

**CONFLICT AMONGST REFUGEES: THE CASE OF KAKUMA
REFUGEE CAMP, 1992-2014**

**BY
ALEX MATI RITHI**

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any diploma or degree at any university.

Signed.....

Date.....

ALEX MATI RITHI

C50/70957/2008

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signed.....

Date.....

PROF. VINCENT G. SIMIYU

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family for their support.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

A.D	-	Anno Domini (After Death)
B.C	-	Before Christ
AU	-	African Union
BCL	-	British Council Library
BHN	-	Basic Human Needs
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
UN	-	United Nations
IDP	-	Internally Displaced Persons
OAU	-	Organisation of African Unity
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	-	United Nations Relief Works Agency
SPLA	-	Sudan Peoples Liberation Army
SPLM	-	Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement
IDP	-	Internally Displaced Persons
JKML	-	Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organisation
RSD	-	Refugee Status Determination
SALW	-	Small and Light Weapons
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
RPA	-	Rwandan Patriotic Army
KDF	-	Kenya Defence Forces

USA	-	United States of America
TDA	-	Targeted Development Assistance
CIREFCA	-	International Conference on Central American Refugees
QIP	-	Quick Impact Projects
IGPRA	-	Income Generating Project for Refugee Areas
TI	-	Tanzania Initiative
WLF	-	World Lutheran Federation
ZI	-	Zambia Initiative

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WORKING DEFINITIONS

Armed Conflict- This is conflict that degenerates to use of arms and even crude weapons between and amongst the combatants, resulting into death or injury of humans and/or even animals and destruction of property. It could be between a few individuals or a full scale war between or amongst ethnic groups or states.

IDP- The Internally Displaced Person, is any person who is displaced out of his usual habitual home and environment and is forced to seek alternative domicile in another zone, within his country of nationality and therefore has not crossed an international border, and therefore does not qualify to be a refugee.

OAU- Organization of African Unity, the precursor of the African Union (AU).

Refugees- According to the UN, a refugee is defined as any person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or particular opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself (herself) of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, unwilling to return to it.¹

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

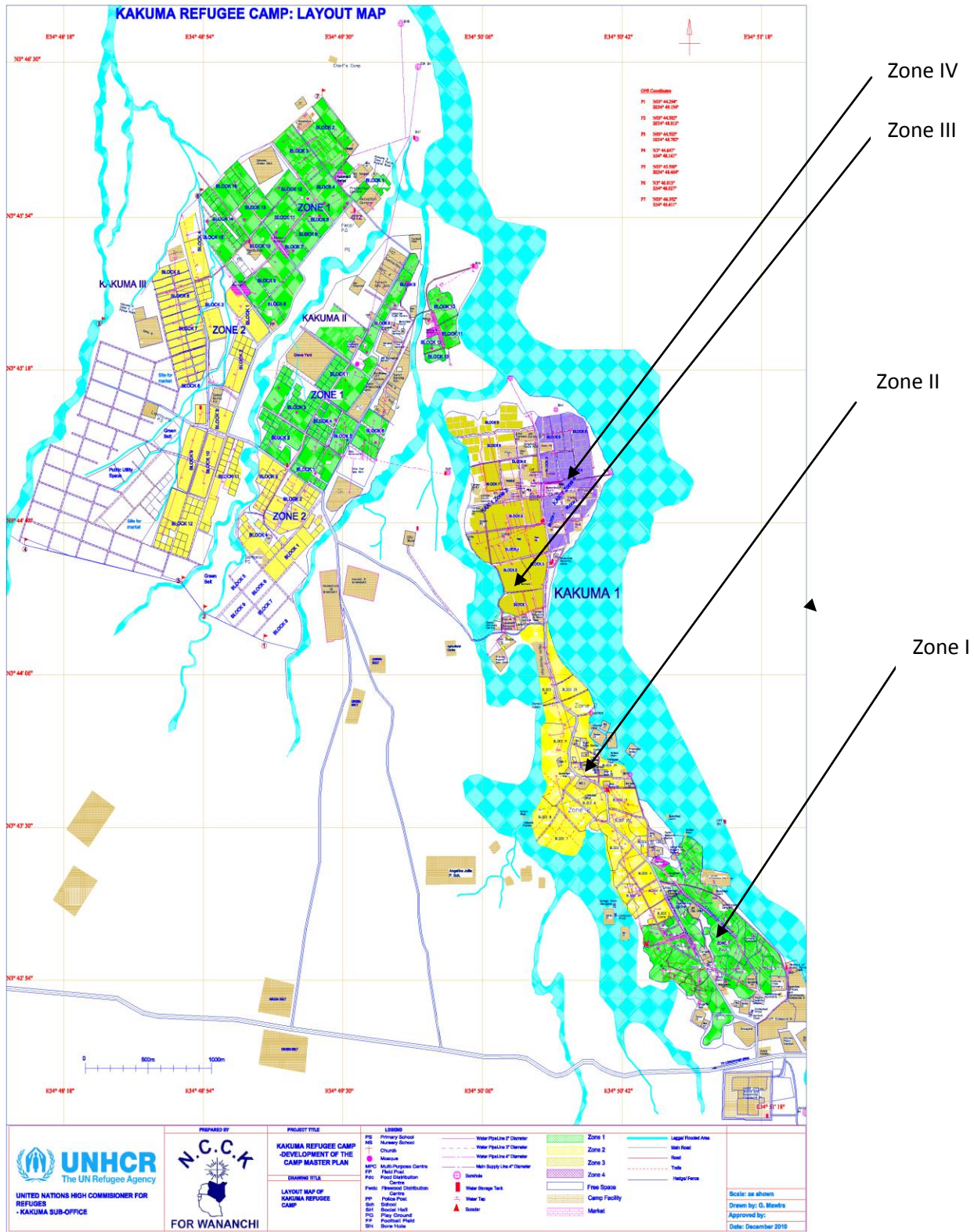
¹ UNHCR, *The State of the World Refugees 1993, The Challenges of Protection*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 163.

MAP: KENYA SHOWING TURKANA COUNTY



- The black spots show site of Kakuma Refugee Camp

LAYOUT OF KAKUMA 1, 2, AND 3 BLOCKS



ABSTRACT

This study focused on conflict amongst refugees. It looked at conflict amongst refugees at Kakuma Refugee Camp in North Western Kenya and the attendant causes and impacts of the conflict thereof. The study was limited in period and scope, to the area of Kakuma between 1992 when the camp was set up and 2014. Both primary and secondary sources of information and data were relied on for this study. Primary sources were themselves mainly refugees residing in the camp while secondary sources were internet and newspaper material, unpublished reports and books and published works. The study was guided by the hypothesis that Kakuma has witnessed conflicts amongst its refugees and conflict at Kakuma has impacted negatively on the refugees. The theoretical framework for the study was Abraham Maslow's Basic Human Needs Theory (BHN) whereby within the deficiency needs, the lower needs must be satisfied before one can move to the next level of need. The study found that indeed there is widespread and persistent conflict amongst the refugees which needs to be checked and curbed. It found that the situation at Kakuma could be a time bomb, and that there is negative peace amongst the refugees as exemplified by the occasional upsurges of violence, which occur at the slightest excuse. There is tension between various ethnic groups and nationalities at Kakuma which is very dangerous because it is presumed nearly everywhere, even in government circles that refugees in a refugee camp have no business being guarded/safeguarded against infighting as they are "good people fleeing from trouble in their land, and cannot afford to engage in farther trouble." And indeed this happened in the months of October and November, 2014, when an all-out war broke out between refugees from Burundi and those from Sudan after a Burundian kid was knocked down by a motor cyclist. It left 14 people dead and scores injured before the conflict was brought to an end. The study recommends that the government should introduce a Refugee Protection Bill to enact laws relating to the behaviour and activities of refugees once accommodated in any camp or place within the country. This will ensure that these victims of trouble elsewhere do not again get besieged and haunted or even killed in their newly found "peace haven." Under the law it will be possible to flush out the criminally minded. The law will also put in place checks and balances to ensure that in the event of trouble amongst the refugees, the government machinery is able to rise to the occasion and contain the situation before things run out of hand.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The recent history of Sub-Saharan Africa has been marred with armed conflicts which have resulted in massive outflows and inflows of refugees. The Horn of Africa has not been exempt from this history. Horn of Africa countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda have witnessed armed conflicts that have given way to outflows of refugees to neighboring countries including Kenya. It was in response to this inflow of refugees that Kenya government in close collaboration with UNHCR established Kakuma Refugee Camp in 1992 alongside other camps.

Though the refugees were uprooted by related and differing sources of conflict and vagaries of nature, the displacement drove them into a similar fate. Refugees from diverse nationalities found themselves living together in refugee camps. The refugees traditionally face multiple challenges in the camps despite existence of International guidelines for humanitarian assistance.

The UNHCR is mandated to cater for refugees throughout the world except Palestinian refugees who are the concern of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

However, refugees including those at Kakuma are exposed to armed conflicts. Eminent scholars have observed that conflict is a universally ubiquitous and permanently recurring phenomenon within and between societies. This means that conflict is a common feature not only amongst states but also amongst individuals and this includes the products of conflicts themselves- the refugees. Thus the study sought to interrogate conflict amongst refugees who are victims of conflicts. The study was a reflection on the conflicts that Kakuma refugees encountered in their

new homes, homes where they had at times been compelled by circumstances to live together with their former tormentors.

1.2 Historical Background

Kakuma Refugee Camp is located in Turkana District of the North Western region of Kenya, 120 kilometres from Lodwar District Headquarters and 95 kilometres from the Lokichogio Kenya Sudan border. The camp is home to the refugees who had been forcefully displaced from their home countries due to long wars or persecution. It was established in 1992 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Initially, it was to primarily cater for the surging Sudanese refugees at the height of the 21-year war between the Southern Sudan and the Arabised and Islamized Northern Sudan. The camp was set up to take care of people fleeing from their countries because of war or persecution and the main ones at the time of its establishment were the Sudanese.

Kakuma today caters for refugees from such diverse origins as Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda. According to current UNHCR statistics, the camp population stands at over 50,000 refugees. In 2007, Kakuma Refugee Camp hosted 21% of the total refugee population in Kenya.² The camp is established at the heart of the marginalized Turkana community who are consistently ravaged by vagaries of nature like famine, poverty and disease. The fact that the refugees hail from divergent backgrounds makes it a recipe for conflict.

² UNHCR fact sheet, 2014

By April 30, 2014 the camp had a population of 151,114 refugees from different nationalities as shown by the table below;

Table 1: Camp Population as at 30th April, 2014

Nationality	Female	Male	Population
Somalia	26,973	27,515	54,488
Southern Sudan	30,945	34,510	65,455
Ethiopia	3,064	4,391	7,455
Eritrea	28	98	116
DRC	3716	4,445	8,161
Uganda	428	525	953
Burundi	2,334	3,034	5,368
Rwanda	264	308	572
Sudan	2,380	6,103	8,483
Tanzania	5	12	17
Others			46
Total			151,114

UNHCR Report (2014)

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Post-colonial Africa continues to witness outflows and inflows of refugees. While refugee camps are established to cater for them and give them some semblance of normal life, the apparent

broad focus of research on refugee humanitarian challenges in Africa, gives details that could shed some light on our whole understanding of refugee-hood in Africa.

While researchers have written on sources of conflicts that create refugees, patterns of migration and types of settlement in the host country, UNHCR and the donor community humanitarian aid to the refugees and the humanitarian challenges that affect the refugees, the phenomenon of conflict amongst refugees and resultant consequences has not been understood.³ In Kakuma refugee camp, researchers have only dealt with its humanitarian crisis, hostile relations with host communities and the repatriation process. To fully understand the goings on at Kakuma refugee camp, it was necessary to study conflicts amongst refugees.

A review of literature on refugees has identified various questions that remain unanswered. For example, is refugee settlement in camps structured in any particular order? Why do people who have been uprooted from their homes and countries resort to conflict amongst themselves? What causes conflicts amongst refugees? Is the study on conflicts among refugees important in understanding refugee studies in Kenya and Africa in general? If yes, why have researchers not considered the study crucial in the study of refugees? The complexity and ambiguity of life in refugee camps has only been largely explained but not deeply examined and analysed. Therefore, this research primarily focused on finding out the realm of conflicts amongst refugees and their consequences. To address these, the research addressed the following key questions:

1. How were/are the refugees settled in camps?

³ KEMUMA, Martha Tureti, *Impact of Refugees on Host Communities: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, North Western Kenya, 1992-2002*, MA Dissertation, University of Nairobi.

2. What are the sources of conflict between refugees of similar and different cultures and nationalities?
3. What are the consequences of refugee conflicts for the general camp population and their lives thereafter?

1.4 Goals and Objectives

The aim of this research was to interrogate the issues that bring about conflicts amongst the refugees and consequences of the conflicts. It aimed at studying the magnitude and degree of conflicts amongst the refugees, who are themselves victims of conflicts from their home states. I studied what issues lead to victims of another conflict getting embroiled into yet another conflict.

The specific objectives were:

- (i) To examine causes of conflict amongst the Kakuma refugees.
- (ii) To examine the consequences of conflict amongst refugees in Kakuma refugee camp.

1.5 Justification of the Study

By 2008, there were over one million refugees in Africa. This is a formidable number even when measured on a global scale, and is matched only by the apparently perennial presence of 1,500,000 Palestinian refugees.⁴ The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, charged with the responsibility of providing protection and material assistance to refugees in the country of asylum, has consistently over the last few years allocated over 50 per cent, and exceptionally over 60 per cent of its total budget to its operations in Africa.

⁴ GOULD, W.T.S., *Refugees in Tropical Africa*, International Migration Review, Vol. 8, No. 3, International Migration in Tropical Africa, New York: The Center for Migration Studies, 1974, p. 413.

Taking into consideration the figures given above, it was necessary to analyze refugees from a new and different perspective. This study provided an opportunity for the close examination of Kakuma refugees. Besides the perennial humanitarian challenges, it was important that the intra-refugee relations are known and brought to limelight. To further and fully comprehend refugee studies, it was crucial that conflict amongst refugees is analyzed and recorded.

By focusing on conflicts amongst refugees, this study hopes to be of importance to scholars, states and organizations who deal with refugees. Thus, by understanding conflicts amongst Kakuma refugees, the information will be crucial in endeavors to deal with challenges that afflict refugees across Africa and the world at large. It will inform the government in policy making on issues surrounding co-existence of the indigenous citizens and the refugees on matters security, environment, economic, social and even political. This is critical in the budgeting and planning process of the government.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The study looked into the plight of refugees at the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northern Kenya and how they relate with each other. It examined what causes conflicts amongst the refugees who themselves are already victims of other conflicts that drove them to the camp. The study looked into the impact of conflict on the refugees and how the international community led by the UNHCR has been coping with such conflicts.

The study was limited to the period between 1992 and 2014. In 2010 majority of the Sudanese refugees returned home to participate in the referendum through which where they were to

decide whether to break from the North or remain as part of the larger Sudan. They settled for secession culminating in the birth of the South Sudan Republic and government. But just a few years down the line in 2013 war broke out between rebels allied to former vice president Dr. Riek Machar and soldiers loyal to President Salva Kiir creating ground for a new outflow of refugees.

The study was desirable because it gave an insight into what ails the refugee community, at times leading to bloody skirmishes. It was however limited to the conflict amongst refugees in Kakuma refugee camp which means it was not possible to study conflict amongst refugees in other refugee' abodes across the globe, where the reasons and causes of conflict could be different.

1.7 Literature Review

In analyzing rural refugee land settlements, Gaim Kibreab argues that Sudan had one of the most generous refugee policies in the world. In Eastern Sudan, the government established three types of settlements: rural land settlements; rural wage- earning settlements and semi- urban settlements.⁵ Kibreab analyzes the nature of the rural land settlements including their acreage and yield. He also analyzes issues of labour and capital in the refugee land settlements. Although Kibreab presents a pleasant picture of refugee' status in Sudan by 1957, he elicits questions which this study has addressed. For instance, while being held in Kakuma camp unlike the Sudanese in Kibreab's book, who are held out of camp, did the refugees have conflicts amongst themselves especially in sharing out the government settlements viz; Kakuma I, Kakuma II and

⁵ KIBREAB, Gaim, Rural Refugee Land Settlement in Eastern Sudan: On the Road to Self-sufficiency? In Peter Nobel, *Refugees and Development in Africa: Seminal Proceedings No. 19*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African studies, 1987, p. 63.

Kakuma III? And presently Kakuma IV which is fast coming up? This is what this study focused on and found that there is conflict amongst the refugees.

