shops and telephone sales.¹⁸³ The Turkana are among the 43% of Kenya's population that live in absolute poverty with their basic needs unmet for decades.¹⁸⁴ They, inter alia, depend on missionary aid for education and health care.¹⁸⁵ Turkana County has been described as an inhospitable

¹⁸¹ Agier, Michel (2011). *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

¹⁸² Montclos, Marc-Antoine Perouse De, and Peter Kagwanja (2000). *Refugee Camps or Cities? The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma Camps in Northern Kenya*. *Journal of Refugee Studies*

¹⁸³ Oka, Rahul Chandrashekar (2011). *Trade Wars and Refugees: Network Analysis of Emerging Commercial Competition In The Informal Economy Of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya*.

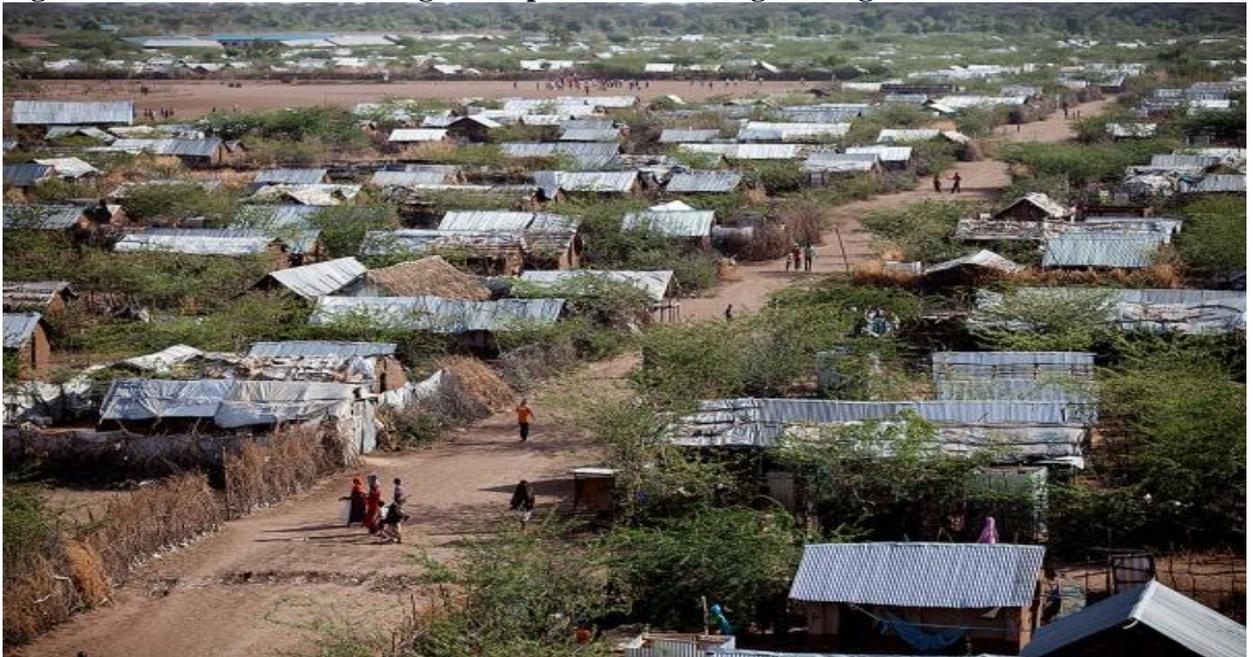
¹⁸⁴ Aukot, E. 'It is better a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the relationship between hosts and Refugees in Kenya.' *Refugees: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 21(3) Accessed 9th. September 2012 <http://pi-library.yorku.ca/ojs/index-php/refuge/article/vieFile/23482/21678>

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid* p.26

environment where severe droughts and famine recur with regular frequency and food insecurity is a persistent problem.¹⁸⁶

Following the establishment of Kakuma refugee Camp, half of the Kakuma Sub District population and its surrounding areas moved and settled around Kakuma town to eke a living. Kakuma refugee Camp was seen by some locals as an opportunity where they would secure employment or become part of the recipients of humanitarian assistance given to refugees. Kakuma was viewed as an economic magnet that pulled together jobseekers, idlers, teachers and civil servants, destitutes, orphans, widows and pastoralists who had fallen out of pastoralist system due to drought.

Figure 5: Inside Kakuma Refugee camp: Notice the twig fencing



Source: Photo by ROST, 2013, Inside Kakuma Refugee camp: Notice the twig fencing

¹⁸⁶ McCabe, J.T. and Ellis, J.E. Beating the Odds in Arid Africa. (1987) Nat. hist. 96: p. 32-41

Because of the huge influx of locals and proliferation of villages in and around Kakuma town, the entire area was regarded as a refugee affected area by UNHCR and partner agencies extended some of their services to Turkana villages with a view to ensuring that they derived some benefits from the presence of refugees.¹⁸⁷ The hosts saw the camp as sort of an ‘industry’ that created jobs for their people as well as extended its corporate social responsibility (CSR) to the refugees affected areas. UNHCR and partner agencies put up water catchment for Turkana livestock herders, classrooms for primary schools, a friendship hall, pump water to Kakuma town and further subsidized the local hospital through elevated fees which it pays on behalf of refugees patients.¹⁸⁸

The camp’s influence in terms indirect support to the local economy could be felt as far as Turkana North where for instance a group of drought internally displaced people known as Ngikwakais had to trek from Lokitang to Kakuma to eke a living through selling of charcoal, firewood, hardcore, tree twigs to refugees for their domestic use. Atiir Lemuya a member of Ngikwakais noted;

Some of us could not be alive today had it not been for the refugees who bought our charcoal and twigs. Drought killed all our animals and we heard of Kakuma refugee camp, we trekked to this place, we began collecting hardcore and gravel for companies building the camp. Some of us sold firewood and tree twigs to refugees as well. When we get money we will restock ourselves, but so long as the camp is here we shall be here as well.¹⁸⁹

The host communities however continue to struggle to sustain a living in Kakuma as they have limited access to basic needs such as water, food and shelter which the refugees are

¹⁸⁷ Crisp, J. no Solutions in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa. (2003) Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR. Working Papers, Centre for Comparative immigration Studies, UC San Diego. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/89d8r34q> accessed 13. 12.2012

¹⁸⁸ Ibid p.16

¹⁸⁹ Oral Interview, Atiir Lemuya, Ngikwakais Village, Kakuma, 15 th April 2015

provided for by UNHCR and partner agencies. According to Atiir, she might not have survived the drought thanks to Kakuma refugee Camp but, she has nothing to compare her demeaning lifestyle with. For all said and done, the Kakuma refugee camp granted her a lease of life.

4.6 Hosts find market for their livestock

The largest contributor to hosts income is pastoral production in the form of meat and livestock sales. The Kakuma refugee camp has developed into a major market for livestock marketing with considerable purchasing power and competing with Kakuma urban township. Other centers such as Letea, Pelekesh, Kalobeyei and Lokore serve as the main catchment areas for livestock trekked for sale and slaughter in the camp. The refugees have their own butcheries spread out in all zones of the camp providing fresh meat to refugee population. Although cattle are slaughtered on daily basis, goats and sheep are slaughtered in large numbers. The annual income accruing to the host community from meat sold is in millions of Kenya shillings. The sale of products such as Makuti (dour palm leaves) is also considerable source of income for contracted members of host community. This sizable income is very much dependent on the consumer market provided for by UNHCR and partner agencies.

Large numbers of refugees retail traders are located inside the camp while Kenyan retail and wholesale traders are found in Kakuma town. It is apparent that commodities prices in refugee camp are significantly lower than those sold in Kenyan shops around Kakuma

and its environs, making hosts goods and services expensive and uncompetitive.¹⁹⁰ The camp's economic influence over the growth of local economy has been phenomenal, the influxes of refugees increased demand for goods and services in Kakuma.¹⁹¹ Local businesses flourish despite competition from cheap refugees goods. Kakuma now boasts of hardware shops, wholesale shops, a commercial Bank and lots of other upcoming large enterprises. When the refugees arrived in Kakuma, prices of non food items increased remarkably as plenty of food aid items sold by refugees in order to purchase other items for their use flooded the market. A similar scenario was witnessed when refugees from Burundi and Rwanda arrived in Western Tanzania in 1993 and 1994, the prices of non-aid food items increased greatly, while there were more modest increases for aid-related items.¹⁹² At Baduburam refugee Camp in Ghana, the standard of living increased significantly because of the remittance received by the Liberians.¹⁹³ Commodities such as Coca-cola, phone cards and sugar were more expensive around the Camp.¹⁹⁴

The influx of refugees increased competition over jobs, the preference of NGOs to offer jobs to refugees than Kenyans because they work for less pay than Kenyans was not taken lightly by hosts. Clinics in Kakuma for instance, employ ten refugees to assist one Kenyan. The one Kenyan would most certainly come from other parts of Kenya and not a local totally denying hosts an employment opportunity. The IRC Kakuma hospital alone

¹⁹⁰ Oka, Raul Shandrshkhar, (2011) Trade wars and Refugees: Network Analysis of Emerging commercial competition in the informal Economy of Kakuma Refugee camp, Kenya

¹⁹¹ Shitemi Khamadi, The Economy that is Kakuma Refugee Camp, July 10, 2013

¹⁹² Alix-Garcia J. and Saah D. 'The effect of Refugees Inflows on Host Communities: Evidence from Tanzania: The World Bank Economic Review, 24.1 (2010): 148- 170 Accessed: 19 August 2010.

¹⁹³ Boamah-Gyau, K. 'The Socio-Cultural and economic Impact of Refugees on the host Indigenous communities in West Africa: A case study of Liberian Refugees at Buduburum community in Ghana.' Thesis. University of Tromso, June 2008. Accessed: 19 August 2010.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

employs 78 refugees and only 21 Kenyans. Similar disparities exist in Kenyan schools. A primary teacher salary is Ksh.11, 790/= for Kenyans. This disparity in employment opportunities causes tension between refugees and the host community.¹⁹⁵

A number of Turkana shopkeepers link the presence of Kakuma camp with the growth of their businesses as well as employment opportunities. Access to markets and free movement of commodities provided an opportunity for local traders as well as refugees to engage in economic activities. Turkana observed that the existence of the Camp has made life bearable for them due to the presence of cheaper and high quality commodities found in the refugee camp. Refugees have had influence over prices of commodities in Kakuma market as they have been able to remove monopoly and hoarding of commodities such as sugar, maize meal, wheat flour and rice.

The NGOs offer training opportunities to both refugees and hosts populations by offering ideas on how to run a business and generate incomes that would provide long term livelihoods through fair trade with refugees. Barter trade between refugees and pastoralists has also been flourishing with refugees exchanging tents, household items with clothes, food, firewood, twigs, charcoal and livestock mainly goats and sheep. Turkana people engaged in a number of businesses admit that there has been a significant positive and beneficial economic engagement between them and refugees as attested by the change in their lives and livelihoods. Yet on the hand cheaper refugees goods have

¹⁹⁵ Montclos, M. and Kagwanja P. Refugee Camps or Cities? 'The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma camps in Northern Kenya.' *Journal of Refugees Studies*. 13.2 (2000): Accessed: 21 April 2012 at <http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/13/2/2005>

made local Kenyan businesses expensive thus impacting them negatively as a result of Kenya government's tax exemption of refugees goods.

4.7 Economic impacts beyond the immediate hosting area

The Kakuma refugee camp was set up to provide the basic needs of refugees which were temporary and transient. But the prolonged existence of the camp and the continuous influx of the refugees have forced UNHCR and partner agencies to think beyond transition and brace themselves for many years of refugee stay in Kakuma. The capacity of Kakuma based contractors to meet huge volume of supplies was found wanting hence the need to look for contractors with the requisite skills and capacity to deliver goods and services to the ever increasing numbers of refugees.

Large scale contracts that deal with large scale transportation of relief food, and non food items are awarded tenders to supply goods and services beyond the means and ability of locals. Entrepreneurs from other parts of the country brought with them variety of items and services such as electronic equipments, hardware, driving schools and opened up private schools¹⁹⁶. Hence, there have been significant direct benefits to both refugees and the Turkana people as a result of the presence of the camp in Kakuma. The Turkana youth argue that large contracts should be awarded to them so they could sub contract large scale contractors for a commission which they believe has a huge economic impact to them. The economic effects of the camp could be felt as far as Lokori in Turkana South where the youth from those areas would be hired for a fee to collect firewood by

¹⁹⁶ Montelos, M. and Kagwanja P. Refugee Camps or Cities? 'The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma camps in Northern Kenya.' *Journal of Refugees Studies*. 13.2 (2000): Accessed: 21 April 2012 at <http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/13/2/2005>

contracted firewood suppliers. Turkana Fishermen of Kalokol town occasionally sell their fish to refugees as well as officials of NGOs in Kakuma. Pastoralists on the other hand prefer to sell their animals to NGOs and refugees in Kakuma because they would fetch a good prize than anywhere else in the County.