The UNHCR examines evolving strategies which aim both to preserve refugee-hood for those who needed it and to address all stages in the development of refugee problems through preventive initiatives, emergency response, protection and the promotion and consolidation of solutions.⁶ UNHCR further argues that humanitarian action must be firmly inscribed in a broader context of political initiatives to promote peace, human rights and development⁷. In analyzing Liboi refugee camp, UNHCR explains the screening process of refugees before being sent to the camp. UNHCR has also explained the process of admitting refugees into the camp. The book was important to the study as it discusses refugee problems and the solutions thereof. More significantly, the book highlights existing international instruments for the protection of refugees. However, the book does not highlight intra- refugee camp rivalries which give rise to conflicts, the core of this study.

Human rights watch report, “Hidden in Plain View: Refugee Living without Protection in Nairobi and Kampala,” discussed camp confinement policies in Kenya and Uganda including Kakuma refugee camp. Both Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps had serious law and order problems, with incidents of violence occurring regularly in and near the camps⁸. The book states that the violence was partly fuelled by SPLA and Ethiopian security and former Derg officers’

⁶ UNHCR, *The State of the World Refugees 1993, The Challenge of Protection*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. iii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁸ Human Rights Watch, “*Hidden in Plain View, Refugees Living Without Protection in Nairobi and Kampala*,” New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002, p. 128.

incursions into the camps⁹. The camps were also afflicted by ordinary crime and insecurity on particular individuals due to their ethnicity or political and religious affiliations. The refugees also carried over the prejudices and conflict plaguing their home countries into the camps. Although Human Rights Watch highlights examples of ethnic tensions or discriminatory treatment in the camps, it does not provide the details of the subsequent conflicts. The book provided good background and insight to the study.

David Keen highlights shortcomings in refugee relief aid in Africa, Asia and Latin America. He contends that the continual world's refugee crisis risks straining the current system of relief to a breaking point¹⁰. Due to shrinking relief budgets, organizations involved in refugee relief have taken significant cuts in refugee spending.¹¹ Moreover, Keen argues that rations for refugees are gravely insufficient both during emergencies and programmes of long standing. The book also shows how nutrition-related diseases have been breaking out among refugee populations and how refugees' own attempts to make a living are often frustrated by host government restrictions and the constraints of the refugee camp environment. The book analyses relief challenges that afflict refugees across continents. The book raises questions which the study sought to reveal. For instance, do refugee relief challenges and constraints lead to conflict amongst refugees?

Refugees face many problems in Africa. In his article, Cato Aall argues that amongst other diseases, refugees are afflicted by malnutrition, measles and pneumonia.¹² Furthermore,

⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁰ KEEN, David, "Refugees: Rationing the Right to Life, The Crisis in Emergency Relief," London: Zed books, 1992, P. 1.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² HAMRELL, Sven, (ed.), "Refugee Problems in Africa, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies," 1967, p. 30.

according to Aall, the refugees are a problem themselves. They make outrageous demands to aid agencies and host government.¹³ Besides the demands, the refugees never fully adapt to the new environment. The article served as a comparison to the problems of refugees at Kakuma camp. Though the article did not mention conflicts amongst refugees, this study endeavored to reveal whether there are links between refugee problems and conflicts.

Ernst E. Boesch and Amin M.F. Goldschmidt analyze causes of refugee movements and patterns of their migration and flight. They also highlight the problems that the refugees face in a host country. Most of the problems are fuelled by uncontrolled influx and unpreparedness of the host governments and relief organizations. The book also discusses the relations between the refugees and the host local populations. About refugee camps, they state that by their very nature, they are restrictive.¹⁴ Moreover, it is very difficult for refugees to forge a new existence and identity in the camps.¹⁵ The book provides an informative background to the study. However, the study went further and sought to know if the refugee camps' restrictive nature fuels conflicts amongst the refugees. Similarly, does the refugees' inability to adapt to camp conditions ignite conflicts amongst the refugees of Kakuma?

Alex De Waal analyzes the nature of Hutu refugees' camps in Eastern DRC after the 1994 Rwandan genocide. De Waal states that the camps were taken over by Hutu extremist forces. The Hutu extremists subsequently used the camps as launch pads of their attacks against the new

¹³ Ibid., pp. 32-34.

¹⁴ BOESCH, Ernst E., and Amin M.F. Goldschmidt (Eds.), "Refugees and Development," Baden– Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983, p. 62.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

Tutsi- led government in Rwanda.¹⁶ The extremists also imposed tax levies on the refugees to fund their cross border attacks on Rwanda. Although western diplomats and aid agencies called for their exclusion or even separation from the general refugee population, their calls were unheeded. A counter Tutsi-led anti- Congolese government rebel movement overran the camps in 1996. Though De Waal does not mention refugee relations in the camps, their nature may have fueled conflicts therein.

Moreover, as a benefit to the study, De Waal's book raises fundamental issues. For instance, did military people take over the running of Kakuma refugee camp? Besides the military, did any political elites take charge of Kakuma camp? Thus, this study sought to reveal whether any unauthorized group(s) of people controlled the Kakuma camp and highlight the response of the general refugee population in the camp. Moreover, what was the response of the aid agencies and the host government to conflicts that occurred at Kakuma refugee camp?

According to James Miller in his article "The Militarization and Demilitarization of Refugee Camps in Guinea," the government of Guinea gave military, financial and logistical support to anti-Taylor groups which comprised mostly of Liberian refugees in Guinea.¹⁷ This was to counter a series of attacks of Guinea border towns and refugee camps by Liberian sponsored rebels.¹⁸ The end of the Liberian civil war, relocation of refugee camps and implementation of camp security arrangements led to a progressive demilitarization of the refugees. The article is

¹⁶ DE WAAL, "Alex, Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa," London: Villiers Publications, 1997, PP. 205-207.

¹⁷ MILNER, James, "The Militarization and Demilitarization of Refugee Camps in Guinea," in Nicholas Florquin and BERMAN, G. Erick, (eds.), "Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region," Guinea: Small Arms Survey, 2005, pp. 145-150.

¹⁸ Ibid.

important to the study in that it recognizes militarization of refugee camps. However, this study went further and sought to know whether Kakuma refugee camp had such militarization. Furthermore, did the militarization or its attempts contribute to rise of conflicts at Kakuma camp?

According to Robert Muggah and Edward Mogire, refugee camps within protracted situations can be “militarized” and thus constitute a threat to internal and regional stability.¹⁹ They provide insights into the many dimensions of refugee and IDP camp/settlement militarization based on refugee camps in Guinea, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. Though the authors do not mention conflicts within the militarized camps, they arouse new insights into conflicts within camps. Did external interference of Kakuma refugee camp ignite conflicts in the camp? Moreover, have the protracted conflictual situations in Sudan and Somalia had a bearing on conflicts amongst refugees in Kakuma refugee camp.

In his book, “The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide,” Gerald Prunier gives a historical background to the Rwanda genocide. The book highlights the entry of 1.2 million Hutu refugees into DRC and their subsequent settlement in camps in the Kivu provinces. Government officers of the defeated Rwandan regime and leaders of the former Rwandan military took charge of the camps.²⁰ The book also states that the *ex-FAR* soldiers and *Interahamwe* militiamen started to train and re-arm in the camps with a view to attacking Rwanda.²¹ The book provides comparisons to the study. Did Kakuma refugee camp host military and political leaders passing

¹⁹ MUGGAH, Robert, and MOGIRE, Edward, “Arms Availability and Refugee Militarization in Africa- Conceptualizing the issues,” in Robert Muggah (ed.), *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa*, London : Zed books 2006, pp. 1-10.

²⁰ PRUNIER, Gerald, “The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide,” Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995, p. 374.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

off as refugees? Did the military and political leaders take control or influence affairs at Kakuma refugee camp. Did the military and political leaders instigate conflicts at Kakuma? Thus, this study went further and sought to examine the nature and relations of Kakuma refugee camp.

W.T.S. Gould analyses refugee populations in tropical Africa. He examines their migration and the challenges that lie therein. He states that refugee movements are not isolated mobility phenomena, but can be considered as an integral part of the variety and complexity of the population movement.²² Gould also examines the economic status of refugees and how they can facilitate a country's economic development. He subsequently analyses how physical and economic conditions of refugee settlements inform their political organization. Though the article discusses organized refugee settlements, it does not mention anything about intra-refugee relations within the settlements. The article focuses on how their settlements influence their economic wellbeing. This study sought to reveal intra-refugee conflicts and how the conflicts consequently affect the refugees' wellbeing.

John K. Akokpari examines the role played by states in the creation of refugees and their subsequent migration to other countries. Drawing examples from Sub-Saharan Africa, Akokpari reveals how states have been a cause of refugees and their migration.²³ He argues that Sub-Saharan African states pursue policies which give rise to conflicts which they also don't mitigate. He further argues that the states' failure to adopt sound environmental policies also

²² GOULD, W.T.S., "Refugees in Tropical Africa, *International Migration Review*," Vol. 8, No. 3, *International Migration in Tropical Africa*, New York: The Center for Migration Studies, 1974, p. 418.

²³ AKOKPARI, John K., "The State, Refugees and Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Migration* Vol.36 (2), Department of Political and Administrative Studies, The National University of Lesotho, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998, pp. 215-219.

gives rise to refugees though in a smaller percentage.²⁴ Akokpari also links conflicts that cause refugees and migrations to forces and contradictions unleashed by the global economy. In examining implications of refugee migrations, he argues that the impact is felt by both the host countries and the refugees themselves. The refugees suffer during the migration journeys and the poor living conditions in their camp settlements. The author does not mention conflicts within the camps as a challenge to refugee-hood. The study further examined whether intra-refugee conflicts were among the challenges that faced Kakuma refugees. The study also examined the consequences of the conflicts to the refugees, the camp aid givers and the administrators in particular and the host community in general.

Human Rights First in *A Decade of Unrest: Unrecognised Rwandan Refugees in Uganda and the Future of Refugees in the Great Lakes*, analyses Kibati refugee Camp in Uganda. It provides a background to the refugees who make up the Kibati group. Human Rights First also analyses the security concerns of the Kibati Rwandan Refugee population in Uganda. Both the refugees and the Rwandan authorities had own concerns as Rwandan authorities wanted the refugees to return while the refugees resisted any attempt to repatriate them to Rwanda.²⁵ The article also highlights the humanitarian challenges afflicting the Kibati refugees including sporadic food provisions and unreliable water sources. The Kibati camp was afflicted by Internal and local tensions. The camp's source of conflicts included food thefts, excessive drinking, use of opium and witchcraft accusations.²⁶ To solve the conflicts, Kibati Camp residents set up a ten member

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 219-221.

²⁵ Human Rights First, *A Decade of Unrest: Unrecognised Rwandan Refugees in Uganda and the Future of Refugees in the Great Lakes*, A Case Study, New York: Human Rights First, 2004, pp. 22-30.

²⁶ Ibid., p.47.

security committee responsible for internal “policing” in the camp.²⁷ A second committee dealt with internal dispute resolution by the use of traditional Rwandan customs and laws.

The article provided a good comparison to the study. As explained about Kibati camp, this study strived to provide the background of Kakuma Refugee Camp. The study also sought to reveal the security concerns not only of the refugees in Kakuma, but also those of other stake holders and other interested parties. The study also highlighted humanitarian challenges that affected the Kakuma refugees and examine any possible links between the challenges and the conflict. Unlike the Human Rights First article, this study will essentially focus on refugee conflicts as well as their sources. Borrowing from the article, the study sought to know whether Kakuma refugees established a dispute resolution mechanism to solve the conflicts.

“Some Refugee Problems in Kenya,” Oxford University, 1970, by J.D.H. Collinson, looked at the problem of refugees’ vis-à-vis students and how their attitudes and especially ostentation of wealth and flashy lifestyles affected and antagonized students and their education.²⁸ Collinson delves on the effects of the behavior of the well-to-do refugees who display wealth and lifestyles way beyond the local communities and especially the student population. This article is important in that it informs my study on the causes of conflict between refugees and the host communities. Collinson says some behavior by refugees can even embarrass the Government once the citizens start viewing it as if it cannot meet the needs of its people as compared to the “foreigners.” Thus my study went beyond antagonizing the local community by refugees and looked into what causes conflict amongst the refugees at Kakuma refugee Camp.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ COLLINSON, J.D.H., “Some Refugee Problems in Kenya,” Oxford University Press, 1970.

In her work, *Rebuilding Communities in a Refugee Settlement: A casebook from Uganda*, Lina Payne, looks at Ikafe/Imvepi Settlement in a remote corner of Northern Uganda occupied by 55,000 refugees from Southern Sudan, and how they were given opportunity to cultivate food for themselves and develop their livelihoods.²⁹ She portrays how Oxfam wanted the refugees to take charge of their lives as opposed to the familiar “care-and-maintenance ‘transit’ camps popular for refugees. The article is important to my study because it looks at one of the likely roots of conflicts amongst refugees and shows how the problem is being addressed through provision of sustainable means of livelihood by the refugees doing the farming themselves. In the book, Payne goes further and shows how such activities enhanced the host Government and donor communities’ efforts to provide infrastructure to the refugee community at the camp, such as schools, boreholes, roads, and toilets among other provisions. In my study I went further and looked into whether lack of food and other basic needs is one of the causes of conflicts amongst refugees at the Kakuma refugee camp, and how this has been addressed at the camp.

In his work, “Refugees and Interstate Conflicts in Eastern Africa; 1960-1995,” Stephen Mwachofi Singo, dwells on whether refugees have contributed to interstate tensions and conflict within the East African region.³⁰ He shows that refugees have had a bearing on the interstate tensions and gives the case of Tanzania-Uganda flare ups of 1979 when former Ugandan dictator Idd Amin Dada and former Tanzanian President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere led their countries to war. The article is relevant to my study because if refugees have the potential of causing tensions between and amongst states, then I wanted to find out whether such tensions could also infiltrate Kakuma refugee camp and cause conflicts amongst refugees of divergent nationalities such as

²⁹PAYNE, Lina, “Rebuilding Communities in a Refugee Settlement: A Casebook from Uganda,” Oxford University Press, 1998.

³⁰ SINGO, Stephen Mwachofi, *Refugees and Inter State Conflicts in Eastern Africa; 1960-1995*.

those from Tanzania and Uganda, or any other country where relations between the mother or producing states were/are frosty.

In *Conflict Among Humans*, Robert Nye, talks of aggressive tendencies among refugees when they are frustrated in their attempts to accomplish their goals and satisfy their wants.³¹ He says once a refugee is frustrated by forces that he cannot tackle or handle directly, there arises displaced aggression which could be vented out at the wrong or innocent person, persons, groups or objects other than the cause of the frustration. The article is important to my study because it gives an insight into what could be the cause of conflict amongst the refugees at the Kakuma Refugee Camp. I looked into whether the initial wrongs or torment by the producing states or leadership of the mother countries of the refugees could be the source of frustrations that led to conflict amongst the refugees at the camp.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study was based on Abraham Maslow's the Basic Human Needs theory (BHN) where he argues that human needs are arranged in a hierarchical manner ranging from physiological , safety, belonging and love, esteem and self-actualization needs. The hierarchy suggests a distinction between the more basic and the less basic needs vis-à-vis the urgency of satisfaction.

It argues that within the deficiency needs, each lower need must be satisfied before one can move on to the next level of need and that an individual will do anything to satisfy any deficiency need if detected. He says that an individual can act on the growth needs if the deficiency ones have been satisfied.

³¹ NYE, Robert, "Conflict Among Humans," Springer Publishing Company inc. NY-200 Park Avenue South, NY City 10003.

Going by the theory one concedes that basic needs can and usually lead to armed conflicts when not met. It is clear that most of the conflicts in the globe today are as a result of failure by individual or states to meet the basic human needs of their people leading to the flare ups.

Maslow's theory is relevant to this study because those involved in conflicts at the Kakuma Refugee Camp get into such conflicts as they fight for more space. This is usually caused by lack of enough rations from the UNHCR or the donor community.

The refugees at the camp resort to conflict as a result of deficiency in other basic human needs like love and belongingness which most were obviously deprived back at their home countries leading to their flight and eventual settlement at the camp.

1.9 Research Hypothesis

The study was guided by the following hypotheses:-

- (i) Kakuma camp has witnessed conflicts over the years amongst its refugees.
- (ii) Conflicts at Kakuma camp have impacted negatively on the refugees.

10.0 Methodology

The research used both primary and secondary data.

Secondary Data

This data was sourced from reports, books, government records, radio and TV stations, newspapers including the Daily and Sunday Nation, the East African Standard and articles from scholarly journals and periodicals. These were available from libraries like the Jomo Kenyatta

Memorial Library (JKML), the British Council Library (BCL), and the Ministry of Provincial Administration and Internal Security.

Primary Data

This was done through consulting victims of armed conflict who have fallen into the category of refugees at Kakuma Refugee Camp and establish their origin and their cultural roots and how their culture relates and intermingles with other cultures. The study engaged the snowballing method where primary interviewees led to secondary interviewees, an aspect that helped to corroborate the initial evidence with the subsequent information.