4.8 Firewood collection, burning of charcoal and building material impacts' on the environment

Firewood is the most significant resource harvested around the Kakuma Camp. The combined refugee-hosts demand for firewood has not been researched but there are clear signs of increased shortage and high demands for the commodity a trend that has obliged users to become more commercial in the way they manage their energy needs.¹⁹⁷ Fuel consumption among refugees is further complicated by the encampment policy which confines them to the camp thus allowing hosts to undertake firewood harvesting without competition. Firewood supply has become a major commercial enterprise fetching locals a considerable amount of income.¹⁹⁸ The commercial firewood contractors use local area residents to collect firewood at a fee which they then load to Lorries and ferry to Kakuma camp. The economic impact of firewood collection could be felt in areas as far as Elelea in Lokori and other distant places far away from the camp which confirms the economic dominance of the camp not just in Kakuma but throughout the Turkana County.

¹⁹⁷ UNEP, (2006) Kenya: Integrated Assessment of the Energy Policy – with focus on the Transport and Household Energy Sector, Nairobi: UNEP

¹⁹⁸ Mariangela Bizzari et al. Safe Access to Firewood and Alternative Energy in Kenya: Appraisal Report, 17-31 July 2010

Firewood search and collection carries with it protection risks particularly by women who have to risk intimidation or sometimes violent attacks during the collection process. Due to the ever increasing distances to collection sites, women find it insecure to cover such distances unaccompanied by men escorts. They instead prefer to collect firewood from areas closer to their villages and the camp in order to easily attend to their children left behind at the same time avoid getting deep into the woodlands in search of firewood thus exposing themselves to rapists and other types of dangers including snake and scorpion bites. Refugees rely on firewood distributed by NRC which lasts for 7-15 days depending on the family size. Once the NRC supply is exhausted, women resort to negative coping strategies such as bartering food for firewood, skipping meals, borrowing and using fencing twigs.¹⁹⁹

Food bartering is common in Kakuma as the movement of refugees is restricted; they are forced to sell part of their rations to get firewood. Wheat flour is the most traded commodity due to availability and demand by hosts. For instance when the Turkana receive cash payment under the Oxfam/ DFID cash for work program, they have less need to purchase food from the refugees and less need to sell firewood to refugees as the prices of refugees food decreases, the value of firewood and charcoal becomes more expensive due to reduced supply. Similarly, when firewood distribution to refugees takes place, refugees demand for additional firewood from Turkana women decreases and the prices of charcoal decreases too.

¹⁹⁹ UNHCR, Kakuma Sub Office Operations 30 September 2013

A Somali refugee woman observed that she barter her ration with charcoal on average she exchanges three bowls of wheat flour with one basin of charcoal. According to WFP respondent, the maximum that refugees could end up paying is ten bowls of maize meal in exchange for two basins of charcoal estimated to last for about two weeks for a family size of five. The seemly lucrative barter trade of maize-firewood between refugee women and local women driven by huge demand for firewood by refugees has continued to encourage firewood harvesting and charcoal burning effectively causing deforestation and environmental degradation in Kakuma.

Despite the presence of government restrictions on charcoal production and transportation of charcoal as a result of the energy Act 2006 which seeks to ensure sustainable charcoal production in Kenya, the reality on the ground shows that those policies are not being adhered to as illegal charcoal production and commercialization continues unabated. The Lodwar- Kakuma Lokichoggio road for instance is littered with tons and tons of bags of charcoal ready for sale to Kakuma refugees and beyond. Charcoal production uses vast amount of fresh wood, thus contributing to depletion of natural resources and eventually leading to deforestation which in turn is both a cause and effect of climate change. Attempts by NRC to create awareness and introduce alternative sources of energy such as solar cookers, energy saving stoves are good ideas but are inadequate at the same time expensive to roll out to the entire refugee camp and host community.

The cutting down of fresh poles for fencing and construction of refugees shelters poses a major environmental problem for an already fragile environment.²⁰⁰ A local Turkana woman argued that refugees required posts for their shelter and they pay cash on delivery. A number of refugees require poles to build larger and more permanent structures which include three living huts, a kitchen, shower and latrine enclosures and animal pens for those brave enough to keep animals within their shelters. The camp management averred that in order to reduce destruction of the environment by local Turkana, they have resorted to importing poles directly from Kitale and other areas outside the County, an official from NRC observed that they had introduced the use of earth blocks as a way of discouraging refugees from buying fresh poles from the Turkana. Although Turkana argued that thorn fences were selectively harvested from tree branches, evidence on the ground showed that they actually cut down stems of indigenous trees and sold them to refugees in the camp.

The NRC programme has managed to construct some 600 shelters using interlocking stabilized soil blocks (ISSB) for new arrivals and those who seek to replace their mud huts with long lasting structures.²⁰¹ The demand for wooden poles could not match the influx of refugees and their requirements for new shelters or replacing existing structures being repaired or rebuilt. Thorn fencing around refugees' huts is seen as a sure way of protecting refugees from criminals especially at night.

²⁰⁰ Okoti, M., (2001) Impact of Land-use on vegetation resources and socio-economic environment in Kenya division, Turkana district, Kenya: A case study of a pastoral community
URI://erepository.Uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/20115.

²⁰¹ UNHCR, Kakuma sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

Figure 6: Thorn fencing is used as means of protection from criminals



Source: J. Carrier (2008), Fencing built from thorny branches of the acacia tree

The study confirms a general trend of environmental degradation which has been ongoing since the inception of the Camp. The pattern is not however the same in all directions. There is virtually no dead wood remaining, a clear evidence of human destruction to the Kakuma environment. There is very little vegetation of commercial value left in an area of about 20 square Kilometers²⁰².

²⁰² Okoti, M., (2001) Impact of Land-use on vegetation resources and socio-economic environment in Kenya division, Turkana district, Kenya: A case study of a pastoral community
URI://erepository.Uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/20115.

The high demand for firewood fuelled by market forces continue to catalyze firewood consumption as the refugees populations and hosts continue to swell, the future will be uncertain because there will be ever-increasing firewood harvesting distances, as firewood prices will continue to rise, prices of both charcoal and firewood will continue to rise, which will further weaken community firewood access arrangements leading to more conflicts, there will be escalation of use of lorries for collection and transportation of firewood to the camp as distances to the resources areas increases and access become difficult, there will be greater economic benefits accruing to a small number of individuals, in the absence of dead wood, there will be increased cutting down of live trees which would be a sure way to deplete the already fragile ecosystem. This would be followed by deserts that would bring with them desert storms, soil erosion, water scarcity surface water pollution, flash flooding, and loss of natural habitats which would limit livelihoods opportunities and can negatively impact food security.²⁰³ The result of which would lead to tension between hosts and refugees over the use of scarce environmental resources.

The majority of respondents reported that the new market opportunities and services provided in Kakuma refugee camp have had a positive impact on their lives. For instance, access to free medical services, affordable food stuffs, and water is reported to have changed the lives of local people²⁰⁴. Turkana observed that the presence of the camp has enabled them to take their children to school which if the camp was not there they would not have been able to educate their children. They alluded that the camp had provided a

²⁰³ United Nations, Economic and Social Council (2003). The Rights to Water (Arts. 11 and 12 of the international Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, general Comment No.15 (2002)

²⁰⁴ UNHCR, Kakuma sub Office Operations, 30 September 2013

larger market for their assorted merchandise such as livestock, milk mainly during post rainy seasons, firewood, charcoal, tree twigs, baskets, mats, brooms and many other products in exchange for money or barter with food stuffs. A small number of educated locals access employment with humanitarian organizations while the majority of unskilled labour force are engaged in adhoc manual jobs such as washing clothes, cleaning compounds, mending fences, shelter construction, carrying food rations, running errands and helping in household chores at a fee. Quite a number of locals have had the opportunity to learn several trades from refugees for instance soap making, energy saving stoves and use of solar cookers trades which locals applaud, Joseph Losengei an elder of Nadapal village observed:

‘The Kakuma refugee camp might have its share of negative impacts but according to me, if the problem of insecurity is eliminated, there are many things we can learn from these people (refugees) for instance, I never knew you could make soap and cook your food using the sun. These are new ideas which we would never have known without these people.’²⁰⁵

Verification of prices of livestock and livestock products by the researcher before and after establishment of the camp showed marked disparity where for instance the price of a goat before the establishment of the camp was Kshs. 1,500 and now a goat may sell at Kshs. 3,500. Turkana pastoralists find current prices of a goat profitable and would prefer to sell their livestock to refugees and NGO staff, than to Kenyans living in Kakuma town whom they believe would buy a similar goat at a lower price.

Turkana argue that despite the positive impacts seen of transforming their lives, the positive impacts realized in trade and business opportunities between them and refugees also create conflicts particularly when refugees end up not appreciating the hard manual

²⁰⁵ Oral Interview, Joseph Lsengei, Nadapal Village, Kakuma, 12 th April 2014

work undertaken by locals such as carrying food rations, mending their fences, drawing and carrying water over long distances and so forth.

4.9 Political issues

Kakuma town has grown significantly over the last twenty two years from two opposing clusters of rudimentary shops to a busy regional centre. Property prices are rising rapidly and land rates along the main road is changing hands at a premium due to speculation by developers. Kenyans shopkeepers interviewed revealed that their businesses were affected by lower refugees goods but they were still optimistic that their businesses would eventually do well particularly when the Kenya- South Sudan highway is completed. The study reveals considerable optimism within the host business community as the main drivers of the region's economy with major activities related directly or indirectly to the refugee camp.

The regions socio-economic activities were expected to grow exponentially due to the fast growing rural-urban migrations presently being witnessed including refugee influxes and related expansion operations are further strengthened by the possibility of establishing a second refugee camp in the region. The recent discovery of huge water aquifer at Lotikipi plains makes establishment of other refugee camps attractive indeed.²⁰⁶ The internationally planned LAPSSET project linking Kenya and South Sudan rail and road transport network is proof that this part of once forgotten region is awakening with huge economic potential.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ The Star News Paper, huge Water deposits found in Turkana, Saturday, 20th. 2014

²⁰⁷ Ochieng Wesonga, 'Lamu Project on Course, Kenya tells South Sudan' The Star, Retrieved 7 April 2012

The refugee situation places host communities in a situation in which they have to surrender some of its autonomy to refugee issues against their own development. For instance, the Kakuma District officers spends most of their time and efforts attending to refugees related issues, such as preparing refugees travel documents, attending situation reports meetings with UNHCR and partner agencies, planning and attending refugee day occasion, arbitrating refugees-hosts disputes all of which reflect the official priorities, needs and requirements of the Kenya government. The time and scarce resources that would have been used to address the socio-economic and political problems of the host community are redirected to solving refugees issues to appease the international community. The host community also lost autonomy when they gave up a large portion of their ancestral land to Kakuma refugee camp, though under duress by the Kenya government. The negotiation involved the government and UNHCR officials excluded the villagers a situation that elicited legal perspectives with regards to management and use of community land held in trust by the county government for local people hence taking away of that land without consulting the *owners* was unconstitutional.²⁰⁸

Kenya being a signatory to international refugee law, Kenya was under an obligation to host refugees.²⁰⁹ The absence of political debate regarding issues of displacement of villagers and lack of their compensation made it easy for the government to push them out of their land with ease.

²⁰⁸ Aukot E. 'It is Better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the relationships between Hosts and refugees in Kenya.' *Refugees: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 21(3) Accessed 9th. September 2012. <http://pi-library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/viewFile/23482/21678>

²⁰⁹ Ibid

4.10 Conclusion

The chapter examined impacts of clashes on refugees and host communities and provides an analysis on social, cultural, economic impacts applied by both refugees as well as host communities through reprisals to punish each other for being responsible for initiating clashes. The host communities would for instance restrict refugees from accessing the forest to harvest firewood and tree twigs for construction of their houses. The refugees on their part would prevent members of host communities from drawing water from camp boreholes and boycotting to buy livestock from the host communities.

The existence of the camp amidst Turkana community has had negative and positive impacts; negative Social behavior such as prostitution and drug abuse that were alien to locals became a reality to host communities. The majority of Turkana still live in extreme and challenging conditions with unmet basic needs such as food, water, decent shelter and security than refugees hence susceptible to negative social behavior by refugees.