Primary data was also sourced from government officers and Non-Governmental Organizations working in the camps such as the Red Cross and members of the provincial administration under whose jurisdiction the camps fall.

I also used the stratified sampling technique in selecting respondents. This method of random sampling aimed at achieving the desired representation from the various refugees from different cultural backgrounds. Through this method it was possible to include in the sample the various sectors of the refugees' population including their social strata. I used a tape recorder to record my interviewees with a view to ensuring that the information gathered could be verified and is also available for future usage. I transcribed the information gathered. Beside this I used note-taking method to ensure that I do not miss any important information especially that which is observable visibly but cannot be tape recorded. I also took photographs to harbinger on the above mentioned methods by graphically bringing out the various aspects of the refugees and their

intercultural dynamics vis-à-vis conflict. Finally I used the observation method of data collection with a view to capture the non-verbal communication.

Field Challenges

I envisaged encountering a number of impediments in the course of carrying out my research namely: - the attitude of refugees could impede on my research because they may be suspicious of strangers after experiencing trauma through armed conflicts that drove them to their current situation. I overcame this by engaging the services of a worker conversant with the interviewees who could build confidence in them by assuring them that the research is not to be of any detriment to them. These were mainly employees of the NGOs that have been operating in the camp who were not held in suspicion by the interviewees.

Kakuma refugee camp is in the remote and removed area of Turkana District so I had envisaged the problem of transport to get there. However, I managed to get air transport. I faced the problem of accommodation for I had to spend a number of days at the camp while putting up in substandard lodgings.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPT OF REFUGEE-HOOD AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, 1992

2.0 Introduction

Grahl Madsen analyses the concept of refugee-hood in relation to a rupture of the ties between an individual and authorities of his own country. Thus he sees a refugee as a special group of stateless persons who have severed relationships with their original states. According to Grahl Madsen statelessness is the key to understanding the concept of refugee-hood. Whereas a stateless person is stateless due to lack of any nationality, the refugee is stateless because he cannot benefit effectively from his nationality. This is because the relationship between the mother state and the refugee has been broken and therefore he/she is seeking asylum in another state.³² Before the chapter explores how individuals from different nationalities found their way into Kakuma Refugee Camp, their settlement and how they inform conflicts within the Camp, it's prudent to describe the origin of refugee-hood.

2.1 The Concept of Refugee-hood

Refugee-hood is as old as human history. It has been in existence since the emergence of the early civilizations around 3,500 BC. The concept of protection of refugees is as old as refugee-hood itself. For instance, in the 14th Century BC, King Urhi-Teshup of Hittites Empire was granted refugee-hood by Egyptian Pharaoh Ramses II³³. Refugee-hood also features in ancient

³² NATHWAN, Niraj, "Rethinking Refugee Law," New York Martinus Nishoff Publishers, 2003

³³ SCHMITTER, Heisler, Barbara, "The Sociology of Immigration. From Assimilation to Segmented Integration, from the American Experience to the Global Arena" In Brettell, Caroline and Hollifield, James (eds), "*Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*," New York, London: Routledge, 2000.

Greek drama, such as Sophocles tragedy-Oedipus of Colonus who after years of wandering in exile from Thebes arrived at Athens where the Athenian King, gave him a passionate reception.

Refugee-hood does not just exist in human thinking it is also associated with divine-hood. For instance, during the reign of Ramses II (1290-1224 B.C.), Moses fled from Egypt when his life was endangered after saving an Israelite who was being beaten by an Egyptian. In the Old Testament Book of Numbers, God instructed Moses to designate various cities as places of refuge for the children of Israel, the strangers and the sojourners among them.³⁴ In the New Testament, St. Mathew's Gospel portrays the infant Christ and his family as refugees fleeing from the Roman rule which was killing little children in Israel.³⁵ This was because Herod was mercilessly killing two year old children in Israel who were the same age as Jesus, in an effort to catch and kill the son of God in the process.³⁶

In the origin of Islam in 622 AD the Prophet Mohammed fled from Mecca to seek refuge in Medina. At the time the people of Mecca were worshipping many idols hence Mohammed's new approach proclaiming one omnipotent God was not only unwelcome but posed a serious threat on his life.³⁷ During the dark ages of Europe (9th to 16th Century) frequent wars pushed many people into refugee-hood in various parts of continental Europe. After the renaissance and age of enlightenment new technologies were developed which came along with new sophisticated

³⁴ UNHCR;The State of the World's Refugee, *The challenge of protection*,(1993) pg145

³⁵ AUKOT Ekuru "*It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma*": *Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya* pg 3

³⁶ UNHCR. *The Rights of the non-citizens*; New York and Geneva (2006)pg24

³⁷ SILVER, Burdett and GINN, English, " *People in Time and Place: World Cultures,* " Morristown, NJ, USA, 1991 pg 235

weapons enabling Europeans to wage new wars across the world including Africa, thus creating an influx of refugees.

2.2 The Africa's Refugee-hood

The notion of 'refugee-hood' has existed in Africa since the days of yore. In the continent's history, those we would today call 'refugees' were subsumed under the generic term 'alien' well into the twentieth century. Yet there was no legal recognition or categorization of refugees until the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. There was also no formal asylum system established until 1993. Hitherto, asylum had been dealt with under traditional and customary laws. Nonetheless, the practice of granting refugee-hood was commonplace, although the numbers arriving were relatively few and there was no well-defined criterion for acceptance of those seeking asylum.³⁸ The arrival of the refugees from one African community to the other, constituted the first major refugee movement in the African history.

During the period before the coming of the Europeans, African communities opened their borders to immigrants. Social and political pundits have argued that open borders were maintained because of the underlying prosperity of the African traditional civilizations, and the relatively small numbers of refugees involved. The period before the coming of the white colonizers attracted political exiles, who were accommodated in their new homes and were later

³⁸ CASTLES, Steven and Miller, Mark eds. *Age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

domesticated as part of the host communities. The African oral traditions suggest a high level of tolerance of refugee migration to their areas of residence before European intrusion.³⁹

This is evident from the three most powerful leaders, Zwide of the Ndwandwe people, Sobhuza of the Ngwane (Swazi), and Dingiswayo of Mthethwa people increased tempo and scale of warfare. They stimulated the development of military organizations such as age regiments which engaged in wars. In 1817 Dingiswayo and Zwide engaged in war that led to the killing of the former. His death led to the fall of Mthethwa Kingdom. As the Mthethwa declined a new power was emerging in the person of Shaka born of the junior wife of Senzangakona, chief of the Zulu. When he took over as leader of the Zulu after his father's death, Shaka carried out a revolution of military and political institutions of the Zulu nation after which he begun military expeditions annihilating the neighbours and assimilating them into the Zulu kingdom. There was an enormous turmoil that produced many refugees. This has been called the Mfecane.

Those lucky to escape Shaka's wrath with his lethal assegai, became asylum seekers and refugees in what is known as modern Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Southern Tanzania.⁴⁰ In Kenya, the Maasai when defeated by the Nandi in the second half of the 19th Century took refugee among neighbours like the Kikuyu, the Kamba and some went as far as the Wanga under Chief Mumia in Western Kenya. The coming of European colonialists and subsequent introduction of divide and rule policy at the turn of the 20th century, necessitated a significant shift in public attitudes and traditional African states policy towards

³⁹ TURTON, David, "Conceptualising Forced Migration," (Text of a lecture given at the Refugee Studies Center International Summer School July 2003), <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/RSCworkingpaper12.pdf>

⁴⁰ ASSA, Okoth, "A History of Africa, 1855-1914," Nairobi: Bookwise, 1984.

immigrants. During the 1880s and early 1890s the Europeans began intruding and colonizing the African continent and aroused suspicion over strangers. Africans now started to view immigrants with suspicion therefore creating the need to control entrance into their territories. It has been argued that this was due to an economic upturn and concerns relating to competition and scramble for Africa. However, there is evidence to suggest that Europeans' introduced boundaries which at times split homogenous communities into different countries (such as the Maasai who were split into Kenya and Tanzania, the Somali into Somalia and Kenya, and the Teso into Kenya and Uganda, among others) and trespass laws hindered efforts to seek asylum.⁴¹

2.3 Modern Refugee Regime

The modern refugee regime was established in the wake of World War II with the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees UNHCR and the adoption of the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention. Since then, UNHCR has offered protection and assistance to tens of millions of refugees finding durable solutions for many of them. The world migration patterns have also become so complex and dynamic in modern times. This is due to millions of economic migrants around the world, stateless people, and internally Displaced People (IDPs) who should be treated differently under the modern international law on refugees.

The UNHCR's yearly statistics put the number of displaced people in the world at 51.2 million. This exceeds the previous year which stood at 45.2.⁴² 15.4 million of the total refugee population

⁴¹ PANAYI, Panikos, "Refugees in twentieth-century Britain: a brief history" in Robinson, Vaughaned. *The international refugee crisis: British and Canadian responses*, London: Macmillan in association with the Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford, 1993.

⁴² GUTERRESS, Antonio, Head of UNHCR, in an interview with BBC on 20th June, 2014, while releasing Global Refugee Figures.

are under the mandate of UNHCR.⁴³ The report further states that conflicts and persecutions in anarchy states displace about 23,000 persons per day. In 2012, Pakistan had the largest number of the refugees at 1.6 million. On the other hand Afghanistan maintained its position as the main source of refugees. For every four refugees around the world, one is from Afghanistan. On the other hand over 893,000 people submitted their application requests to be refugees in different countries around the world in 2012. The United States of America was the leading recipient country with 70, 400, followed by German with 64,000, South Africa 61,000 and France closing the top list with 55,000.⁴⁴

Current statistics point that the conflict in Syria could be the new main factor in global displacement. Other countries that produce many refugees include Somalia, Iraq, and Sudan. In Africa, conflict, violence and human rights abuses continued to create new displacement emergencies particularly in Sub Saharan region. For instance, between 180,000 to 300,000 civilians were killed or died from war related conditions, floods and diseases. Many survivors of these war victims are hosted by the Kenyan government.⁴⁵ Kenya is the country hosting the fourth largest number of refugees in the world, behind Pakistan, Iran and Germany, according to the UNHCR's annual Global Trends report. Pakistan, with 1.6 million refugees led the pack, followed by Iran (868,200), Germany (589,700) and Kenya (565,000).

According to the report, war remains the dominant cause of displacement of people who come for refugee-hood in Kenya. Fifty-five per cent of all refugees listed in the UNHCR report come

⁴³ UNHCR, *Annual global Trends Report*, New York: UNHCR, 2013.

⁴⁴ UNHCR; *The State of the World's Refugee, The challenge of protection*, (1993) pg145

⁴⁵ COLLYER, Michael (2005) 'Secret agents: anarchists, Islamists and responses to politically active refugees in London' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2)

from just five war-affected countries namely, Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Syria and Sudan. Somalia was the world's second largest refugee producing nation in 2012, while Afghanistan remained the world's top producer of refugees, a position it has held for 32 years.

2.4 Refugees in Kenya

Between 2007 and 2011, more than half a million Somali arrived in Ethiopia and Kenya as a result of conflict and violence, coupled with drought and famine. There are more refugees or internally displaced people in the world than at any time since 1994, with the crisis in Syria having emerged as a major new factor in global displacement. Kenya still has the highest number of refugee camps in the world, like Nyarugusu in Tanzania, Tamil Nadu in India, Urfa in Turkey, Panian in Pakistan, Nakivane in Uganda, and Old Samishotoo in Pakistan. The top four, collectively known as the Dadaab camps host together about half a million refugees. Other main sources of refugees are the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In Kenya refugee camps were introduced on 28th September 1992, when the refugees gathered on the neutral strip of land between Kenya and Somalia border posts near Liboi. They included the Bantu of Somali origins who were traditionally farmers, and the urban people from Kismayu and Mogadishu who were frightened of the violence in their former homes. Somalia had had been left bare devoid of the defining element of a state- Government- after the overthrow of dictator Siad Barre. The cross border people who were nomadic were partly Kenyans and partly Somalis, whose main problem was grazing ground and water points for their animals, and general insecurity.

It was estimated that an average of 900 refugees crossed the border everyday and by the end of 1992 Kenya had over 400,000 refugees mainly from Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. The Somali refugees alone were 285,619.⁴⁶ With the turmoil that had befallen Somalia, they fled a combination of violence, anarchy and drought. Due to the urgent need to protect the victims, eleven new camps were established in Kenya and assistance budget soared. UNHCR operations in 1993 involved creating preventive zones in southern Somalia to mitigate at least one of the principal causes of displacements, famine.⁴⁷ This included giving food relief, building of infrastructure such as clinics, schools and starting up agricultural activities within the camps.⁴⁸

Due to many conflicts in countries neighbouring Kenya from the late 1980s and early 1990s such as the Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Rwanda and Congo the country experienced an influx of refugees. Conflicts in the aforementioned states brought large numbers of refugees to Kenya. The country hosted 14,400 refugees in 1990 but as a result of the increase in regional conflicts the number had increased to 120,000 by 1991. A year later in 1992, 401,000 refugees were living in Kenya. The number overburdened the eligibility committee compelling Kenya to ask UNHCR to set up refugee camps because the centre was only capable of handling 320 refugees yet those who came in outstripped this capacity. In response to the government request, UNHCR took over status determinations and set up refugee camps along the Indian Ocean

⁴⁶ UNHCR, *Refugees World Summit for Children: Mozambicans Waiting for Peace* pg 5

⁴⁷ AUKOT, Ekuru "It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": *Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya* pg 3

⁴⁸ SCHMITTER, Heisler, Barbara, "The Sociology of Immigration. From Assimilation to Segmented Integration, from the American Experience to the Global Arena" In Brettell, Caroline and Hollifield, James (eds), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, New York, London: Routledge, 2000.

Coastline to cater for the overflowing Somali refugees who were already causing security challenges.⁴⁹

At one point insecurity in Kenya was attributed to the presence of refugees in urban centers like Mombasa. The increasing insecurity scenario eventually informed movement of some urban refugees to relocate to Daadab. That justified the need for the Kenyan government to reluctantly allocate specific sites for the refugees to be resettled. This resulted in the birth of Daadab refugee camp in a tiny village infested by wild animals and where life is predominantly nomadic with locals rearing camels and goats in the hostile area, with high temperatures. The refugee camp site was chosen due to its close proximity to Somali and also as a requirement by the international humanitarian agreement that asylum seekers should not trek long distances to get assistance. It should also be noted that Daadab refugee camp is 100kms from Somali and though tedious, one can trek from Somali to the camp. By 2014, Kakuma camp hosted 151,114 refugees out of the over 665,746 refugees in the country. The rest were hosted in Daadab (403,000), which is divided into three separate camps namely Dagahale, Ifo, and Hagadera. Nairobi hosts 65,214, Mombasa 45,000, Malindi 2198, Nakuru 2278 and Isiolo 270, mainly from Somali, Ethiopia and Sudan.⁵⁰

2.5 Kakuma Refugee Camp 1992-2014

Kakuma Refugee camp was started in 1992. The camp is divided into three phases Kakuma 1, 2, and 3. And now there is Kakuma IV housing mainly the Sudanese. Kakuma I houses mixed

⁴⁹ TENDAYI, Bloom, and RAYAH, Feldman, "Migration and Citizenship: Rights and Exclusion" In Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel and Feldman, Rayah (eds), *Migration and Social Protection. Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders*, Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2011. <<http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doi/10.1057/9780230306554>> (13.05.2013).

⁵⁰ Government of Kenya Annual Report to Parliament on the State of the National Security by the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces, 27th March, 2014

nationalities such as the Ethiopians, Eritreans, and Rwandans among others. Kakuma II has a predominantly Somali population while Kakuma III also houses mixed nationalities.⁵¹ The research was conducted in all the phases of Kakuma, where interviews were carried out with Somali refugee men and women, using an interpreter where necessary. Other nationalities were also interviewed. They include, among others, those from North and South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).⁵²

According to UNHCR, Kakuma Camp is still facing an influx of refugees arriving in Kenya due to the civil unrest in South Sudan and hostilities in Somalia and DRC.⁵³ Consequently, the government of Kenya is making plans to acquire land so as to build more refugee camps to host the new arrivals as a temporary solution due to the over-congestion in the two existing camps.⁵⁴ Historically the Kenyan state has had a *laissez-faire* approach in accepting refugees: consequently the situations they live in remain unsafe and deplorable.⁵⁵ The UNHCR is the official body dealing with refugee matters such as registration, refugee status determination and also issues of travel documents.⁵⁶

Thereafter, upon entry into the camp UNHCR carries out profiling of refugees, and a mandate is usually given that allows refugees to access food, water, mosquito nets and other basic needs. However the Kenyan government policy on refugees remains in the sense that encampment is the

⁵¹UNHCR (2011) ‘2012 UNHCR Country Operations Profile-Kenya, “Working Environment”, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Accessed 16 May 2012 <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483a16.html#>, p. 15

⁵² UNHCR 2012, *ibid*

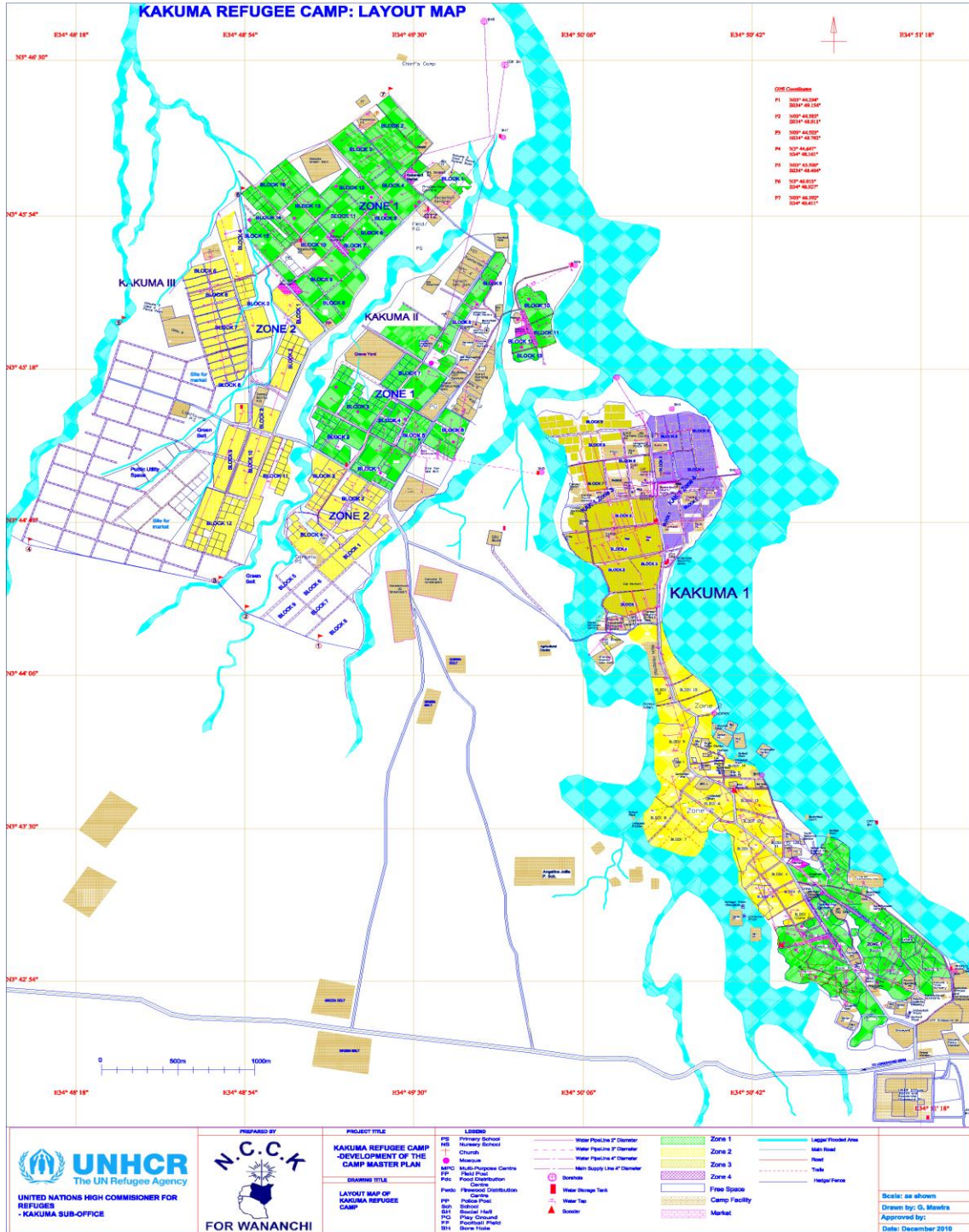
⁵³ IRIN 2012

⁵⁴ UNHCR 2011, *ibid*

⁵⁵ VERDIRAME, G., and HARRELL-BOND, B., *Rights in Exile Janus-faced Humanitarianism*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005, p. 31.

⁵⁶ MIRP (2012) Ministry of State for Immigration and Registration of Persons Kenya Government Portal, Accessed 16 May 2012 <<http://www.mirp.go.ke/>>

main measure the government has taken in addressing their situation at policy level.⁵⁷ Moreover, the government of Kenya has relegated the responsibility of refugees to the United Nations High.



⁵⁷ UNHCR 2011, *Ibid*

Commissioner for Refugees, thus perhaps, allowing international funding of the organization to determine the refugees fate. In principle, the recently adopted human-rights based approach should lead to greater integration of an inductive approach in dealing with refugees in Kakuma Camp.⁵⁸ But this has not been the case as it has created divisions and therefore conflicts among refugees.

2.6 Kakuma-Internal Structures

Kakuma refugee Camp has a setting like any African rural livelihood where families and individuals interact on day to day basis as they face the myriad challenges in life. As explained above, the camp is divided into three phases and within these there are seven zones that host 65 groups representing 11 nationalities. These nationalities include but are not limited to Sudanese, Ugandans, Zairians, Rwandans, Ethiopians, Somalis and Congolese.

Refugees are allocated land on which they put up their houses and rear chicken and livestock. Land is allocated by the UNHCR according to the size and sometimes the influence of the refugee family.

There are three main secondary schools in the camp built by the UNHCR, the NGOs with the assistance of the Government. These are; the Greenlight Secondary School, Kakuma Refugee Secondary School, and Somali Bantu Secondary School. On the other hand there are numerous primary schools in the camp which reflects the high rate of enrollment at this level. Teachers at

⁵⁸ UNHCR (2001) 'Reinforcing a Community Development Approach', United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Accessed 20 May 2012<<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/470629c82.pdf>>

these schools live out of the camp and are dropped to and from home mainly by vehicles owned by the Lutheran World Federation.

The camp is occupied by both Christians and Muslims and the two religions have their particular space as depicted by the numerous religious organizations therein. These include; Cornerstone Church, Friends Church, Seventh Day Adventist, Winners Calvery, Cepca Holiness, Baneno, Nairobi Missions, Methodist Unit, Libre Methodist, Habranam, Jehova Witness, Love and Truth, Kadeza, Malikia, Glory, Family, Ebenezer, Catholic Church, and Sudanese Church of Christ.

The Muslim community has numerous mosques named after Muslim disciples viz; Mosque Alrhman, Kouphan, Blalla, Aletyk, Macdise, Abubakar, Alnilen, Atoaba, Alhussien, Omra, and Alamwe. Marriages within the camp are solemnized either in the churches or at the mosques.

General life at the camp is restrained. Movement within the camp is free and unrestrained but when moving out they must get a movement pass from the UNHCR officials. This pass must be presented anywhere they go outside the camp. Newly arriving refugees must get letters from the UNHCR officials showing that they are *bona-fide* refugees resident at the camp.

The refugees watch news, games and football from their TV screens. They have decoders, radios and are even served by an FM radio station, the Turkana FM. Hotels and bars in the camp, authorized by UNHCR operate 24 hours. The camp is served by Kakuma hospital which has three clinics spread in various parts of the camp.

Refugees draw their water from boreholes drilled by the UNHCR, the World Lutheran Federation (WLF) and other NGOs operating in the camp. Besides the boreholes water is also provided to households by tankers paid by these organizations. Most of the conflicts in the camp are fueled or stem from bad blood between communities back home. This is more so between the Dinka and the Nuer from the Southern Sudan. Whenever such skirmishes occur they use such weapons as *pangas*, matches, sticks and sometimes guns. In 2011, 4 people died and 35 others were injured in one of these flare ups even as members of the G.S.U. and Administration Police intervened.

On Sunday, 14th September, 2013 another flare up erupted over watering points at Kakuma 2 zone 2, Block 2. It was between the Nuers and Gambellas. Many were injured. Later there was a skirmish between the Nuer and the Marle where over 160 Nuers and 2 Marles were arrested and taken to Lodwar courts.

In October 2014, 14 refugees perished and scores were injured in skirmishes within the camp, caused by differences between the Sudanese and the Burundians when a Burundian kid was knocked down by a Sudanese motor cyclist. There was an all out war for several days before tensions were allayed and calm and sanity restored in the camp.

There are peace and reconciliation committees in the camp composed of Christian and Muslim government officials, and local leaders and UNHCR and representatives from other NGOs. On security the camp does not have a police station but is served by a number of police posts for quick response whenever trouble is sounded.

UNHCR has continued to provide hospitality and support refugees in conjunction with the Government and people of Kenya. The support services include, the preservation of and access to asylum and international protection, effective reception, registration, documentation and Refugee Status Determination (RSD), land for approximately 665,746 refugees across six camps located in Alinjugur, Dadaab, and Kakuma, with the hope of securing additional space in Kakuma and strengthened police presence in the area to ensure the security of the refugees.⁵⁹ While expectations were that with the independence of Sudan the population at the camp would go down and help reduce their upkeep budget, this was not to be as war erupted between the two main ethnic groups, the Nuer and the Dinka leading to a further influx of refugees.⁶⁰ UNHCR's top priorities in the camp were to respond to protection needs, and to provide adequate infrastructure and basic services for a growing population. As mentioned earlier, the camp is cosmopolitan in terms of origin of refugees though those from Somalia constitute about 35 % of the total population. The significant rise in the number of the Somali refugees was due to the closure of Mombasa refugee camp in 1997. In August 2009, 15,000 Somali were transferred from Daadab refugee camp to Kakuma making the population to go up.⁶¹

The Ethiopian refugees are also represented in the camp. Ethiopian refugees first sought asylum in Kenya in 1984 following the civil strife that culminated in the overthrow of Colonel Mengistu's government in 1991.⁶² Other refugee nationalities include the Eritreans, Burundians,

⁵⁹ AUKOT Ekuru "It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": *Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya* pg 3

⁶⁰ UNHCR. *The Rights of the non-citizens*; New York and Geneva (2006)pg24

⁶¹ Bread of the World Institute; *Countries in Crisis Sixth Annual Report on the State of World Hunger*(1996)pg 15

⁶² TENDAYI Bloom and RAYAH Feldman, "Migration and Citizenship: Rights and Exclusion" In Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel and Feldman, Rayah (eds), *Migration and Social Protection. Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders*, Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2011. <http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doi/10.1057/9780230_306554> (13.05.2013)

Rwandans, Zimbabweans, Ugandans, Tanzanians, Sudanese and Southern Sudanese among others as indicated in the UNHCR table of statistics elsewhere in this research.

2.7 Status of Primary Education in the Camp

The camp is served by many primary schools most of which are private or NGO run. The concept of human rights has largely helped shape education policy implementation in the camp especially with regard to aid agencies in regard to schooling of refugee children. Education of the refugee children is regarded and handled highly by both the UNHCR as well as the myriad other NGOs operating in the camp. In its report, UNHCR notes that Kakuma is one of the most caring camps in East Africa and this care also goes to the education of refugee children. The report notes that since opening of the camp education of the refugee children has been one of the main successes of all services rendered by the UNHCR and aid agencies (UNHCR, 2003).

My finding was also that the UNHCR and aid agencies have all along given priority to education of the refugee children in the camp. A clearer view of this is reflected by the number of children enrolment in primary schools in the main refugee settlements in the country which totals 53,471.

Another aspect of education for refugee children is that they sit the Kenya national examinations despite their divergent nationalities and yet give the locals good competition as shown by reports. UNHCR reports indicate that these children have not just managed to do well in these examinations but also even done better than many locals to win international scholarships, at times.

2.8 Refugees' Political, Economic and Social Cultural Lifestyle

Most of the refugees in Kakuma came from pastoral lifestyle. For example, both Dinka's and Nuer's culture is organized around cattle rearing. Although the Nuer people especially those who live in the Upper Nile Valley, are involved in fishing as an essential part of their economy, grains and vegetables supplement their diet. None of the food commodities are produced for market purposes. Cattle are not primarily for food, but for milk to drink. Meat is eaten at important celebrations.

Like many of their pastoral neighbors, the Nuer and Dinka's dearest possession is the cattle.⁶³ Life depends on cattle and they will risk their life to defend them or to raid their neighbor's cattle. It will be noted that their worldview is built around the herds and prestige is measured by the quantity and quality of the cattle one owns. Men and women take the names of their favorite oxen or cows and prefer to be greeted by their cattle names. While they do engage in agricultural pursuits, the care of cattle is the only labor they enjoy most.⁶⁴ The Somali Bantu who occupy Kakuma Phase II are the agriculturists. Back home their land was taken by the Somali who are not of Bantu origin but of the Cushite origin who were the majority. Even by the time war broke out in Somali culminating in the fall of Siad Barre's government in 1991, they were already having many problems including food insecurity caused by famine, drought, and flooding.⁶⁵

⁶³ GUGLIEMO, Verdirane and HERREL-BOND, Barbara: "Rights in exile: Junus faced Humanitarianism," volume 17(2005) pg 19.

⁶⁴ UNHCR; The State of the World's Refugee, *The challenge of protection*, (1993) pg145

⁶⁵ COLLYER, Michael (2005) 'Secret agents: anarchists, Islamists and responses to politically active refugees in London' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2).

There was also seasonal displacement of the Bantu Somali into IDP within the Somalia country. This was taxing on the already overburdened socio-economic conditions that they were in. The recurrent dry seasons also resulted in the gradual, large movement of Bantu farmers into urban areas. This historical experience was already an indication that there were conflicts amongst the refugees.

Eighty five percent of Ethiopian refugees in Kakuma I engage in agricultural economy.⁶⁶ Ecological problems such as periodic drought, soil degradation, deforestation, and a high population density negatively affected the agricultural industry. Most agricultural producers were subsistence farmers living in the highlands, while the population in the lowland peripheries was nomadic and engaged in livestock keeping. Gold, marble, limestone, and small amounts of tantalum are mined.⁶⁷

There were symbols of social stratification in rural areas that depended on the amount of grain and cattle a person possesses. Traditionally, labour was divided by gender, with authority given to the senior male in a household. Men were responsible for plowing, harvesting, the trading of goods, the slaughtering of animals, herding, the building of houses, and the cutting of wood. Women were responsible for the domestic sphere and helped the men with some activities on the farm. Women were in charge of cooking, brewing beer, cutting hops, buying and selling spices,

⁶⁶AUKOT, Ekuru “*It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma*”: *Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya* pg 3

⁶⁷ SCHMITTER, Heisler, Barbara, “The Sociology of Immigration. From Assimilation to Segmented Integration, from the American Experience to the Global Arena” In Brettell, Caroline and Hollifield, James (eds), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, New York, London: Routledge, 2000.

making butter, collecting and carrying firewood, and fetching and carrying water.⁶⁸ The stratifications became a recipe of conflict.

It should be noted that the differences in the political, economic and socio-cultural settings led to conflicts among refugees in camps especially in the Kakuma refugee camp. For instance, the study found that those whose custom was pastoralism believed in animals and had little regard for food crops when the need to feed or water their animals arose. In times of drought they could feed them on the crops of the agriculturalists ultimately leading to conflict. At the same time those that practice animal farming like the Ethiopians also tend to go into conflict with their colleague pastoralists, the Sudanese, when either of them raid the livestock of the other and vice versa.

Loren Landau and Tamlyn Monson observed that the perpetrators of violence amongst the foreigners in the asylum did not distinguish between legal and illegal status, underlining the fact that refugees are settled in areas which had hostile environmental conditions.⁶⁹ Landau further argues that the violence between foreigners is made possible by their social and institutional exclusion, fostering a lack of legal protection.⁷⁰ High barriers to social or economic memberships within the camps are facilitated by a nationalist discourse within the camps evoked to legitimize

⁶⁸TENDAYI, Bloom, and RAYAH, Feldman, "Migration and Citizenship: Rights and Exclusion" In Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel and Feldman, Rayah (eds), *Migration and Social Protection. Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders*, Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2011. <http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doi/10.1057/9780230_306554> (13.05.2013)

⁶⁹ LANDAU, Loren & TAMLIN, Monson, (2008) "Displacement, Estrangement and Sovereignty: Reconfiguring State Power in Urban South Africa" *Government and Opposition*, 43, 2, 315-336. <<http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=14&sid=39565ffb-7fbd-4022-a951-441e21c9a974%40sessionmgr14&hid=110>> (23.04.13), 2008, p. 322

⁷⁰ LANDAU, Loren (2008a): "Attacks on Foreigners in South Africa: More Than Just Xenophobia?" *Strategic Review for South Africa* 30, 2, 1-23. <<http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=15&sid=39565ffb-7fbd-4022-a951-441e21c9a974%40sessionmgr14&hid=17>> (23.04.13), 2008, p. 3

and explain the identities that refugees attach to.⁷¹ The above described processes and practices, experienced by refugees and asylum seekers on a regular basis, shed light on how ideas of conflicts in Kakuma refugee camp are steered by daily interactions and have strong influences on refugees' and asylum seekers' ability to realize their socio-economic rights in practice.