The Turkana accuse refugees of adversely diluting and disrespecting their culture and traditions by eloping with their girls without express permission to marry from their parents. These negative impacts have been the centre of clashes between the hosts and refugees. The consequences of such unresolved situations have had ramifications not only to refugees but hosts as well. The problem is not simply how best to protect, assist and solve issues of refugees, but how to listen to the voices of the Turkana community regardless of the degree of their poverty and find solutions acceptable to all. For without the hosts communities acquiescence and active involvement it will be much more difficult to protect refugees.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The study was concerned with clashes between hosts and refugees in Kakuma refugee camp in Turkana County during the period between 1992 and 2013. The study has shown that refugees initially from South Sudan were resettled in Kakuma refugee camp in July 1992 to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from UNHCR and partner agencies. They were later joined by refugees from countries in the horn of Africa and the great lakes region following civil unrests and human rights violations. Refugees from several other camps in Mombasa were also relocated and resettled in Kakuma as part of the Kenya government plan to manage refugees affairs.

In 1992, twelve years after Turkana was officially connected with the rest of the country, Kakuma refugee camp was established at the remote town of Kakuma. The area and its residents are perennial victims of frequent and severe droughts and economic hardships compounded by historical factors stated the chapter above. It is among the Turkana people that the GOK located Kakuma refugee camp with UNHCR and partner agencies providing humanitarian aid to the refugees, in glare view of hungry and impoverished hosts.

In contrast, refugees are provided with free goods and services such as food, shelter, soap, sanitary materials, firewood, health care and free education to their children, while hosts are not. Lack of these services have created an imbalance and inequality between

refugees and locals and have since motivated hosts to question the rationale of providing humanitarian assistance to only refugees while they are equally deserving. As beneficiaries of free international humanitarian assistance, refugees appear better off than their hosts. In essence, the Kakuma refugee camp provides a locality for growing social, economic, environmental and political conflicts between refugees and Turkana. The consequences of which have been clashes between hosts and refugees.

The socio-cultural impact of refugees on hosts would have been much easier if any of the refugee nationalities resident in Kakuma camp had common ethnic or cultural affiliations with the host community. Unfortunately this is not the case, none of the refugees nationals in Kakuma is affiliated with members of the host community hence Turkana see refugees as aliens, asylum seekers and regard them with much contempt and treat them as foreigners who have sought refuge in their land for reasons of conflict and would shortly return to their countries of origin when their problems are over. The case would however been different if some of the refugees nationals had similar linguistic and cultural similarity with the hosts, such realization would have created not only harmonious relationship between the two groups but would have laid the grounds for possible peaceful coexistence and integration and hosts would have ordained sympathetic treatment as well as care and support for refugees.

The prolonged existence of Kakuma refugee camp has made host communities believe that the camp is a government ploy to settle refugees in their land with a view to having refugees take over. Such misconceptions are firmly held by elderly Turkana and fuel

attitudes of resentment of refugees and further compounded by issues such as refugees sole access to humanitarian assistance and NGOs preference of refugees for employment than hosts. The perception by hosts has often resulted to threats, restrictions of refugees to the camp including barring refugees access to natural resources such as firewood followed by outright hostilities leading to clashes. Refugees retaliate by ensuring that Turkana do not carry out any form of business within the camp including restricting them from drawing water from camp taps, and refuse to buy hosts livestock their firewood and halt sale of their food rations to hosts. The Turkana on their part would ensure that refugees do not get beyond two kilometers out of the camp, and impose total ban on sale of livestock to refugees including withdrawing casual labour to refugees. The tit for tat reprisals do not last for too long as it only takes place when refugees are supplied with firewood and food rations. The deadlock would sometimes result in clashes as one group attempts to defy the other. The refugees often find themselves surrounded by the Turkana over a complaint and have to demand for dialogue through the mediation of Lutheran World Federation staff.

Although the camp hosts about eighteen different refugee nationalities, Turkana consider Somalis and Sudanese refugees most disgruntled and troublesome of all the refugees in Kakuma and consider their behavior incompatible with their way of life. Turkana accuse the two of being disrespectful and unfriendly in their conduct, the Sudanese could be found wandering deep into hosts' villages seducing hosts' girls in total disregard to their culture and traditions. Turkana being sensitive to such behavior often become incensed leading to fights and sometimes full blown inter ethnic conflict. Turkana consider

intermarriages with other communities as a dilution of their culture. Intermarriages with refugees are perceived to be an external threat to their culture and traditions hence a source of conflict between them and refugees. Turkana claim refugees are people whose backgrounds are unknown and are a people on transit and above all do not have livestock a key ingredient to effect a serious and meaningful consideration for marriage. Thus, Turkana often clashed with refugees over attempts to adulterate their culture and tradition by way of having casual sex with their daughters a behavior considered a taboo by hosts.

The protracted nature of the camp has over time changed the initial positive and caring attitude of hosts towards refugees to one of fear and apprehension. Host communities fear refugees would eventually overwhelm them thus reducing them to demographic minority thus threatening their cultural and political dominance. Some refugees have openly stated that they were there to stay and had no plans to relocate elsewhere or go back to their countries of origin. The assertion by refugees to stay put in Kakuma and the endless influx of refugees is cause of frustration for Turkana since they have no power to forcefully eject or end their influxes as they are heavily protected by the Kenya government under the international conventions. Turkana have to be forcefully ejected from their grazing and ancestral land every time new groups of refugees are settled in the camp a factor that has caused outrage and despondency among hosts. The inability of the Kenya government to listen to hosts voices against their forceful eviction from their land without warning and compensation is source of clashes between hosts and refugees.

The failure of UNHCR to embrace socio-cultural and economic empowerment of members of Turkana community is the missing link for peaceful co-existence between refugees and hosts. It is evident that socio-economic and cultural improvement of the host community begets positive changes that have long term impact in the host-refugee relationships. The frequent clashes between Turkana and refugees is a product of flawed UNHCR naïve and futile pursuit of its mandates that alienates a visibly poor host community that has gone out of its way to provide their land and protection to the very people UNHCR assume its existence.

There is need for review and possible amendment of the UNHCR mandates with a view to providing a paradigm shift in the manner in which international agencies such as UNHCR deal with refugees issues in Africa because, some of their mandates touch on areas that border on abuses of human rights. It is for instance absurd for refugee organization to claim to provide international protection and humanitarian assistance exclusively to refugees in total disregard of the wanting needs of visibly poor community who see such humanitarian aid as an economic gain that would save life. The consequences of such imbalances results in clashes between refugees and their hosts and often leaving one to wonder whether UNHCR is in fact exacerbating conflicts between refugees and hosts.

UNHCR and partner agencies should seek for solutions that conjure lasting peaceful coexistence between refugees and their hosts by demystifying their somewhat archaic mandates that are out of step with the reality on the ground and develop transparent

systems and provide humanitarian assistance to both refugees and their poor hosts. Such assistances should be established through a defined budgetary allocation clearly itemized to address specific areas such as food aid, education, water, health care and peace programmes that seek to create harmony between refugees and hosts.

Attempts by UNHCR to dismiss such an arrangement either as unreasonable and or out of context would in essence be an attempt to burry its head in the sand like the proverbial ostrich and would compromise the protection of refugees anywhere in the world. UHNCR should ask itself which is cheaper to address the very basic needs of the host community and have sustainable peace between refugees and hosts or continue supporting a huge budget to manage deployment of more than 380 police officers, which UNHCR has to buy them several four wheel vehicles, fuel them, meet their allowances, construct several patrol posts all round the camp, construct offices and houses for provincial administration officials including houses for three police units, regular, administration and the general service unit. UNHCR inability to realize that lasting peace cannot be achieved by having massive police presence in a refugee camp but rather supporting people's oriented peace building efforts spearheaded by leaders from both the host community and refugees.

UNHCR and partner agencies and GOK rarely use a local community radio in Kakuma Ata-Nayece FM to sensitize refugees and locals on peace issues. The radio is underutilized with most programme content generated to address Christian values; other programmes include: youth against drug abuse, prostitution and alcoholism but is limited

to hosts. A few refugee nationals occasionally use the radio to pass messages of peace in their own languages but such messages are not translated so that members of host community can understand what peace messages refugees are putting across. The failure of GOK, NGOs and UNHCR to use the radio to reach out to more local audience is a clear manifestation of lack of seriousness in peace building efforts among the refugees stakeholders, despite rampant conflicts.

Scarcity of Water has been a source of conflict between Turkana and refugees, following massive extraction of water sources from riverine aquifers by first UNICEF and later LWF, hosts water supply have since been severely compromised, with locals opting to dig wells at river bed to get water for their livestock and their consumption. The river bed wells are hand dug and prone to pollution by wild animals such as jackals, hyenas and dogs, the same wells are used by refugees to bath in and have since been the cause of clashes between refugees and locals. Although water from such well is unfit for human consumption, hosts continue to use it for both their livestock and domestic purposes due to lack of alternative sources. Turkana women are forced to travel long distances to fetch clean water elsewhere resulting in chest pains and fatigue. Turkana argue that scarcity of water is also attributed to prolonged dry spells occasioned by frequent and severe droughts in the area. Most villages within Kakuma and its surrounding areas have had to contend with limited water supply and frequent water rationing. Soil erosion along the riverine area with huge galleys can be seen within the camp and its surroundings as a result of massive environmental destruction and depletion of indigenous trees leading to deforestation and disappearance of pasture for the livestock.

The insecurity situation in the camp and its surroundings is acknowledged to have gotten from bad to worse in the recent past with cases of assault, harassment, armed robberies, sexual violence and periodic full scale clashes between refugees and hosts frequently being witnessed usually with severe consequences on both sides.

Sexual abuses and gender based violence against women and girls constitutes a daily reality for refugees in Kakuma refugee camp with some specific refugee communities such as Somali refugees having the highest number of reported cases of sexual abuse and violence. Turkana on their part complain their women and girls are attacked and raped by refugees whenever they visit the camp to sell their goods. Such incidents have been the cause of full scale clashes between refugees responsible for such heinous crimes and the host community. But because of the strict cultural practices against rape, it is extremely rare among the hosts to engage in rape due to the severe consequences that serves as a deterrent.

Education for refugee children is free and more children have the opportunity to acquire education than Turkana children. Whereas refugee children are allowed to learn in Turkana schools, hosts children are prohibited from accessing refugee schools. The influx of refugee children to hosts schools has created congestion in hosts' schools a factor that is acknowledged to have adversely affected the quality of education in Kakuma sub-county reflected in the poor KCPE performance. The poor performance of Turkana

children has enraged hosts most of them demanding for the withdrawal of refugee children from their schools.

A considerable numbers of Turkana children do not attend school due to the presence of the camp and are instead engaged in running errands or 'employed' by refugees to undertake their house chores. The use of minors by refugees though fully known by the Kenyan authorities, very little is being done by the County and the national governments to end the vice and send the children back to school. Refugees use of young Turkana children to work for them at the expense of their education creates outrage among locals and is source of conflict between hosts and refugees.

The arrival of refugees in Kakuma has influenced the local economy in variety of ways; businesses continue to flourish with the increased local market, there is an upsurge of trade undertaken by both locals and refugees. The increase in population created high demand for local goods and services, a factor that has raised the prices and the standard of living in and around Kakuma. The price of meat for instance which used to sell at Kshs.150 per kilogramme before the establishment of the camp now sells at Kshs.400 per kilogramme. The resultant effect has attracted a large rural-urban migration of people not only from the Turkana community but also from other parts of the country. The refugees on their part are interestingly enterprising with some owning wholesale shops as well as butcheries and because they are not taxed by the Kenya government, their goods are considerably cheaper than those of local traders. Hence, most local consumers would prefer to buy refugee goods than those of hosts a factor that has created animosity between hosts and refugees.

Despite spirited attempts by UNHCR and partner agencies to address health needs of refugees, the mass influx of refugees into Kakuma camp has caused an increase in communicable diseases in the surrounding areas. Although a number of poor Turkana are allowed to use refugees' health facilities. Access to such services by hosts is not expressly open to all locals, refugees health providers serve locals based on casual assessment of their poverty status and not based on any official procedures or percentages of hosts allowed to use refugee health services.

Refugees health providers are accused by Turkana of bias, rigidity and uncaring attitude when for instance Turkana women have emergencies birth complications and hosts request for ambulance, such requests are rejected outright with camp officials arguing that ambulance services are facilities for refugees. It is acknowledged that a number of Turkana women have lost their lives under the circumstances an issue that has since caused tension between hosts and refugees.