Kakuma refugee camp faces the problem of gender based violence of rape as well other sexual abuses. Findings indicated that due to competition of resources like firewood, water, food and other things between the inhabitants of the camp and the local Turkana community such gender based violence is meted out either to humiliate the victims and their community or to cleanse the particular ethnic community.

It was also found that towards the evenings girls from various nationalities dress scantily and strode to the local bars where monied NGO and security officers connect with them for sexual exploits. Though camp regulations are that no NGO vehicles should be moving around after 6 pm this rule has been flouted and many are seen parked near local pubs with the occupants intending to meet these twilight girls.

According to a report by the International Rescue Committee that focuses on health matters of refugees, sexual exploitation and abuse in Kakuma camp is high (IRC 2005:5). The report shows that a large number of women are raped while collecting firewood, at status determination centers, while collecting food at food distribution centers, at hospitals, in schools and while seeking social services.

⁷¹ *Ibid*

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter sought to study the concept of refugees in history and the rise of the Kakuma Refugee Camp in North-Western Kenya. The research viewed the question of origin of refugees by embracing the aspects of human security and conflict among the refugees. Different origins and economic engagements of refugees in Kakuma lay the ground for understanding the conflicts that will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

The chapter looked at the plight of refugees in the camp including the internal structures of the camp to understand the day to day relations between these victims of conflict. It looked at how the camp is divided into blocks viz, Kakuma I, Kakuma II, Kakuma III and presently Kakuma IV which is coming up with the upsurge of new inflows mainly from the conflict between the Dinka and the Nuer in Southern Sudan. The different blocks also have zones from zone I,II, III, and IV.

It also looked at the management of the camp as well as the status of education for the refugee children. It mainly looked at the status of primary school education in the camp and came up with findings that the rate of enrollment is very high while the standards of performance also compare favourably with the normal or ordinary schools that children of Kenyans attend. The chapter also strived to understand the plight of the refugee by looking at the concept of refugee-hood, both in Africa and in Kenya and how it has evolved to present day.

CHAPTER THREE

CAUSES OF CONFLICT

3.0 Introduction

There is a widespread belief that causes of conflicts especially among different ethnic groups in refugee camps are simple and straightforward. It is believed that the driving forces behind these conflicts, whether violent or otherwise, is the “ancient hatred” that many ethnic groups may have had for each other from their country of origin.⁷² The refugee camps in Kenya which are inhabited by people of multi-ethnic, multi-national backgrounds have conflicts therein informed by this construction to a large extent. There are conflicts of different types including: structural violence, political, resource-based (over land, water and pasture), ethnicity or identity-based, pastoralist, gender-based, urban, and environmental conflicts.⁷³

The refugee migration into any region causes social change which comes along with problems. Social change is mainly introduced by refugees or asylum seekers, challenging unjust policies and the disadvantages they may be facing owing to national regulations concerning them. Principles of human rights and social justice are the guiding values of their demand for refugee hood. The Constitution of Kenya entitles everyone residing in the country to numerous rights, such as the right to freedom of movement, the right to work, to education and to free basic healthcare.⁷⁴ The unfortunate circumstances for refugees are not only confined to asylum system processes, but are mirrored by a general hostile environment towards each other in the refugee

⁷² BROWN, 1996, p. 209

⁷³ UNHCR, “Military Attacks on refugee camp: The Carnage at Kasinga, Angola”, *Refugees* No. 4 August 1983- p. 5

⁷⁴ HRW, “Living on the Margins: Inadequate protection for refugees and asylum seekers in Johannesburg” *Human Rights Watch*, 17, 15(A), 2005 <<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/11/16/livingmargins-0>> (23.04.13).

camps like Kakuma. This is demonstrated most strikingly by the outbreak of violence in the camps, at times leaving some dead and scores of others displaced within the refugee camps.

This research therefore finds it hard to reject the concept of ancient hatred explanation of inter- and intra-communal conflict. However, this simple but widely held view cannot alone explain why violent conflicts have broken out in some refugee camps and why some conflicts are more violent and harder to resolve than others. This position is strongly supported by findings from our study. The single-factor theory cannot account for the variation we see in the incidence and intensity of ethnic and internal conflicts in the Kakuma complex of refugee camps. The truth is that conflicts were often complex and multi-layered. Their causes can broadly be categorized into structural factors, accelerators and triggers.⁷⁵

In Kakuma refugee camp, there is a deep-rooted structural animosity which has been inherent since its creation in 1992. First, the refugees camp continue to face threats of violent conflict informed by varied issues including:- poverty, ethnicity, discrimination, unemployment, environmental insecurity, resource scarcity and availability of small arms and light weapons among others.⁷⁶ At inter-ethnic level, there is conflict between refugees from different nations, and with the locals. The drought cycle in Kenya especially in the north western where the refugee camp is situated brings with it problems of sharing resources that often bred inter refugee conflict. There were many examples to show how structural conflict in the camp, if ignored, may often metamorphose into a violent conflict.

⁷⁵UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-

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⁷⁶ Ibid

In an attempt to focus on understanding the conflicts, this research has attempted to cluster the causes of conflict in Kakuma refugee camp. The research came up with political dimensions, security dimensions, economic dimensions, socio-cultural dimensions, legal dimensions and environmental dimensions.⁷⁷ On the other hand, there is a three-tier clustering system that includes political and institutional factors, weak state institutions, elite power struggles and political exclusion, breakdown on social contract and corruption as well as identity politics. Greed as well as scarcity of resources during such natural catastrophes like drought as is common in Kakuma is another cause. The other one is the persistent conflicts in South Sudan between the Dinka and the Nuer which have led to environmental insecurity.⁷⁸

The analysis of the causes of inter-ethnic and internal conflicts in Kakuma refugee camp is based on various findings. Rather, each conflict was context-specific, multi-causal and often multi-dimensional and resulted from a combination of factors such as land, where there is a process of indigenization and alienation of access and ownership.⁷⁹

3.1 The Land Issue

The research found out that quite a few of Kakuma refugees rely on land for their economic sustenance and hence land as a resource remains a factor as a determinant in conflicts. This was especially so considering the increase in refugee population and the restriction placed by the Kenyan government on the borders of the camp making arable land such a limited resource. The

⁷⁷UNHCR, *Countries in Crisis, Sixth Annual Report on the State of World Hunger*, Geneva: Bread for the World Institute, 1996, p. 11

⁷⁸UNHCR, "Refugee Women", Refugees, NO. 56- September 1988, pp 16,17,18

⁷⁹UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-33

study sought to establish the extent to which land as an economic resource influenced conflict amongst the refugees of same and different nationalities in Kakuma. Indeed, ownership and access to land were reported as some of the prevalent causes of conflict among the refugees. For instance, the perceived historical injustices of the Somali Somali against the Somali Bantu back in Somalia where they were treated as slaves which had made the latter develop a phobia of Somali Somali domination in their own backyard, which was extended into refugee camps.

Most of the land was occupied by the Somali Somali and the Bantu Somali only worked for them. They transferred the animosity to Dadaab Camp compelling the UNHCR to transfer some to Kakuma where they carried the differences, causing serious conflict in Kakuma between the two groups.⁸⁰ The same differences are exhibited by the Sudanese refugees of Dinka and Nuer origin.

In many ways, the land question in the Kakuma camp has been central in the history of conflict and has served as a critical example of structural violence not only among refugees but also between refugees and their host community (the Turkana). This forms part of a long and complex history of land acquisition in which an ethnic group is perceived to have unfairly benefited from land allocations at the expense of other groups. The unending conflict between the Sudanese has raged for several decades and becomes more pronounced during drought periods.

It was not possible to establish the exact acreage of arable land at Kakuma camp but it is easy to note that there are numerous portions of land planted with tomatoes, onions, cauliflower and

⁸⁰UNHCR, "Flight to Freedom", *Refugee* Vol. 3., No. 128, 2002, pp. 6-23

other such food stuff. These portions are spread across the three Kakumas, viz; Kakuma I, Kakuma II, and Kakuma III and they are also being introduced in the new Kakuma IV which is coming up fast due to influx of new arrivals.

The sedentary Sudanese cultivated land in the camps like they had always done along the banks of rivers in Sudan. But now they do it through irrigation blocking access to the water for the pastoralist communities in the camp.⁸¹ This forces the pastoralists to drive their livestock through the cultivators' farms thus sparking off fights between the two groups after animals destroy crops.

This competition for scarce resources has not been assisted by the arrival into Kakuma of refugees from Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo as which has only increased competition over land with the host community and other refugees.⁸² In their quest to meet their energy needs, the refugees have been forced to cut down trees and venture out of the refugee camps thus coming into conflict with local people. Much of the land in refugee camp is community land held in trust by the County Government of Turkana.⁸³

Excision of such land must be done through due process. However in the recent past, the big ethnic groups in the refugee camp of Kakuma have been accessing land through political patronage without due regard to the interest of the other refugees. Since divisions in this camp

⁸¹UNHCR, "Victims of Intolerance", *Refugees* No. 142, Issue 1 2006 pp. 22-25

⁸²UNHCR, *Countries in Crisis, Sixth Annual Report on the State of World Hunger*, Geneva: Bread for the World Institute, 1996, p. 11

⁸³UNHCR, "Refugee Women", *Refugees*, NO. 56- September 1988, pp 16,17,18

were done along clan lines, it meant that the beneficiaries of such allocations were defined by the clans thus leading to sectarian competition for power as a way of accessing such privileges, therefore resulting to conflict.⁸⁴

In the camp, the land conflict has taken the dimension of boundary disputes and competition for land between the nomadic pastoralists from the Nuer, Dinka, Oromo and Somali from Somalia. Along almost all the boundaries of these families in the refugee camp were land disputes some of which date back to when the camp was established.⁸⁵ Others are recent, having been brought about by the creation of new settlements within Kakuma due to the increasing number of the refugees. These disputes have often resulted in deaths and injuries, disruption of economic activities for the refugee people, disruption of social life, rivalry between clans and sometimes within clans.⁸⁶

Here people's basic human rights were sometimes abused as due regard to the law was not adhered to. Families in the refugee camp of Kakuma were often intimidated and forced to sign a vacating notice to have them repatriated to their home countries without their consent (refoulement). This led them to being denied essential services as they waited to be repatriated. This led to further conflict as they are rendered vagabonds after being forced out of the small land in the camp. This affected the land cultivators from Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Zimbabwe.⁸⁷

⁸⁴UNCHR, *Ethiopians in Sudan: Hope reviewed* No. 27- March 1986 pp. 21-22.

⁸⁵UNHCR, "Refugees: in their own Words", No. 50 1988 pp. 15-17

⁸⁶UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-33

⁸⁷UNHCR, "Victims of Intolerance", *Refugees* No. 142, Issue 1 2006 pp. 22-25

In the past, UNHCR had severally tried to manage the Oromo, Somali Somali, Dinka and the Nuer, who were historically pastoralists but the attempts only served to split them further, forcing them into an open conflictual situation particularly over bungled allocation of services.⁸⁸

Land had been recently listed as a factor contributing to environmental conflicts. In this study I have dealt with it separately after realizing its very strong correlation to the presence of conflicts across the communities in the refugee camp.⁸⁹

Violent conflicts involving pastoralists have become widespread and increasingly severe in the refugee camp. As noted earlier, refugees in the camp in the arid area, also depend on livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) for their livelihood. They relied on access to pasture and water, for the survival of their livestock. Such resources were scarce and under increasing pressure. Conflicts involving pastoralists refugee population associated with resource competition, cattle rustling and wide availability of small arms are widespread and of increasing concern.⁹⁰

In Kakuma refugee camp skirmishes were common between the Somali Bantu and Somali Somali, the Congo population, Rwandan farmers and nomadic Oromo, Nuer, Wardei and Dinka.

⁹¹These conflicts erupted when the pastoralists, who brought their livestock along as they fled conflicts back home, tried to access water points which had all been virtually occupied by the farmers.⁹² The subsistence land used by the farmers had left virtually no space for the pastoralists to access the water, a situation which worsened during the dry period when the pastoralists drove their livestock to the water points where pasture was available. Whereas the farmers claimed the

⁸⁸UNHCR, "Flight to Freedom", *Refugee* Vol. 3., No. 128, 2002, pp. 6-23

⁸⁹ Oral interview, Morris Uga Lino, Sudanese Refugee, 18 year-old, 3 years at the camp, 24th May, 2014

⁹⁰UNHCR, "Refugee Women", *Refugees*, NO. 56- September 1988, pp 16,17,18

⁹¹ Oral interview, Emmanuel Ndiziye, Rwandan Refugee, 27 year-old, 12 years at the camp, 26th May, 2014

⁹²UNHCR, "Flight to Freedom", *Refugee* Vol. 3., No. 128, 2002, pp. 6-23

land, pastoralists claimed unfettered access to the water.⁹³ On the other hand, unresponsive land adjudication regime has bred conflicts in the camp. Land was subdivided and allocated to individuals, mainly settled farmers in the camp. However, it became apparent that this process did not go down well with the pastoralists since they thought it would limit their movement and that's why they opposed and continue to oppose the policy.⁹⁴

3.2 Poverty, Inequality and Conflict

Conflict and poverty are clearly linked. Various writers on conflict argue that a disproportionate number of conflicts took place in poor societies. The direction of causality was however, debatable. Poverty, in itself, was rarely a direct cause of conflict. Yet it was evident that conflict exacerbated poverty. Poverty contributed to or sustained conflict through its association with perceived injustices and forms of exclusion between groups.⁹⁵ The UNHCR report warned that though poverty varies widely across all communities in the refugee camps, its incidence were particularly high in refugee camps situated in semi-arid areas like the Kakuma camp.

The report revealed that, overall, the poverty level in the camp was high and that the majority of the households were headed by widows and less educated persons while large households had certain types of occupations.⁹⁶ These are not only prone to manipulation but are also easy prey to conflicts.

⁹³ Oral interview, Kidigo Kodige Kukeye, Sudanese Refugee, 55 year old, 3 years at the camp, 25th May, 2014

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ UNHCR, "Refugees: in their own Words", No. 50 1988 pp. 15-17

⁹⁶ UNHCR, "Military Attacks on refugee camp: The Carnage at Kasinga, Angola", *Refugees* No. 4 August 1983- p. 5

Indeed, poverty and inequality among the refugees was cited as a major cause of tensions, and findings from this study indicated that in the camp some conflict actually took a class dimension. This is because some refugees had felt they had been alienated by the other refugees who were doing business like the Somali who sold electric equipments to others.⁹⁷ It was clear from the findings that poverty levels were very high and indeed, to a large extent informed many of the conflicts sampled in the camp. The escalating cost of living in the country also affected the camp and has led to more refugees being unable to meet their minimum food requirements in the camp, a situation that called for interventions in many areas according to my respondents.⁹⁸

There was increased recognition that it was the nature of inequality, rather than the extent of inequality, that determined the likelihood of violent conflict. This research has found out that inequalities that align with cultural, ethnic or religious identities (horizontal inequalities) were more likely to result in violence.⁹⁹ Unequal access to land and natural resources, for example, resulted from the lack of access to power and decision-making opportunities on matters that pertain to the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp.¹⁰⁰

In mitigation to poverty and in pursuit to satisfy basic as well as other earthly needs, my research established that quite many refugees have external sources of income to supplement the usual rations or portions allocated by either the UNHCR or the other humanitarian organizations in the camp. The population at the camp gets remittances from relatives and well wishers from various parts of the world but mainly from the North America, Europe, and the Arabian Peninsula (the

⁹⁷UNHCR, *Countries in Crisis, Sixth Annual Report on the State of World Hunger*, Geneva: Bread for the World Institute, 1996, p. 11

⁹⁸ Oral interview, Anab Adan, Somali refugee, 19 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

⁹⁹UNHCR, "Refugee Women", Refugees, NO. 56- September 1988, pp 16,17,18

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Mohamud Mudey, Somali refugee, 45 year-old, 17 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

Gulf and South Asia) through banks and mobile phones. The remittances are estimated at over 300,000 us dollars a month. Besides this the refugees also make income from the employment sector as sales agents, clerks, accountants, teachers, or in relief agencies where they accrue an income estimated at 66,000 US dollars a month.

The other ingenious but immoral method they have employed to mitigate poverty is sale of relief packages into the black market. This trade earns the ‘wayward’ refugees a total of 89,000 US dollars a month. In total the refugee population of Kakuma bags an income of Kshs 34,000,000 a month.