The arrival and settlement of refugees in Kakuma camp created a huge demand for timber, firewood, and tree twigs all of which were used for construction of shelters and offices. Although some timber posts are imported from other parts of the country, the demand outstripped the supply hence the need for the same resource locally. There is wanton destruction of indigenous trees by refugees in order to meet the demand for shelter construction and fencing of their houses. The extent to which refugees caused massive destruction and depletion of indigenous trees is unprecedented. This caused

altercations and fights between Turkana population and the refugees because hosts argued that their livestock depended entirely on trees cut down by refugees.

The influx of refugees increased competition for jobs between Kenyans and refugees to intense levels, recruiting NGOs tended to hire refugees who worked for less pay than the Kenyans who though highly qualified and experienced are not hired. The disparity in employment opportunities favored employment of refugees with most Kenyans preferring to do volunteer jobs. The issue of employment continues to create discontent with host communities accusing employing NGOs of dishonesty, corruption and outright bias. The disparity in employment has been and continues to be central to the existence of bad blood between hosts and NGOs and animosity towards refugees leading to occasional clashes between the two groups.

There are issues associated with specific refugees nationals in the camp, the Sudanese refugees for instance are singled out for stealing Turkana goats and killings their donkeys whenever they stray into the camp arguing that they consume their garden vegetables. The Turkana too are no exception as they have found responsible for stealing refugees livestock as well as being responsible for armed robberies within the camp. The Somalis on their part are fond of hiring Turkana youth to carry their food rations then accuse them of stealing their cell phones once they reach their destination as a way to evade paying locals for their services. Feuds relating to refugees stealing Turkana livestock, and their inability to honor services rendered by Turkana after engaging them in minor jobs are basis for confrontations and clashes between refugees and hosts.

Interaction between refugees and members of the host communities is marred by various factors some of which are not of their own making but created by UNHCR and its partner agencies while some are created by incompetent government officials whose engagement with refugees is aimed at self gain as indicated by the way in which they treat the host communities as though they were not Kenyans.

The Turkana accuse the Kenya police of being pro-refugees and for using excessive force against them whenever refugees are involved in some feud with hosts. The General Service Unit (GSU) a branch of paramilitary police is particularly accused by locals of being brutal and not using reason to solve an argument. They are said to be trigger happy and enjoy shooting dead and beating up locals, yet get away with it owing to Turkana lack of resources to engage lawyers to bring specific individuals to justice. Hosts consider the police as an oppressive and partisan force that is in itself cause for clashes between hosts and refugees. No wonder locals see Kenyan police as corrupt and a spent service that is unable to objectively investigate crimes instead undertake biased investigations based on their personal gain rather than identifying perpetrators objectively. Hosts argue that hosts would hardly win a case involving a refugee and a local, the police would solicit a bribe from the refugee release him and take the local to court where he or she would be convicted of a crime he did not commit. This creates bad blood between hosts and police and by extension the refugees and is cause of clashes between hosts and refugees in Kakuma.

The host communities acknowledge that UNHCR and GOK see hosts as the main belligerents a factor which hosts reject and submit that such perceptions restricts sustainable peace between them and refugees. Attempts by locals to allow communal structures of refugees and locals to seek for lasting solutions through dialogue are frustrated by UNHCR, NGOs, and GOK so that funds meant for peace and reconciliation between hosts and refugees are channeled to keep huge numbers of police within the Kakuma refugee camp in the guise of protecting refugees. NGOs such as LOKADO involved with cross border peace initiatives between the Turkana and other cross border tribes from Uganda and South Sudan are extremely successful in their armed conflict and peace initiatives because they allow feuding communities to take part and become involved in peace building processes themselves. Hosts are of the view that peaceful coexistence between them and refugees will remain a mirage unless UNHCR and partner agencies begin to realize that constructive dialogue between hosts and refugees is the right channel to follow to bring sustainable peace and not the police.

Millions of money currently used by UNHCR to fund ineffective police operations should be used to fund host-refugees peace initiatives and bring peaceful coexistence and integration between the two groups. The hosts argue that despite the presence of statistical evidence indicating that refugees are the main perpetrators, UNHCR and GOK present hosts as the offenders whenever UNHCR has been challenged to state the authors of each of the incidents that have taken place in the camp since its inception, UNHCR is not willing to go the whole hog.

Most negative impacts have been related to the social relationships between hosts and refugees and the international policies of UNHCR and partner agencies.

The historical injustices by the colonial and marginalization by successive Kenyan regimes, including harsh environmental conditions perpetuated by frequent and severe droughts leading to non productive land, all have conspired and contributed to the abject poverty to which the Turkana people find themselves in. Hence, lack of tangible development projects in Kakuma have made locals blame their problems on refugees and humanitarian organizations resident in Kakuma refugee camp. Although a number of hosts accrue more positive than negative impacts from the activity of the camp adapting their livelihood approaches to opportunities found in the camp, a single negative impact such as insecurity could destroy all the positives with a stroke or even shut down the entire camp. A clear indication is the effect of the conflict of 2003 between hosts and refugees that left several members of both group's dead and scores injured and threatened the closure of the camp. Indeed most hosts still struggle to maintain a stable livelihood; only a minority of hosts is using the camp to improve the lives while the majority of them wallow in abject poverty.

The relationship between hosts and refugees is still marred with mistrust and conflicts arising from competition over vital resources such as water, food, shelter and health care that are provided to refugees thus causing imbalance and inequality in the provision of humanitarian assistance sparking clashes between hosts and refugees. Limited opportunities arising from lack of government programmes in the Kakuma area have

forced locals to crowd close to the camp with a view to getting some support from RHA programmes at the same time negotiate with refugees ways of having access to basic needs given to refugees. Lack of these needs have not only caused grievances and frustrations to members of the host community but have also increased tension between hosts and refugees.

Although negative impacts are amplified in this study, a number of positive impacts have also been realized as a result of the presence of the refugee camp. The socio-economic opportunities have risen due to the expanded market which has seen hosts engaging themselves in diverse business opportunities as opposed to solely depending on livestock for their livelihoods. Turkana have been able to find ready market for their products such as firewood, charcoal, sand, gravel, hardcore as well as fencing twigs all of which have high demand. Despite environmental concerns, Turkana women have been able to realize viable household incomes which have guaranteed economic stability. The camp has also enabled a number of locals secure employment opportunities provided for by UNHCR and NGOs including informal jobs undertaken by locals while being engaged by both NGOs as well as refugees. The very essence of having refugee children mix and learn with hosts children should be considered as positive in the sense that it forms a simplified form of hosts-refugees integration.