3.3 Ethnicity/ Identity Based Conflict

There has been an ongoing debate about the role of identity in violent conflict. There is the primordial or ‘ancient hatred’ argument which states that ethnic, religious or cultural differences inevitably results in conflicts. This was discredited in much of the literature.¹⁰¹ In contrast, ‘instrumentalist’ theorists have asserted that identity was simply constructed and exploited as a means of mobilization. Ethnicity played an important role in identity, perceptions and interpretation of events. Ethnicity leads to stereotypes and prejudices which cause conflicts in several ways.¹⁰²

In Kakuma refugee camp, whether thinking about who to be the leader of others or resource allocation in terms of land and other basic needs like water and food, the ethnic card has always

¹⁰¹UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-33

¹⁰²UNCHR, *Ethiopians in Sudan: Hope reviewed* No. 27- March 1986 pp. 21-22.

been played out. Although most refugees will not rush to trigger violence based on their tribal affiliations, when incited, the tribal identity becomes a strong motivator.¹⁰³

Politicization of ethnic and clan identity was a critical factor in explaining conflicts in the Kakuma refugee camp. This particularly happened through manipulation of inter and intra-ethnic group dynamics by the few chosen ethnic leaders from the refugees themselves.¹⁰⁴ Generally, two broad ways in which ethnicity has determined conflict dynamics in the camp have been identified namely as patronage and politicization of ethnicity which included the allocation of the resources like land, manipulation of administration both by the UNHCR and the other NGOs, and the boundaries separating the domains of respective refugees.¹⁰⁵ Since the creation of the refugee camp, Kakuma has gone through different types of inter ethnic conflicts. These ranged from the ideological conflicts pitting Nuer and Dinka and later Somalis Somali and the Somali Bantu.¹⁰⁶ The politicization of ethnicity become the single most intractable problem in Kakuma refugee camp since its creation and the many ethnic groups found in that camp. This was clearly demonstrated by manipulation of ethnic ideology for many leaders in the camp for them to be used as scapegoats.¹⁰⁷

The problem of ethnicity, though largely a creation of the colonial administrations in its quest for divide and rule, has been progressively accentuated back in their respective home countries after

¹⁰³ Oral interview, Yahya Osman Noor, Somali Refugee, 60 year-old, 18 years at the camp, 24th May, 2014

¹⁰⁴ Oral interview, Mwajuma Musa, Somali Refugee, 24 year-old, 11 years at the camp, 25th May, 2014

¹⁰⁵ UNHCR, "Victims of Intolerance", *Refugees* No. 142, Issue 1 2006 pp. 22-25

¹⁰⁶ Oral interview, Igambire Gentile, Rwandan Refugee, 33 year-old, 6 months at the camp, 25th May, 2014

¹⁰⁷ UNHCR, "Military Attacks on refugee camp: The Carnage at Kasinga, Angola", *Refugees* No. 4 August 1983- p.

independence with the emergence of ethnicity as a factor in the refugee politics.¹⁰⁸ Though ethnicity in most countries became a national concern during the colonial period, it manifested itself in the post-independence period during the implementation of the policies of Africanization, a precursor to ethnicisation of employment in the public service sector.¹⁰⁹ Ethnic tensions heightened due to the existing structures of access to economic opportunities and redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers which is being witnessed as a continuation in the Kakuma refugee camp.¹¹⁰

The UNHCR and aid agencies employ quite a number of refugees to cater for certain services such as provision of medical care, distribution of relief aid, security and other chores. These statistics paint a grim picture of a huge number of idle people. Data indicates that a staggering 99% of the refugees are not in any gainful work hence they are idlers.¹¹¹ The idlers in the camp have been the easy targets for hate-propaganda by the ethnic leaders who promise or give hand-outs to their fellow ethnic members. It was found out that, girls and boys who were forced out of school due to conflicts back in their home countries are used to do menial tasks like fetching water, collecting firewood and cultivation. The camp's economy is currently dependent on a bit of agriculture and NGOs hand outs. Rising unemployment is highest among the young people who are particularly vulnerable as they were not accepted in the Kenyan market. The SPLM were recruiting members from the Nuer and Dinka from the camp prior to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. Such youths have participated in conflicts both at the

¹⁰⁸ Oral interview ,Susan Mohamed, Sudanese Refugee, 26 year-old, 3 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

¹⁰⁹ UNCHR, *Ethiopians in Sudan: Hope reviewed* No. 27- March 1986 pp. 21-22.

¹¹⁰ UNHCR, "The Honeymoon is Over", *Refugees* No 88-January 1992, pp. 30-33

¹¹¹ UNHCR, "Victims of Intolerance", *Refugees* No. 142, Issue 1 2006 pp. 22-25

camp and in southern Sudan.¹¹² Due to the high levels of unemployment the idle youth become easy targets for engagement into such conflicts whose end or benefit they cannot tell.¹¹³

In the camp there was a feeling of disillusionment among the youth and that's why they were easily manipulated by their leaders to cause chaos. Incitement was viewed as information created to cause one community to attack another and often took a political dimension. The previous incidences of violence in Kakuma refugee camp were at times fueled by personal goals such as a specific ethnic group intending to be resettled in developed foreign countries like the USA, Canada and other European destinations, or when they wanted to be given the chance to stay in urban areas of Kenya like in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kitale to name but a few.¹¹⁴ The benefits associated with being air lifted to the USA and other developed countries made the refugees to incite each other and caused conflict between those who did not benefit and those who benefited.¹¹⁵

Many pastoral communities have traditionally engaged in cultural practices which promoted conflict. For instance cattle raiding was practiced to replenish lost herds (after droughts, diseases and raids) and to meet other socio-economic requirements within the family or community including paying bride price.¹¹⁶ Other cultural practices and values that promoted cattle rustling include special body tattooing that recognizes one who has killed a number of people. These were highly regarded in the community as great warriors or heroes especially among the Nuer of

¹¹² UNHCR, "Flight to Freedom", *Refugee* Vol. 3., No. 128, 2002, pp. 6-23

¹¹³ Oral interview, Al-Kumbola Franco Abdallah, Sudanese Refugee, 19 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 26th May, 2014

¹¹⁴ Oral interview, Yahya Osman Noor, Somali Refugee, 60 year-old, 23rd May, 2014

¹¹⁵ Oral interview, *ibid*

¹¹⁶ Oral interview, Okok Abula Agua, Ethiopian Refugee, 25 year-old, 5 years at the camp, 25th May, 2014

Southern Sudan. The more marks one bore, the more respect he was accorded, and the more girls he was likely to marry.¹¹⁷

Some communities in Kakuma refugee camp were perceived as war-like and easily provoked to fight, thereby spurring conflict; among them were the Dinka and Nuer pastoralists from Southern Sudan.¹¹⁸ Witchcraft was another practice that had been named as a trigger of conflicts within or amongst the communities. Other practices such as *moranism* among the pastoralists encourages young men to become warriors and fight for the community including carrying out raids, also fuelled conflicts which were witnessed between the Ethiopian Oromo and Somali communities in the Kakuma refugee camp.¹¹⁹ Cultural practices have encouraged young men to have a feeling of superiority, therefore even taking part in use of illegal drugs.

3.4 Environmental Insecurity and Resource Scarcity

Environmental conflict can be described as that caused by elements perceived as scarce after suffering degradation thereby limiting their access or usefulness. Thus scarcity may stem from environmental change and resource degradation, population pressure, or unequal access to resources, such as land and water.¹²⁰ However, environmental factors themselves were rarely, if ever, the sole cause of conflict, but combined with other factors to contribute to instability and violence.

¹¹⁷ Oral interview, Kodigo Kodige Kukeye, Sudanese Refugee, 55 year-old, 3 years at the camp, 26th May, 2014

¹¹⁸ UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-33

¹¹⁹ Oral interview, Gabriel Nderno Mubimbi, Congolese Refugee, 40 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 25th May, 2014

¹²⁰ UNHCR, "Refugees: in their own Words", No. 50 1988 pp. 15-17

Environmental shocks can also result in economic instability, especially in predominantly poorer agrarian communities like the one found in the Kakuma refugee camp. Scarcities can also result in increasing competition over the allocation of resources between certain economic sectors, regions or population groups. The risk of conflict may be higher if the groups disadvantaged in resource allocation are also marginalized socially and economically.¹²¹ As a natural resource-based economy, the livelihoods of individuals and communities in Kakuma refugee camp depended directly on access to natural resources. Resource-based conflicts existed with respect to virtually the key natural resources. The culture of impunity bred by the Dinka at their home country whereby they controlled most of the military positions followed by the Nuer since the creation of South Sudan has been a key factor in the incitement of violence around the refugee population. Pointedly, there were efforts to hold accountable those responsible for past human rights abuses, including the ethnic clashes of the 1990s and other abuses.¹²²

3.5 Availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

Small arms have fueled low intensity conflicts characterized by a high incidence of inter-ethnic clashes and cattle rustling in Kakuma refugee camp. This insecurity had serious implications regarding poverty and competition for resources. A survey in the camp indicated that arms-fueled violence among pastoralists and land cultivators in the camp. During the time of the survey, estimates put the number of illegal small arms and light weapons in the area as very high.¹²³ The situation has impacted negatively on development and investments because large

¹²¹UNHCR, *Countries in Crisis, Sixth Annual Report on the State of World Hunger*, Geneva: Bread for the World Institute, 1996, p. 11

¹²² Oral interview, Charles Otema Omal, Sudanese Refugee, 30 year-old, 14 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

¹²³UNHCR, "Refugee Women", Refugees, NO. 56- September 1988, pp 16,17,18

amount of small arms has led to rise of cattle stealing and commercialization within and without the camp.

Commercialization of cattle rustling was a situation where livestock was raided then sold out of the region to traders who bring them as far as Nairobi. To meet the demand, the traders organized raiding. Also when pastoralists wanted to get animal products in order to sell has fueled the acquisition of small arms to enable the raiders round up as many animals as possible.¹²⁴ This was an extremely lucrative intra and inter-communal activity and in some cases had the blessing of well-connected people in the camp. The situation among the Nuer, Oromo, Somali and the Dinka in the camp has been aggravated by the availability of small arms from neighbouring Uganda, South Sudan as well as Ethiopia. In northern and North Eastern Kenya, the Oromo insurgency in southern Ethiopia as well as lawlessness in Somalia ensures there is easy access to small arms and light weapons at cheap prices.¹²⁵

Other factors that explained the influx and use of small arms in the region included structural and operational weaknesses of law enforcement and security agencies. The lack of sufficient resources to effectively police the long and porous borders between Kenya and Sudan explains why conflicts are common in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Lack of policing on points of entry and corruption within the police, security and other law enforcement agencies equally contributed to conflict in Kakuma.¹²⁶ The illicit proliferation and use of small arms was one of the major factors

¹²⁴ Oral interview, Amuda Ibrahim Amuda, Sudanese Refugee, 33 year-old, 8 years in the camp, 23rd May, 2nd May, 2014

¹²⁵ UNDP, *Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008 Post-conflict Economic recovery Enabling local Ingenuity*, New York: UNDP prevention (BCPR) I UN plaza, New York, 10017, USA, 2008, pp. 17-33 (17, 18,19,20,21,22)-33

¹²⁶ UNHCR, "How Secure do you feel?" *Refugees* Vol. 2 No. 139, 2005, pp. 12-13

that exacerbated widespread insecurity that had led to the decline in their living standards over the years.¹²⁷

3.6 Substance Abuse

Alcohol and substance abuse in a number of households was clearly identified as causing violence and other forms of societal conflicts amongst refugees. For instance, refugees from the Somali community in Kakuma were particularly cited for serious abuse of hard drugs such as marijuana, heroin, khat (miraa).¹²⁸ The situation was so bad that women were forced to take a number of interventions including demonstrations to highlight the abuse which had turned hundreds of the youth into junkies.¹²⁹ Elderly leaders in the Kakuma refugee camp had also been very vocal over the matter whereby rampant abuse of cheap and deadly alcohol had turned their youth into zombies. This had severely impacted on the educational, economic and social productivity of the youth in the Kakuma Camp. It has been argued that the youth were given drugs and alcohol to impair their reasoning and incited to fight other communities within the camp.¹³⁰ Illicit liquor is prepared and sold freely within the camp and in the neighborhood.

Lack of education has strong correlation with violence. There was strong evidence that those in the camp who had no access to education were more prone to conflicts within the camp. The use of those without adequate education or exposure to the world in conflict is commonplace.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Oral interview, Franco Al-Kumbola Abdallah, Sudanese Refugee, 19 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 25th May, 2014

¹²⁸ UNHCR, "How Secure do you feel?" *Refugees* Vol. 2 No. 139, 2005, pp. 12-13

¹²⁹ Oral interview, *ibid*

¹³⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdirahman Omary, Somali Refugee, 77 year-old, 6 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

¹³¹ Oral interview, Michael Galmah Yak, Ethiopian Refugee, 37 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 27th May, 2014

These are people who had been frustrated by lack of a proper livelihood hence had no hope in their future. They had been easy to engage and use to trigger or even perpetuate conflict.¹³²

3.7 Elite Power Struggles and Political Exclusion

Colonialism and liberation struggles in most of African states left various legacies, including divisive and militarized politics and fierce struggles for power and land. Many African leaders sustained those dynamics, retaining power through neo-patrimonial networks, state capture, militarization and coercion. As such, they promoted an ideology of “Us versus Them,” excluding and marginalizing other groups.¹³³ This led to the domination of access to resources by people from particular community; group or political party to the exclusion of others thus exacerbating social divisions. In Sudan for instance the Dinka have been viewing themselves as superior and making sure that they occupy state jobs including the military positions in exclusion of the Nuer and other communities. That is what was happening in the camp as many Dinka leaders don't want to give any services to the Nuer and vice versa. This has led to power struggles and politics of exclusion that has determined conflict dynamics in the Camp. This is also seen through patronage and ethnicisation of politics.¹³⁴

Underlying this claim was the reality of patron-client relationships that political leaders maintain with their electoral blocs in order to attain and maintain power. These networks of patronage took the form of political leaders' efforts to secure national or local positions for their supporters. It also included securing other valued resources for their constituents.¹³⁵ Hence, the struggle over

¹³²University of Oxford, “Refugee Study Centre-Forced Migration Issue 40 August 2012.

¹³³ Oral interview, Thou Makuel Moyor, Sudanese Refugee, 30 year-old, 12 years at the camp, 27th May, 2014.

¹³⁴ Oral interview, Amuda Ibrahim Amuda, Sudanese Refugee, 33 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 27th May, 2014.

¹³⁵ Oral interview, Charles Otema Omal, Sudanese Refugee, 30 year-old, 14 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014.

resource allocation and distribution often took parochial forms of over-emphasizing the rights of one's community to the exclusion of others. Intra-ethnic dynamics existed too in the form of manipulation of clan or sub-locality identities to maximize on the votes a politician can garner. Ethnicity was therefore at the centre of politics. The case of South Sudan was the relevant example where two major ethnic communities fought for power; the Nuer and the Dinka.¹³⁶

There was intolerance amongst many in the camp and violence had been made attractive as a strategy for defending one's democratic right to services. This intensified political intolerance risking further marginalization of minorities as a factor to inform future conflicts.¹³⁷ This had been mainly between the Somali Somali and the Somali Bantu and the Nuer and Dinka leading to competition for political power and resources within the camp. This in turn became a catalyst to formation of militia groups.¹³⁸ Ethnic gangs and militias had been part and parcel of Kakuma's conflict for a long time. The objectives of militias and their links to political elites back to their home country were difficult to be uncovered. The groups fished their members from the camp and therefore the conflicts started from there. This had led to the feeling of neglect and marginalization of the population by subsequent regimes hence resorting to own means.¹³⁹ The prospect of either Dinka or Nuer militias in Kakuma refugee camp cannot be discounted either, with grievances still strongly felt after the mass displacement of thousands of either families following the massacre in South Sudan and the threat of further reprisals. The lack of any

¹³⁶ UNHCR, "How Secure do you feel?" *Refugees* Vol. 2 No. 139, 2005, pp. 12-13

¹³⁷ University of Oxford, "Refugee Study Centre-Forced Migration Issue 40 August 2012

¹³⁸ Oral interview, Mubaraki Omar Kinda, Sudanese Refugee, 30 year-old, 3 years at the camp, 23rd May, 2014

¹³⁹ Oral interview, *ibid*

meaningful peace building and reconciliation in their country and also in the camp was evident from the intransigent attitudes still held by many who opposed the return of warring factions.¹⁴⁰

This chapter has examined the various groups involved in conflict at Kakuma refugee camp and the myriad causes of such conflicts. It looks at the conflictual relations between the Sudanese Nuer versus the Dinka as well as the Somalia Bantu versus the Somali Somali. The chapter concludes by looking at roots of the bad blood between these communities who should otherwise be cohabiting peacefully together. It delves on the different types of conflicts that have been witnessed and experienced at the camp. This affects refugees' relationship among themselves, which is the main focus of this study. In a broad sense, UNHCR and the Kenyan government recognize that conflict among refugees and violence occurs in refugee camps. However, the official statistics are likely to be an underestimation due to a large number of unreported incidences.¹⁴¹

3.8 Conclusion

A 2008 USAID report published on refugees' knowledge and attitudes towards gender-based violence stated that violence originating from refugee themselves is underreported because of the ensuing stigma and risk of reprisals for victims and their families, while domestic violence is not reported because incidents are generally perceived as unremarkable and culturally normative.¹⁴²

The conflict has furthermore made Kakuma refugee camp to face many problems in terms of deteriorating human and political security conditions, and increased human rights violations against women in the camp. We have enumerated the various causes of conflict between and

¹⁴⁰ Oral interview, Amuda Ibrahim Amuda, Sudanese Refugee, 33 year-old, 8 years at the camp, 27th May, 2014

¹⁴¹ USAID (2008) 'Refugee Knowledge and Attitudes on Gender-Based Violence', Extending Service Delivery Project (ESD):3-12. Accessed 14 May 2012<http://www.esdproj.org/site/DocServer/Refugees_GBV_Assessment_Report_Kakuma.pdf docID=2242>.