Both the National and the Turkana county governments have the responsibility of improving the socio-economic situation of Kenyans living within Kakuma refugees hosting area hence reduce the pressure and challenges exerted by these communities on

refugees for the sake of their protection. But as it is, Kenya has abdicated its responsibilities of taking care of its citizens and has handed over such cardinal responsibility to external entities such as UNHCR and its partner agencies most of which are assumed lords of poverty whose mandates is neither to serve refugees nor help locals as clearly reflected by their actions to disrupt attempts to seek durable solutions for refugees in Kakuma and sustainable peace between hosts and refugees.

Abraham Maslow's theory of Basic Human Needs (BHN) and Social Development Theory holds true in examining the impact of clashes between refugees and hosts. The conflicts in Kakuma refugee camp are largely caused by the inability of the local population to satisfy their basic needs due to the insufficiency and scarcity of resources. As has been explained in chapter three, hosts are involved in the clashes in order to meet various needs brought to bear on them by historical injustices as well as refugees. Each of the lower needs must be satisfied before one can move onto the next level. The hosts can only act on growth needs if deficiency needs such as the need for food, water, shelter, and clothing and above all the need for security have been satisfied. Social development theory supports the idea of learning and applying the acquired knowledge from the presence of refugees to help host communities discover ways doing things differently and of fulfilling their aspirations to achieve its social, economic and political goals.

Finally the study proposes the following recommendations aimed at diffusing clashes between refugees and hosts and inculcate peaceful co-existence between the two groups. The Kenya national and the Turkana county governments should refocus their

development strategies to improving socio-economic situation of the Kakuma host communities a factor that would ensure protection of refugees in the long term.

The need for UNHCR and partner agencies to plan, fund and implement all inclusive peace initiatives between Turkana and refugees with a view to reducing tension and enhancing mutual respect and shared values is fundamental. Provision of basic but essential needs such as food and water to hosts without discrimination is critical as a way to encourage and support their receptivity to refugees and hence reduce demands for such resources and forestall conflicts beforehand. UNHCR and partner agencies should support hosts sustainable developments programmes with a view to having them become self reliant and refocus their attention to having sustainable livelihoods devoid of refugee programmes. The need for UNHCR to plan, budget and share humanitarian resources more broadly through direct, transparent and parallel distribution support system for both refugees and hosts will have significant impact in defusing conflict between hosts and refugees.

There is need for a paradigm shift from provision of humanitarian assistance to refugees to one that supports sustainable programs that empowers refugees to become self reliant as a way of facilitating durable solutions for a protracted refugees camp such as Kakuma. Durable solutions have been made impossible by none other than UNHCR, for instance although local integration appears remote from the environmental and cultural point of view, it is however possible from the economic point of view. Turkana land as it is might hold the economic future not just of its people and country but of the entire region due to

the recently discovered abundance of resources such as huge deposits of oil and water. Refugees seeking integration would most likely live a fairly comfortable life once such resources are extracted. But attempts to explore for durable solution is being frustrated by UNHCR and cohorts who would want the world to believe that Turkana land is hell on earth and their only option for durable solutions is to seek for extremely limited resettlement of refugees to a third country. Yet in Kakuma camp, UNHCR does not prepare any of the refugees for self reliance and sustainable programmes such as support for income generating ventures and skills trainings instead UNHCR has decided to make Kakuma refugees heavily dependent on humanitarian aid and continue blaming the Kenya government for its stand on the encampment policy.

International community and the Kenya government have also failed to come up with ways to rethink durable solutions and to unlock the protracted nature of Kakuma refugees instead, the Kenya government on its part blames refugees for perpetuating insecurity, violence and terrorism hence unleash the encampment policy. The international community's on the other hand though appreciative of Kenya's accommodation and protection of refugees accuse Kenya of not encouraging integration as well as freedom of movement of refugees hence there is a stalemate. As a result, refugees are warehoused in camps due to inability of both to find creative and positive solutions to protracted refugees situations that continue to consume huge resources both from donor community and Kenya.

It is understandable that the Kenya government is concerned about its security and indeed some refugee nationals from a neighboring state have been associated with insecurity in the country. But, the current encampment policy that summarily put refugees in camps limits facilitation of durable solutions and in effect encourages protracted nature of the refugee camps. It further restricts freedom of movements of refugees, access to education, skills training and in essence their productive livelihoods are wasted in the camp. Their potential for growth and development as human beings is reduced to being mere recipients of humanitarian assistance as their ability to positively contribute to their hosts economy is impaired. Refugees should be trained in self reliance skills, income generating skills and given loans to enable them shift from handouts to self reliance and hence easily integrate into the country's economic development and become useful members of the country.

The Turkana County government should begin to address the issue of endemic poverty of Kakuma host communities. Under Kenya's devolved system of governance, Turkana County has been allocated substantial amount of funds to address and reduce the high levels of poverty in the county. They should start by addressing the issue of scarcity of water then quickly move to address the issue of economic development based on transparent and accountable systems that aim to empower and encourage locals diversify their livelihoods. They should put in place income generating programmes for youth and women groups, such programmes would be started in each of the six villages in Kakuma. The need for training of Turkana women on book keeping and loan procurement and management should be started so as to reduce pressure on the refugees by hosts and

provide peaceful co-existence. UNHCR, NGOs and local GOK officials should commence community based peace building education in all surrounding villages and expand to include local based youth and women groups. Village peace communities and refugees peace committees should be encouraged to meet regularly and identify areas of conflicts and together with all refugees stakeholders address them without reservations. A local community radio station Atanayece FM should be used by Refugees leaders, hosts leaders, UNHCR, NGOs and GOK officials including faith based organizations to propagate messages of peace and reconciliation.

The Kenya government has the ability and capacity to go out of its way and conduct a biometric assessment of each and every refugee with a view to identifying professionals, skilled and trainable refugees and integrate them into the economic activities of the country and those that have limited skills should be temporarily kept in camps as they continue to receive some form of training after some period of time released to help in nation building. Refugee camps in Kenya must not and should not be protracted; Kenya has the ability to liaise with international bodies and countries of origin of some of the refugees and repatriate them in a dignified manner. It would be a departure from the present statusquo most favored by UNHCR and partner agencies of endless provision of humanitarian assistance to refugees with little movement towards durable solutions a situation that is mainly responsible for the protracted clashes between hosts and refugees in Kakuma refugee camp.

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