¹⁴² USAID 2008, 3, *ibid*

amongst the refugees which include resource scarcity, unemployment amongst the youths in the camp, poverty and inequality, scarcity of land and competition for pasture and farming grounds. The chapter also points out that availability of small and light weapons from the porous border of the country is another major contributory factor to such conflicts. Another aspect noted in the chapter is retrogressive cultural practices like raiding for livestock which has inculcated a belligerent attitude amongst the youth making them vulnerable to violent conflicts even on very flimsy grounds.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF CONFLICT AT KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the impact of conflict amongst the refugees and host communities of Kakuma region. It is important to note that the phenomenon of impact of any conflict on people is one that cannot be wished away. The conflict in Sudan has led to many refugees crossing into Kenya resulting to stress over scarce resources available. Also important to note is the fact that Kenya with its struggling economy has been at pains to host refugees for protracted periods which has had both short and long-term economic, social, political, and even environmental impacts.¹⁴³ Right from their arrival and accommodation at the camp, the refugees have challenged the livelihood of the host and their fellow refugees in a number of ways.¹⁴⁴

According to the UNHCR report of 2004 there are both positive and negative impacts posed by presence of refugees in any given state. The complexity of factors informing such varied outcomes include but are not limited to the political economy of the hosting state, urban-rural interactions, and the nature of host-refugee relations.¹⁴⁵ It should be noted that though the refugee situation may create an economic opportunity for both the displaced and their host state,

¹⁴³ JACOBSEN Karen, *Refugee's Environmental Impact: the effect of patterns of settlement*, Department of political science, United Kingdom: Oxford University press, 1997

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁵ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Economic and Social Impact of Massive Refugee Population on Host developing Countries, as well as other countries* .Standing committee. UNHCR,EC/54/SC/CRP.5.2004

it is never a win-win situation for Kakuma refugees or the hosting state, Kenya. The impacts of the intra refugee conflict at Kakuma have been varied as I will enumerate hereunder.¹⁴⁶

4.1 Economic Impact

Kenya has had protracted refugee influxes which have led to macro-economic impacts on the country.¹⁴⁷ There have been increased public expenditures related to the care and maintenance of the refugee population. Kenya has experienced refugee crisis in terms of budgetary cost of humanitarian assistance often over-shooting its already limited envisaged refugee maintenance budget.¹⁴⁸ This has led to the country calling for emergency budget support from the UNHCR and other humanitarian NGOs working in the field. For instance there was a request for additional funds through the quick-disbursements programme of the IMF to address the economic challenges posed by refugees in the country in the 1990s.¹⁴⁹

Delving on several studies that focused on the impact of refugees on the local economies of hosting countries, it is observed that Kenya for instance experienced a big impact of Rwandan, Sudanese, Somalis, Congolese, Ethiopian and Ugandan refugees, which led to a marked increase on local agricultural products prices between 1993 and 2013.¹⁵⁰ According to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank report of 1999, refugees from different parts of the world including those who crossed into Kenya strained the economy of their host countries.¹⁵¹ This is

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁷ ALIXGARCIA, Jennifer, "The Effects of Refugee Inflows on Host Country Populations: Evidence from Tanzania," University of Montana, USA. 2007.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁵¹ World Bank, *The Economic Consequences of the Kosovo Crisis: A Preliminary Assessment of External Financing Needs and the Role of the world Bank in the International Response*, Washington, DC. USA. 1999

not dissimilar to the Kenyan situation although here locals are argued to have also benefited from the sale of their agricultural products as demand grew for the same with the influx of refugees.¹⁵²

The Kenyan situation is one of mixed fortunes as portrayed hereunder. There was a significant increase in the prices of some agricultural goods like bananas, beans and milk. At the same time there was a decrease in the price of aid-delivered goods like maize.¹⁵³ Many Kenyan farmers who produced a surplus benefited from the increased demand for their agricultural products in local markets as they were bought at better prices. There was evidence that suggested on average, Kenyan farmers doubled the size of their cultivated land and their production of maize, beans and rice during 1992-1998 because of demand of food-stuffs by the UN and other humanitarian agencies to feed the refugees.¹⁵⁴ This led to the increase in the size of the local markets which also boosted business and trade activities conducted by both hosts and refugees.¹⁵⁵ At the same time, welfare indicators such as electricity, televisions, and refrigerators increased in host population households near refugee camps.¹⁵⁶

The presence of refugees in a state at times poses serious challenges as seen in one report concerning their impact on national public expenditure in Malawi during the 1990s. It concluded that there was both direct and indirect expenditure related to refugees, affecting the scale of the government's capital investment in the social and infrastructural sector.¹⁵⁷ This led to the

¹⁵² *Ibid*

¹⁵³ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: *Economic and Social Impacts of Massive refugee Populations on Host developing countries, as well as other Countries*. Standing Committee. UNHCR ,EC/47/SC/CRP.40. 1998

¹⁵⁴ Oral interview, Morris Uga Lino, Sudanese Refugee, 18 year-old, 3 years in the camp, 23rd May, 2014

¹⁵⁵ Oral interview, *ibid*

¹⁵⁶ WHITAKER, Elise Beth, "Refugees in Western Tanzania: The Distribution of Burdens and Benefits among Local Hosts", *Journal of Refugees Studies* Vol. 15,No4, 2002, pp. 339-358

¹⁵⁷ Government of Malawi, the World Bank, UNDP and UNHCR. *Report to consultative Group of Malawi on the impact of Refugees on the Government Public Expenditure*. Malawi.1990

UNHCR Emergency Assistance Program ensuring that there were projects to serve the needs of the displaced and the nationals in the refugee hosting areas.¹⁵⁸ The program included substantial expansion of health services such as hospitals, clinics and mobile doctors. It also included the road networks, and water supply, as well as reforestation to alleviate environmental degradation.¹⁵⁹

A recent assessment of Kakuma, one of the largest refugee camps in the world, estimates that the total annual direct and indirect benefits of the camp operation for the local host community were exceedingly higher especially in 2009, and is projected to grow further in the near future. This study was done by the Kenyan Department of Refugee Affairs, and the Danish in collaboration with Norwegian Embassies in Kenya. The funds that were raised from this collaboration were used in infrastructure development that has since then benefited the host community. The impact of the Kakuma camps on the local host community are widely felt in various ways. This is through trading opportunities, increased flow of both goods and services that end up reducing food and commodity prices.¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, the presence of refugees in Kakuma camp has led to the growth of a major local market with considerable purchasing power in relation to pastoral products. These include milk, hides and livestock. However, despite these positive indicators, the presence of refugees is also associated with the depletion of firewood and building materials as well as competition for grazing land in the immediate vicinity of the camps. The assessment concluded that impacts on

¹⁵⁸ ZETTER, Roger, "Incorporation and Exclusion, The life cycle of Malawi's refugee assistance program", *World Development*, Vol. 23,no.10.99, 1995, pp.1653-1667.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁰ KAMAL, Sadiq, "When States prefer Non-citizens over Citizens: Conflict Over illegal Immigration into Malaysia", *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(1), 2005, pp.101-22.

the host community were complex and were both negative and positive aspects. Depending on the situation of the individual household, the positive and negative impacts of the refugee presence played out differently. However, on balance; the study found that there were more positive than negative impacts on the host area.¹⁶¹ One of the positive contributions that refugees made to host countries is skills and knowledge that could be utilized for the benefit of local people. In this regard, the multiple ways in which refugees pursued their livelihoods made significant contributions to the local economy.¹⁶²

For instance, in Kakuma, well educated Somali and Sudanese refugees serve as primary school teachers to generate income and conversely help impart know-how to local businesses. Another important contribution of refugees to local economies was associated with their access to transnational resources provided by other refugees and co-nationals living abroad, including remittances and social networks.¹⁶³ A study of Somali refugees and money remittances explained how cash transfers to refugees have impact on receiving communities.¹⁶⁴ Individual remittances that often go to displaced families and relatives were used to meet basic livelihood needs. Similarly, research on the Somali Diaspora in Canada pointed out how informal banking systems have facilitated cash transfers to Somali refugees in Ethiopia, Kenya, particularly Kakuma camp.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

¹⁶² KAREN, Jacobsen, "Livelihoods in Conflict: The pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees and the Impact of the Human Security of the host Communities," .Expert Working paper prepared for the centre for development Research study: Migration-Development, Evidence and Policy options Feinstein International Famine Center, Tuft University, USA. 2002.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁵ HAMZA, Buri, "A report on the Somali Remittance Sector in Somalia," Nathason centre for the study of organized Crime and corruption, York University. Canada. 2006.

These resources have been of significant contribution not only to the improvement of living conditions at the household level, but also to those in refugee camps, especially in terms of housing, water provision, and telephone services. It was also important to mention that the remittances have also increased inequalities among the refugees and also the host community. This is because some refugees who do not have friends and relatives in diaspora do not at all benefit from foreign remittances and hence remain poorer. Furthermore, it has been argued that collective remittances, from abroad have been utilized to finance conflicts and support military operations in the host countries. A case in point is Eritrea where refugees have played a role in supporting and fanning armed struggle in the host country.¹⁶⁶ However, in other regions, the refugees have been of great importance to the host state for instance the case of Tanzania where they have been used to provide cheap labour in sectors like agriculture, construction, housekeeping, and catering. In this regard it is seen that their presence has led to a great challenge to the unskilled locals and benefited the entrepreneurs.¹⁶⁷

There has also been an increase in the demand for rental housing from either well-to-do refugees or expatriate aid personnel in Kenya since early 1990s and 2000s, which has particularly benefitted local property owners and disadvantaged less well-to-do Kenyans. This illustrates that when refugees arrived, those among the host population who have access to resources, education, or power are better positioned to benefit from the refugee presence, while those who lacked these resources in the local context become further marginalized.¹⁶⁸ Though the main focus of this chapter is to illustrate the negative and positive impacts of refugees in Kakuma camp, which is

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁷ MAYSTADT, Jean-Francois and VERWIMP, Philip, "Winners and Losers among a refugee-Hosting Population," International Association for Research and Teaching, ECORE, Belgium, 2009.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*

particularly in a remote rural setting, it is important to note that there has been a growing urbanization of refugees in recent years. This is because most camps are overcrowded and have problems containing the population. According to the UNHCR report, in 2008 almost half of the global refugee population resided in cities and towns, compared to one third who lived in camps.¹⁶⁹ The refugees in urban centres tend to reside in densely populated and poorly serviced environments like Kibra, Kawangware, Kayole, Mathare all in Nairobi, and in Kibomet in Kitale. This further indicates that this situation has led to increased competition and conflict not only in Kakuma but also between communities in these urban areas for the limited resources have aggravated the creating the potential for urban crises.¹⁷⁰

Nairobi and Kitale host a highly diverse refugee population including Sudanese, Somalis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, and Rwandans in a very difficult environment with limited resources. Kenya experiences a high national unemployment rate and there are government regulations plus a huge population of unemployed youth which restrict refugees from accessing labour markets. This has forced most of them into unregulated work sectors and occupations with limited protection in the country. We have refugee women who are employed as domestic workers in Kitale and Nairobi households. The same is experienced in the case of China refugees from Burma, who live as urban and undocumented refugees in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and New Delhi, India.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ UNHCR, 2009

¹⁷⁰ DEIKUN, George, and ZETTER, Roger, 2010:6

¹⁷¹ Alexander, 2010

4.3 Social Impact

The presence of refugees in Kenya has led to the potential of social impacts on the ethnic balance of those areas and the case in point here is Kakuma Refugee Camp. As discussed in chapter three there is the issue of social conflict, and delivery of social services. Local Kenyans have also had socio-cultural impact due to the refugee's presence. Traditional animosities between different cultural or ethnic groups have caused problems at the camp. There was conflict in the early 2000 in Kakuma due to tensions between ethnic Sudanese and Somalis. UNHCR has found that when refugees are from the same cultural and linguistic group as the local population, there are greater opportunities for peaceful co-existence and interaction among them.¹⁷²

For instance, approximately 25,000 refugees from the Central African Republic were in the Democratic Republic of Congo during the 1990s. Like their Congolese hosts, the refugees belonged to the Yakoma ethnic group, so their integration into the host society was smooth and peaceful. During the entire period, relations between refugees and the host population were largely peaceful. The same has been the case with the massive influx of Somali refugees into the Dadaab area in Kenya, which is inhabited by people sharing the same culture and language, and who is often related by clan or tribal ties to the refugee population.

It should be noted that, in refugee-affected and hosting areas, there may be inequalities between refugees and non-refugees that give rise to social tension. This is due to the fact that the refugees seem to be frequently benefitting from privileged access to resources unavailable to the local

¹⁷² United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: *Economic and Social Impacts of Massive refugee Populations on Host developing countries, as well as other Countries*. 2007.

host population. In this regard, refugee status offers an opportunity for education, literacy, vocational training, health, sanitation, and basic livelihood.

However, when social services provided through international funding also target host communities, the likelihood that the local population will have a positive view of refugees increases significantly. In the poor settings of the adjacent Turkana villages there was the general view by the locals that the refugees lived better lives than themselves sparking bitterness and animosity which is not of concern to this study. This was aggravated by the fact that occasionally some of the refugees landed opportunities to live in far developed countries like Britain, Canada, Netherlands, Australia and even the US; opportunities that are non-existent to the locals.¹⁷³

In response to intense conflict amongst various groups at Kakuma Refugee Camp, the Government of Kenya developed a comprehensive approach to address the problem with a view to turn the crisis into an opportunity. The approach aimed at linking relief, recovery, and reconstruction activities through local development in the Kakuma camp, as well as in the adjacent areas.¹⁷⁴

Another observation related to the social impacts of forced displacement is that social problems such as gender-based dominance and/or violence often increase during conflict and in displaced settings. This is particularly the case with regard to women's vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation and domestic violence. For instance, UN data shows that during the first three months of 2010, more than a third of the 1,200 sexual assaults against women in the Democratic

¹⁷³ Internet sources, accessed 21st June, 2013.

¹⁷⁴ BETTS, 2009

Republic of Congo took place in the North and South Kivu provinces. This region is not only the epicenter of constant violence between rebel groups and the military, but also hosts a considerable proportion of IDPs and refugees from neighbouring countries.¹⁷⁵

Issues of gender-based violence have also been examined in the context of livelihood opportunities in situations of refugee hood. There have been studies that show gender relations within households are affected by the increasing participation of women in income generating activities, which affects not only the distribution of resources within households, but also traditional roles of family structures.¹⁷⁶ For instance, the majority of male Somali refugees in Kakuma refugee camp face serious challenges to access employment opportunities in the city and have to depend on incomes earned by female family members. In a traditionally patriarchal society, this dependency situation can lead to psycho- social disorders, distress, and domestic violence.¹⁷⁷ There have also been similar situations in the West Bank and Gaza, where there have been measures restricting freedom of movement affecting the livelihood opportunities for men. This led to many women increasingly participating in informal activities to support their families, including petty trading in Gaza, management of grocery shops, sewing; this is according to the World Bank report of 2009.

4.4 Political and Security Impact

The other issue is that the presence of refugees does not have a significant negative impact on the political and security situation of the host countries. In reference to the first section of this

¹⁷⁵ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: *UNHRC condemns endemic rape in DRC, helps survivors*. Briefing Notes .2010.

¹⁷⁶ Women's Refugee Commission, *Peril or Protection; The Link between Livelihoods and gender-based violence in displacement settings*, New York, USA. 2009.

¹⁷⁷ TIM, Morris, "Urban Refugees in Yemen, Forced Migration Review," Issue 34:36-37. 2010.

chapter it is noted that out of the seven countries that have experienced some form of internal civil war or insurgency, and that host more than 100,000 refugees from a single country of origin, the presence of these refugees are only linked to the conflict in two cases, namely in Pakistan and in Chad. It is evident that Kenya has not had that.

However, we have circumstances whereby the presence of refugees has had a negative political and security impact. Therefore, according to Salehyan and Gleditsch, the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries can destabilize neighbouring countries in the following ways, some of which have been experienced in Kenya. There is the issue of expansion of rebel social networks and diffusion of violence. Refugee camps located close to the boundary of the country of origin can provide sanctuary to rebel organizations, and a base from which to carry out operations and fertile grounds for recruitment.¹⁷⁸

This has been the case of the Kakuma refugee camp where the Nuer and the Dinka rebel groups have been recruiting from the camp to feed into their fight back home in South Sudan. It has been alleged that the Dinka have had direct support from the south Sudan government .This has created conditions within South Sudan that radicalized sections of the population and led to a proliferation of arms, and in the long run weakened state authority. There is also the issue of the rebel group made up of mainly Uganda-based Tutsi refugees from Rwanda, which in October 1990 formed the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and invaded northern Rwanda.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ SALEHYAN, Idean and Kristian Gleditsch, "Refugees and the spread of Civil War", *International Organization*, 60, 2006, pp. 335-366

¹⁷⁹ LOMO, Zachary, NAGGAGA, Angela, and HOVIL, Lucy, "*The phenomenon of Forced Migration in Uganda: An over view of policy and practice in an historical Context*," Working paper No 1. Refugee law project, Uganda.2001

Secondly, the facilitation of transnational spreading of arms, combatants, and ideologies are conducive to conflict. The direct role of the SPLM government in exile formed by Sudanese before the division of Sudan into two, led to civil wars both in Northern Uganda and south Sudan. Chad serves as an example of refugees as combatants within a host country.¹⁸⁰ There have been cases of recruitment of Sudanese refugees by insurgent movements in Kakuma that caused destabilization and violent conflicts during and after the south Sudan seceded. There are also allegations that the Somalis are being recruited from the Kakuma camp and made to join the al-shabaab. Refugees can also serve as domestic opposition groups in the host country with material resources and motivation to wage their own armed battles. For instance, Somali refugees have often worked closely with ethnic Somali separatists in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and now Kenya as they are being lured into the militia groups.

Last but not least is the creation of bilateral tensions. There are situations where the refugees have posed security threat to Kenya as a host country. This in turn has created tensions in bilateral relations between neighbouring countries. Examples include the involvement of Somali refugees in al-shabaab activities in killing of innocent Kenyans over their perceived KDF interests in Somalia and the support Kenya is doing to fight terrorism and its relationship with the USA. Another example is the involvement of Rwandan Tutsi refugees in Uganda in the removal of the Milton Obote administration as noted by Salehyan and Gleditsch in their work of 2006.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*

4.5 Environmental Impact

It is evident that Kakuma refugee camp is over populated and this has led to the environmental impact. Due to the influx, Kakuma has witnessed the growth of slums, posing great threat on land, water and other natural resources. The studies carried on the impact of the influx of refugees and their long term presence is deferent.¹⁸¹ There is the issue of initial arrival phase where the refugee influxes might be accompanied by severe environmental impacts when displaced people are moving into and through an area to secure their immediate needs.¹⁸² Kakuma refugee camp experienced as immediate effect the issue of fuel wood crises and water pollution in that particular area. After their settlement the nature of the environmental impact changed, though they are still significant. The environmental assessment conducted in Kakuma refugee camp highlights that the massive presence of refugees is related to serious environmental damage.

These impacts are closely associated with the refugee settlements and particularly how Kakuma refugee is highly concentrated with people. There is evidence of environmental impacts which include deforestation and firewood depletion, land degradation, unsustainable groundwater extraction, and water pollution. In addition, human waste disposal by refugees in Kakuma camp have contaminated local groundwater and caused the spread of diseases.¹⁸³ The assessment of the environmental impacts of refugees in Kakuma, have shown that there is environmental degradation which is a direct consequence of policies aimed at housing refugees in large camps

¹⁸¹ KAREN, JACOBSEN 1997, UNHCR 1998, FAO 2005

¹⁸² UNHCR/ FAO 1994

¹⁸³ United Nations Environment Program, 2005

with tight movement restrictions in an area of low productivity .¹⁸⁴ It will be noted that, large camps tend to slow the development of land use practices that are both sustainable and compatible with local practices.¹⁸⁵ These environmental impacts have affected the long- term livelihood opportunities of both refugees and the host population.

Experiences in countries such as Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia have shown that when refugees have been able to access land or common property resources, their productive capacities tend to increase significantly. Correspondingly, in this case, we have seen the burden of refugee presence on the Kakuma communities and assistance providers have been decreasing as well. Despite some positive experiences regarding access to land for refugees, Kakuma has had shortages of land and natural resources which have been considered a critical factor affecting the self-reliance of the refugees.

4.6 Mitigation of Negative Impact of Refugees on Neighbouring Host

Countries

As earlier noted, the impacts of large influxes of refugees in any country can be both negative and positive, and the end result of these positive and negative factors is complex and varies depending on the context. For one to address the impacts of refugees therefore requires an understanding of the political economy of the host countries and the development implications of protracted refugee situations in those societies. In this regard, experiences in Kenya suggest that development assistance that targets both refugees and their hosts in Kakuma is an effective

¹⁸⁴ Nordic agency for Development and Ecology (NORDECO): Impacts of Daadab Refugee Camps on Host Communities, 2010

¹⁸⁵ KAREN, Jacobsen, “Refugee’s Environmental Impact: the effect of patterns of settlement,” Department of political science, Oxford University press, United Kingdom, 1997

approach in mitigating the negative impacts of a long-term refugee presence and to build on the positive contributions of refugees to communities that host them. Such development programs can improve the daily lives of the displaced and their hosts during the displacement period, and perhaps also prepare refugees to find sustainable solutions to displacement.

In recent years, UNHCR, UNDP, and bilateral and multilateral agencies have implemented initiatives aimed at Targeted Development Assistance (TDA) in order to generate “win-win” solutions for countries and populations affected by forced displacement. The assumption is that even in a refugee crisis, there are development opportunities that can bring benefits to the refugees and host populations and also prepare the refugees for sustainable solutions, including return, settlement in a country of asylum or in a third country.

In most states that have had refugees there have been ways to offer development assistance to both the refugees and the nation, and Kenya is no exception. These initiatives have included the International Conference on Central American Refugees (CIREFCA). Due to the displacement of more than two million people in the Central America in the 1980s caused by the civil conflict, CIREFCA was held in May 1989 with the objective of responding to the regional crisis of refugees, displaced persons, and returnees. At its initial start it was like an international conference, but CIREFCA evolved as part of an ongoing regional peace process. It put in practice innovative approaches that aimed at closing the gap between relief and development, including Quick Impact Projects (QIPs).

By the end of 1992, CIREFCA had facilitated about 126 projects in seven countries with a total investment of US\$365 million. The entire process contributed to the repatriation of approximately 27,000 Salvadorans and 62,000 Nicaraguans, as well as the return of 45,000 Guatemalans from Mexico.

The QIPs in addition provided social services that benefited both refugees and host communities, such as Campeche in Mexico, and Quintana Roo on the Yucatan Peninsula that hosted Guatemalan refugees. There were some key factors that led to the success of the CIREFCA process. They were the political will of states that were involved in addressing development challenges of forced displacement; there was regional ownership in planning and implementation of projects, and finally but not least, strong donor support.¹⁸⁶ It should be noted that CIREFCA represents an example of an effective comprehensive framework that have been used to secure stability and promote development in conflict affected environments.

Secondly, there are the Income Generating Projects for Refugee Areas (IGPRA). By early 1980s we had more than three million Afghan refugees who had entered Pakistan to escape the war in their homeland. They settled outside the cities and others in rural areas near the border. IGPRA was created with the aim of first to create jobs and income, with Afghan refugees in particular but also for the local poor through labour intensive projects secondly repair physical damage that the refugees and their livestock had caused to infrastructure and the environment and finally to create lasting assets for the host country, including irrigation and flood control works.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *“Economic and Social Impact of Massive Refugee Population on Host developing Countries, as well as other countries,”* Standing committee, UNHCR, EC/54/SC/CRP.5, 2004

¹⁸⁷

At one point the World Bank report indicated that IGPR's achievements were impressive in terms of the substantial range of infrastructure assets and the employment opportunities created for refugees and some individuals in host country and more specifically the communities. IGPR provided an estimated 11% of the employment needed by the refugee labour force and improved the skills of Afghan workers. IGPR I and II also provided formal training in forestry management. It is known that the project created sustainable assets for local populations and the host country.¹⁸⁸ The Key factors that led to the IGPR's success were the cultural affinity between Afghan refugees and their hosts as well as the government's policy on refugee employment.¹⁸⁹

The Zambia Initiative (ZI) is another great example that was raised in 2002 by the Zambian government with important concerns related to security, infrastructure, environmental and service delivery challenges in western Zambia. The development needs in this area were aggravated by the prolonged presence of more than 100,000 Angolan refugees, who some of them were self settled and others living in camps. ZI was launched in 2003 and designed as a multi-sector rural development program that targeted refugees and communities that had hosted them. This initiative aimed at reducing poverty in areas affected by forced displacement through community-based development projects. It focused on various developments as education, health, agriculture, infrastructure, forestry, and water resources. According to the UNHCR report of 2006 the end result of the ZI was to have the supporting constructive roles of refugees in local

¹⁸⁸ World Bank, "*Generating Income for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan*," Independent Evaluation Group(IEG), 2001.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

economies and identifying win-win situations where the burden of governments hosting refugees will be turned into opportunities.¹⁹⁰

Tanzania was considered as one of the African countries with the highest number of refugees from their neighbouring states. Due to this it led to the formation of Naturalization and local settlement of Burundian refugees through Tanzania Initiative. This was after it had hosted Burundians, Congolese, Rwandans, who had also been displaced from other countries, the government started to implement a new approach in order to find long-lasting solutions for refugees. The approach included naturalization of 162,000 refugees who fled from Burundi in 1972 and had resided in what were known as the “old settlements,” and was considered a contribution to the peace process in Burundi.¹⁹¹ The scale of this offer of naturalization was unprecedented in Africa. While the prolonged presence of refugees in the country resulted in a strain on natural resources, the environment, and social services, refugee hosting areas also experienced expanded markets, increased services, infrastructure development and other benefits. This led the government of Tanzania to discuss a strategy with the UN that aimed at increasing development assistance programs in the northern region in order to support the implementation of the naturalization process.¹⁹² These initiatives among others things it included the expansion of social services and infrastructure improvements, which were needed to support the successful local integration of refugees in their new homes.

Most of those initiatives mentioned are based on the assumption that addressing the needs of displaced people required additional development resources together with broad-based

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Ibid

partnerships between governments, humanitarian organizations, bilateral and multilateral development agencies. This according to the work of Christensen and Harild published in 2009. Countries experiencing large influxes of refugees from neighbouring states have challenges addressing forced displacement as it comes with other myriad issues including insecurity and provision of certain essentials. However it should be noted that the example of CIREFCA highlighted the relevance of a regional approach to effectively address the social, economic, security, and political impacts of large- scale and protracted displacement.

4.7 Conclusion

At the celebration of 2014 Refugee Day it was noted that there was a high number of them hosted in the country. Since Kenya has hosted refugees for protracted periods they have experienced long-term economic, social, environmental, political and security impact.

As earlier noted the impact of the presence of refugees on any country is complex. The economic impact of refugees to Kenya has largely been negative since the government has to infuse funds into the refugee system much as it is assisted by the UNHCR and other aid agencies. This is tax payers' money. This means any positive contributions that refugees make to the economy of the host country should be viewed in terms of winners and losers among both refugees and host populations.

The year 2014 was catastrophic for the Kakuma refugee camp noting that towards the end of October and spilling to November, there were skirmishes sparked off by a small incident that led

to the death of as many as 14 people from various nationalities but mainly from Burundi and . Sudan, the protagonists.

The study shows there is need to have a development assistance that targets refugee camps so that there is a way of mitigating negative impacts and increasing the positive impacts of protracted refugee presence in given areas. The social impacts of refugees in camps also include inequalities between refugees and non-refugees and these have resulted in social tensions, which have reduced development projects targeting both refugees and the host communities in Kakuma. The environmental impact of refugees has also been alleviated through a combination of dispersed refugee settlement and Targeted Area Development Interventions.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study, conflict amongst refugees, relying on the Basic Human Needs theory has provided valuable insights into conflicts amongst refugees in general and at Kakuma Refugee Camp in particular. It has showed how there have been conflicts amongst the refugees and how they have been instigated. The study has showed how various parties get embroiled into this intractable conflict within the camp and how the conflict has been resolved.

Using the Basic Human Needs theory the study set out to primarily find out whether there were conflicts amongst refugees at Kakuma Refugee Camp, causes of the conflict, and to examine the consequences of the conflict amongst the refugees.

The hypothesis that Kakuma has witnessed conflicts over the years amongst its refugees and that conflicts at Kakuma camp have impacted negatively on the refugees, were confirmed as inherent in the study hitherto.

The study objectives to examine causes of conflict amongst the Kakuma refugees and the consequences of conflict amongst refugees in Kakuma camp were also met. I was able to delve into both the causes and the consequences of conflicts at the camp, therefore meeting the objectives of the study.

The study showed that indeed conflict amongst the refugees is common place and there are occasional flare ups that result in death and injuries. This is an area that has not been documented in the past, and it should go a long way in bringing the gap in knowledge on the status of refugees living not only in Kakuma camp, but also in other refugee camps within the East African region and across the globe.

The study showed that the refugees found themselves at the camp after political turmoil in their countries. It looked at how they were subsequently settled in Kakuma 1, Kakuma 2 and Kakuma 3. It also investigated the sources of conflict between refugees of similar cultural and nationalistic backgrounds, as well as those from divergent nationalities. The study looked at the dynamics of Kakuma refugee camp focusing on the composition of its refugee population to establish why and what causes conflict between and amongst refugees who are already victims of another conflict that brought them there. It looked at the internal structures therein with a view to observing whether they could be playing a role in informing the conflict amongst the refugee population.

The study also found that life at the camp is set out like that of any rural African setting. There are shops as well as hotels and bars that serve the social needs of the population. There are also numerous churches and mosques where the spiritual needs of the people are met. The refugee community is also served by a number of primary and secondary schools which ensures that their children are not denied knowledge which is essential for growth and development, either within or without the camp once their refugee-hood is over.

The study showed that the above scenario provided a forum for co-existence by the refugee community and it is in their day to day interactions that occasional flare-ups erupt leading to conflicts amongst them.

Indeed the composition and settlement of refugees at different parts of the camp had a bearing on the conflicts therein. There were those who felt discriminated in distribution of land for settlement and farming and this created bad relations that resulted in conflict.

It also showed how the issue of the refugees came about in Kenya and in particular the creation of the Kakuma Refugee camp in 1992 after there was an influx of refugees into the country due to the turmoil and conflicts in the neighbouring countries. Though the Kakuma population had one common identity-refugees- and thus needed to co-exist peacefully, they differed in many ways for various reasons as is shown in chapters three and four.

The study looked at the various causes of conflict at the camp between and amongst the various nationalities and how they are resolved. It found that such conflicts are common and are resolved by various parties including the UNHCR assisted by NGOs as well as the Peace and Reconciliation Committees, the latter of which are established within the camp for this purpose.

The study showed that some of the conflicts were minor like fights between the refugees' children, and were resolved amongst the refugees themselves. Others were both complex and bitter and needed the intervention of the UNHCR officials as well as other NGOs and the Peace

and Reconciliation Committees to resolve. The study found that some of the protagonists in these conflicts had to be moved from one camp to another to reduce the animosity.

The worst refugee animosity in the Kakuma refugee camp has been witnessed between the Nuer and the Dinka, two rival groups from Sudan who brought their bitter differences from back home into the camp. Others who displayed similar trends were the Somali Somali and Somali Bantu who also transferred their rivalries from back home in Somalia to the camp. In the latter scenario the Somali Somali treated the Somali Bantu as lesser beings, slaves, and this attitude only helped to aggravate the situation and breed conflicts between the two in the camp.

Finally, the study showed that all is not lost for the refugee community, as indeed Kakuma refugee camp has become a land of opportunity for many of the refugees who have been assisted by the UNHCR and other organizations to go to greener pastures by securing citizenship in the developed world like the US, Britain, Canada, Germany and Europe generally. There are also others who have been lucky to be allowed to leave the camp and work in such towns as Nairobi, Eldoret and Kitale. Such opportunities are also a source of conflict within the camp as they fight for space to move out and secure their lives and that of their children.

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